

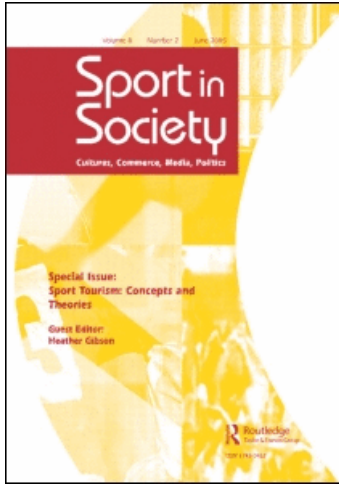
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Professionals and volunteers: on the future of a Scandinavian sport model

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Even though most people seem to be correct in assuming that modern sport is somehow about to professionalize, approaches to this process are often rather superficial and one-sided in their focus on professionalization as implying more athletes with higher wages. A proper understanding of how a process of professionalization might affect the Scandinavian way to organize sport in voluntary organizations requires answers to three questions: (1) What is in fact happening to Scandinavian sport when it comes to professionalization? (2) What characteristics of voluntary organizations matter when holding forth voluntary organizations as something defensible? (3) What does a sociological concept of professionalization actually imply within this context of sport and the voluntary sector? Bringing the answers to these three questions together helps understanding of how a process of professionalization might influence voluntary organizations, their way of functioning and thereby their ability to fulfil the visions associated with them.

Introduction

In spite of noteworthy differences, it seems reasonable to speak of a specific Scandinavian way to organize sport in voluntary organizations.¹ This way to organize sport has a long tradition, but through discussions in public media, one easily gets the impression that this Scandinavian model is now under pressure. Research, however, produces a more complex picture and shows that an overall increase in the amount of work being put into voluntary organized sport is composed of (1) a stable quantity of voluntary work (but to some extent of a more fragile type) and (2) an increased amount of professional work. Even though these changes not immediately or dramatically challenge the traditional Scandinavian sport model, there are good reasons to wonder whether these shifts could make a difference for the future of Scandinavian sports. The question for this essay, then, is how this development of not-decreasing yet probably more fragile volunteering combined with increasing professionalization might matter for the future of a model of voluntary organized Scandinavian sport.

To answer this main question, a background picture has to be drawn and two sets of questions need answers. Accordingly, as a backdrop to the subsequent analyses, I will sketch rather briefly the situation for voluntary organized sport in Scandinavia. Then, the first of the two sets of questions will be addressed: what are actually the characteristics of voluntary organizations that matter when holding forth voluntary organizations as something defensible. I will also point out why these characteristics are often seen as imperative, and how they come about. Thereafter I will take a detour through the sociology

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of professions (second set of questions) to illustrate what professionalization entails and which aspect of professionalization that could be of importance for sport and voluntary organizations. Having answered these two sets of question, I will bring the discussions together and, answering the main question, show how a process of professionalization might influence voluntary organizations: their way of functioning and thereby their ability to fulfil the visions related to them. Finally, I will end the essay with some reflection on the challenges facing voluntarily organized sport in the Nordic countries.

Voluntary organized sport in Scandinavia: situation and trends

The last decades have witnessed an increased interest in the social, political and economical roles played by voluntary organizations (and civil society actors in general). Voluntary organizations are seen as important for providing social integration, they are considered important to secure a vital democracy and they are seen as a vital part of, and prerequisite for, a well functioning market economy.² Sport organizations are also included as significant in several of these discussions of the importance of civil society for modern societies.³ Following this interest for (and hope in) civil society, there is also a widespread concern for the abilities for voluntary organizations to actually fulfil these visions. There is a large and interesting discussion regarding the question whether we actually experience a kind of civil society deterioration or not. These general discussions indicate a rather complex relation between a process of modernization and the role played by civil society actors, and it seems difficult to agree on the more general significance of these developments.⁴

Looking at research on the voluntary sector in general as a context for voluntary sport, a first trend is a shift in the *type of organizations* being numerous and central in the field of voluntary organizations; a decreasing interest in religious organizations, the temperance movement, traditional organizations and an increasing interest in sport, culture and leisure organizations.⁵ There has been a clear development in the direction of a more differentiated field of sport, but the main thrust of organized sports still seems to be the larger sport organizations offering a rather broad palette of sports. It has also been claimed that the relations between organizations' local chapters and their central national hubs are become looser and more network-like.⁶ It is also worth mentioning that the levels of voluntary work in the Scandinavian nations are high compared to other nations.⁷

When it comes to the situation of volunteering in sports, large studies of voluntary sport organizations in Norway indicate that voluntary work is still the absolute most important resources for running these organizations, and there are few signs of decline in volunteering in sport.⁸ What is changing, however, is the amount of professional work being put into these sport organizations, and this amount seems to be increasing;⁹ a development in line with previous research on the sector in general.¹⁰

Yet, even though the level of voluntary work is not threatened, there seems to be a tendency towards *volunteering* being more fragile. Comparing those volunteering in sport to those volunteering in other types of voluntary organizations indicates some interesting differences.¹¹ First, even though sport is the section of the voluntary sector where most voluntary work takes place, there is a tendency in sport for very many people to contribute each only a little compared to other organizations where fewer people volunteer more. For the 'traditional' organizations a few people (relative) put down a large amount of voluntary work whereas many people (relative) put down small amounts of voluntary work in the more modern organizations. Second, when asked about how important various

reasons for volunteering are for different types of volunteers, those volunteering in sport reveal less committed values than those volunteering for other organizations. Third, it is also so that those actually volunteering in sport report that they do so because they feel a social pressure to a higher degree than those helping out for other organizations. Adding to this somewhat uncertain or less committed character of volunteering in sport, we find that leaders of sport organizations claim that recruiting volunteers is the most weighty task they face today.¹² Even though volunteering in sport then seems to continue more or less as before on a quantitative level, this type of voluntary work also seem to inhabit a set of qualitative characteristics important to keep in mind when discussing its future situation.

Even though one should take care when it comes to the depth and significance of these changes and the extent to which they could be generalized, the results reflect an ambiguity with respect to current voluntary sport organizations. On the one hand, sport organizations have a strong hold in Scandinavian societies with historically high levels of participation, and there are few signs of significant withdrawals of voluntary work from this sector. On the other hand, there is something volatile or pragmatic about voluntary engagement in sport compared to voluntary work in other parts of civil society, and this situation is probably also reflected in the sports organizations' own claims of volunteering being under pressure. To this ambiguity should be added a tendency to professionalization taking place within voluntary sport. It is this process of professionalization against a seemingly strong but nevertheless less solid foundation that will be the background for the subsequent discussions/analyses.

Voluntary organizations: characteristics and visions

As already alluded to, there has been an increased interest in the social roles played by civil society actors and voluntary organizations. To see how a process of professionalization matters for voluntary organizations' ability to fulfil (some of) the visions assigned to them in these discourses, a first step requires an identification of the characteristics of voluntary organizations of importance for these questions. A second challenge is to see why which characteristics are seen as worthy and linked to which visions; and third, how which social mechanisms actually do produce the outcomes in focus in these processes: How does participation – membership, activity and volunteering – in sport organizations actually contribute to the fulfilling of which civil society visions? In what follows, I will try to answer these three questions and thereby lay the ground for the next section where a theory of professionalization is introduced.

When selecting among the many possible effects assigned to civil-society-activity (political, economic, social integrative), I have chosen as most important the question of how sport organizations and the development they are part of might contribute to processes of *social integration* and have *democratic* effects. This choice both reflects points made in the more general literature on civil society,¹³ and studies more specifically concerning voluntary sport organizations.¹⁴

a) Voluntariness

A first aspect of importance for the discussion in this essay is the fact that membership of voluntary organizations actually is *voluntary*: One is not forced to take part in voluntary sports. This might sound trivial, but participation in other institutions (family, work,

education) is in most instances not voluntary.¹⁵ In this context I am especially concerned with how this voluntariness affects the relations between individual members and their organizations and how taking part in voluntary organization could – to a certain extent – lay the ground for specific experiences among those involved.

There are several possible effects of participation in organizations being truly voluntary. First, it does probably lead to members feeling *obliged* to the context of action (the organization) since they have voluntarily chosen to take part. Second, this obligation might also lead to a certain *responsibility* towards the aims of the organization and co-members of the organization. Third, sticking with a genuinely voluntary activity would for most actually be followed by a certain *enthusiasm* and *commitment* with respect to activities: if not, participation would end.

Part of the answer to how these experiences of the participation matter for relations between members and organizations emerge is found in Hirschman's distinction between 'exit, voice and loyalty' as strategies for handling flaws and failures within organizations.¹⁶ When there is a structure conducive to voice and/or exit, and voluntariness is exactly that, this will make members experience their participation in ways that develop the traits outlined above. That is, there are organizational structures and cultures that pave the way for specific forms of participation giving obligations, responsibility and commitment as a result. The extent to how this logic operates is of course also dependent upon the context of an organization: if there an alternative nearby that provides the same offer of activities it will ease the exit option in case of lack of voicing possibilities, and thereby make those staying on even more voluntary.

b) Independence

A second aspect is that voluntary organizations are *independent* from public authorities and market actors. This independence is secured because resources, mostly, stem from members themselves and/or their voluntary work. This is seen as important because it allows a voluntary organization to fulfil its ends even when they are contrary to, or not strictly in line with, public policy aims or not necessarily profitable in a market context. The most important prerequisite for this independence is that the resources somehow stem from the members themselves.

Again, this has repercussions for the relations between the organizations and their members, and for the organization as part of a larger organizational field. With respect to its own members, it probably makes the organization more *respondent* to their members than organizations dependent on external resources. When it comes to the outer world, it also makes it possible for organizations to decide for themselves – if necessary to oppose other actors – making them important for a free, receptive and innovative public sphere. This responsiveness on the hand of the organization in turn furthers the experiences and attitudes described in the previous section and feelings of obligations, responsibility and commitment will result.

These processes are best explained through a focus on resources. On an individual level, Coleman suggests that those with control over resources vital for their interests also have power,¹⁷ and this explains how/why there is a tendency for a certain responsiveness from many voluntary organization toward members. On an organizational level, resource-dependency theory suggests the same tendencies for organizations: they adjust their actions and cultures in light of which resources they are dependent upon.¹⁸

c) *Democracy*

Voluntary organizations have, ideal typically, *democratic* decision-structures giving the members (in principle) equal opportunities for influence. Such decision-structures are normally institutionalized through a board elected at annual meetings where members might cast their vote. This logic is then repeated within the organization if there are more sports/groups (the judo-group, the basketball group etc.) and in the outside world organizations in turn are part of a larger national democratic sport confederation.

Organizational democracy is important first of all because it is a realization of one of the most basic ideals in modern societies: *autonomy*.¹⁹ Second, taking part in a democratic organization at a local level might open up opportunities for gaining competences otherwise difficult to achieve: *social, organizational and political learning*. Third, democratic participation is social capital in a basic meaning of the term where networks lead to *trust*.

Social mechanisms in operation here are those invoked in parts of the social capital discourse: information, influence and reinforcements of identities.²⁰ For autonomy, the clue is these mechanisms working in a reciprocal reinforcing manner: getting informed could mean having influence, and information and influence together strengthen identities. So, well functioning social networks providing information could yield influence, and thereby also ideas and feelings of being someone of importance, and thereby also strengthen a general trust in other people.

Two caveats are in place. First of all, the above are ideal typical characteristics, and we will find that most voluntary sport organizations only reflect them to a certain extent. First, for volunteering, no actions unfold in a social vacuum and there are obviously strong normative expectations regarding participation in sport in many situations: parents and friends will in many cases exercise a strong pressure towards starting, continuing or ending sport participation. Second, for independence, there are strong links between voluntary sport and public actors – both municipalities and state actors – in today's Scandinavian sport. Finally there is, as in most democratic organizations, uneven participation at the arenas where decisions are taken, and voluntary (sport) organizations are organizations that are easily dominated by a minority of the members.²¹ So, the assumption justifying these characteristics being the building blocks in the subsequent discussion is not that voluntary organizations necessarily are so or so, but to see how the processes in question might develop organizations more or less in specific directions when it comes to these characteristics and thereby to say something about how they might be able to live up to the visions often used to legitimate them.

The aim in the next sections is first to clarify what professionalization could be taken to mean in the context of voluntary sport and then to see whether and how the trends represented by professionalization might matter for the three characteristics and visions outlined above.

Professionalization

Talking about professionalization of sport, the most immediate picture coming to people's mind is probably well-paid athletes of some kind. A sociological concept of professionalization differs somewhat from this everyday understanding, and below I will show what usually goes into a sociological concept of professionalization.

a) Sociological concept of professionalization

Most accounts of professionalization starts from the premise that there is a *task*, some kind of problem or challenge that is to be solved, mostly as some kind of work. What distinguishes the tasks being objects of (attempts of) professionalization is that they do not only or primarily depend on practical experience for their fulfilment; instead they depend on some kind of *abstract expert knowledge*. This abstract knowledge is in most instances linked to specific *educations*, which in turn are also based on *research*. For most professions there will also be an *association* working for its interests. Moreover, this abstract expert knowledge is of importance (1) internally (in the profession) for how the task at hand is carried out: how situations are diagnosed, how they are thought about and how they are treated; and (2) externally for how the task, its practice, and its knowledge matter for the social status of professions. These external relations also affects the legitimacy of the actors (both towards the general public, legally, politically and towards other professions) and the extent to which they win privileges related to their practice and knowledge (relative to other actors involved in reminiscent tasks). The internal and external developments do of course interact: a successful practice provides legitimacy; a legitimate knowledge base makes for a coherent practice. A state of 'full professionalization' involves successful jurisdiction meaning that groups of actors (mostly based on education) are legally and legitimately the only group allowed doing certain tasks. The same group, the profession, will also have a strong influence on the education legitimating the profession and research securing the knowledge base of the profession. Since external relations are of the utmost importance for the status of a profession, most professions are involved in continual (more or less explicit) discourses regarding their own status.

The importance of processes of professionalization is obviously that they matter very much for questions of power and influence in a social field: What is going to count as the correct and legitimate knowledge? Who is going to decide on what this knowledge should be? Who are best suited to inhabit these occupations? The most common example of a profession is the medical profession. Only those with a medical education might serve as doctors, medical research decides on what counts as legitimate knowledge and doctors are extremely influential when it comes to what goes on in medical education and research. Other actors than the medical profession have little influence on what counts as 'medical'. The questions of the extent to which, and how, sports are professionalized are still not very well understood or studied.²² Even though this is a timely and interesting question, the focus of this essay is, nevertheless, more restricted, namely on how some aspects typical of professionalization processes found within sports matter with respect to some of the characteristics often linked to voluntary organizations.

b) Expert knowledge in sport and voluntary organizations

There are many roles that have to be fulfilled within modern sport organization, for example training and coaching, medical support, administration, janitors, agents, advisors and consulting. Looking for professionalized sport as factual practice, it seems, according to the sport club study,²³ that in the average sport organization, paid work is used either for training and coaching and/or administration.²⁴ Paradoxically, the task mostly associated with sport and professionalism, paid athletes, is a rather marginal phenomenon studying sport organizations more generally. This means that there basically are two types of tasks involved in professionalization of modern sport, implying two types of expert knowledge:

one concerning coaching and training and related to the everyday instruction of sport activity, one more related to administration and business related to the sport organization.

The importance and status of these two fields of knowledge both reflect some general societal developments. First, as a background, we are living in post-industrial societies,²⁵ where people are less physically active in relation to work and transport than before,²⁶ and where people have a higher level of education (and knowledge on health) than ever before. So, an increased knowledge of the importance of physical activity combined with the acknowledgement of a lack of physical activity in most people's everyday life, has led to an increased focus upon the importance of sport and physical activity. Second, the last decades have witnessed a growth in education and research addressing questions of sport and physical activity, and besides increases in formal education, there has also been established a large number of minor instruction and courses more directly linked to specific sports. Third, we have, very generally, witnessed a growing interest in body and appearance. Since the sciences of exercise and coaching are still relatively young, it is probably usual to find conflicts between knowledge based primarily on practice and past experience and more academic and expert based knowledge in sport.²⁷ For the second sport-task being professionalized – administration, organization and business – the expert knowledge required is less sport-specific, and much of this knowledge is based in older academic traditions, even though there also are new and popular courses, first and foremost sport management, at the intersection of 'new' sport science and 'old' administrative sciences.

c) Professionalization as legitimation, research and instruction

To understand more specifically how professionalization occur within sports, a useful start is to pay attention to what Abbott says professionals actually claim to do, namely, 'to classify a problem, to reason about it, and to take action on it: in more formal terms, to diagnose, to infer and to treat'.²⁸ These three types of professional action – diagnosis, inference, treatment – in turn 'generally accomplishes three tasks – legitimation, research, and instruction – and in each it shapes the vulnerability of professional jurisdiction to outside interference'.²⁹ In most sport organizations, only two of these tasks (diagnosis, instruction) are really part of everyday life, and the most relevant approach for this essay is to see how new expert knowledge affects the legitimacy of more traditional knowledge and thereby challenge the relations of power and influence in sport organizations. 'Diagnostics' means that the experts should be better prepared than non-experts when it comes to describe a situation (which aspects of a situation do actually matter), and experts will have better founded ideas on how to improve the situation. These expert competencies will be relevant for both administrative and athletic questions. 'Instruction' is the 'end product' of such sequences of practices, and the experts will here know better how to implement their theoretical knowledge into both training/coaching and administrative tools. The most important processes influenced by professionalization then will be (1) at a more theoretical level what counts as legitimate knowledge, and (2) at a more practical level how to teach and practice sports.

Discussions: expert knowledge in voluntary sport organizations

In practice, professionalization in this essay means that to an increasing extent people in positions with respect to coaching and administration in voluntary sport organizations have, and employ, some kind of abstract expert knowledge. In section three, I identified

(1) three characteristics of voluntary organization (voluntariness, independence, democracy), (2) the reason why these characteristics were seen as worthy (what goods they produced); and (3) a set of social mechanisms responsible for bringing these goods about. In the following, I will try to sort out how professionalization as described above matters for the functioning of these social mechanisms, and in the end, how these increasingly professionalized organizations are able to fulfil the visions often invoked in the civil society discourse.

a) Voluntariness

The first organizational characteristic is ‘voluntariness’, and this is important because the relational structures within voluntary organizations lead members to feel obliged, responsible and enthusiastic with respect to their organizations. These experiences do of course come about in complicated processes, but one way to see how they occur is through a set of social mechanisms outlined by Hirschman: Exit, Voice, Loyalty.³⁰ Here, the crux of the argument is that processes described by these three concepts operate in cases of problems or conflicts and influence what kind of strategies members of an organization choose in case of disagreements, and then, for how people experience their co-members and ‘the organization’ as such. The point is that voluntary organizations might provide experiences among the participants that could bring about obligations, responsibilities and enthusiasm because members are voluntarily bound up with their organization.

The decisive question is first, what happens when someone in an organization is better equipped when it comes to posing *diagnoses* and, thereby, also, often, to suggest practices, both with regard to administrative and sport activities? At a most general level there seems to be at least two options. First, more knowledge could increase the quality of both sport and administration, and thereby lessen conflict and produce a more smooth-running organization. This would imply less conflict, and less relevance for the whole exit-voice-loyalty-logic. Second, it might lead to more conflicts because new resources – knowledge – matter more than before. Again this opens up two further scenarios: Either these differences are handled in a positive way and communication is strengthened because of more knowledge on coaching and organizations. Or, we might see more conflicts of a kind making it difficult to have one’s voice heard: Because of larger differences in knowledge it is harder to voice, which lowers loyalty and eases exit. This could lead to frustrations which in turn lead to less obliged, less responsible and less enthusiastic members, or fewer members.

I have identified two arenas for professionalization, and the question is whether there should be a difference between the effects of increased expert knowledge within coaching and administration. As indicated in the section on expert knowledge, sport knowledge is often founded upon previous practice, and this means that introducing general theoretical knowledge into sport contexts could produce conflict and challenge the legitimacy of existing knowledge, whereas organizational and administrative expert knowledge is perhaps less contested.

b) Independence

The second organizational characteristic discussed above is ‘independence’ which produced similar results – obligations, responsibility, enthusiasm – as ‘volunteering’, but mediated via two different social mechanisms. For the first, ‘power à la Coleman’, the result is a certain responsiveness of the organization towards its members because the

organization is dependent upon its members for resources. For the second social mechanism, 'resource dependency', the result is ideally that an organization keeps a certain independence towards other actors in the organization's field as long as it is not too dependent upon resources from outside actors. The way these mechanisms work could be changed if the power balances implicit in the way they work in a voluntary-organizational-setting is upset.

In this case of professionalization one could easily imagine such processes – as higher competencies with respect to diagnosing and instruction (both sportive and administrative) – more directly disturbing the power balances making the independence-mechanism work. Members will experience their relation to the 'organization' as more distant or conflictual, and the situation for the organization in the larger organizational field might also become less independent. 'Power à la Coleman' involves actors having control over things of their interest, and when members are the most important source of organizational resources, the organization in turn should be responsive towards its own members. In the case of increased expert knowledge, this power structure could influence what counts as 'interests' (diagnosing), leading to a larger potential for differences in interests and in the ability to justify interests. This might be precarious and destructive for the egalitarian power structures securing the responsibility between the partners involved in an organization, and decrease the obligations, responsiveness and enthusiasm among members.

A very important factor for increased expert knowledge is that it is not for free, it has costs. Professionalization of the type in focus in this essay (expert knowledge) will mostly go together with the more common-sense understanding of professionalization as more paid work: Human capital requires economic capital, and this will in many cases increase dependencies between those employing an expert and those providing resources for this employment, whether this is public authorities or market actors (sponsors). This will imply resource dependencies towards other organizational actors, and this might, in some cases, reduce the ability of an organization to respond to its members, which, next, could have the same effects as internal shifts in power balances. Again, the potential for decisive differences in knowledge and thereby less responsiveness and independence should probably be larger for activities related to the core activity – sport – where the most practically grounded interests of members are found.

c) Democracy

'Democracy' as a third characteristic of organizations might be good for the members of voluntary organization for three reasons: autonomy, learning and trust. The mechanisms making these goods available involve a mixture of 'information', 'influence' and 'identity'. As examples, having information might imply influence, and information and influence together strengthen identities which in turn are prerequisites for autonomy, learning and trust.

How are these democratic processes affected by participants being better informed and educated? First, for 'autonomy', professionalization seems, as for 'voluntariness', as a double-edged sword. On the one hand it might strengthen actors' level of information, influence and identity building and thereby their potential for autonomous action. On the other hand, as for 'independence', increased capabilities for diagnosing and instruction might lead to more conflict, less influence (at least for some members) and difficulties in autonomous action. Moving on to 'learning', there are less reason

for scepticism; professionalization – increased capacities for diagnosing and instruction – would in most cases provide more knowledge to be passed on, and, in many instance, more motivation to teach and learn. But, again, there are new possibilities for conflicts, and also the ability to develop members' motivation for learning depends on how the situation is handled. Finally, it seems difficult to see how trust (as a prerequisite for democracy) might be influenced by professionalization. On the one hand it might follow the same pattern as 'autonomy': strengthening of identities could also lead to trust; on the other, differences in knowledge and influence might lead to scepticism and distrust, and thereby weaken organizations' ability to have democratic effects.

Conclusions

In the mass media we are often given the impression that the voluntary sector is under pressure in late modern societies. The topic of this volume – Sport Futures – has given me the possibility to reflect more thoroughly on this proclaimed decline in volunteering and what this means for what many like to see as the more visionary goods of civil society organizations. I started the essay by trying to sort out what actually are the most relevant trends when it comes to voluntary organized sports – beyond what is assumed rather pessimistically in the public – in Scandinavia today, and I suggested that what is essential is not a decline in voluntary work as often assumed, but a more or less steady amount of voluntary work (although, perhaps of a more fragile quality) combined with an increased amount of professional work. The challenge then is to see how professionalization in a sociological meaning of the term might carry importance for how voluntary organizations are able to fulfil these civil society visions.

To see how professionalization matters for what goes on in voluntary organizations, I proceeded in three steps. First, I outlined three aspects of what is often seen as the characteristics of voluntary organizations today – volunteering, independence and democracy – and tried to sort out more in detail how these characteristics are linked to different goods and how certain social mechanisms contribute to or upheld such goods. Second, I discussed professionalization as a sociological concept and indicated how professionalization as the practice of expert knowledge involves 'diagnoses', 'inferences' and 'instruction' and how professionalization might influence the social mechanisms important for producing the wanted effects of voluntary organization. The two discussions were then brought together, and I tried to see how these processes and practices of professionalization matter for voluntary organizations.

The answers are all marked by a speculative twist making them uncertain, and neither do they point in one overall direction: some of the trends seem to support the characteristics we like to associate with civil society; some seem to weaken such positive civil society effects; and some are clearly ambiguous. The most interesting finding is perhaps that the effect of professionalization often involves shifts in power relations within an organization, but that the effect of such changes depends on how they happen or how they are operated. On the one hand, they might further or strengthen the relatively open communicative structures distinguishing civil society organizations from marked and public actors. On the other hand, if not carefully implemented, they just as well disturb the power balances characterizing the communicative structures enabling the goods associated with voluntary organizations.

Notes

- ¹ Bergsgard and Nordberg, 'Nordic Sports Politics'; Ibsen and Seippel, 'Voluntary Sport'; Klausen and Selle, *Frivillig organisering i Norden*.
- ² Cohen and Arato, *Civil Society*; Ehrenberg, *Civil Society*; Giugni, McAdam and Tilly, *From Contention to Democracy*; Hall, *Civil Society*; Hansmann, 'Economic Theories'; Salamon and Sokolowski, *Global Civil Society*; Taylor, 'Interpretation and the Sciences'; Warren, *Democracy and Association*; Wollebæk, Selle and Lorentzen, *Frivillig innsats*.
- ³ Dekker and Uslaner, 'Introduction'; Hardin, *Trust*; Nicholson and Hoyer, *Sport and Social Capital*; Putnam, *Making Democracy Work*; Seippel, 'Sport and Social Capital'; Seippel, 'Public Policies'; Seippel, 'Sport in Civil Society'.
- ⁴ Putnam, *Making Democracy Work*; Rotolo, 'Trends in Voluntary Association'; Rotolo, 'A Time to Join'; Rotolo and Wilson, 'What Happened?'; Skocpol, Ganz and Munson, 'A Nation of Organizers'.
- ⁵ Wollebæk, Selle and Lorentzen. *Frivillig innsats*. In this essay I will present data on the Norwegian case as a hopefully representative example for all three Scandinavian nations. The main reason for this choice is that this is the case I know the best. Ibsen and Seippel, 'Voluntary Sport', shows that there are many similarities between the Danish and Norwegian cases when it comes to the question discussed in this essay, and Bergsgard and Nordberg, 'Nordic Sports Politics', studying Swedish and Norwegian sport policies also point out the many similarities between the nations. Together then, there are good reasons to think that the situation and trends here described for the Norwegian case also are valid for the other Scandinavian cases.
- ⁶ Lorentzen, *Moraldannende kretslop*.
- ⁷ Curtis, Baer and Grabb, 'Nations of Joiners'.
- ⁸ Wollebæk, Selle and Lorentzen, *Frivillig innsats*. Saying that voluntary work is the most important resource for sport organizations one should also add that public resources are of uttermost importance, at least in two respects. First, a large proportion of sport facilities are provided or financed by public authorities. Second, because public funding is indeed important for the infrastructure of the national sport confederations.
- ⁹ Seippel, *Norske idrettslag: 1999–2007*.
- ¹⁰ Selle, 'Forfall eller forandring?'; Selle and Øymyr, *Frivillig organisering og demokrati*.
- ¹¹ Wollebæk, Selle and Lorentzen, *Frivillig innsats*.
- ¹² Seippel, 'The World According to Voluntary Organizations'.
- ¹³ Cohen and Arato, *Civil Society*; Ehrenberg, *Civil Society*; Taylor, 'Invoking Civil Society'; Walzer, 'The Civil Society Argument'; Warren, *Democracy and Association*.
- ¹⁴ Coalter, 'Sports Club'; Harris, 'Civil Society'; Heinemann, 'Sport Clubs'; Horch, 'Sociological Research'; Horch, 'On the Socio-Economics'; Ibsen, *Frivilligt arbejde i idrettsforeninger*; Jarvie, 'Communitarism'; Nicholson and Hoyer, *Sport and Social Capital*; Seippel, 'Sport and Social Capital'; Seippel, 'Sport in Civil Society'.
- ¹⁵ Walzer, 'On Involuntary Action'.
- ¹⁶ Hirschman, *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty*; Warren, *Democracy and Association*.
- ¹⁷ Coleman, *Foundations of Social Theory*.
- ¹⁸ Pfeffer and Salancik, *The External Control*.
- ¹⁹ Held, *Models of Democracy*.
- ²⁰ Lin, *Social Capital*.
- ²¹ Enjolras and Waldahl, *Hvem styrer idretten?*
- ²² Hartmann-Tews, 'Von der Passion zur Profession?'; Horch and Heydel, *Professionalisierung im Sportmanagement*; Horch and Schutt, 'Professionalisierungsdruck und – hindernisse im Management des selbstverwalteten Sports'; Hoyer and Inglis, 'Governance of Nonprofit Leisure Organizations'; Seippel, 'The World According to Voluntary Organizations'.
- ²³ Seippel, *Norske idrettslag*.
- ²⁴ I am aware of the fact that I am here using data on professionalization based on the concept of professionalization I ascribe to an everyday understanding in this essay. These data are, however, as far as I know, the best available, and even though 'payment' is their approach to the topic, I think they give a relatively good indication of what professional work also in the meaning of the term as used in this essay implies.
- ²⁵ Bell, *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society*; Kumar, *From Post-Industrial*.
- ²⁶ Maguire, *Fit For Consumption*.
- ²⁷ Augestad and Bergsgard, *Toppidrettens formel*.

²⁸ Abbott, *The System of Professions*, 40.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 56–7.

³⁰ Hirschman, *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty*.

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