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A new playing field: Changing logics in the use of spaces by Finnish sport clubs

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Abstract

Purpose: Using an institutionalist approach, this paper examines the changing logics in the organisational field of Finnish sport clubs. More specifically, the utilisation of physical spaces by sport clubs is investigated.

Research methods: Data were collected by conducting semi-structured interviews with 26 sport clubs from the Central Finland region and by obtaining club documents.

Findings: Sport club' expectations of spaces have diversified. They have started to use a broad range of spaces by various providers, to work towards innovative solutions with stakeholders, and to rely on club-owned facilities. In the process, the prerequisites for running and using the facilities have become more demanding. To conclude, clubs' traditional principles of non-profit voluntarism now exist alongside values, exchange processes, and vocabularies that highlight the logics of entrepreneurialism, managerialism as well as bureaucracy, and indicate hybridisation in sport club activities.

Practical implications: This article has implications for identifying the necessary skills in a sport club for sports federations and institutes educating practitioners. The findings may be useful for those involved in facility development as well.

Research contribution: The paper has shown that the use of spaces by sport clubs reflects the logics of the organisational field. This has been an uncharted area by the institutional approach.

Keywords: sport club, facilities, organisational field, institutional logics, dominant logics, hybridisation, Finland

Introduction

On a cold February day in the city of Jyväskylä, Finland, young footballers are warming up for their training session. The temperature stands below zero and snow covers the ground, but the football turf is in perfect condition and the players are not wearing particularly warm clothing. The session is taking place in an air dome, the first of its kind in the region to accommodate a full-size football pitch. This facility, which is owned by the city, is the result of cooperation by four youth football clubs, the municipality, and countless volunteers. In Finland, the public sector has typically provided the facilities for sport (Koski et al., 2015), but the scene I describe above reflects a shift that points to sport clubs' increasing involvement in requesting, planning, building, and even owning sport facilities.

From their traditional functions as sport activity providers, sport clubs have entered unfamiliar territory (Nagel et al., 2015; Szerovay, 2022). They have diversified their activities, become employers, and now often offer participants varied pathways (Koski and Mäenpää, 2018). At the same time, the clubs have encountered pressure from municipality policies that highlight the expected societal roles of sport clubs, and increasingly these expectations no longer match how the clubs perceive themselves (Waardenburg, 2016). The access to and use of facilities, an essential condition of operating a sport club, has also been affected. The expectations clubs in Finland now have for facilities have been growing, and the public sector has struggled to address them properly (Finnish Olympic Committee, 2017). State investment in public sport facilities has, in fact, decreased in all the Nordic countries (Giulianotti et al., 2017). A recent report suggests that to accommodate all participants, there is need for novel operation models as well as more dialogue between the actors involved in facility development, such as municipalities, sport federations, and sport clubs. The report also predicts that facility projects in partnerships will gain further relevance as municipalities face pressure to increase fees (Finnish Olympic Committee, 2017).

These developments imply a shift in practices and shared meanings in the environment of sport clubs. In an effort to adjust to this environment and preserve their legitimacy (Scott, 2014), the clubs may work to redefine and reposition themselves. Publications on how the aforementioned changes have played out in the use of facilities in the Nordic environment remain limited. Existing studies discuss facilities and sport clubs from the

perspective of sport policy, management, and participation (e.g., Bergsgard et al., 2019; Elmose-Østerlund and Iversen, 2020; Iversen, 2017; Rafoss and Troelsen, 2010). To date, however, these studies have not addressed the specific Finnish context, which has seen a continuing diversification of sport club activities over the past decades, including tasks related to sport facilities as well (Huhtanen and Itkonen, 2022). I address this gap by examining the spaces and ways sport clubs have used them for their activities. By the term *spaces* I refer to the various physical sport facilities and their surroundings. Accordingly, the first research question is as follows: How have Finnish sport clubs utilised spaces for their activities in the 2010s?

To provide a more analytic account of this phenomenon, I draw on the *institutional approach* and discuss the *organisational field* of voluntary sport clubs. An organisational field incorporates actors and organisations which are mutually dependent and bound up in a system of meaning (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). In the context of this paper, the concept of organisational field encompasses sport clubs, members, governing organisations, municipalities, as well as private sport facility owners and self-employed coaches. A vital element of an organisational field is the set of *dominant logics*, which can be seen as the mutual ideas and beliefs followed by participants in an organisational field (Bettis and Prahalad, 1995; Stenling and Fahlén, 2009). By following the dominant logics, actors seek to adjust their behaviour to the environment and thereby gain legitimacy in the field (Bettis and Pralahad, 1995; DiMaggio and Powel, 1983). Although pressures often result in similarities across organisations, institutional processes may also produce variations in the field (Skille, 2008). By way of illustration, in a study about the sport environment in Sweden, several logics that may compete with one another, including sport-for-all, a results-oriented approach and commercialisation were identified (Stenling and Fahlén, 2009).

The concept of dominant logics has since been extended into *institutional logics* (Thornton et al., 2012). These logics represent socially constructed, shared understandings that guide actors to perform in a certain way (Scott, 2014). Put simply, institutional logics can be seen as processes that "shape and create the rules of the game" (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008, p.112). In the context of Finnish sport clubs, such processes indicate the growing complexity of the environment the clubs operate in, particularly in relation to the spaces they use. The sociological approach to the concept of institutional logics may serve as a useful lens that allows a nuanced

understanding on the workings of the organisational field by highlighting the potential existence of multiple logics.

This paper draws on a combination of institutional concepts as a framework for analysing the voluntary sport clubs in Finland. First, the organisational field provides the level of analysis for this research, that is, the layer where logics occur (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008). Second, applying the dominant logics enables me to identify indicators that point to "shifting logics and change in an organisational field" (O'Brien and Slack, 2003, p.422) with respect to the use of spaces. Third, institutional logics allow me to further analyse those changes and discern elements that indicate various means-ends relationships (Gammelsæter, 2010). An institutional perspective thus frames the second research question: How has the use of spaces reflected the logics of the organisational field?

Institutional approach as the conceptual framework

Institutions, organisational fields, dominant logics, and institutional logics

Institutions in societies comprise institutional orders or sub-systems such as family, religion, state, market, and democracy (Friedland and Alford, 1991). These establish legal, moral, and cultural boundaries as well as supply resources and guidelines to support the participants in a field (Scott, 2014). Institutions are historically contingent, that is, observations about them that are accurate in a time period might not be valid later (Thornton et al., 2012).

The institutional approach studies institutions by positioning individuals and organisations within the institutional structures of society, which might enable us to grasp their behaviour (Thornton et al., 2012). Based on a given institutional order, individuals and organisations may engage with different logics, also known as interpretive schemes (Gammelsæter, 2010). By exploring these logics, the institutional approach enables the examination of how the social and cultural values, rules, symbols, and procedures that guide or restrict actors and interactions in an organisational field are produced as well as reproduced (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Scott, 2014).

The organisational field provides the level of analysis for this study (Skille, 2011). According to DiMaggio and Powell (1983, p.148), it refers to a group of organisations that together "constitute a recognized area of institutional life". Scott (2014) broadens this viewpoint by pointing out that organisational fields incorporate "relevant actors, institutional logics, and governance structures that empower and constrain the actions of participants – both individuals and organisations" (p.258). This concept is useful in comprehending the environment of a given organisation (Scott, 2014), in this case, that of the sport clubs. It is important to note that organisational fields may consist of actors that are embedded in various institutional orders (Thornton et al. 2012, p.44).

A field adopts dominant logics, which are principles that guide legitimate organisational activities (Bettis and Prahalad, 1995; O'Brien and Slack, 2003; Stenling and Fahlén, 2009). Dominant logics, with their roots in strategy research (Thornton et al., 2012), can be perceived as a knowledge structure and management processes that facilitate the making of decisions (Pralahad and Bettis, 1986). It may also function as a lens, steering the focus of the organisation and its members in the direction of information that is important and legitimate (Bettis and Prahalad, 1995). Over time, as particular logics become ingrained in the interactions in the field, a dominant logic may evolve (Skirstad and Chelladurai, 2011).

It is common, however, for more than a single dominant logic to emerge in a field. Indeed, studies with a field-level perspective have often highlighted the co-existence of competing logics (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008). These perspectives, partly developed from dominant logics, have used the term *institutional logics*. Given the various organisations in the field, numerous institutional orders may be present, from family and religion to profession, each possessing different values and practices (Thornton et al., 2012). When institutional logics shift, organisations need to adjust to and integrate these new ways to gain legitimacy in the field (Borgers et al., 2016).

In the sport club context, Gammelsæter (2010) identifies seven types of institutional logics when examining professional sport clubs: idealism, identity, autotelism, entrepreneurialism, managerialism, bureaucracy, and politics. Although he did not consider facilities in his analysis, his categorisation has proved to be useful for the purposes of this study. Multiple logics have also been conceptualised from a different perspective: Skirstad and Chelladurai (2011) suggest that sport organisations may operate in various organisational fields at the same time and, therefore,

need to accommodate diverse logics. In their investigation of a Norwegian football club, they pinpoint amateur, professional, and commercial logics at work. Furthermore, drawing on Thornton et al.'s (2012) four institutional orders (family, community, profession, and corporation), Gillett and Tennent (2018) coined the logic of professional sport and proposed that professional football clubs are hybrid organisations.

Indicators of changing dominant logics

Building on Prahalad and Bettis (1986) and Bettis and Prahalad (1995), O'Brien and Slack (2003; 2004) argue that changing logics in an organisational field display distinctive signs. They identify four field-level indicators when analysing the professionalisation of English rugby. Changes in *the number and the nature of actors* is the first indicator. Actors store the dominant logics in cognitive maps (Bettis and Prahalad, 1995), which develop through experiences. As new actors with their own values and goals, such as paid professionals from the private sector, appear in the organisational field and potentially alter the balance of power, the dominant logics might shift (Greenwood and Hinings, 1996).

This in turn impacts the second indicator, namely *exchange processes and interorganisational connections*, which highlight the diffusion of information and innovative practices as well as the interdependence of actors in the field (O'Brien and Slack, 2004). Examples include tensions emerging between professionals and volunteers, and new ways of cooperation among actors (O'Brien and Slack, 2003). For example, as pointed out by Shilbury et al. (2016), cross-sector cooperation has increased and resulted in a blend in facility types in the context of European sport clubs. By reflecting on the first two indicators in the Nordic countries, we notice a wider trend of using voluntary organisations to provide services, particularly when that trend is in part aimed at preventing the public sector from growing further (Alapuro, 2010).

The third indicator was identified as changes in *legitimate forms of capital*. Participants in a field aim at gaining access to various forms of capital (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). People in dominant positions in a certain field may be able to determine the relevant types of capital (Oaks et al., 1998). Capital is field specific, and the right combination – with cultural, social, or economic capital being valued more depending on the field – can help organisations secure resources, power, and legitimacy. If there is a shift in the field where professionals who pursue financial returns on their

investment appear, economic capital is likely to gain more importance. The increasing role of economic capital is also seen in income collected from various services offered to participants, such as renting out facilities, that contribute to financing the operation of the clubs (Szerovay et al., 2016). The decreased legitimacy of perceived intrinsic rewards of volunteering as well as the growing adaptation of business vocabulary serve as further examples of changes in legitimate forms of capital (O'Brien and Slack, 2003).

Observing the mutual dependence between dominant capital, the interest of actors, and political activity leads us to the fourth indicator: *regulatory and legal structures* (O'Brien and Slack, 2003). This may be seen in the ways governing bodies exert power and in the ways membership-based clubs are organised or restructured (O'Brien and Slack, 2003). Elements of exerting power include accreditations and certifications that provide normative guidance in a field (Scott, 2014). In general, when political coalitions of power in an organisational field shift, this might impact on regulatory structures as well (O'Brien and Slack, 2003).

I draw on this institutional framework with the four indicators to explore the dominant logics reflected in the use of spaces by Finnish voluntary sport clubs. I then employ Gammelsæter's (2010) categorisation of sport clubs' institutional logics to discern which of those logics have become more prevalent.

Voluntary sport clubs in Finland

Sport and physical activities have played a crucial role in the Finnish society (Alapuro, 2010). Sport provision contributes to health promotion and socialisation, forges social identity and, in recent times, generates employment (Vehmas and Ilmanen, 2013). Over the past decades, sport clubs have become more diverse in their operations, which is exemplified in their size, activities, and the extent to which they have employed people (Huhtanen and Itkonen, 2022). In the process, team sports such as floorball, football and futsal have seen considerable growth, novel activities such as gaming and fan organisations have appeared, and associations independent from central federations have been established (Koski and Mäenpää, 2018). At present, there are about 10,000 clubs in operation (Koski and Mäenpää, 2018), out of which 450 are based in Central Finland (Keski-Suomen Liikunta, 2020).

Since the 1980s, a significant trend has been the increase in the proportion of clubs with employees, growing from 7% to 21% (Koski and Mäenpää, 2018). However, the main driver of this system remains voluntary activities. Despite evidence of a decrease in the past decade, sport-related voluntary work continues to be higher than the European average (Eurobarometer, 2017). Over the last decade, public subsidy schemes have also been introduced to encourage employment in sport clubs and offer a range of services to non-members (Koski and Mäenpää, 2018). Parallel to these changes, the participation cost in physical activities has increased, which contributes to social inequality by hindering accessibility for some social groups (Puronaho, 2014).

Sport facilities have been traditionally run and provided by the state and municipalities, that is, the public sector. Similarly, the activities staged at these sites have been organised by sport clubs, which form to the voluntary sector (Koski et al., 2015). Market-based service provision offered by the private sector has become active around sport clubs in recent years. By 2017, out of approximately 33,000 sport facilities, 8% were owned privately (Bergsgard et al., 2019).

The above changes in the organisation field of sport clubs in Finland have been framed by reforms of the public administration, that is, a shift from a rather bureaucratic model to the so called *new public governance* in the early 2000s. Accordingly, the public sector needed to increasingly cooperate with the private and third sectors and with citizens so that it can better contribute to their well-being (Huhtanen and Itkonen, 2022).

Method

Representatives from 26 Finnish sport clubs from the Central Finland region took part in expert interviews between 2014 and 2017. Central Finland is one of the country's 19 regions, with a population of 275,000, out of Finland's total population of 5.5 million (Keskisuomi.info, 2020). The regional centre is the city of Jyväskylä.

Expert interviewees are selected based on the specific information and experience they have, while the number of potential interviewees is limited (Alastalo and Åkerman, 2010). One key official from every club was interviewed. Students in a Research Methods module at the Faculty of Sport and Health Sciences carried out the interviews. The module was offered at the University of Jyväskylä, Finland. Data collection was one of

the assessments for the module, which was delivered by the author. An evaluation took place prior to the module whether ethical clearance was needed regarding the involvement of the students. Based on the university guidelines and discussions with the faculty dean, a conclusion was made that no clearance was required from the ethics committee.

A broad range of clubs was recruited to ensure the richness of the data in terms of discipline, participants, budget, and experience. Given the limited financial and time resources for data collection, convenience sampling was applied (Sparkes and Smith, 2014). The sport disciplines encompassed nineteen different sports. The diversity of clubs can also be observed in the registered participants, which range from 0[1] to 1,560, and in the annual budget, ranging from €4,500 to €1 million. A club founded in 1932 was the oldest in the data, whereas and the newest has been in operation since 2009. For more information about the interviewed clubs, see Appendix 1.

The interview guide, focusing on the youth section of clubs in the 2010s, contained questions categorised into the following sections: the role of the informant, the various roles in the club, embeddedness in the local community, media and publicity, resources, the objectives of the club, and coaching and sporting operations. These areas draw on the framework presented in Itkonen (1991) and later developed in Szerovay et al. (2016), which aimed at comprehensively investigating the operations of sport clubs and changes within them. This moderately structured interview guide was suitable for the comparison of the data across different clubs and sports (Wengraf, 2001). Given the numerous interviewers, this interview guide, positioned on a continuum that spans from unstructured to fully structured interviews closer to the latter, ensured a consistent procedure for carrying out the interviews. Questions in the sections *embeddedness in the local community*, *resources*, and *media and publicity* were aimed at providing data to explore the use of spaces. These included questions on cooperation with various actors, the use and potential ownership of facilities, and the club's budget and its key items. Interviews lasted about 60 minutes and were audio recorded. Club documents including annual strategies, manuals, and coaching principles were gathered by the author to deepen the analysis and triangulate the data (see Appendix 1). When interviewees mentioned these documents were available online, I obtained those from the clubs' websites.

1 If a club offers only recreational activities, it may be that the number of registered (licensed) participants is 0.

After students had summarised the main points of the interviews, I analysed the interview data and the club documents thematically. I listened to the recordings twice and carried out data sampling (Saunders et al., 2016), that is, transcribing the pertinent sections guided by the research questions and framework of the study. I employed coding that was both theory- and data-driven (Braun and Clarke, 2006), and made use of O'Brien and Slack's (2003) as well as Gammelsæter's (2010) analytical framework, which were presented in the conceptual framework section of this paper. In this this way, both theory and emerging data informed the data analysis. I adhered to the six steps proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006), which involves the following phases: becoming familiar with and transcribing the data; generating initial codes; searching for themes; reviewing themes; defining and naming the themes; producing the report. I followed this process, with one modification: instead of fully transcribing the interviews, I applied data sampling. The interviews and data sampling were conducted in Finnish, but the analysis process, starting from the coding, took place in English. The selected quotations in this text are translations carried out by the author.

Results and discussion

The findings are presented in three steps. First, I highlight points in the data that indicate changes in the sport clubs' organisational field regarding how spaces are utilised. Second, following O'Brien and Slack's (2003) analytical framework, I discuss indicators of dominant logics, which allows a more nuanced understanding of the shift. In the third step I applied analytic generalisation (Yin, 2003) in an attempt to discern institutional logics at play, adapting Gammelsæter's (2010) categorisation to the Finnish sport club context.

Increasing demand for purpose-built spaces

Sport clubs reported that facilities provided by the public sector are often inadequate for several reasons, which may steer them to seek alternatives. For their activities, sport clubs can book school halls, sport-specific indoor facilities, indoor and outdoor ice rinks, swimming pools, outdoor athletic tracks and football pitches with various surfaces (Jyväskylä, 2021). Increasingly, these public spaces may not fulfil sport-specific

requirements. This lack is illustrated by a comment from the general manager of a gymnastics club that holds their training sessions in school gyms: "Schools don't let us use their equipment and thus it is challenging to hold a gymnastics session when you have nothing more than the wall bars. So, you must buy your own equipment, which costs money, but then where can you store them?"

As requirements such as the size of the pitch and the sport-specific surface, especially in competitive sport, have changed, clubs face a limited availability of facilities. Though school gyms are designed to allow for learning and practising different forms of sport activities (Itkonen, 2012), they may not be suitable for some sports, as pointed out by a floorball chairperson: "In general, most of the school gyms are too small; they are good enough for basketball but not for futsal and floorball /…/ starting from the under-12 age group, our teams are forced to book sessions from private providers once a week, because there are only a couple of full-sized [public] floorball rinks available in Jyväskylä".

Likewise, given that training sessions have become more structured and professional, clubs hope for access to fit-for-purpose spaces that are suitable for complementary training. These spaces are intended for warming up before, and cooling down after the session, as well as for strength and conditioning. An example by the general manager of Finnish baseball club highlights the lack of spaces necessary for complementary training: "We use the facilities of our partner for strength and conditioning sessions". Nevertheless, when a purpose-built environment is not available, clubs tend to be creative and use the outdoors – including a nearby park, forest, or even a car park close to the sport facilities. These observations are in line with the findings of a recent report by Aarresola et. al (2022), in which the quality of available sport facilities is seen as important or very important by 94% of youth clubs, while the current situation is considered good or very good only by 59% of clubs, indicating a considerable gap between expectations and reality.

Indicators of changing logics regarding the use of spaces

Having mapped the circumstances in the data that may drive sport clubs to look for alternatives with respect to the use of spaces, I now turn my attention to the indicators of dominant logics to understand better sport clubs' response to those circumstances and the features of the organisation field more generally. The main points synthetised are shown in Table 1

and fleshed out subsequently. The header of the table follows O'Brien and Slack's (2003) analytical scheme, apart from the first two areas, which I combined.

Table 1. *Indicators of changing dominant logics regarding the use of spaces in the organisational field of Finnish sport clubs in the 2010s*

Number and nature of actors, and exchange processes	*Legitimate forms of capital*	*Regulatory structures*
Innovative collaboration to enhance facility construction and efficient use	Using a broad range of spaces	Organisational structure and job descriptions supporting the use of spaces
Various facility providers	Club-owned facilities appear	Getting familiar with legislation on constructing and running facilities
Employing specialists	Temporal expansion	Understanding the principles of the private, public and third sectors
	Knowledge requirements and specialised vocabulary	

Number and nature of actors, and exchange processes

To deal with the inadequate provision of suitable spaces, sport clubs have undertaken fresh initiatives that allow them control over the quality and use of a given facility. An illustration of this is the cooperation of the municipality and four football clubs in Jyväskylä alluded to in the introduction, which accomplished the construction of a state-of-the-art air dome, with football turf, in 2015. The facility is used by football as well as American football clubs, Finnish baseball clubs, and schools. Before such collaborations advance to a formal agreement, they are often enabled by networks that span across organisations. The collaboration processes are often driven by sport club officials who hold multiple roles. They may be employed in a school and involved as a coach or as a board member in one or more clubs. In addition, the numerous paid positions that have appeared in the organisational field in recent years – general manager, head of coaching, and head of youth development, just to name a few – have driven as well as enabled the use of a range of spaces.

Another case is the ice hall opened in Jyväskylä in 2016, which reflects the appearance of new actors in sport facility provision. The facility is owned privately, but the municipality is committed to renting 3,000 hours annually and to offering these hours to sport clubs. This arrangement ensures that the primary users are youth and children. In fact, there had been growing pressure to provide the city with a new ice hall, in response to a growth in participation in ice hockey and other ice sports. Indeed, these developments, which showcase new types of exchange processes between organisations, are aligned with the international trend for more private sector involvement in sport across Europe (Laine and Vehmas, 2017). Private companies have provided clubs with alternatives in the use of fitness clubs, air domes and first-snow ski tracks[2], just to name a few.

Overall, the spaces that sport clubs utilise are offered by a variety of providers, some of which are new to this organisational field. As a result, these new providers may introduce different means, ends, and measuring criteria for their activities that differ from those of the providers already in the organisational field.

Legitimate forms of capital

Changes in the nature of actors and exchange processes explored in the previous section have consequences for the types of capital that appear in the sport clubs' organisational field. This analysis revealed three main areas for these consequences: using a broad range of spaces, widening temporal use of spaces, and increasing relevance of cultural capital. The growing use of private facilities has already been mentioned. What is more, there are clubs building their own facilities. A football club chairperson commented: "The football pitch project in cooperation with the municipality was successful /…/ we have our own pitch on land owned by the municipality". Equally, facility ownership may enable additional revenues and an opportunity to cover the increased costs. For example, a local wrestling club constructed their own training facility, and a bandy team uses it during their pre-season as pointed out by their chairperson: "In the spring, we tend to book wrestling classes because our ice sessions don't start until early November and we are trying to keep the pre-season diverse". Further, as clubs have started to employ staff, office space has been rented to function as the club headquarters. These developments have occurred in parallel with a more centralised and formalised organisation

2 The first-snow ski track is produced with snow stored from the previous winter. This allows cross-country skiing already in the autumn before the start of the winter.

of the clubs (Szerovay, 2022). Nevertheless, smaller clubs in the data set pointed out that taking care of administrative tasks from a home office is sufficient, as reported by an American football club and a boxing club.

A temporal aspect of space utilisation was also identified in the data, an aspect that was examined on two levels: lengthening season and longer days. In many sports, facility development has played a crucial role in clubs being able to lengthen the season. As a result, practising throughout the year is today commonplace in the Nordic environment, where, due to the climate, practicing sports used to be seasonal. The first indoor ice rink was built in the city of Tampere in 1965, which marked the beginning of a process that has accelerated in recent decades. From the 1980s onwards, there has been an increasing demand of the sport community to be able to practice all year round (Ilmanen, 2015). Today, first-snow ski tracks allow for the start of the cross-country skiing season as early as October. What is more, as reported by a skiing club chairperson, "we are aiming for all-year-round operation, even though we are a winter sport club". In football, air domes built in the past decade have enabled training sessions, matches, and tournaments to be held throughout the winter. Since seasonal capacity demand fluctuates for many sports, multipurpose facilities have appeared to address this issue. These facilities allow members to practise, for example, bandy and ice skating in winter as well as football, American football, and Finnish baseball for the rest of the year on football turf.

The daily use of facilities has been stretched as well to make use of the morning and late evening hours. This development has nevertheless resulted in controversial experiences for participants. On the one hand, the temporal reorganisation of the school day around sport classes has allowed young athletes to be as efficient as possible in their training and to practise several times a day. Further to this, a recent scheme by the government has aimed at scheduling more afternoon sessions for youth sports, so that the participants can spend more time with their parents in the evening. On the other hand, sports with fewer participants often have to settle for less convenient times, as this quote citing the treasurer of a lacrosse club illuminates: "The time slots are late in the evening which, due to the lack of proper lighting, is neither suitable for the sport nor for the players". Such discussions about power inequalities among sport disciplines regarding access to spaces remain ongoing.

As sport clubs must increasingly often pay to use facilities, this has contributed to the clubs' growing budgets. Managing a club, therefore, now requires sufficient knowledge of finances and economics. In the

Jyväskylä region, public facilities are for the most part free of charge for sport club participants under the age of 18. However, there are examples of municipalities where they have become subject to fees.

Parallel to knowledge requirements of different fields, an increased use of professional vocabulary has emerged in administration, marketing, and coaching (O'Brien and Slack, 2003), marking a shift in the necessary cultural capital in the organisational field. Indeed, vocabularies play a key role in the emergence of field-level logics by guiding actors to make sense of and create practices (Thornton et al., 2012). This is reflected in club documents including facility guidelines, tournament manuals, and coaching philosophies. A consequence of these knowledge requirements for prospective sport club officials may be that sport clubs are more inclined to appoint individuals from similar educational backgrounds to emerging positions. In return, formal education shapes norms and practices in the organisational field.

Regulatory structures

Using a wider range of spaces by various providers has required clubs to rationalise and centralise. The structure of most sport clubs used to be fragmented, and their training sessions typically took place in numerous locations. By becoming employers, club management has acquired more control over the operation of clubs, dictating the shared ideas of how clubs should operate. Job and role descriptions have been sharpened and organisational charts have been drawn, with all these facilitating and enabling the coordination and use of various spaces. Clubs produce and disseminate material to teams and participants that have implications for the use of facilities, such as coaching guidelines and safety instructions. These documents impact the power balance within a club, as the head office acquires additional cultural capital as well as power over individual teams. Relatedly, allocating roles to board members such as finance, marketing, coaching and facilities has offered new perspectives on making decisions and mapping out strategies, including those that deal with potential facility development as well.

With respect to constructing and managing spaces, clubs have often entered unfamiliar territories. For instance, when constructing their football turf pitch on public land lent by the municipality, a football club had to familiarise themselves with leasing contracts and maintenance regulations, deal with builders, and manage volunteers who contribute during the construction phase. Facilities have increasingly been

constructed in cooperation with numerous actors across the public, private and third sectors, with the consequence that sport club officials must now understand the principles of all three sectors. Furthermore, quality assurance programmes in ice hockey, football, and swimming guide and support the development paths of clubs. In these programmes, which include requirements on spaces as well, fulfilling audit criteria allows clubs to ascend to a higher category (KIHU, 2020).

Institutional logics reflected in the use of spaces

Having explored the indicators of dominant logics regarding the use of spaces, I now further focus the findings by conceptualising the institutional logics that were identified as salient during the data analysis. To achieve this, I build on Gammelsæter's (2010, p. 575) matrix, presenting the findings in Table 2. The interview data and documents analysed suggest that the logic of idealism with non-profit voluntarism carried by club members and participants remains the prevailing principle in the organisational field. Nevertheless, changes such as the emergence of various facility providers and the ownership of facilities by clubs are in line with Gammelsæter's findings (2010), suggesting that clubs are "immersed in a melange of logics that vary in terms of which ends and means they subscribe to, and how meaning is ascribed to outcomes and processes" (p. 581). Indeed, the drivers behind the logics are different in the case of commercially driven sport activities compared to the demands of public service provision towards sport clubs (Aarresola et al., 2022). It should be noted that the logics presented here appear unevenly across clubs, and not each logic can be detected in every club.

Entrepreneurialism emphasises the role of agency and various personal aims, measured by financial or intangible payback. In this case, the carriers of entrepreneurialism are facility owners with various motives. For private providers, the end may be to make a profit, whereas for the clubs that own facilities, it may be to secure player development and/or maximise the number of participants. The ability to provide quality spaces and a higher volume of slots may serve as a competitive advantage over other sports. For private owners, the measuring criteria are financial, whereas for clubs who own facilities, they are sport performance measures and/or the number of participants. The data suggest that even though clubs identify with player development, they continue, for the most part, to provide activities to participants with a variety of motives.

Table 2. *Institutional logics reflected in the use of spaces in the organisational field of sport clubs (adapted from Gammelsæter, 2010, p.575)*

Logics	*Carriers*	*End*	*Means*	*Measuring criteria*
Idealism	Club members and participants	Higher order goals	Practicing sport; Access to facilities for all	Number of participants
Entrepreneur-ialism	Private facility owners	Profit	Satisfying demand for facilities	Financial
	Clubs as facility owners	(a) Player development; (b) Practising sports and engaging in physical activities	Control over the quality and the allocation of training slots	(a) Sport performance measures; (b) Number of participants (members and non-members)
Managerial	Salaried employees; Board of the club	Fulfilling the club's strategic objectives	Strategic plans	Performance indicators for employees (e.g. general manager, head of coaching)
Bureaucracy	Sport federation servants; Local civil servants	Efficient and fair allocation of training slots	Complying with principles of municipalities, and regulations on constructing and running facilities	Adherence to regulations

Moving on to the logics of managerialism, it highlights the pursuit of profit by employing professionals, creating business plans, and using performance management tools. The growing number of paid employees in Finnish sport clubs reflects the logic of managerialism, and this increase may partly be due to strategic objectives that encompass collaboration to construct and manage facilities. Performance measures akin to that of companies are used, with increasingly organised boards overseeing the clubs. The logics of entrepreneurialism and managerialism are reflected in the structural set-up of the clubs. In line with Stenling and Fahlén (2009), this suggests these logics may gain further relevance in the future.

The logics of bureaucracy, by means of rules and control, involves creating a competitive and fair environment, in which regulations serve as a key tool. Building and running facilities create requirements that have been addressed by Finnish sport clubs in a multitude of ways. Some clubs or conglomerates of clubs have set up their own companies to manage a sport facility, a situation which has occurred in the fields of tennis, football, and gymnastics. In the process, they have aimed at maximising the allocation of training slots. The criteria for allocating these slots may differ across publicly and privately owned facilities.

The logics of entrepreneurialism, managerialism and bureaucracy have been accompanied by two overarching features. These are increasing knowledge requirements in the clubs – for example, skills and knowledge that enables the construction and running of facilities – and a notable shift in vocabulary. Interviews and documents have revealed the growing importance of financial prowess (e.g., managing annual budgets), coaching and pedagogical skills (e.g., guidelines for working with different age groups and types of participants), digital literacy (e.g., administration of training shifts in an online environment) and accordingly, a strong understanding of the principles of the three sectors. A reflection of this is a diversified vocabulary, with more nuanced and technical language in coaching, finances, and marketing. In the process, clubs have become more centralised, which has allowed headquarters to exert more influence on shaping common values and practices.

Concluding remarks

This article has examined sport clubs' organisational field in Finland. First, it explored the ways sport clubs have used spaces in the 2010s, and second, how the use of spaces has reflected the logics of the organisational field. Semi-structured expert interview data with club officials, along with club documents, were analysed. I made use of O'Brien and Slack's (2003) framework to explore indicators that suggest changing logics and then adapted Gammelsæter's (2010) categorisation of institutional logics identified in sport clubs.

The findings suggest that the use of spaces reflects the presence and interplay of multiple logics in an organisational field (Scott, 2014; Stenling and Fahlén, 2009). In a large part owing to additional actors entering the organisational field, the increasing employment in the sport clubs, and the

changing expectations of participants, clubs' older principles of idealism and non-profit voluntarism now exist alongside new values, new exchange processes, and a new vocabulary. These new aspects highlight the logics of entrepreneurialism, managerialism and bureaucracy, indicating the professionalisation of sport clubs as organisations. Novel roles that require specific competence have appeared in an increasingly manifold organisational field, ones which might not be associated with clubs' traditional duties as providers of sport activities through public sport facilities. Individual actors as well as clubs have been learning how to "act out" a given role based on various logics – be it a general manager, the head of youth development, or the coach – to gain legitimacy. Competing logics that are possibly in tension with one another (see Table 2) may be challenging for sport clubs to navigate. For example, pursuing player development by providing club-owned quality facilities for practicing – the logic of entrepreneurialism – can be rewarded with a higher category in the quality assurance scheme ran by the sport federation. At the same time, this approach may question the legitimacy of the sport club in the eyes of parents who hope for reasonable costs of participation for their child and equal access to facilities for all participants, based on the logic of idealism. Clubs in many cases have been driven to adapt to various logics, which indicates hybridisation of sport club activities in Finland (see also Huhtanen and Itkonen, 2022, p. 100). The changing operational environment of civil society has been acknowledged and analysed on the government level as well. As a result, measures that include modifications to the Associations' Act are being considered that would allow the appointment of a managing director in civil society associations, including sport clubs, to enable them to adapt to the environment (Ruuskanen et al., 2020).

This article carries implications for sports federations and institutes educating future practitioners in the sport club field regarding the skills and knowledge needed in sport clubs. The findings may be useful for those who want to learn about new ways of cooperation in facility development as well. Identifying logics and their carriers, means, ends and measuring criteria may contribute to a more nuanced understanding of decision-making conditions, both for the internal and external environment of the clubs (Gammelsæter, 2010).

Moving forward, it is crucial to carry out further research to investigate the emergence, institutionalisation, and consequences of logics related to the use of spaces in more detail. This will contribute to a better understanding of the roles of various types of clubs, as well as their positioning in

respect to the shifting interdependencies of the three sectors. Indeed, the changing distribution of labour across the three sectors in Finland has been observed since the 1990s, marked by marketisation processes and managerial thinking (Makinen et al., 2016). Meanwhile, sport clubs have seen hybridisation, marked by increasing involvement in public service provision as well as "businessification" of their activities (Huhtanen and Itkonen, 2022). These changes have also been accompanied by physical activities often shifting from outdoors to indoor facilities and activities becoming more organised, increasingly exercised in teams and groups (Ilmanen, 2015). Regarding the wider context of the Nordic countries, the long-term consequences of these processes for the traditional models of sport and physical activity "for all" – and within that context, the questions of access to physical activities, in which facilities play a key role – remains to be seen (Giulianotti et al., 2019).

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Appendix 1. Clubs interviewed for this study

	Discipline(s)	*Foundation year*	*Members (Reg. participants)*	*Annual budget (€)*	*Role of interviewee*	*Club documents*
Club 1	Football	2000	280 (115)	50 000	Head of youth	Coaching guidelines
Club 2	Multi-sport	2005	150 (120)	10 000*	Chairperson	n/a
Club 3	Multi-sport	1934	350 (N/A)	N/A	Chairperson	Basic information on the club
Club 4	Football	1992	900 (900)	800 000	General manager	Strategy; Player pathway; Coaching guidelines; Partners
Club 5	Football	1965	690 (690)	90 000	Chairperson	Player pathway; Coaching guidelines
Club 6	Martial arts	2007	20 (0)	< 5 000	Chairperson	Basic information on the club
Club 7	Floorball	1990	380 (250)	300 000	Chairperson	Strategy; Player pathway
Club 8	Skiing	2000	220 (82)	80 000	Chairperson	Basic information on the club; Training groups; Annual cycle
Club 9	Martial arts	1970	N/A (500)	N/A	Chairperson; Coach	n/a
Club 10	Athletics	1938	1200 (630)	500 000	Board member	Programme and events; Training groups; Annual cycle
Club 11	Gymnastics	1979	1560 (N/A)	1 000 000	General manager	Strategy, Programme and events; Training groups
Club 12	Floorball	2001	600 (500)	N/A	Head of youth	Player pathway; Coaching guidelines
Club 13	American football	1990	300 (300)	150 000	Chairperson	Basic information on the club
Club 14	Triathlon	1990	100 (100)	5 000	Chairperson	Training groups; Competitions
Club 15	Boxing	1945	45 (4)	4 500	Chairperson; Coach	Basic information on the club
Club 16	American football	1995	56 (56)	70 000	Chairperson	Basic information on the club
Club 17	Lacrosse	2008	30 (25)	9 000	Treasurer (former Chairperson)	Basic information on the club
Club 18	Swimming	2000	1300 (150)	350 000	General manager	Training groups; Events, Partners
Club 19	Ice hockey	1996	700 (600)	1 000 000	General manager	Strategy; Player pathway; Coaching guidelines
Club 20	Skiing	1945	200 (100)	65 000	Chairperson	n/a
Club 21	Skating	1981	300 (165)	500 000	Chairperson	Training groups; Events
Club 22	Tennis	1932	400 (79)	200 000	Board member; Coach	Training groups; Partners
Club 23	Finnish baseball	1999	100 (100)	350 000**	General manager; Coach	n/a
Club 24	Multi-sport	2009	1041 (N/A)	180 000	General manager	Strategy; Programme
Club 25	Gymnastics	1979	1010 (1010)	230 000	Head of coaching and finances	Mission; Operations manual; Programme and events
Club 26	Basketball	1948	250 (250)	150 000	Chairperson	Club objectives; Partners

* Individual teams' budget within the club are not included. The club and individual teams have separate budgets.

** Budget of semi-professional senior team (€ 250 000) included.