

Title: Accessing a profession in the Third sector organisations: A Portuguese case study¹

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Abstract

Research on professional logics in a multidisciplinary work team has already pointed out jurisdiction conflicts, obstacles to the professional recognition of expertise and pressure for interchangeability of academic training areas, namely among social sciences and humanities graduates. Furthermore, these “professionals of knowledge” have been suffering an increase in contractual dependency and precariousness of their professional situation, which explains the presence of subordination and hierarchical control forms in diversified organisational contexts. Rather than a strict opposition between a professional logic and a managerial one, an increased hybridisation concerning professional performance and employment arrangements challenges us to a critical debate on heterogeneous and segmented patterns of professionalisation and precariousness in the third sector organisations. Based on the articulation of two dimensions, namely social regulation and professional mobility, four “ideal-types” of social forms were defined: professional markets, internal markets, transitional markets and secondary markets. This paper seeks to present this typology and explore the associated assumptions linked with diverse and unequal positions and status in accessing a profession in the context of third sector organisations in Portugal.

Keywords: Third sector organisations; Social sciences and humanities graduates; Labour market precariousness; Professional hybridisation

Introduction

In the last decades, Portugal has undergone an encouraging movement in the participation of civil society and civic organisations, in particular third sector organisations (welfare mixes) in creating innovative solutions adapted to different social realities. These have been conceptualized as organizational solutions “between” the state and civil society to better meet the principle of subsidiary (since the nineties advocated communitarian guidelines) and of decentralization of decisions appropriate to the *locus* of the social problems which aim precisely to achieve an answer /a response². Providing welfare

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² We know that the conceptual boundaries of what is meant by “third sector organisations” are being discussed theoretically and analytically without being able to assert the existence of a consensus on this

services (e.g. services and support for the elderly, adult education, and local socio-economic development), they are called third sector organisations because they are funded by the state, governed by policies and directives emanating from the state, but with administrative and managerial autonomy (operating on contractual and agency logic of programs and policies on protection and social welfare). In turn, the pressure to adopt management models similar to the logic of the *New Public Management* have forced changes in the relationships between these organisations and the State and its public policy objectives, namely those of profitability and results, as well as accountability practices and their relationship with customer-users (Bezes *et al.*, 2011).

It is possible to highlight some of the most significant features in Portugal, but also in the international studies about third sector organisations (Salamon *et al.* 2012; Carvalho 2010; Evers & Laville 2004; Defourny 2001; Salomon Anheier, 1997), namely: a) the predominance of social science and humanities graduates (SS&H) in this sector; b) the polyvalent functions exercised by these professionals and the coexistence of technical and management aspects of their work; c) the importance of social interaction in making tacit knowledge explicit and in building professional identity. Therefore, the dynamics of these organisations are an important professional field for many science graduates of the social sciences in achieving their goals and/or mission of a social nature (Marques and Caria 2013; Caria 2012, 2008).

Three major transformations concerning third sector organisations have been underlined in the reviewed literature. The first aspect is related to the critical correspondence between teaching models and professional performances. Research on this subject has long emphasised the *credential closing effect* due to the “established” professions. Currently, however, the competitive or overlapping diplomas in the delimitation of the “professional act” and the non-distinctive professional performances in the case of the multidisciplinary teams, may explain jurisdiction conflicts (Abbott 1988), obstacles of the professional recognition of expertise (Freidson 1986, 2001) and pressure for interchangeability of academic training areas.

A second aspect deals with the increase of subordination and hierarchical control forms. In classical terms, the professional liberal status was predominant, based on their socially recognised attributes of autonomy, power and knowledge. However, nowadays that status has become more and more residual with the emergence of many professional groups and their professionalisation strategies, also as a consequence of the deregulation of labour relations and diversity in management practices of human resources (Auer 2006; Esping-Anderson and Regini 2000). Professionalism is often ambiguous, plural, dynamic, and complex and affected both by changing organisational and technological contexts, as well as by national and/ or international politics such as the deregulation of the welfare state and the privatisation of public services. Some of these practices include “atypical” or non-standard forms of contracts (e.g. temporary employment, part-time work and independent

matter. In any case, the advances in its conceptualization allow us to record some of the points of convergence that can temporarily accept this proposed definition.

or self-employment) and often are accompanied by inferior salary conditions, intensification of the working patterns, less capacity of trade union negotiations, and less protection of social rights. Regarding this subject, Italy presents similarities with Portugal because, as stated by Murgia and Selmi (2012:182) “the real problem concerning precarious occupations is firstly a problem of welfare, or it has to do with the lesser or absent possibility for the precarious worker to access social protection” and “the discontinuity of employment and income thus put the need to establish forms of protection to assist precarious workers (...) at the centre of the debate”.

Thirdly, the notion of the “knowledge worker” has become the focus of a crucial scientific debate, in which the undergoing process of hybridisation of work and employment is highlighted. Recently, theoretical literature has pointed out to a professional-managerial hybridisation process which affects both established and aspiring professions and semi-professions (Noordegraaf 2007, 2011; Reay and Hinings 2009; Waring and Currie 2009; Muzio and Kirkpatrick 2011; O’Reilly and Reed 2011; Thomas and Hewitt 2011). Even with an ongoing incorporation of the management skills (with those of scientific-technical nature), these professionals are yet to acquire more power and autonomy within the organisational context. This type of professional has become increasingly exposed to a market logic in which new forms of exploitation, control and new meaning constructions coexist (*e.g.* auto-active own resources, individual autonomy and subjectivity). These ambivalences are embedded in diversified organizational contexts and show the double face of contemporary capitalism (Murgia 2014; Maestripieri 2014; Samek Lodovici, Semenza 2012; Standing 2011; Sennett 2001 Boltansky and Chiapello 1999; Gorz 1988).

In fact, we know relatively little about the conditions under which social sciences and humanities graduates (SS&H) take hybrid positions in the third sector organisations, whether diplomas are distinctive or based on non-distinctive professional performances in the multidisciplinary teams, and how these “knowledge workers” deal with insecurity and subordination to the market logic. To what extent is the opposition between knowledge certificates maintained and reinforced in everyday work in multidisciplinary technical teams? Or should we not be talking about the opposition of knowledge *tout court* in the new technical and organisational contexts but instead hybridisation processes requiring further research? It is also crucial to better understand the effects of globalisation, mercantilisation, deregulation and precariousness transverse to the various professional groups which have contributed to the change in its conditions of access and professional mobility. Do the changes in the access to employment/profession and in the conditions of mobility and qualification configure different and unequal segments in labour market, denouncing a weakening of autonomy and power of “professions”?

In order to address these issues, we attempt to cross contributions from the sociology of professions and employment in order to analyse the main social forms of labour markets, mobilising main research findings. Based on the articulation of two axes, namely, social regulation and professional mobility which are structured in a continuum in abstract terms, four “ideal-types” of social forms were defined: professional markets, internal markets, transitional markets and secondary markets (in neoclassical terms). This

typology allows for the analysis of different positions and status in accessing a profession on the part of professionals in the areas of social sciences and humanities in the context of third sector organisations. In that sense, it mobilises analytic dimensions on four levels: symbolic (recognition and the importance of the academic title), cognitive (expertise and professional experience), social-political (dominant contractual status, market independency) and organizational (career/hierarchical position). Rather than a strict opposition between a professional logic and a managerial logic, an increased hybridisation concerning professional performance and employment arrangements challenges us to a critical debate on heterogeneous and segmented patterns of professionalisation and precariousness in the third sector.

This paper is then structured into three main topics of discussion. First of all, some considerations regarding empirical research are briefly exposed. As for the second topic, we stress the importance of some critical analytical parameters in understanding the inter-professional changes and the occupational structure and the result of the increasing heterogeneity of professional degrees in nearby areas, particularly in Social Sciences and Humanities. In the last topic, an exploratory typology of ways to access the labour market is presented and discussed.

1. SARTPRO project: objectives and methodological design

This paper is incorporated in the research project “SARTPRO – Knowledge, Autonomy and Reflexivity: Professional work in the third Sector”³. The main issues which have been addressed in this research concern knowledge and competencies associated with reflexivity in the autonomisation of professional work in third sector organisations.

The methodological design has privileged a comprehensive approach, with particular use of ethnography focused on the analysis of practices, identities and reflexivity in the work context. The work plan consisted in three stages. In stage I a census of organizations was performed⁴ whose goal, at this first stage, was to build an inventory of organisations and extensive analysis of the professional work of graduates in SS&H in the North region especially: the municipalities in the region of Braga (North West, Cávado and Ave): Barcelos, Braga, Guimarães and Famalicão; the Oporto region: Gondomar, Maia, Matosinhos, Porto and Gaia; and the area of Trás-os-Montes and Alto Douro (Interior North): Chaves, Bragança, Vila Real and Amarante. Considering the criteria profile of professionals (number, age, gender, scientific area of higher education) and services

³ This project was developed under the scientific coordination of Telmo H. Caria, funded by the Foundation for Science and Technology (PTDC/CS-SOC/098459/2008), is based on a research partnership between three Portuguese university research centers, namely: CIIE - Faculty of Psychology and Educational Sciences - University of Oporto; CICS - Institute of Social Sciences, University of Minho; and CETRAD - School of Humanities and Social Sciences at the University of Trás-os-Montes and Alto Douro.

⁴ In stage II, a series of in-depth interviews with 21 professionals regarding their professional biographies took place. During stage III half of the interviewees were selected (ten interviews) in order to obtain detailed descriptions and comparisons in a professional work context (ethnographic analysis of professional work), which have implied interviews with participant observation.

(number and diversity of valences), 35 organisations were selected to conduct structured interviews to the professionals⁵.

The empirical object, on the one hand, excludes organisations in the field of special education, business associations, organisations exclusively related to education and children; and on the other hand, those who had a micro scale (inferior or equal to three professionals). Regarding the origin of the organisations, nearly half of them arose as a result of the initiative of users and professionals in local needs and the remaining resulted from local offices of national associations (like the Red Cross), local associations created at the initiative of parishes and local associations started created by the initiative of the municipality⁶.

In the constitution of the sample of the professionals within these 35 organisations, we considered in cumulative way, the following theoretical criteria: graduated professionals only in social sciences and humanities; a declaration that the interviewee works in a team; seniority in the organisation; age; and gender. Based on these criteria the universe of potential interviewees – located among 564 workers – we reduced it to 241 professionals. From these, only 63 structured interviews were considered valid. These were distributed around the three geographic areas that integrate the North region of Portugal. This is a sample by convenience, i.e., it is not representative of the statistic point of view. Thereby, the inferences obtained are valid only in the framework of the study presented here.

With this interview we have characterised the socio-demographic profiles of the professional and major transformations in third sector organisations, namely modalities of employment, contracts used, and organisational factors including hierarchical mobility, intensification of work and degree of prescription of professional work that could be viewed as facilitators or inhibitors of (dis)continuities of autonomy and professional power in daily work. Besides, it is possible to analyse the evolution of these core aspects in the beginning of professional activity and at present.

Table 1 provides an overview of our sample, displaying differences between professional groups defined by scientific areas of training. In these organisations, we have young multidisciplinary teams, principally female (Marques and Caria 2013). However, despite the fact that professional work was carried out mostly by women, the diversity of social and human sciences may explain some of the key processes of the reconstitution of these work contexts and strategies of delimitation of the professional field. These issues will be explored further ahead in this essay.

⁵ It corresponds roughly to 16% of the population of IPSS in the study area ascertained as the *Carta Social [Social Letter]* available for the region, the North of Portugal.

⁶ As for services rendered to the population, we are able to identify the following typology: 1) local development associations, missions and objectives with socio-economic, cultural and labour, which require the development of activities to promote employment (e.g. social entrepreneurship) training, culture and civic participation, 2) charities, with the mission and objectives of protecting the disadvantaged and vulnerable social groups often focused on permanent and continuous services for the elderly, youth and children at risk, people in poverty, and people and groups at risk of social exclusion.

Table 1 – Professional groups by gender

	Male	Female	Total
Sociologists	1	7	8
Social workers	2	14	16
Psychologists	3	13	16
Educators	3	3	6
Social Educators	1	5	6
Managers /Economists	3	4	7
Others (ex. philosopher, gerontologist)	0	4	4
Total	13	50	63

Source: Structured interviews - SARTROP Project (2010)

2. Heterogeneous and segmented patterns of professionalisation and precariousness in the third sector organisations

Highly educated youth face significant changes in their objective conditions when they enter the labour market and career development. Becoming more individualised, subjective and uncertain (Beck 2000, 1992; Burchell *et al.* 2002; Sennett 2001) the professional transition tends to be associated with precariousness and constrained mobility. Indeed, we can analyse that dynamics not only by the diversification of the modalities of hiring in these organisations, but also by the predominance of “atypical” forms of employment. These modalities of contractual relationship - some more tenuous and other more structured - are likely to be confirmed by/with the interviewees. Fixed-term contracts (certain and uncertain), professional traineeships and “green receipts” (for independent workers) are the dominant forms of contractual relationships between the beginning of their professional activity in the organisation. Indeed, the use of flexible forms of employment such as fixed-term contracts (certain and uncertain) and the conclusion of service contracts with workers (with “green receipts”) has defined these professional paths. In spite of the fact that only 63 interviewees were selected (since we are working with a sample by convenience, as was previously mentioned), it is important to reinforce the relative weights of the flexible forms of employment assumed mainly at the beginning of their careers. Specifically, the value for fixed-term contracts reaches almost half of interviewees which clearly indicate the inclination towards the vulnerability of the contractual relation of these professionals. Furthermore, when we analyse its weight currently in his type of organisations and in spite of the slight decrease, it still remains as an indicator of consolidation of the precarious conditions of the contracts offered. This argument becomes more relevant if we consider still other forms of non-formal employment that reach the majority of professionals.

Contractual “stabilisation” after a few years in the organisation may not necessarily mean a stabilisation of the work contract⁷. In fact, the contractual situation based on a permanent contract takes the most significant relative percentage, while those that maintain a contractual relationship determined by the end of their contract remains still significant. These findings confirm the thesis concerning the generalisation of precarious forms of employment in the recruitment of human resources in various sectors of economic activity. The reproduction of the logic of wage increases, and the higher vulnerability of the contractual relationship of professionals, integrates clearly more general trends in the transformation of the organisational contexts.

Regarding the organisational contexts of professional work, variables related to hierarchical mobility, intensification of work and degree of prescription of professional work are important to make an initial in-depth study of the third sector organisations involved and to highlight key factors that condition the professionalisation paths in the Social Sciences and Humanities.

From all respondents, the hierarchical position in the third sector organisations currently assumed varies between technician management and heads of service /department. In the beginning, they assumed mainly the positions of technicians and now some of them are in higher hierarchical positions. However, this professional recognition cannot be expressed identically for all groups involved in this study. There has been a distinction between those who have a position with management and leadership functions and those who have declared only a position as technician. Sociologists, psychologists and managers/economists stand more proportionately in that rank, in opposition to social workers and educators, which tend to occupy lower positions.

The intensification of work that we are witnessing in recent times does not seem to save these organisations, since most professionals spend over 40 hours per week. Our findings expose an unequal distribution depending on the professional groups concerned, in addition to social workers, bearing in mind time requirements of working with sociologists and to a lesser extent, with psychologists. Educators and social educators come up again, as they have less time in the organisation, but now accompanied by managers/economists. Overall, the weight of the activities in technical teams both inside and outside the organisation appears to have been very significant over the years and, on average, professionals participate in two technical teams. It also notes the presence of the majority of female professionals in the composition of the teams, as well as the presence of other professionals in the SS&H. This variability of technical teams depends greatly on the size of the organisation and above all the mission/type of services provided (see Appendix for more detailed findings).

The third sector organisations have been set up in a space for the transfer and application of academic qualifications, for the mobilisation of technical and managerial knowledge in solving practical problems or in inventing new solutions wherever required within the

⁷ This question deserves special treatment since many of the professionals may have closer relations with the organization and for budgetary constraints, still remain for some years without a durable bond.

scope of team activities in technical and/or managerial positions. In fact, the organisational models of work statements have been identified as threatening factors for the legitimacy of collegiality and professional activity, precisely because they introduce new logics of management and commercialisation of these organisations.

Considering the preliminary results gathered, autonomy and initiative suggest that they tend to be inclusive of professional practices yet are not entirely consistent (Marques and Caria 2013). The indicators of prior definitions of professional tasks for the organisation recorded changes in the content of tasks and autonomy, and have allowed the identification of two important trends. Firstly, most of the tasks prescribed at the time of recruitment which may represent a demand for professionalism presuppose knowledge of the profile of the tasks, indicating that we are facing the most prestigious professions. Secondly, however, it will also be necessary to check changes in the content of activities as a result of management tasks performed by these professionals.

Consequently, the trend for the first prescription of tasks at the time of recruitment, seems to be more expressive with economists/managers and social workers. This greater prescription of tasks is less clear for educators and other social sciences. Part of this could be not only the question asked initially of higher degrees of institutionalisation of those academic training programmes in Portugal, but especially in the contexts of the organisations in the analysis and hierarchical position taken by professionals. Moreover, sociologists unlike social workers have, for example, come to occupy positions of middle management/leadership during their participation in the organisation. This analysis acquires more consistency considering the fact that the overwhelming majority reported have recorded changes in task, given that most of them had the direct involvement of professionals. This was verified in whole or in part for educators, other social sciences, social educators, psychologists and economists/managers (see Appendix for more detailed findings).

As expected, the context of lower prescription of tasks at the time of recruitment is felt by those who assume positions of leadership/management which suggests, to some extent, functional content in these relatively new organisational contexts in the case of integrating the management, planning, among others. Furthermore, considering the importance of autonomy to change and (re)define the tasks over the next 3 to 4 years, the results tend to reinforce the hierarchical position with management or leadership responsibilities. This “new” professionalism in the line of thinking of Evetts (2012, 2010, 2003), which traverses more professional work in an atmosphere of bureaucratic and managerial models, suggests that many professionals in the SS&H tended to incorporate compliance requirements of goals and results and performance, subject to accountability assessment. The hybridisation of these professionals engaged in managing work, professional colleagues and other staff can hardly sustain the hegemony of (de)professionalisation trends in this field⁸. At least, this line of argument seems

⁸ These trends require further in-depth interviews and direct observation of everyday work provided in the later stages of this work.

insufficient to account for the re-composition of professional practices at the level of SS&H in third sector organisations.

3. An exploratory typology of ways of access to a profession: a step forward

The notion of “profession” has become the focus of a wide range of debates in a variety of scientific approaches considering the Anglo-Saxon and Francophone traditions in the field of the sociology of professions (Svensson & Evetts 2010). We share the perspective that nowadays these traditions come together to better understand the effects of globalisation, mercantilisation, deregulation and transversal precariousness to the various professional groups which have contributed to the change in their conditions of access and professional mobility (Marques 2013, 2010).

We propose an exploratory typology of access to a profession in the third sector which requires more theoretical study but mainly validation with future empirical research. If we highlight some dimensions related with autonomy, power and prestige of the professions in professional markets (in their more classic conceptualisations), it is also important to account for the diversity of social forms that enclose the logical and operational structures of those labour markets in which graduates are currently in circulation.

Thus, in the light of the contributions addressed in the previous section, the flexibility of labour relations configures the existence of markets endowed with greater or lesser social regulation and/or mobility, which could express unequal positions in professional and organisational careers. Furthermore, the same tendencies can be perceived in the practices of human resources management and specific contexts of socialisation. In this sense, the holders of academic titles stand out when in the access to the profession they are confronted with deregulated markets, mainly peripheral or secondary ones, although requiring technical and scientific professional performances. In this situation, we should take into consideration all forms of internships/traineeships, underemployment and contractualisation through “false green” receipts, which is based on the exteriorisation of the protection of social rights and guarantees on the individual and not on the organisation itself.

In addition to becoming alternative forms for graduates when entering the labour market, this allows organisations to equip themselves with professionals with profiles of significant knowledge and skills without being in many cases accompanied by the equivalent process of recognition of their academic training and development of a professional career. However, in spite of not allowing objective conditions for a contractual relationship, companies (public, private and third sector) tend to require increasingly more responsibility, dedication and availability from their employed professionals.

Still in this line of thought, we can also observe the rise of transitional markets along this segment of graduate labour, in part as a result of the tendency for flexibility and mobility of individuals. Thus, the labour markets are no longer predetermined paths formatted and fixed beforehand, given the turmoil that affects the decisions of institutional leaders who are faced with external (e.g. technologies, business restructuring, demographic cycles) and internal (e.g. family exchanges, individual reorientations) circumstances. The constant exits and re-entries based on a high interorganisational professional mobility at a (trans)national level constitute traits of the normal functioning of the labour market. With a strong component of a normative/political character, the active policies of employment contribute directly to the shaping of this type of market, which is based on the assumption of targeting its effectiveness from the adjustment to the best individual solutions.

From this point of view, it is possible to present a systematisation of dominant social forms of access to employment/profession in the contemporary world (Marques 2015, 2014). They are related, on the one hand, with the strategies of institutionalisation associated with regulation tensions or conflicts of professional jurisdictions. Establishing jurisdictions constitutes the objective of any established profession, since it ensures a legal and normative framework which institutionalises the relationship between the profession and the work performed (Abbott 1988).

On the other hand, they are also related with the desired mobility or ability to resist to the mobility constrained through the contractual deregulation and flexibility. In practical terms, four hypotheses of access to a profession result from the combination of two central analytical axes: 1) social regulation and setting of professional jurisdictions; and 2) organisational and professional mobility, which are structured in a continuum in abstract terms. Therefore, four “ideal types” of social forms of access to employment/profession are conceptualised: professional markets, internal markets, transitional markets and secondary markets (in the neoclassical sense). To better systematise our proposal of a typology that fits the four social forms of markets for access to employment/profession, see Table 2. For each of those social forms formulated as hypotheses, characteristics are presented that allow their definition and distinction (Marques 2015, 2014).

Table 2 – Four “ideal-types” of accessing to a profession in third sector

Axis 1 - Social regulation/setting of professional jurisdictions	+	Professional markets	Internal markets	
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Self-regulation (Orders/Associations) - Independence from the logic of the market - Status/autonomous career - Identity and integration by the profession/ vocation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Internal protection to the organisation (Collective agreements/Company agreements) - Organisational and managerial refocusing - Dependent position/career - Identity through the articulation of economic and technical_ and organisational goals 	
		Secondary markets (neoclassical sense)	Transitional markets	
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - No state protection - Subordination to market logic - No career perspectives - Performance of tasks - Identity and integration external to the labour market 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Protection through legislative pressure - Flexibility of the labour market - Career through projects/programmes logic - Centrality of the professional activity - Identity and integration by project/ programme 	
	-	Axis 2 – Professional/organisational mobility		+

In relation to the axis of regulation/setting of professional jurisdictions, in the more regulatory sense, we notice an emphasis on the social forms that integrate the professionals who fulfil their positions in a self-regulatory regime (professional markets), as well as those who are endowed with rules and conventions (internal markets) within an organisation. In a composite situation, it is possible to observe the development of strategies for the flexibility of organisations which allows for the integration of professionals under new contractual arrangements (transitional markets); in a situation of non-regulation of the labour force, we find those who have a peripheral and temporary situation of their professional activity (secondary markets).

In the axis of professional and organisational mobility which may also be regarded in a (trans)national/international level, we identified the following social forms of access to employment/profession: those who due to labour deregulation are constrained to mobility, whether to other organisations/sectors of activity, or to return to the same cyclical volatility of the recruitment needs verified by that particular organisation (secondary markets); those who remain in the organisation until the end of the duration of the work contract/service provision, and later seek other employment opportunities in organisations in the same or in a different sector (transitional markets). In a situation of hierarchical mobility, internal to the organisation, are those who have a relationship of contractual permanence (internal markets) and those who are not confronted with the relevance of occupational or organisational mobility, given its self-regulated position in terms of the conditions of the professional exercise.

With this exploratory typology it is possible to present, even if still on a theoretical plan, different positions and status in accessing a profession on the part of professionals in the areas of social sciences and humanities in the context of third sector organisations. Furthermore it is possible to explore the associated assumptions linked with each “type-ideal” labour market.

In the first place, the importance and historical recognition of the academic title is translated mainly by an increased power of self-regulation given the existence of professional associations (public and private). Such power allows these professionals to resist the market logic, anchoring their status and identity in an independent career, with a professional mobility that is mostly voluntary, so the knowledge and professional experience tend to be independent of the socio-organisational contexts of action. Hereby, from our conceptual proposal, one can foresee that perhaps the *professional markets*, exemplified by the figure of the liberal professional, will be particularly relevant in the group of third sector organisations that make up the SARTPRO project. However, it is important to realise that we are before professions with varying degrees of institutionalisation in terms of the settlement of its respective jurisdictions and social recognition, so it will also be difficult to sustain the thesis of continuity of this kind of professionalism in the line of Evetts' theory (2012, 2010, 2003). As we all know, social work, sociology, economics, education, social education, among others, are not in the same historical and institutional situation when it comes to the settlement of their respective jurisdictions. You can admit that the structures of opportunities for employment have been closer to the institutionalisation for social workers than, for instance, to the education trainees. That is as we mentioned earlier, the importance and historical recognition of the academic title translated mainly to an increased power of self-regulation by the existence of (public and private) professional associations.

Secondly, the binomial professions/organisations enables us to highlight the generalisation of market principles and consumerism of a managerial and controlling discourse explicit on the results-driven logic, quality and evaluation, transversal to public sectors of health, education, social intervention, among others (Bezes & Demazière 2011; Evetts 2010, 2012). In fact, there are different hierarchical positions and professional content according to the professional groups, therefore it is not possible to defend a homogenous movement of de-professionalisation/ disqualification trends of professional groups. If there is a growing incorporation of management functions questioning whether we are dealing with professional hybridisation processes, the results of this study tend not to confirm a homogeneous trend in this area. These professionals have been presenting professional performances that combine their technical and scientific autonomy - recognised by the academic degree - with managerial profile functions, suffering also from obstacles/constraints arising from an intensification of the work and control of their activity by the results and goals to achieve. Considering both the contractual “stabilisation” after a few years in the organisation and the hierarchical position given to the professionals, one can accept the importance of an *internal market* in the third sector. This supports the possibility of building a dependent career / hierarchical position, as well

as a knowledge that adapts the intrinsic professional experience to the third sector organisations' context. Such "organisational professionalism" (Kuhlmann 2012), i.e., the recognition of a certain position/career and its identification with the economic, technical and organisational goals does not happen however in the same way to all the groups involved in this study. It is perceived that this stems from the institutional recognition of academic titles and the degree of preparedness to carry out the expected functions and tasks in organisations, as noted above.

In third place, the gradual easing and deregulation of labour relations transversal to all the professionals is visible by the use of legal schemes based on short-term employment contracts, services, temporary contracts, professional internships, among others (Marques 2012, 2010a,b). These practices arise with greater importance in the organisations' recruitment processes, while it is possible to check the mobility dynamics after a few years of professional experience. In this framework it is appropriate to equate the possibility of both a *transitional market* and a *secondary market*.

The flexibility of the labour market has been together with the institutional power strategies that are based on the affirmation of a cognitive power (expertise and professional experience), a career and identification with projects and programmes in which professionals are involved. The projects/programmes fulfil the locus of activity for these professionals who tend to have a strong inter-organisational mobility. They are therefore more vulnerable to the contingencies and discretions' contexts of their professional action. With this in mind, we can point to the emergence of a transitional market social form, even though for now it appears difficult to corroborate it through this first description of the quantitative results of interviews made to social workers.

Finally, the *secondary market* emerges in this study when one looks at the presence of features as temporary contracts, independent work and traineeships (also volunteering) mainly when accessing a profession and early in the professional career. Moreover, according to our data almost 40% of the professionals have short-term contracts nowadays demonstrating the vulnerability and uncertainty of their professional situation with consequences on their career prospects, expectations and social security, among others. Also worth mentioning are the recent trends, such as the growing difficulty to enter the labour market and stronger exposition to phenomena such as unemployment (adding up to the non-linearity of the inclusion processes in contemporaneity) (Marques 2015, 2010, 2007). Consequently, in order to better describe this market, one has to highlight the logics of recruitment and management of the organisations, based mainly on non-standardised forms of contract. Therefore, the professionals are nowadays subordinated to the logic of the market and its deregulation. Their cognitive skills are not recognised/valued, leading them to perform minor, volatile tasks and under strict organisational supervision.

Final Remarks

By assuming the institutional power strategies in the labour market, from the educational credentials conferred by the diploma and their relationship with the State and the various organisations of professional representation, we may retrieve the multidimensionality of the labour market with regard to the social forms of access to employment/profession. These are not restricted only to monopoly strategies assuming the expression of professional markets in the neo-Weberian perspective of professions. On the contrary, other strategies have been brought to our attention, both due to logics of segmentation and deregulation of the labour relations transversal to all the professionals and to professional paths based on restricted mobility in the world of work. Likewise, in this process of professional integration, complex, discontinuous and heterogeneous, the impacts on the mobilisation of skills and scientific knowledge are many, as well as on the management of careers and on the symbolic-ideological orientations on the part of professionals.

Actually, the confrontation with the labour market with the uncertainty and instability of the contractual relationship, despite the different forms that it can take according to the countries, reaches almost an entire generation of qualified (or not) young men and women. The effects of the extension of this process in time and space are manifested in the course of life and on its fundamental stages, on the distinct ways of managing incorporated resources and provisions, expressing margins of freedom contained in a given moment of the personal and collective history. Also these effects are crucial concerning the delimitation of the field of possibility the options that are still available to them.

This article may provide opportunities for further research. Our research was focused on one region of the country (the north of Portugal) and on a specific type of organisations (the third sector) which has been an important professional field for many graduates of the social and humanities sciences in achieving their goals and/or mission of a social nature. We are aware that the empirical observation obtained in this study is insufficient to corroborate the relationship between the 4 types of labour markets and the data obtained by the study; however it was our aim to propose some reconfiguration hypotheses of distinct and unequal spaces of professionalization. In the subsequent part of this study and based on its stages of qualitative in-depth development and ethnographic character, we may further develop these analytical dimensions that enable us to confer visibility to the multidimensionality of the labour market.

Equally, with the discussion of the emergence of other types of labour market – which does not end in the “traditional” way to access a profession - on the one hand, it is possible to resist the homogenised and/or radicalised approaches on the de-professionalising/disqualifying trends of professional groups and, on the other hand, to restore the complexity of the phenomena of labour markets. The remaking of those theoretical axes into research hypotheses will allow evaluating the analytical relevance with the substantive information about academic and professional paths and identity re-

composition processes underway by higher education graduates in all academic fields. The conceptual development of these re-compositions requires their validation with future empirical research in order to test the generalisability of our typology and findings among a wider and purposefully representative sample of these professional groups in Portugal and other countries.

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Appendix

Table 1 – Professional Groups by hierarchical position

	Managers / middle- management	Technicians	
Sociologists	5	3	8
Social workers	5	11	16
Psychologists	8	8	16
Educators	2	4	6
Social Educators	3	3	6
Managers /Economists	5	2	7
Others (ex. philosopher, gerontologist)	2	2	4
N	30	33	63

Source: Structured interviews - SARTROP Project (2010)

Table 2 – Evolution of mode of hiring professionals and hierarchical position in SS&H (%)

Contractual relationship	Beginning of professional activity	Currently
“Green receipts” (independent workers)	12	2
Fixed-term contract (certain and uncertain)	31	24
Permanent contract (effective)	3	36
No written contract (informal)	1	1
Temporary contract	1	-
Curricular traineeship	12	-
Other situations	3	-
Total	63	63
Hierarchical position		
General Director or Director	18	18
Assistant manager	-	1
Head of service / department / sector	2	11
Responsible for project	4	6
Technician	44	27
Other situations	7	-
Total	63	63

Source: Structured interviews - SARTROP Project

Table 3 – Prescription and variability and autonomy in (re)definition of tasks (in 3-4 years)

	Increase in the prescription of tasks	Changes recorded in the tasks	Autonomy in (re) definition of tasks
Sociologists	4	6	5
Social workers	11	13	11
Psychologists	9	11	12
Educators	2	5	6
Social Educators	4	4	5
Managers /Economists	6	5	5
Others	1	4	4

Source: Structured interviews - SARTROP Project (2010)

Table 4 – Indicators of the variability of work contexts

		Time in organization (n° of years)	Number of weekly working hours	No. of technical teams in which participate	No. of elements which includes the main technical team	Number of women in leading technical team
Sociologists	Average	9,00	39,75	2,86	4,12	3,43
	Standard deviation	4,243	3,845	1,773	2,100	1,813
Social workers	Average	7,19	41,38	2,06	4,56	3,50
	Standard deviation	6,047	8,057	1,482	3,596	2,852
Psychologists	Average	5,62	37,56	2,00	6,12	4,25
	Standard deviation	4,097	6,418	1,366	4,759	2,352
Educators	Average	7,33	39,50	2,50	5,00	4,00
	Standard deviation	3,204	6,411	1,378	2,160	1,826
Social Educators	Average	8,00	36,00	2,17	4,67	3,67
	Standard deviation	5,404	2,000	1,941	2,251	2,251
Managers /Economists	Average	6,14	38,86	2,57	4,40	2,80
	Standard deviation	2,734	6,122	1,512	,548	,837
Others (ex. philosopher, gerontologist)	Average	4,75	45,00	1,75	3,25	1,75
	Standard deviation	4,500	10,801	1,500	1,708	,500
Total	Average	6,84	39,46	2,23	4,86	3,57
	Standard deviation	4,618	6,732	1,487	3,365	2,249

Source: Structured interviews - SARTROP Project (2010)

Biographic note

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