

Ph.D. Thesis

Flexible sports participation in late-modern everyday life

– An everyday life sociological analysis of the development, the variation and the character of leisure time sport and exercise among the Danish population



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This version has been modified from the original version. Appendix 9 is not included and the articles are all included from a word-file so the page numbers differ from the original version. Article two has been changed due to comments from the reviewers.

Kroppen er paradigmet på form (...)

Det er alene med og i forhold til kroppen at al konkret væren, således al kunst, sanses, dvs. reflekteres. I forhold til f.eks. kunst kommer kroppen til syne, ligesom kunsten kun kan reflekteres af subjektet ved at være konkretiseret som form. Således indsætter kunst og krop refleksivt hinanden i konstant indbyrdes konkretisering.

(Søren Ulrik Thomsen, Mit lys brænder, 1985)

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It has been an interesting journey through the Danish population's participation in sport and exercise between 1964 and 2007. In some ways the participation in sport and exercise is developing with great changes but similarly characterized by stability and consistency, and many of the trends that are highlighted and receive considerable attention today already shined through 30 years ago. Diving into the important cultural heritage of data from the National Surveys on Cultural Habits – that are comparable with the data from the survey in 2007 – has been both fascinating and frustrating, and I have sent many thoughts

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Odense, June 2012

Maja Pilgaard

Dedicated to Baby Boy Hove

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Summary

This thesis investigates the development, the character and the variations in sport- and exercise participation among the Danish population. Survey data, based on national representative samples of sport and exercise participation among the Danish population collected eight times between 1964 and 2007 set the basis for the analysis.

The thesis is based on four papers focusing on methodological issues of asking the population about participation in sport and exercise, development in participation level between 1964 and 2007, differences in participation level and the character of participation among different population groups in 2007 and finally the character of participation and drop out of club organized sport in a specific life phase of teenagers.

In article one it is problematized that the population responds differently to two different questions about participation in sport and exercise. The difference has increased over time and the paper finds correlations between the physical content of an activity and the tendency to respond differently to the two different questions. Subjective understandings of sport and exercise should be understood in the light of subjective intentions with the activity, the physical content and the sporting history and culture from which the activities emerge.

The second paper is focusing on the development of sports participation among the population and has as a central focus to investigate how the development and age differences in participation can be explained from generational-, life phase- or periodical effects. The analysis reveals that all three perspectives influence development with a periodical effect overcompensating for growing age. Also the periodical effect has had a bigger impact on older age groups than younger age groups leading to a different life phase effect in 2007 compared to earlier.

The third paper investigates variation in participation according to everyday life conditions. Individuals (still) partake significantly different in sport and exercise according to classical social background variables like age, gender and educational level. The paper shows that everyday life conditions – mainly expressed by the character of the

work life domain – act as mediating factors in order to explain why variation occurs the way it does in relation to the sporting practice within the population in Denmark. A modern work life (sedentary and with possibilities of flexible working hours) is associated with a tendency to be more involved in modern leisure time sport and exercise (self-organized or commercially organized).

Finally, the fourth paper specifically focusses on leisure time sport and exercise among teenagers. A special focus lies on the tendency to drop-out from club-organized sport. The paper concludes that teenagers are more likely to drop out of a club sport from ‘forced’ rather than ‘voluntary’ reasons. The conditions of a flexible late-modern everyday life can be difficult to combine with participation in sport and exercise insofar as the sport providers are not willing to offer a more loose structure in the participation pattern.

The four papers all take departure from an everyday life sociological perspective and in each paper different theories of such are presented leading to specific hypothesis. In the introduction an overall perspective of everyday life sociology and societal development is presented as well as the assumed implications for the development and the variation in the sporting practice from a macro-level perspective.

The theoretical approach sees the domain of leisure time sport and exercise as linked to other domains in everyday life and changes and variations in the content and the structure of domains like work life and family life is associated with changes and variations in leisure time sport and exercise.

Resumé på dansk

Denne afhandling undersøger udviklingen, karakteren af- og variationer i den danske befolknings deltagelse i sport og motion. Survey data, baseret på nationale repræsentative stikprøver af sports- og motionsdeltagelse blandt den danske befolkning, indsamlet otte gange mellem 1964 og 2007, danner grundlaget for analyserne.

Afhandlingen er baseret på fire artikler med fokus på metodiske problemstillinger i forhold til at spørge befolkningen om deltagelse i sport og motion, udvikling i deltagelsesniveau mellem 1964 og 2007, forskelle i deltagelsesniveau og karakteren af deltagelse blandt forskellige befolkningsgrupper i 2007, og endelig karakteren af deltagelse samt frafald fra foreningsorganiseret sport og motion i livsfasen som teenager.

I den første artikel er det problematiseret, at befolkningen reagerer forskelligt på to forskellige spørgsmål omkring deltagelse i sport og motion. Forskellen er blevet større over tid og tydeliggør den subjektive dimension og dermed problematikken med at spørge til befolkningens 'commonsense' forståelse af, hvorvidt de dyrker sport og motion eller ej. Artiklen finder sammenhænge mellem det fysiske indhold af en aktivitet og tendensen til at respondere forskelligt på de to forskellige spørgsmål. Subjektive forståelser af sport og motion skal forstås i lyset af individuelle hensigter med den enkelte aktivitet, det fysiske indhold og den sportslige historie og kultur, hvorfra disse aktiviteter opstår.

Den anden artikel fokuserer på udviklingen i befolkningens motions- og sportsvaner og har som et centralt fokus at undersøge, hvordan udviklingen og aldersbetingede forskelle i deltagelsen kan forklares ud fra generations-, livsfase- eller periodeeffekter. Analysen viser, at alle tre perspektiver påvirker udviklingen med en periodeeffekt, der overstiger faldende idrætsdeltagelse med stigende alder. Periodeeffekten har tilmed haft en større indvirkning på ældre aldersgrupper end de yngre aldersgrupper, hvilket fører til en anderledes livsfaseeffekt i 2007 i forhold til tidligere.

Den tredje artikel undersøger variation i deltagelsen i forhold til forskellige hverdagsforhold. Nogle befolkningsgrupper deltager (stadig) signifikant mere i sport og motion end andre målt på klassiske sociale baggrundsvariable som alder, køn og

uddannelsesniveau. Artiklen viser, at hverdagsforhold – udtrykt ved karakteren af arbejdslivsdomænet – fungerer som medierende faktor til at forklare, hvorfor variation forekommer på den måde, det gør i forhold til den sportslige praksis inden for forskellige befolkningsgrupper i dag. Et moderne arbejdsliv (stillesiddende og med mulighed for fleksible arbejdstider) er forbundet med en tendens til at være mere involveret i moderne måder at organisere sport og motion på (selvorganiseret eller kommercielt organiseret).

Endelig fokuserer den fjerde artikel specifikt på sport og motion blandt teenagere. Et særligt fokus ligger på tendensen til frafald fra foreningsorganiseret sport og motion. Artiklen konkluderer, at teenagere er mere tilbøjelige til at droppe ud af en idrætsforening på grund af 'tvungne' snarere end 'selvvalgte' årsager. Betingelserne i en fleksibel senmoderne hverdag kan være svære at kombinere med deltagelse i sport og motion i det omfang, sportsudbydere ikke er villige til at tilbyde en mere løs struktur i måden at organisere aktiviteterne på.

De fire artikler tager alle afsæt i et hverdagssociologisk perspektiv, og i hver artikel ligger forskellige teorier af en sådan art til grund for udformningen af specifikke hypoteser. I afhandlingens introducerende del gives et overordnet hverdagssociologisk perspektiv på samfundsudviklingen og forhold, der forventes at have indflydelse på udviklingen og variationen i den sportslige praksis. Den teoretiske tilgang ser sport og motion i fritiden som knyttet til andre domæner i hverdagen, og ændringer og variationer i indholdet og strukturen i arbejdsliv og familieliv er forbundet med ændringer og variationer i deltagelsesmønstrene i den danske befolknings tilbøjelighed til at dyrke sport og motion.

1. Introduction

Sport and exercise has become an important part of everyday life among a large part of the Danish population. During the last century, the majority of physically demanding activity in people's everyday lives has shifted from the domain of work life towards leisure time. But sport does not only serve a recreational purpose in contrast to more serious domains of everyday life, as was earlier the case (Elias & Dunning, 1986). Rather, it is viewed upon with great seriousness in itself (Møller, 1999). Sport, exercise and general physical movement has become a major sector involving a large number of voluntary sport clubs, professional elite sport, commercial recreational businesses, public funded activities, facilities and other sporting spaces, school-, educational-, and work-related initiatives, etc., creating a complex and comprehensive field of opportunities for citizens in Denmark in order to be actively involved in sport and exercise.

This development can be linked to structural and social changes which influence the content and the organization of different domains in everyday life, i.e. through changed work forms and functions, gender roles, family life, health, lifestyle and leisure time. In order to illuminate and understand ways of carrying out sport and exercise it is necessary to understand the development of the surrounding society, history and culture from which the activities emerge and develop (Hargreaves, 1986; Horne, Tomlinson, & Whannel, 1999). In this thesis I investigate how everyday life influences the development, the character and the variation of participation in sport and exercise in late-modern everyday life.

Leisure time sport and exercise is incorporated in more and more people's everyday lives. While the first runners who systematically began to run on the pavements of Risskov in Aarhus were viewed with great irritation among the general citizens – who walked in 'danger of being run over' – there is a completely different view of runners and other exercisers in the public space today (Agergaard & Nielsen, 2007). Exercising has now become 'the norm' and one is instead stigmatized as part of a special 'target group' if they do not manage or want to include exercise in one form or another as a central and integral part of their everyday life.

Today sport and exercise is for everyone in the population, and political developments have taken place over the years in order to create opportunities for everybody to include sport and exercise in their everyday lives for health, social and recreational reasons (Council of Europe, 1995, 2007; Kulturministeriet, 2009; Regeringen, 2002). However, the structural immobility that has developed in other domains in society has not automatically led to active involvement in sport and exercise during leisure hours among all Danes as a replacement for the past's more physically demanding work life and everyday life in general.

Sport and exercise is more than 'just' physical exercise. It is a cultural body movement that has emerged from historical roots in specific contexts, and it remains a challenge for sports actors and agents when studies of sport and exercise habits among the population consistently expose a resounding inertia in terms of socio-demographic, cultural and socio-economic differences in the tendency to participate (Pilgaard, 2009).

Educational level is (still) one of the most important indicators of whether the population participates in sport and exercise or not. Social stratification and social heritage still exist in the field of sport today, as is also this case within general health (Ekholm, 2006), the education system (Ekholm, 2006; Illeris, Katznelson, Nielsen, Sørensen, & Simonsen, 2009), and within general cultural interests and consumer patterns (Bille, Fridberg, Storgaard, & Wulff, 2005; Downward & Rasciute, 2010). In contrast, processes of equalization occur in relation to age and gender, which cannot explain variances in participation to the same extent as earlier (Pilgaard, 2009).

From much of the existing literature there is an agreement that sport and exercise is socially stratified in relation to social structures of demographic-, socioeconomic-, and sociocultural background. Recently this picture has been challenged though, leaving some questions about if and how certain everyday life conditions influence participation patterns leading to the research question in this thesis presented in the following.

Thus the intention of the thesis is to create greater insight into how one sociologically can relate to and investigate sport and exercise participation through the use of survey data. In Denmark a long tradition for collecting cross-sectional data exists and no other European country can present comparable data reaching back this far in time (to 1964). Also, the

opportunity to collect representative data at a national level is rather unique in Denmark because it is possible to recruit respondents via the Danish Civil Registration System (CPR-register). This allows for the collection of data representative of the entire Danish nation. Further, the Danish data is of high quality including response rates of around 47% and higher based on the entire population aged seven and above. However, the data has yet not been utilized as part of a thorough analysis of the links between a theoretical framework and empirical analysis of sport and exercise participation and development in Denmark. The contribution of an everyday life sociological perspective is scarce in the field of sport and it is therefore the intention of this thesis to shed new light on how sport and exercise can be understood as an integral part of late-modern everyday life.

1.1. Research question

This thesis intends to contribute to the current research about participation in sport and exercise among the Danish population through an everyday life sociological perspective. In contrast to many of the studies revealing social differences in sport and exercise it is my intention to investigate the importance of everyday life in example through the relations between work life and leisure time sport and exercise. How can certain characteristics of everyday life explain why participation in sport and exercise develops the way it does among different population groups? Overall I aim to seek answers to the following research question:

What can explain the development, the variation and the character of participation in sport and exercise in Denmark?

This will be discussed in four papers that will address the research question in different ways. The first paper focuses on *methodological issues* about the survey method as an empirical basis for a qualified analysis of the development and variation in sport and exercise among the population. The article contains a theoretical discussion about concepts and a framework of the terms of sport, exercise, physical activity, and everyday life exercise. The empirical material will be used in order to investigate how it is possible to come closer to a commonsense understanding about sport and exercise in the population

through an analysis of the respondents' replies to different questions about their participation in sport and exercise.

The second paper looks at the *development* of sports participation among the population and, as a central focus, investigates how the development and age differences in participation can be explained by generational, life phase or periodical circumstances. Do we see new generations deviating from older ones in their tendencies to participate in sport or exercise? Or, rather, do differences occur across certain life phases? And can the development be endorsed with a special time spirit effect?

The third paper investigates *variation* in participation according to everyday life conditions. Individuals (still) partake significantly differently in sport and exercise according to classical social background variables. The purpose will be to investigate if and how everyday life conditions, according to daily occupation and parenthood, can be used as mediating factors in order to explain why variation occurs the way it does in relation to the sporting practice within the population in Denmark.

The fourth paper specifically focuses on leisure time sport and exercise among teenagers. A special emphasis is given to their tendencies to drop out from club-organized sport. Is it a result of self-determined or 'forced' causes? The findings are supported theoretically by explanations about how conditions of late-modern everyday life can be used to understand the tendency to drop out from club organized sport in a specific life phase among teenagers.

The result section in chapter 5 further focuses on the *characteristics* of participation by analysing development in specific types of activities between 1964 and 2007.

1.2. Introductory outline

Chapter 2 contains an overview of existing literature in the field revealing missing areas and potential for future research. The first part of the chapter outlines both national and international research and overall trends in findings in relation to participation in sport and exercise using different quantitative survey methods of cross-sectional, cohort, longitudinal and retrospective data. The second part concentrates on the state of research

within a Danish context, briefly touching on the political value debates about the concepts of sport.

Chapter 3 focuses on theoretical perspectives of everyday life sociology as an overall framework of developing societal patterns and characteristics of everyday life domains. This leads to certain assumptions about the implications of social development on sporting practice leading to hypotheses that are investigated in the four different articles. The theoretical framework of everyday life sociology should be seen as an overall perspective under which different focuses and specific theories are presented in the four articles. Thus the hypotheses from the articles are not derived directly from the overall perspective in this introductory section.

Chapter 4 presents the empirical data as well as methodological issues and considerations about the survey approach, which involved asking about participation in sport and exercise and comparing cross-sectional data over a time span of 43 years. The specific understanding of the concepts of sport and exercise is very central to a comprehensive analysis of sport and exercise participation and in the understandings of development. Thus a discussion about defining the concepts of sport and exercise is provided through theoretical perspectives of everyday life sociology acknowledging elements of subjective understandings in the definitions. A brief perspective of international issues of measuring and comparing participation in the sport monitoring process is further provided.

Chapter 5 presents results of the empirical survey data based on the main research question of what can explain the development, the character, and the variation of sport and exercise participation. A summary of the findings from the four articles is presented here and integrated into an overall results section.

Chapter 6 contains a discussion on how the interpretations of the data relate to the presented theoretical approach.

Chapter 7 includes the most important conclusions and perspectives about the development, the variation and the character of sport and exercise participation in Denmark. Further, reflections on limitations and future research will be addressed.

2. State of research

Surveys on sports participation have led to many national and international publications over the past decades. See, among others, Danish contributions (Bille et al., 2005; Fridberg 2000, 2010; Jespersen & Riiskjær, 1982; Kühl, 1976, 1980; Larsen 2003a, 2003b, Pilgaard, 2008, 2009, 2011), and international contributions (Breedveld & Hoekman, 2011; Breuer, 2005, 2006; Breuer & Wicker, 2009; Downward & Rasciute, 2010; Engel & Nagel, 2011; Engström, 1999; Lamprecht, Fischer & Stamm, 2008; Scheerder et al., 2006; Scheerder, Vanreusel & Taks, 2005; Scheerder & Vos, 2011; Seippel, 2002, 2005; Van Bottenburg, Rijnen, & van Sterkenburg, 2005; Van Tuyckom, 2009; Van Tuyckom & Scheerder, 2010; Vanreusel et al., 1997; Wicker, Breuer & Pawlowski, 2009).

There is also a very comprehensive collection of studies listed on the website of Sport England¹, in Downward and Rasciute (2010) and in Breuer and Wicker (2009). The development of evidence based research has abundantly reached the area of sport science and there is an increased demand at all policy levels from the European Commission, the State, municipalities, researchers, sports organizations to other actors in the field of sport for estimations and analyses of the tendency to participate in sport and exercise in relation to how people participate, where, how often, with whom, why they do or why they do not participate, etc.

This knowledge is often used in targeted strategies to recruit more members, to avoid dropouts or to increase participation levels within certain 'sports-unfamiliar' groups.

There are great differences between the existing literature on participation from descriptive overviews to examinations of the content, organization and types of participation, to sociological, psychological or societal research on different correlations, and more-or-less advanced statistical models and theories about how the population

¹ www.sportengland.org/research/value_of_sport_monitor/participation.aspx

participates in sport and exercise, reasons for dropping out, motives for participation, consequences based on current patterns, etc.

Much of the existing survey based analyses of sports participation can be categorized as a rather critical tendency towards positivistic ‘variable sociology’ or ‘empirical generalizations’ (Maguire, 2011). Here the statistical models are used (uncritically?) as theoretical explanations instead of a description of social reality (Maguire, 2011).

The Danish sports sociological tradition emerged from a contrasting approach of critical body culture studies (Eichberg, 1989). This approach intended to reach further than the ‘classical’ variable studies of rather simple findings. As noted by the German sociologist Henning Eichberg in his position of developing Danish sociology of sport and body culture, there is a need to ask: ‘*What are the relations and the cultural patterns of our existing and not yet existing knowledge?*’, instead of taking the classical quantitative and positivistic approach of ‘*We should know more facts*’ (Eichberg, 1989: 47). This perspective supplemented and qualified the survey based research developing in Denmark, with examples being the Ringsted survey (Jespersen & Riiskjær, 1980), a survey on sports participation in the 1980s (Jespersen & Riiskjær, 1982) and the cultural habit surveys conducted since 1964 (Kühl, 1976, 1980), which represent the empirical material in this thesis. It would be wrong to simply categorize such research as ‘variable sociology’. The surveys were often based on thorough theoretical frameworks, but the analyses that followed did not fulfill the potential of the data and often ended after an initial descriptive publication of results.

Thus the link between theoretical assumptions and empirical studies about how the developing society and changes of social structures in general are related to the development of sports participation in Denmark is still very scarce.

There is only limited scientific research about the correlations between the character and structures of everyday life and how this relates to the character of sports participation in different population groups supported by theoretical perspectives. This in spite of the fact that sport and exercise is an integral part of everyday life among a majority of the Danish population today.

In the following section I will present some main findings from the existing research in the field of sport and exercise participation.

2.1. Measuring sport and exercise sociologically

The quantitative research can be divided into different types of analysis. Depending on the character of the data, different analyses can be carried out. The following will mainly describe types of cross-sectional, cohort, longitudinal and retrospective analyses.

2.1.1. Cross-sectional analysis

Cross-sectional data – collected at a single point – gives a momentary view of participation and usually forms a basis for analyzing correlations between background variables like gender, age, education, urbanization, ethnic background and dependent variables, often showing sports participation as a binary variable with participation vs. non-participation as measures. Some studies also use a continuous dependent variable looking into time spent on sport and exercise or frequency per week, month or year. Other dependent variables are often organizational levels or choice of activity (Breuer, 2006; Scheerder et al., 2005; Van Bottenburg et al., 2005).

In earlier research there has been great consistency in the cross-sectional data collected in many European countries, showing that men are more likely to participate in sport than women, that younger people are more involved than older people, that the higher educated are more involved than the lower educated and that Western and Northern European citizens have higher participation rates than Eastern and Southern European citizens (Breuer, 2006; Cavill, Kahlmeier, & Racioppi, 2006; Council of Europe, 1995, 2007; TNS Opinion and Social, 2010; Van Bottenburg et al., 2005). This latter perspective on differences between the European regions might be due to differences in the criteria used to define sports participation, an issue that I will elaborate on in chapter 4.

The differences especially exist in traditional club-organized sport, whereas other organizational settings like commercial studios or self-organized activities, also referred to

as ‘light sporting communities’ (Scheerder & Vos, 2011), involve more adults in general and women in particular.

A growing trend of studying the importance of physical surroundings in cross-sectional survey designs has emerged within the past decade. Some studies reveal associations between perceived opportunities for sports participation and the tendency to take up sport and exercise (Prins et al., 2010; Van Tuyckom, 2009). The findings support the proposition that the environment is a relevant prerequisite for being physically active, but is not sufficient enough to promote physical activity. Other studies focus on the actual appearance of sports facilities, arguing for the need for more specific facilities that address certain population groups (Ibsen et.al., 2012; Wicker et al., 2009), while others are concerned with general physical surroundings in people’s everyday lives (Cavill et al., 2006; Toftager, Christiansen, Kristensen, & Troelsen, 2011). The results show that certain physical surroundings like playgrounds, pavements and biking paths encourage people to become more physically active in different domains of everyday life.

A Danish cross-sectional study by Laila Ottesen and Bjarne Ibsen contributed to the literature with an everyday life theoretical approach examining the outcome of quantitative data collected among adults in four Danish municipalities in 1999. The analysis investigated participation according to different work lifestyles based on the character and the organization of work life. From the limited bivariate analysis the study suggested that type and structure of work life influences participation in sport and exercise and can be linked to certain patterns of the sporting practice (Ottesen & Ibsen, 1999). This perspective of everyday life conditions leading to specific participation patterns of sport and exercise is an interesting one to investigate further.

2.1.2. Cohort analysis

Cohort analysis is another type of quantitative data analysis based on a series of cross-sectional data with comparable research design across the single research points. This type of data forms the empirical material for part of this Ph.D. project. Such data allows for a view of development over time by comparing the same age groups or generations

(cohorts) at different times (Breuer, 2005; Breuer & Wicker, 2009; Lamprecht et al., 2008; Pilgaard, 2009; Stamm & Lamprecht, 2005).

Over the past decades some interesting findings have been revealed in studies conducted in Scandinavian countries and Switzerland. Age and gender no longer seem to matter in sports participation (Pilgaard, 2008; Riksidrottsförbundet, 2009; Seippel, 2005; Stamm & Lamprecht, 2005). In Denmark, women even seem to have become more involved in sport and exercise than men, but differences still occur when it comes to women and men's choices of activities and organizational forms of sport and exercise (Pilgaard, 2009). Women are still underrepresented in traditional sport clubs but are equally or even more involved in commercial fitness studios and self-organized activities. Studies from Norway show that up to 70% of the commercial fitness members are women (Steen-Johnsen & Kirkegaard, 2010; Ulseth, 2007).

Age has also been a very clear indicator of people's tendencies to participate in sport, and cross-sectional data has so far shown an inverse proportional correlation between age and participation rates. This has been the case in both national surveys across European countries (Lamprecht et al., 2008; sportscotland, 2008; Van Bottenburg et al., 2005; Van Tuyckom & Scheerder, 2010; Wicker et al., 2009) and in overall international surveys (Council of Europe, 2007; TNS Opinion and Social, 2010). The latest survey conducted in Denmark, in 2007, deviates from this picture, showing a u-shaped curve with people between 30 and 39 years being the least involved in sport and exercise. Similar patterns have arisen in Sweden (Riksidrottsförbundet, 2009) and to some extent in Norway and Switzerland (although only among men) (Fasting, 2008; Stamm & Lamprecht, 2011). Further, looking into development of a specific cohort over different periods can lead to different assumptions in comparison to those gathered from cross-sectional data. From the cohort perspective, participation levels remain stable or even increase over time (Breuer, 2005; Breuer & Wicker, 2009; Larsen, 2003b). This challenges current understandings of sports participation as being related to classic socio-demographic background variables and suggests that sports involvement today may be more connected to periodical effects or everyday life conditions in different stages of life than to age per se.

Breuer (2005) and Breuer and Wicker (2009) showed in a German cohort analysis that time period and cohort effects could compensate or even overcompensate for age effects

in the tendency to participate in sport. This means that younger generations seem to become more involved in sport and exercise than older generations, but also that a time period effect causes all generations to simultaneously increase participation levels. Thus the associations between age and participation levels found in a single point cross-sectional data analysis will not show up in a cohort analysis focusing on development within a specific cohort.

Educational level, on the other hand, does not seem to have much impact when comparing cross-sectional studies over the years. Long vs. short education still seems to be the most important indicator when using statistical analysis to explore high or low participation levels. However, some recent studies point to a diminishing effect of education on participation (Engel & Nagel, 2011; Pilgaard, 2011; Scheerder & Vos, 2011). Traditional club sports participation in particular seems to be undergoing a process of equalization, whereas participation in light sporting communities like commercial studios or self-organized activities is significantly preferred by higher educated groups.

2.1.3. Longitudinal analysis

Thirdly, quantitative data collection and analysis can be designed as longitudinal studies where the same respondent group is analysed more than once over a particular time period in order to investigate inter-subjective relations (Engström, 1999; Scheerder et al., 2006; Seippel, 2005). This method is often very resource and time demanding because it requires following the same people over a given time period. An interest in investigating associations between childhood, adolescent and adulthood participation patterns has been central to the quantitative sociology of sport throughout the past decades. And a strong assumption has developed towards a process of continued socialization from childhood to adulthood (Vanreusel et al., 1997). Lars Magnus Engström presented a study of this characteristic based on Swedish data over a 40-year period (Engström, 1999). His data enables an analysis of correlations between earlier participation levels, social background and experiences with sport in relation to current conditions. Engström shows that social background as a child and good experiences with sport as a child are more important for a person's participation 40 years later than their social position as an adult. That is, the early

development of social disposition and sporting habits is a predominant factor in the lifelong sports participation tendency (Engström, 1999). This suggests that current everyday life conditions are of minor importance when it comes to lifelong participation.

On a smaller scale, Ørnulf Seippel studied the same group of members of sports clubs in a Norwegian study over a time span of four years (Seippel, 2005). His focus was on dropout tendencies and he found that 34% of the members dropped out of their sports club within four years – with the highest frequency being during teenage years. Some has become members elsewhere and some were active *outside* of a sport club, while others had stopped their sports activities completely. This provides a more complex impression of sports participation in relation to the age of the specific individual than the cross-sectional differences between age groups at a certain point in time and the cohort analysis of overall generational development. However, it does not construct a picture of development at an overall generational level over time. Seippel's findings are supported in other literature which also concludes that a complex and on-going process of sports socialisation/de-socialisation occurs through the course of life (Vanreusel et al., 1997).

2.1.4. Retrospective analysis

As an alternative to longitudinal studies, a less demanding research method is retrospective studies, which uses a cross-sectional design including questions about relations and conditions earlier in life as a basis for analyzing correlations between former and current conditions (Engel & Nagel, 2011; Hirvensalo, Lampinen, & Rantanen, 1998; Lim et al., 2011). This type of data is acknowledged to be subject to issues of recall bias (Hirvensalo et al., 1998). With this method, using data from two German cities, Claudia Engel and Siegfried Nagel revealed that sports participation within a life course contains several drop out *and* entering/re-entering events indicating that life phase influences participation patterns throughout the course of life – contradictory to Engström's findings. Also, the study revealed – in relation to the Norwegian data presented by Seippel – that teenagers are more likely to be positioned in a 'drop-out period' than other age groups. A qualitative retrospective study of American, Dutch and North Korean adults found that parenthood, in particular, corresponds to a life phase of absence and that Dutch and North

Korean adults tended to return to active and recreational lifestyles later in life. This did not occur among American adults, adding a cultural and a sports-supply-system approach to understanding the development of sports participation patterns (Lim et al., 2011). This is an interesting finding in addition to the Danish cross-sectional data from 2007 showing that age is related to sport and exercise, as represented by a non-linear curve. It indicates that life phases and different conditions and circumstances in everyday life are likely to play important roles in the present tendencies to participate in sport and exercise, thus nuancing the influence of the early socialization processes.

2.2. Summary

Viewed together, the findings from these different studies of participation have provided the actors and scientists within the field of sport with valuable and detailed insights into the patterns of different population groups in relation to participation, variation, development, the specific character of participation, barriers and motives for participating in sport and exercise. Across the different literature and methods most of the works agree that sport and exercise is socially stratified in relation to social structures of demographic, socioeconomic, and sociocultural background. Recently this picture has been challenged though, leaving some questions as to whether certain everyday life conditions influence participation patterns, and if different inferences can be made from the literature according to the survey methods used (most notably in how age-differences in cross-sectional analyses differentiate from age-differences in longitudinal data).

Based on the knowledge from the emerging body of research it is appealing to investigate, using comprehensive analysis, how participation in sport and exercise develops within different generations, life phases and time periods. Further, there is a gap in the knowledge about how everyday life conditions are related to participation and the specific character of participation in sport and exercise and how everyday life acts as a mediator of socialization processes expressed by socioeconomic and demographic backgrounds. Such an analysis is scarce within sports sociological literature that applies quantitative research methods. As alluded to in the section on cross-sectional analysis, a first initiative was taken by Laila Ottesen and Bjarne Ibsen in 1999 in order to combine theoretical thoughts

on everyday life conditions and work lifestyles with empirical cross-sectional data on sports participation. They used a framework of life structures that focused on the type and the character of working hours, differentiating between fixed hours (a separated work/leisure time lifestyle) and opportunities for flexible working hours (an integrated work/leisure time lifestyle). Thereby, they attempted to acknowledge the structures of everyday life (operationalized by the domain of work life) and to reach a step further than the recognition of differences in accordance with socio-economic structures. The analysis only included the life structure variables sporadically and contained only bivariate examination. This rather limited analysis indicates that work lifestyle leads to significant variation on a few occasions. A connection can therefore be drawn between a flexible working life and a flexible and individualized physical leisure time activity.

Such results challenge the current state of research based on traditional social background variables and raise interesting questions about how the structure and the content of everyday life is affiliated with certain behaviours towards sport and exercise in modern everyday life.

2.2. Sports participation research in Denmark – Political issues and the articulation of sport and exercise

In Denmark, participation in sport and exercise has been investigated eight times in surveys among representative samples of the Danish population that can be compared (in 1964, 1975, 1987, 1993, 1998, 2002, 2004 & 2007). From 1964 to 1998 the survey, titled the Survey on Cultural Habits, was conducted by the Danish National Centre for Social Research, and research institute TNS Gallup continued the survey from 2004. The data is presented in Chapter 4.

Writings on sports participation in Denmark based on the survey data can be found in P.H. Kühl's reports from 1976 and 1980 (Kühl, 1976, 1980). Kühl noted a strong increase in the participation rates among the population between 1964 and 1975 – especially within the adult part of the population and among women. Thus, some of the tendencies influencing the changes in today's participation patterns had already shone through 40 years ago.

Torben Fridberg reported results from the next survey in 1987, 1993, 1998 and 2010 (Fridberg, 1989, 1994a, 1994b, 2000, 2010).

Knud Larsen has also conducted an analysis based on the data from 1998 in the report ‘Sports participation and consumption of sport in Denmark’ (‘Idrætsdeltagelse og idrætsforbrug i Danmark’) (Larsen, 2003b). His work provides a detailed descriptive analysis of the Danish participation patterns. His cohort analysis, showing growing participation patterns within the different cohorts as well as links between social background, age and gender and the tendency to participate in certain activities, has been of particular importance.

The 2004 study is reported in ‘Cultural and leisure time activities 2004 – with developmental trends dating back to 1964’ (‘Danskernes kultur og fritidsaktiviteter 2004 – med udviklingslinjer tilbage til 1964’) (Bille et al., 2005). This was mostly a follow-up study from 1998 with a very limited analysis that focused specifically on sport and exercise. The report has a section in the back with a multitude of multiple regression models showing the relationship between background variables and tendencies to participate in sport and exercise (based on the measurement ‘at least once a week’). The regression models show that sports participation declines with increasing age, that higher education equals higher participation rates, and that students are more involved in sport and exercise than people in the labour market. Further, the regressions indicate that the unemployed are less likely to take up sport and exercise than the employed (employees with the highest monthly payment used as a reference).

In addition to the Surveys on Cultural Habits, the Danish Foundation for Culture and Sports Facilities conducted another survey in 2002. The results are presented by Knud Larsen in ‘The third wave’ (‘Den tredje bølge’) (Larsen, 2003a). This particular publication was a result of a long-standing ideological-political debate about concepts and definitions of sport, ‘idræt’, exercise and a new concept of ‘everyday life exercise’, which had been articulated for the first time during the 1990s, covering physically demanding activities integrated in other parts of everyday life such as cleaning, gardening, walking the stairs, etc. (Larsen, 2003a). This report stands out as being central to the overall description of participation patterns among the Danish population, and using the same data material as presented in this thesis (until 2002) Larsen articulated the development as three

waves over the past four decades, as inspired by Alvin Toffler's wave theory (Larsen, 2003a).

He characterized the first wave as a large increase in traditional club sport taking place during the 1960s and 1970s. However, many of the classic disciplines within this wave of traditional club sport continuously gained success after this period supplemented by other activities and organizational forms. Club sport is usually seen as a very organized, social and routine based way of participating in sport as the clubs are run by a voluntary system based on democratic values involving and relying on the members.

The second wave is described as more individual exercise taken up on a self-organized basis like running, biking or walking in the nature or along the streets. Swimming can also be classified in this wave as people tend to take up this activity outside of the club-organized setting. A development of commercial gyms and studios, offering fitness activities like aerobics, weightlifting and spinning, was also seen during this period (Steen-Johnsen & Kirkegaard, 2010). This second wave took off from the mid-1970s to the early 1990s, according to Larsen's analysis, and is seen as a result of an increased focus on health and the importance of keeping the body healthy and fit. Characteristics of this wave still shine through to a large degree today, especially in regard to running, biking and fitness (Pilgaard, 2009). The activities are often described as efficient, basic physical exercise which aims to burn calories or increase endurance or strength, rather than as aesthetic movements or exercises that can develop advanced physical skills. In some literature the frame of 'lifetime' activities has been used in order to classify such activities because they allow for continued participation as the body grows older and becomes less suited to the fast or sudden movements that are often required in competitive sport, team sports and combat sports like martial arts. Lifetime sports are defined as '*individual, flexible, non-competitive and fitness-oriented, such as aerobics, dancing, walking, jogging, callisthenics, etc.*' (Scheerder et al, 2005: 141). The structures of self-organized or commercially organized activities have also been characterized as 'light sporting communities', indicating a looser and more flexible way of setting up the activities as opposed to the more routine based and fixed structure of traditional sports clubs (Scheerder & Vos, 2011).

Larsen articulates the third wave of sporting development as ‘everyday life exercise’, which has been of great focus in Denmark since the 1990s. This is defined as physical activity in everyday life that is not actual sport or exercise (Larsen, 2003a). Larsen denotes such activities as something you do without getting dressed for the specific activity. It includes housework, active transportation, gardening, walking the dog, etc. This framework has been referred to by health authorities as a political strategy or campaign with the wording of ‘30 minutes per day’ in order to encourage the nation to reflect upon (re-)integrating physical movement into every domain of their everyday life (Klarlund Pedersen & Saltin, 2003; Regeringen, 2002).

In addition to Knud Larsen, Henning Eichberg, Ejgil Jespersen, Bjarne Ibsen, Laila Ottesen and Claus Bøje, are some of the sociologists who have done research into the area of sports participation among the Danish population and have approached the topic from a more sociological, analytical, critical and cultural political perspective. Some of their works include ‘Sports facilities in Ringsted municipality’ (Idrætsfaciliteter i Ringsted kommune) (Jespersen & Riiskjær, 1980), ‘Sport in the 80s – towards a new sport for all trend?’ (‘80’ernes idræt – mod en ny breddeidræt?’) (Jespersen & Riiskjær, 1982), ‘The third way of sport’ (‘Idrættens tredje vej’) (Eichberg & Bøje, 1994) and ‘Addition to the third way of sport’ (Supplement til Idrættens tredje vej) (Eichberg, 2000). These publications discuss ‘the silent revolution’ in sport which has taken place from the end of the 1960s onward with a large movement of people participating in sport and exercise in alternative and experimental ways outside traditional sports clubs. In 1992 Bjarne Ibsen noted:

...[a] strong tendency towards individualized sports participation in the sense that the amount of the population performing an individual sport (that is a sport that can be performed alone or two and two together) has been strongly increased whereas team sports has not experienced the same growth. (Ibsen 1992: 92)

According to the authors of ‘The third way of sport’, this movement was not thoroughly incorporated and reflected in the traditional sports organizations (Eichberg & Bøje, 1994). Therefore, they illustrated three different directions within sport and exercise, ‘the trialectic of sport’: Result-oriented sport; sport for all with a focus on health, body and

pedagogy; and the third way being rhythm, play, games and outdoor activities ('friluftsliv'). As a result of the debate initiated from this publication a political debate was initiated mainly about the financial support and acknowledgement of alternative ways of carrying out sport. The critique of 'The third way of sport' was mainly based on a lack of empirical proof of Eichberg and Bøje's so-called claims.

This was given a response (in continuation of the previous Studies of Cultural Habits in Denmark and Jespersen and Riiskjær's analysis of Ringsted) in Knud Larsen's aforementioned 'The third wave', published by the Danish Foundation for Culture and Sports Facilities. The publication showed 'proof' of the rapid growing participation patterns outside the traditional organized sports clubs as articulated by the second and third wave. The results were so convincing that the debate took a new turn – or rather intensified – into a discussion about methods and definitions of sport, led by the sports organizations who doubted the convincing tendencies towards self-organized exercise. This discussion had already begun in the 1980s alongside the release of Jespersen and Riiskjær (1982) and the Sports Confederation of Denmark's (DIF) report in 1983 'Sport – the 80 Committee's report Who What When?' ('Idræt – 80 Udvalgets rapport Hvem Hvad Hvornår?'), in which some members of the sport organizations claimed that soon enough the definition of sport would also include 'walking to the bakery on Sunday mornings'. The sports organizations were not merely ignorant towards 'the silent revolution of sport' though, and both DIF and the Danish Gymnastics and Sports Associations (DGI) developed their structures in order to meet the growing demands for sport for all. A concrete change took place in DIF in 1992 with a much stronger sport for all perspective emerging than ever seen before (Trangbæk, Hansen, Ibsen, Jørgensen, & Nielsen, 1995b).

The survey by Knud Larsen from 2003 showed that the proportion of physically active Danes had increased from 51%, according to the Survey on Cultural Habits from 1998, to 72%, according to the Danish Foundation for Culture and Sports Facilities' survey from 2002 – an increase of 21%-point in less than four years. This development was primarily based on self-organized activities whereas the club-organized activities showed more stable results.

This relatively high participation level was partly explained by a change in the commonsense understanding of the concepts of 'sport and exercise' among the population

from a more narrow definition of sport as an activity taking place in a club setting with an organized schedule to one that includes broader fitness-related activities like biking and walking.

This broader understanding and a developing sporting practice has changed the overall picture of the number of people participating, the patterns of participation within the gender and age groups, the most popular activities and, not least, new ways of organizing the activities. Today, the streets, pavements and nature – that is, places outside established sporting facilities – are the largest ‘arenas’ for sport and exercise among the adult population (Pilgaard, 2009).

To what extent this development is caused by methodological and linguistic changes in relation to actual changes in the sporting practice has been – and is still – under debate in both a national and international context (Gratton, Rowe, & Veal, 2011; Van Tuyckom, Bracke, & Scheerder, 2011), but generally acceptance is developing in Denmark and many consider self-organized, recreational and less formal activities conducted outside the formal sporting organizations and facilities as sport or exercise.

Much political debate has ensued over the sport and exercise concept’s existence and eligibility because developments in sport and exercise habits have changed current structures, power relations and trends. In particular, it has been followed by a change in allocation and prioritization of finances to different agents in the field.

In 2006 the Danish Institute for Sport Studies initiated a meeting of the most important stakeholders in the field of sport in an attempt to conduct a more detailed and consensus-oriented survey of the sports participation among the population. This resulted in the latest survey on participation in sport and exercise from 2007.

Results from this survey can be found in ‘Participation in sport and exercise among the Danish population 2007 – key numbers and trends’ (Danskernes motions- og sportsvaner 2007 – nøgletal og tendenser’) (Pilgaard, 2008) and in ‘Sport and exercise in the everyday life of the Danes’ (‘Sport og motion i danskernes hverdag’) (Pilgaard, 2009). From this it was clear that a moderate development was taking place in the population’s tendencies to participate in sport and exercise from the overall – and comparable question since 1964 – asking ‘Do you normally participate in sport and exercise?’ (See methodological issues

and discussions about the method in chapter 4). But asking the respondents about participating in at least one activity (from a list of 45 activities) the development was more significant. Thus the 'consensus' survey showed results of development in two different ways and particularly shed light on the complexity of the particular survey question and methodological issues of comparing different questions from different surveys at different time periods. More than anything this added a nuanced perspective to the current debate and made it clear that the discussion about definitions, organizational levels and ways of participating in sport and exercise was more relative and complex than currently acknowledged. From the analysis it showed, that only four per cent of all adult respondents had only marked 'walking' as a regular activity. Thus the high number of self-organized activities taking place in the population was not only explained by people 'walking to the bakery on Sunday mornings'.

The main findings from the descriptive analysis show an interesting change in the cross-sectional age relations. An increase in a person's age no longer equals a drop in their participation rates, as has been seen in earlier comparable surveys. Rather the age relation is represented by a u-shaped curve with the least active participants being among the 30-39-year-olds, indicating the life phase hypothesis of the parent and career phase as a 'threat' to a sport- and exercise-rich everyday life. Further, the gender relation has changed as women are now more involved in sport and exercise than men, suggesting a connection between changes in gender roles in general and gender differences in sport and exercise participation. Finally, educational level is still the most important contributor to explaining variations between different population groups. Daily occupation also plays a role whereby students and pensioners are the most involved in sport and exercise, followed by the working part of the population and lastly by the unemployed, who are the least active population group. The results indicate that the characteristics of everyday life have an important role in understanding development and variations in sport and exercise participation.

The current publications operate mainly at a descriptive level, and the latter book reveals some macro perspective theoretical thoughts on the connection between the development of society and everyday life and the development and character of sport and exercise.

However, no analysis has been completed on the basis of the hypotheses developed from such everyday life theories.

The debate over, focus on and acknowledgment of alternative sport and exercise activities taking place outside the organized sport club system has undoubtedly been developed and matured in Denmark ahead of the other Nordic countries, as there has been a tradition in Denmark of taking a theoretical and philosophical approach to understanding sport and exercise from a critical body cultural perspective (Eichberg, 1989).

The debate has recently reached – or has been revived in –Norway with a tense atmosphere building between the Norwegian Sports Federation (NIF) and the authors of the report ‘Physical Activity: Extent, organization and social inequality’².

On a broader international level the debate about definitions, understandings and how to best measure and compare sports participation between European nations is developing, which will be further outlined in Chapter 5 on methodological issues.

² See comment on the debate via this link: <http://www.idan.dk/Home/Nyheder/a006norskdebat.aspx>

3. Theoretical section

3.1. Sport and exercise in late-modern everyday life - in theory

The theoretical approach in this thesis is based on everyday life sociology. The empirical data examines sports participation and the character of participation in different population groups and cohorts. The material represents a timeframe of 43 years allowing for an investigation of the development from 1964 to 2007. The data from 2007 specifically allows for examination of the associations between elements of everyday work life and the tendency to participate in sport and exercise. Descriptive analysis has been carried out based on the existing data, but only limited attempts have been made in order to support the empirical findings theoretically. What can explain the sport and exercise patterns in Denmark and the ways in which they develop?

In order to understand the development, characteristics and variations in sporting practice it is important to contextualize and understand the everyday life characteristics from which the sporting activities emerge. In the following I present some selected theoretical perspectives on the development of Western society from a macro-level perspective. Further, I point out developmental characteristics of central domains in everyday life from a meso-level perspective. This allows me to generate a hypothesis about the connection to the sporting practice that can be operationalized in the empirical material in relation to the development, the character and the variation in sport and exercise.

There are certain challenges related to the investigation of sport and exercise as a process of structures and content of everyday life. Everyday life is a process of confluent spheres, meanings and actions and separating these aspects of life into single elements runs the risk of losing essential information about the connections and structures of activities like sport and exercise in everyday life (Bech-Jørgensen, 1994). Further, sport and exercise cannot be conceived as a variable but rather as a process where social relations combine for social development (Horne et al., 1999). When using quantitative data in order to investigate associations between independent and dependent variables I consider sports participation

as a dependent variable by making a cross-sectional cut into an ongoing, historical and cultural process of actions. This means that the analysis is reduced to single factors and their interrelationships at a certain point in time. This acknowledgement of a simple reduction of the complex elements of everyday life must be seen as a general prerequisite in the quantitative study of social life and a necessary restriction in the quantitative attempt to capture the meaning and the relations of sport and exercise in everyday life from cross-sectional data. For this reason there should be no intention of generating naïve or objective truths from the results of the survey data. One could be rather suspicious that many researchers in the positivistic discourse of sports participation research lean towards such objective beliefs in relation to their data. The British sociologist Joseph A. Maguire (2011) warns against a non-theoretical belief in numbers. The data should instead be used as a qualifying research method in an attempt to create relations and reveal cultural patterns from our existing knowledge in line with Pierre Bourdieu's renowned approach to the use of empirical data (only) as a sociological tool in an extension of the investigation of philosophical and theoretical problems. Bourdieu argued for empirical support of what he called biased or myth-based understandings of social reality, but the empirical material needs to be supported by theoretical perspectives in the making of inferences (Hammerslev & Hansen, 2009).

3.2. Creating meaning about sport and exercise in everyday life

Often quantitative research investigates associations between sports participation and classic social structures like age, gender, education, economy and/or cultural/ethnic background. Such an analysis has also been the central focus within the Danish context and is presented in this thesis. These contributions sometimes offer very advanced statistical models and show strong and significant correlations between independent background variables and the dependent variables of sports participation. The question is, though, how informative such an analysis is in an intervention process if no explanation is offered at a lower level supported by theoretical assumptions about the factors that mediate and explain such associations. In what way – and why – are gender, age and educational level playing a role? – Or why not? Also, it is important to pay attention to the conflicting inferences from literature based on different survey designs as shown in the

literature review. It can be difficult to grasp or explain sports participation development and differences simply by showing significant links between overall structural variables and participation rates. Further, newer sociological theories about late-modern society stress that classical structures of division based on tradition, socioeconomic and socio-demographic backgrounds are of minor importance today. An increased focus on the individual and developing opportunities for individual choice and taste are said to be changing the character of social division in late-modern society (Beck, 2006; Giddens, 1996; Maffesoli, 1996). However, empirical findings in sports participation research continuously find that classic social structures are important and social stratification is still a major issue in sport monitoring research, as referred to in the previous chapter 'State of research'. But it is important to keep searching for mediating factors that can explain such relations in order to better understand social differences and to qualify the intervention processes in the policy-, and praxis-oriented agencies. In 1999 Ibsen and Ottesen argued that:

We can only understand differences in the population's leisure time occupation and opinions about how it should be organized if we also understand the way of living, the way of organizing everyday life and the role of work life in relation to leisure time. (Ottesen & Ibsen 1999: 52)

From this perspective different domains of everyday life are seen as being tied together in the ways in which they are structured and organized. But, based on the data in 1999, the authors only found little influence in the empirical analysis, and the work lifestyle approach, highly inspired by the Danish sociologist Thomas Højrup, was not followed up with thorough multivariate analysis. It is interesting to follow up on this investigation because the structures and the character of everyday life seem to be intuitively and theoretically related to the character of leisure time activities like sport and exercise. As will be described in the following, parallel characteristics of development and variation can be identified between population groups within different domains of everyday life from a macro-level perspective. But is it also possible to identify such patterns of relations from an *individual* point of view when searching for patterns of work life, family life and sport and exercise in leisure time among individuals from the empirical data available? Attempts to understand and explain societal developments, variation between different

population groups and specific behaviours can be approached from various theoretical perspectives. Many of these have been presented in current literature within the field of sport. To mention a few, macro sociological analysis has been made by Elias and Dunning and Guttmann, describing and explaining how different types of movement culture develop as a process of social development and science, industrialization processes and class-cultural conflicts (Elias & Dunning, 1986; Guttmann, 1978). Gruneau has contributed with a theoretical view of economy, class inequality and conflict through hegemonic ruptures in capitalist societies (Gruneau, 1999). Bourdieu has made important contributions to understanding social differences and how values and behaviours are passed on to the individual through socialization processes under the framework of habitus, capital and field (Bourdieu, 1978, 1984, 1998). Luhmann's system theoretical perspective has inspired Norwegian Jan Ove Tangen's work on actions towards sports participation as linked to embedded structures in sport as a subsystem connected to other subsystems in society (Tangen, 2004). Giddens (1996), Ziehe (1999), Bauman (2002) and Beck (2006), developed theories about the late-modern, individualized, globalized society which have been used in order to explain the production and reproduction of certain behaviours in sport (Halone, 2008; Nielsen & Wagner, 2011), new, individual ways of participating in sport and the central position of body and identity in late-modern body culture (Elstad, 2003; Ulseth, 2007), as well as the risk-oriented behaviour of extreme sport and lifestyle activities (Breivik, 2004; Mogensen, 2004). Other eclectic overviews of sociological approaches in understanding sport and exercise tendencies can be found in Breivik (1998), Ulseth (2007) and Thing and Wagner (2011).

By approaching the empirical data from an everyday life sociological perspective, the intension is to reach a deeper understanding of the structures and conditions in everyday life that set the basis for the ways in which sport and exercise have developed and are carried out by different population groups today. The theoretical approach thereby adds a new perspective to the classic analysis of substantial themes like development of behaviour within, and current variations between, traditional social structures like age, gender and socioeconomic status.

Overall sociological theories about societal development (grand theories) are often introduced in order to frame a background of knowledge about societal changes and

tendencies. Such grand theories are also presented in this thesis to describe the overall changes from pre-industrial to modern and late-modern society and the changes of basic values and social structures that follow. Grand theories are seen as very difficult to relate to empirical analysis because of their rather abstract and general character and often need to be accompanied by theories on a less abstract level. In this case this is especially necessary in order to investigate variations between population groups at a single point in time.

Everyday life sociology is a specific aspect of sociological theory that represents a 'lower level' of abstraction often linked to qualitative research methods because of its focus on social interactions and agency (Jacobsen, 2004; Jacobsen & Kristiansen, 2005). The specific use of everyday life sociology in order to explain tendencies and correlations within the quantitative field of sport is very scarce. However, this theoretical perspective is interesting partly because the research is revealing uncertain, opposing and changing inferences about the classic structural background variables. The significant changes in society according to everyday life conditions and structure, gender roles, life phases and general education, health and welfare are likely to be important in understanding the changes, the stability and the current variation in sport and exercise participation.

In everyday life sociology the interest is in human behaviour linked to circumstances in everyday life. As explained by Jack D. Douglas, it is the study of human beings in their natural surroundings, looking into concrete situations, and it is departing from peoples' commonsense opinions rather than existing definitions and preconceptions (Douglas, 1980; Jacobsen & Kristiansen, 2005).

According to sociologist Alfred Schutz all actions have a subjective interpretation, not only in the sense of what the individual does, but also in the sense of individual definitions and understandings of what certain actions can be articulated as (Schutz, 1975). It is then the role of the researcher to construct objective thoughts to replace commonsense in everyday life. To Schutz, it is a matter of constructing a section of the social world including certain typified events of special interest to the object that is under investigation. In this sense the subjective must be taken into account in the understandings and definitions and thus in the outcome of the actions of sport and exercise.

From this approach it is presumed that the respondents relate to the concepts of sport and exercise from their own preconceptions of and connection to sport and exercise in everyday life. It thus becomes essential to investigate associations between everyday life conditions and the content of sport and exercise in everyday life based on the respondents' own assessments. It is important to note that such an approach is interesting when investigating sport and exercise from a *cultural political perspective*, whereas a *health political perspective* would require more objective measurements in order to capture and investigate physical activity levels based on accelerometers, pulse measurements, step counters, etc. The acknowledgment of subjective understandings adds interesting knowledge about how the phenomenon of sport and exercise is and has been interpreted and incorporated into everyday life during the past four decades. This issue is discussed further in the method section in chapter 4. It also sets the basis for article one, where the focus is on subjective definitions of sport and exercise through a view of the development and changes in the linguistic understandings of the question 'Do you normally participate in sport/exercise?' in relation to changes in the sporting practice according to the more specific question of what activities the respondents have participated in regularly within the past year. What are the subjective commonsense understandings of sport and exercise? How has it developed between the cohorts from 1964 to 2007? Due to expectations of an increased focus on health and physical activity in today's society the article takes its departure from the following hypothesis:

The developing focus on health enhancing physical activity in the Danish society has led to an increased focus on physical activity per se in the population's preconception of the terms sport and exercise.

3.3. Social development as interaction between individual, cultural and historical aspects

Several directions and approaches exist within everyday life sociology and it is often debated as to what extent individuals behave as a result of socialization processes and contexts or as a matter of individual reflection and autonomy (Horne et al., 1999). This

can be explained as a differentiation between ‘internalization’, where individuals are seen as passive adopters of norms, values and opportunities in society, and ‘interaction’, where individuals are given more autonomy and are seen as independently forming values in an interactive process with the surrounding society. The latter perspective sees the individual as being actively involved in creating their own opportunities and thereby actions and behaviour through the course of life (Horne et al., 1999). This perspective is necessary in order to explain how and why some individuals tend to ‘break the social heritage’ and not just merely take over values, habits and behaviour from socialization processes, as Bourdieu’s framework of ‘habitus’ has been critiqued for envisaging (Crossley, 2001). Further, some theories, especially those presented within the ethnomethodology by Garfinkel leave even more autonomy to the individual, claiming that behaviour is a reflexive act unleashed by social heritage, culture and context (Garfinkel, 1967).

Recent literature on sports participation and factors leading to more or less activity or certain activity patterns seem to lean towards the second perspective in the theoretical approach, that many factors influence the tendency to participate in sport and exercise in a complex field of micro-, meso- and macro-levels of individual taste and wishes, socialization and values, socio-economic and demographic circumstances, context and time spirit (Downward & Rasciute, 2010; Engel & Nagel, 2011; Engström, 1999; Hobart, 1975; Horne et al., 1999; Lorentzen, 2001; Sarrazin, Vallerand, Guillet, Pelletier, & Cury, 2002; Scheerder & Vos, 2011; Stamm & Lamprecht, 2005; Tangen, 2004; Ulseth, 2007). Jespersen and Riiskjær have described how the individual is not directly pre-disqualified from participation in sport and exercise solely because they belong to a certain social background (Jespersen & Riiskjær, 1982). The social background rather appear as ‘filters of likelihood’ to determine with what probability certain population groups get involved in sport and exercise. The individual is born into certain social structures and socialized into sport and exercise based on the opportunities in the specific area, the culture and the perceived values of sport and exercise. In this thesis it is assumed that sport and exercise participation is connected to the conditions of everyday life and structures of meaning, and behaviour is produced, reproduced and changed by the individual within the frames of the societal structures, opportunities and restrictions that are met by the individual in everyday life (Schutz, 1975). When everyday life structures and conditions develop or change, so does the character of sport participation.

However, leisure time sport and exercise should not be seen *merely* as a ‘mirror’ of societal development and conditions in other domains of everyday life (Horne et al., 1999). Bourdieu argues for elements of autonomy within modern sport that are not related to social history and social change in general (Bourdieu, 1978). In the system of sport there are codes and gesticulations that work independently of the surrounding systems (Bourdieu, 1978). Sport separates the population into certain sociocultural groups though, with the higher educated more likely to participate in sport and exercise than others, and with an economic and cultural socialisation into specific sporting practices. Sigmund Loland and Jan Ove Tangen point to issues about the specific character of sport (‘idrættens egenart’) in order to understand that sport (‘idræt’) is social practice that is not only caused by societal structures. From this the individual makes choices about participation and non-participation based on embedded expectations from cultural and historical knowledge, but also from embodied knowledge as a bodily memory of earlier experiences (Loland, 2002; Tangen, 2004). McPherson et al. notes that sport can either amplify, be neutral or in opposition to the social patterns and values in society (McPherson, Curtis, & Loy, 1989). A study by Peter Bailey in 1978 further points out that cultural struggles lead to simultaneously different body cultural developments (Bailey, 1978). By this he ‘...warns against any simple reduction of the character of sport to a mere mirror image of the society’ (Horne et al., 1999: 6). In the context of the Danish Survey on Cultural Habits among the population in 2004, only a minor statistical correlation was found between certain lifestyles (based on traditional vs. modern and individual vs. social values in general approaches to societal affairs) and the specific character of sport. The modern and individually-oriented segment of society was generally more interested in sport- and exercise participation than the average Dane. But the division of the population into general societal values and opinions is not mirrored in a specific division of people taking part in different kinds of sport and exercise activities. Viewed together societal development and the character of other domains in everyday are only expected to explain part of the variance in the Danish population’s behaviour towards sport and exercise participation today. But to what extent such patterns of everyday life conditions act as mediating factors in explaining traditional structural variables of age, gender and educational level is not clear.

3.4. The character of central domains in late-modern everyday life

In the past decades, social change has occurred in different domains of everyday life in some important ways that are relevant to the discourse of sport and exercise participation. For analytical purposes everyday life will be separated into different domains of work life, family life and leisure time. This is a severe reduction of the understanding of the complex cultural dimensions in everyday life as it is rooted in time and space, rhythm, movement, passages and transformations (Bech-Jørgensen, 1994; Schutz, 1975). Nevertheless, it is interesting to theorize upon the areas individually in order to capture the perspectives and the connections between aspects of everyday life and sporting practice.

3.4.1. Work life

Work life – or a person’s daily occupation in general – is viewed as the most important domain in constructing the character of individual’s everyday life and thus determining the domain of leisure time (Bauman, 1999; Jacobsen, 2004; Jensen, 2009b; Putnam, 2000; Sennett, 1999). The development from the industrial society towards the late-modern society has changed the character of work life in a number of important ways.

Firstly, work life plays a very central role in late-modern everyday life (Gundelach, 2011). Both men and women enter the labour market to a high extent today, and work life forms the basis of everyday life as an important source of income, identity, self-actualization and contact to other people (Thuesen, 2011). In Denmark the work rate is relatively high compared to other European nations. This is the result of a high proportion of its women being in the labour market. In contrast, the official average working week of 37 hours is rather low by international comparison. The proportion of women in Denmark working outside the household is one of the highest in the world today with 77% of women within the working age being on the labour market. This figure is only topped by Iceland (Minister for Ligestilling, 2006). Women working outside the household have led to changed everyday lives partly for themselves with separated domains of working time, family time and leisure time equally to men, and partly for the family pattern of

organization and composition of the household. Based on existing research in the patterns of sport and exercise participation it shows that the working part of the population is more involved in sporting activities than the unemployed (Bille et al., 2005; Downward & Rasciute, 2010; Pilgaard, 2009;). Thus the higher proportion of women on the labour market can be seen as possibly affecting tendencies to fill out leisure time with activities like sport and exercise equally to men. But even though both men and women work in the labour market, hierarchical gender differences still occur with men being higher positioned than women in relation to choice of branches and sectors (Minister for Iigestilling, 2006). Further, women are still more in charge of the household than men, which can lead to women being in a 'double employment' situation that conflicts with the time they could be spending on leisure activities.

Secondly, daily physical activity has diminished along with technological development. Many work functions have become predominantly sedentary causing the majority of physical activity in everyday life to shift from the domain of work life towards the domain of leisure time (Larsen, 2003a). A generally high proportion of sedentary work functions in Denmark has been mentioned as one of the reasons why physical leisure time activity rates are relatively high in Denmark today. People are assumed to compensate for a sedentary work life by increasing their participation in leisure time sport and exercise (Fridberg, 2010). This indicates that physical activity has become an increasingly reflexive enterprise in everyday life rather than being implicitly embedded into the domain of work life and general household duties. For some population groups it has become possible to live by a completely sedentary lifestyle. Not all work positions have become sedentary though. There are still certain industries that involve 'traditional' physically demanding tasks like heavy lifting, digging and walking. Such industries are typically based on the skilled and unskilled labour market, typically occupied by population groups with short educations, whereas functionaries with long educations are more likely to contain 'modern' sedentary work lifestyles (Matthiassen et al., 2010). Following this trend one can expect differences between the social groups' tendencies to take up sport and exercise activities during leisure hours. People in sedentary (modern) work life positions are expected to be more involved in leisure time sport and exercise to compensate for their sedentary working conditions than people in physical demanding (traditional) work positions. The assumption is that the structural immobility in everyday life leads to higher

levels of leisure time sport and exercise, but this assumption is not unequivocal. Existing literature points towards the strong importance of educational level in relation to participation in sport and exercise. Sedentary work life may be expected to only cause higher educated people to ‘compensate’ by being actively involved in sport and exercise during leisure hours, which will be investigated in the analysis. Sport- and exercise participation levels are increasing in general among the population though, and the increase is most likely to also occur among people in physical demanding work positions.

Thirdly, industrial society created a rational and disciplined approach to work life through its focus on values like routine, optimization, efficiency and specialization. Experience and skills were keywords for the workforce that typically had a very stable connection to the labour market by staying in the same job for a long time (Cavalli, 2004; Gundelach, 2011; Twenge, Campbell, Hoffman, & Lance, 2010;). The Danish philosopher Anders Fogh Jensen characterizes this society as the discipline society that fosters disciplined individuals who live a very stable and circular work, and thus everyday life (Jensen, 2009b). Circular is meant in the sense of repetition by which every day, week, month and year is repeated with only little change over time.

During the late-modern society – in Anders Fogh Jensen’s words, the ‘project society’ – success is measured by values like development, interdisciplinarity and adaptability. The organization of work life in the project society is characterized by non-permanent placement, instability and short-term employment which is said to lead to a society of individuals who are constantly subject to changes (Jacobsen, 2004; Jensen, 2009b; Sennett, 1999; Twenge et al., 2010). Such characteristics have still not permeated all parts of the labour market in Denmark today as many positions are still held by employees who have been connected to the same job for many years, but there is generally a high degree of job mobility among Danes in comparison with workers in other European countries (OECD, 2011). This has served to develop individuals who value flexibility and freedom and dissociate from routine in the domain of work life (Twenge et al., 2010) leading to an assumption of an increased demand of flexibility and changability also in the domain of leisure time participation in sport and exercise.

Fourthly, the development of flexibility in the domain of work life has made it increasingly difficult to separate work life from other domains in everyday life within the

project society. Work life becomes integrated in everyday life in a complex way where the domains of work life, family life and leisure time float together in an interwoven process of building everyday life as a project (Jacobsen, 2004; Jensen, 2009a). The integration of domains also existed in earlier times, i.e. in agriculture or in smaller family-driven shops or businesses. The transformation Jensen refers to is mostly applicable to employees in work positions that are physically separated from the household. For this working group the physical distance has increased between the private residence and the working place as transportation has become more accessible (Bonke, 2002). The longer distances and developing technologies have further made it possible – and, for many people, necessary – to integrate the working domain with other domains in order to turn everyday life into a functional whole. Jensen exemplifies that the integration of everyday life domains, where, for example, people meet for a round of golf as part of a business meeting, makes it impossible to separate work time from leisure time sport and exercise (Jensen, 2009b). Modern work life is thus characterized by an integrated work-leisure time lifestyle as compared to a more traditional separated work-leisure time lifestyle. More and more workplaces allow for flexible working hours and possibilities of bringing work home at night or at weekends (Personalestyrelsen, 2006). Not all work positions allow for flexibility, though. Higher educated workers have better opportunities to work at home and thus make their work schedules more flexible. Women also seem to have more flexible options than men (Personalestyrelsen, 2006). From this it could be expected that people in flexible work positions tend to be more involved in leisure time sport and exercise activities that also allow for flexibility and that such correlations can explain differences according to gender and educational level.

3.4.2. Family life

The family as an institution also undergoes changes in line with societal development. New family patterns, divorces, blended families, single parent families, the postponed average age of parenthood, etc. characterize late-modern family life. When both mum and dad enter the labour market it creates an equal distribution of tasks within the household. The symmetrical family has replaced the complementary family – although in practice there may still be a long way towards true equality. Women still seem to be more in

charge of household duties concerning cleaning, cooking and taking care of the children (Schultz-Jørgensen & Christensen, 2011), which is also reflected in women's tendencies to lower their number of working hours when children arrive in the household.

Symmetrical families are more flexible; they construct everyday life through agreements and negotiation as opposed to the traditional family pattern where the mother is responsible for the household and the children while the father handles the family's earnings (Schultz-Jørgensen & Christensen, 2011).

Today the new family patterns have meant that up to 80% of all Danish children under the age of five years go to day care on a daily basis, which is the highest frequency in the entire European Union (Schultz-Jørgensen & Christensen, 2011). Danish families with young children are thus very busy and under great pressure in everyday life, and because of the long time children spend away from their parents during working hours, it can be expected that parents prioritize spending time with their children during leisure time (Lim et al., 2011). The parent life phase (with smaller children) must therefore be seen as a barrier for individuals' abilities to participate in sport and exercise in their own leisure time. The pressure on Danish families may be less intense than in many other countries, though, where women are also increasingly entering the labour market but having a less developed day care system to compensate for the time they cannot spend looking after their home and/or children. But due to the relatively high participation rates in sport and exercise in general among both adult men and women in Denmark, the parent life phase can be seen, in particular, as a factor in lowering the participation rates.

The great amount of time that today's children spend in institutional settings can also be assumed to affect the development of social values. Day care institutions play an increasing role in children's upbringing. The overall responsibility still lies in the hands of the parents, but the values that children grow up today with are far from the earlier generation's values. Today children are raised to be independent, empowered and socially competent rather than being obedient carriers of social virtues (Schultz-Jørgensen & Christensen, 2011).

Changes in values can be seen as both the cause of and a response to general development of society. New generations are brought up to handle an individualized, flexible society

through the management of individual demands and the ability to create meaning and success in their own lives (Jacobsen, 2004; Jensen, 2009a; Twenge et al., 2010). Values in the upbringing process can be expected to filter through to the population's participation in sport and exercise, leading to an assumption that different generations will prioritize their participation in sport and exercise and their ways of organizing the activities differently.

3.4.3. Leisure time

The domain of leisure time can be described as the time period of the day and the week that is not occupied by work, transportation, cleaning, cooking, sleeping and other similar duties. Danish sports sociologist P.H. Kühl has differentiated between necessary free time and actual free (leisure) time in everyday life (Kühl, 1976), but today it can be questioned as to what extent physical activities should be categorized as 'necessary free time' or 'leisure time', since it has become more necessary in late-modern everyday life to keep physically active as a result of having an increasingly inactive lifestyle in other domains. To a certain extent physical activity must be considered as much of a necessity as hygiene – i.e., something the individual must attend to on a daily basis. As Jespersen and Riiskjær envisioned in 1982:

Sport and 'idræt' will soon be considered so valuable that the citizens almost owe it to society to practice sport. The time is perhaps not so far away where there will be talk about reducing the number of 'non-sportlers' ('idrætsløse'). (Jespersen & Riiskjær, 1982:10).

Twenty years later, the Government set out a vision and a strategy for national public health with a clear message that all citizens carry a responsibility to demonstrate healthy and physically active behaviour (Regeringen, 2002). However, sport and exercise during

leisure hours can still be considered as recreational occupation that people do for leisure reasons, and sport and exercise should not be reduced to mere physical activity³.

Active use of free time in everyday life is value based. People create different cultural opinions and values about the content of leisure time, and leisure time activities have traditionally been seen as a symbol of power struggles between social classes (Bourdieu, 1978, 1984, 1998,; Hans-Erik Olson, 2010). In general, leisure time is a symptom of resources and positive lifestyle promotion which is expressed in the public funding of recreational purposes like sport, libraries, theatres, music, museums, etc. Free time is considered a scarcity of good and today a lack of free time equals a lack of welfare (Bell, 1973; Bloch, 2001). But free time is not always good. One can experience too much free time, as is the case for the unemployed and the injured or ill (Kühl, 1976).

Before the industrialization period people only knew of very limited free time in everyday life. Technology, machines and a separation of the work force ('arbejdsdeling') made leisure time possible for recreation, self-expression, family life, education, etc. Leisure time became an official part of everyday life when working weeks were reduced to 40 hours in 1919 (Bonke, 2002). This was followed by a massive growth in the organized sports club culture in Denmark, and a study of the development from 1938 to 1953 shows an average increase of 109 percent of participants in eleven of the largest organized sports activities in Denmark at the time (Andersen, Bo-Jensen, Elkjær-Hansen, & Sonne, 1957). The working day was subsequently reduced to 37 hours in 1990, leaving even more time for leisure activities (Bonke, 2002). In recent decades the actual amount of time spent on work-related duties has increased again, but in a less formal way due to overtime (often at home at night or at weekends) and transport or business-related travelling (Bonke, 2002).

Norbert Elias has described how sport was mainly used as a recreational channel for emotional release in a very disciplined and rational time era (Elias & Dunning, 1986; Horne et al., 1999). Other descriptions have been made of, for example, the development

³ The motivations or intentions behind carrying out certain kinds of activities are interesting to investigate, and have been subject to many research projects in the field of sport. However, it is a very complex area as the motivations and intentions must be understood as not merely lying within the individual, as the individual is affected by the surrounding social world of history, culture and current discourses about how and why physical exercise should be carried out. This thesis does not allow space for a thorough investigation of the motives and intentions behind the specific ways of sporting practice.

of gymnastics as a part of the disciplined body culture and a way of achieving a healthy and strong body that would otherwise become curved and rundown from hard, physical work (Trangbæk, Hansen, Ibsen, Jørgensen, & Nielsen, 1995a).

Today sport and exercise is the largest leisure time occupation in Denmark and includes active participation, volunteering, following one or more family members' participation and passive consumption of sport in the media.

Other leisure time activities can be seen as activities that conflict with sport and exercise. A study of sports participation among adolescents in four Danish municipalities suggests that other leisure attractions like cafés, movie theatres, libraries, computer cafés, etc., could explain part of the reason why adolescents in Copenhagen are less involved in sport and exercise than adolescents living outside the big city area (Ibsen & Nielsen, 2008). Some studies suggest on the contrary that individuals who are actively involved in sport and exercise are generally interested in other cultural amusement like visiting the library, theatre and concerts, watching television and playing computer games, which results in an accumulation of cultural consumption skills (Downward & Rasciute, 2010).

The presented theory suggests that the character of leisure time develops as a process of the development of other domains of everyday life. When work life and family life change, so do the values, the structure and the content of leisure time because it is expected that the domains are related to each other in an interwoven process. The importance of the quantity of leisure time in relation to the leisure time activities is however not clear. From a macro-level perspective the increase in leisure time can be associated with an increase in leisure time sport and exercise participation. But the use of leisure time must be seen in a more complex light. The unemployed, for example, who logically seem to have the most 'free time' in everyday life to participate in sport and exercise, are found to be less involved in sport and exercise than working people (Bille et al., 2005; Pilgaard, 2009). Unemployment might cause a lack of structure and desire for leisure time sport and exercise based on scarcity theories revealing that individuals without economic security are forced to prioritize securing basic needs (Inglehart, 1977). It can also be seen as a challenge to maintain certain routines as everyday life changes i.e. in relation to being fired or physically incapable of maintaining work. Sudden or unexpected 'breaches' can cause a collapse in the different domains in everyday life and

too much time is not always desirable when it is caused by involuntary reasons like injury or dismissal (Bech-Jørgensen, 1994).

3.5. Development of everyday life and the implications for the sporting practice

The previous three sections described central developmental patterns in the domains in everyday life, and the current different conditions of everyday life are assumed to be associated with different populations groups' tendencies to participate in sport and exercise. From a macro-level perspective of sporting development the assumption is supported in other sports sociological literature. Guttmann has presented a classification of sport developed in society from the primitive to the modern, industrial society with special focus given to equations between the industrial society and modern sport (Guttmann, 1978). Elias and Dunning similarly stress the links between industrial, disciplined values and modern sport based on sets of rules, specialization, competition and perfection (Breivik, 1998; Elias & Dunning, 1986; Hargreaves, 1986; Horne et al., 1999). Jensen, among others (Engström, 2004; Lorentzen, 2001; Putnam, 2000), has more recently described new individual and flexible ways of carrying out sport and exercise as a result of the individualized, project-oriented society (Jensen, 2009b). In Jensen's words the transition from the terms of the industrial society towards the project society becomes present when the question about ideality or perfection becomes irrelevant because the conditions and intentions vary between individuals (Jensen, 2009b: 216). The runner is no longer (only) striving for an optimized running technique in order to win a race. The soccer player is not (only) striving to get better in order to advance in position, but may instead value the status quo. The goal has become individual and diverse; for some runners it may be important to prove to themselves (or others) that they are able to complete a race; others run for health reasons like losing weight or improving physical shape, to unwind from being stressed in other domains of everyday life, etc. The soccer player may enjoy the social aspect of playing or just having a meaningful leisure time activity without being dictated by the classic codes of modern sport that focus on winning and improving. This is a rather simplistic interpretation of a transformation from modern to late-modern sport and exercise logics, but the description refers to the pure forms of

traditional modern sport compared to late-modern relativity. The logic of sport is also not necessarily changing in a linear way throughout history, but, rather, it is supplemented by new activities and concepts over time that can be related to overall societal values. There is a development towards an increased complexity in the patterns of the sporting practice. In 1998 Gunnar Breivik argued that:

In a very simplified version, the change from modernity to postmodernity could be expressed as a change from rationality towards understanding (in a broader sense), from the universal towards the local and relative, from science towards a multitude of discourses, from the idea of progress towards variations and complexity in life forms (Breivik, 1998: 104).

Today we can talk about a development towards multiple logics, purposes, desires, intentions, motives and thereby concepts and linguistic understandings of the multitude of sporting practices. And the overall development is said to be linked – both proactively and reactively – to the general development of social aspects of everyday life (Breivik, 1998; Engström, 1999; Horne et al., 1999). Yet this assumes that the sporting practices vary and differ across time and context showing the cultural and historical importance in the construction and understanding of sporting differences and development.

But to what extent societal development and current variations between different population groups are related to generational, life phase-related, or periodical effects is not clear. Robert Inglehart (1977; 1990) stresses that values are generated in specific generations caused by specific conditions in a person's upbringing. Thus values, opinions and behaviour can be expected to remain stable and slowly change as new generations replace older ones. A study by Ottar Hellevik (2001) concluded that it is not possible to draw general inferences about generational or life phase effects, though, when differences occur in values and behaviour between younger and older people. Therefore it is not clear in what way the development described according to work life, family life and leisure time is expected to affect development in the sporting practice. Article two investigates the overall participation in sport and exercise from all three approaches, asking to what extent sport and exercise between 1964 and 2007 developed as a means of generational, life phase, or periodical effects. The assumption of a generational effect expects slow

development as new generations replace older ones. A life phase assumption leads to participation patterns changing in different life phases, but remains stable at societal level over time only altering with demographic changes. Thirdly, a time period effect assumes that sports participation increases over time in accordance with changes in work life conditions, gender roles, generally higher educational levels and increased focus on physical activity and health due to immobilizing structures over the past decades. From this, article two takes its departure from the following three perspectives:

Development in sports participation is caused by a generational effect. Younger generations are expected to have a higher rate of participation than older ones.

Development in sports participation is caused by a life phase effect. A drop in participation is expected especially in the parent life phase. Due to opposing assumptions about older age it is not clear whether participation levels will increase or drop as people enter older stages of life.

Development in sports participation is caused by a periodical effect. Increased participation rates are expected in all generations and life phases from older to more recent periods. The periodical effect is expected to occur to a higher extent among women than men as women have undergone the biggest change on the labour market since 1964.

Further, article three focuses on cross-sectional variations among the population in 2007, looking into the associations between everyday life conditions – mostly expressed by the structure of work life – and overall participation as well as the character of participation among the adult population. Can such parameters of everyday life explain variations in traditional structures of age, gender and educational level according to participation level and the character of participation among the active? The following hypothesis is central to article three:

A modern work life (sedentary and integrated work-leisure time lifestyle) is assumed to a) raise participation levels in sport and exercise, and b) associate

with a modern (self-organized or commercially organized) participation in sport and exercise.

3.5.1. The organization of late-modern sport and exercise – about routine and flexibility

According to Anders Fogh Jensen the late-modern individual, the project-individual as he refers to, must be seen as a subject to the conditions of everyday life in the project society. While the social structures in the disciplined, industrial society were characterized by stability and routine, the project society in late-modern everyday life is change-oriented. It values flexibility and variability over stability and routine (Jensen, 2009a). Such late-modern life forms have been described as a ‘centrifuge’ where the individuals live fragmented everyday lives in an attempt to compose everyday life as a project and to achieve various needs within the fields of work life vs. free time, career vs. love life, family life vs. self-actualization (Jacobsen & Kristiansen, 2005). Flexibility and mobility are prerequisites for meeting the needs of late-modern everyday life, and the way that everyday life is formed, organized and constructed today challenges established systems (Jensen, 2009a, 2009b).

Within the field of leisure time sport and exercise the traditional sport club can be seen as being challenged by such changes in values. Club sport represents values from the industrial discipline society, where participation is centred on one specific discipline in one specific sporting space with a specific time schedule and a stringently defined season that is repeated year after year. The facilities are built for particular disciplines, following the rational logic of the disciplined society. The athlete is expected to adapt to the existing rules, codes and logics of the sport. In order to participate, other domains of everyday life must be tailored in order to complement the schedule of the sporting practice. The individual, so to speak, enters a rather autonomous non-flexible system. Lewis Coser (1974) developed the sociological concept of ‘greedy institutions’ that can be cautiously related to the logic of *traditional* club-organized sport developed during the modern, industrial society. Coser argued that greedy institutions seek exclusive and undivided loyalty from their members. Coser’s theory was written in a very different context, almost

40 years ago, and is based on studies of organizations such as Jesuits and the Bolshevik Party who attempted to make total claims on their member's whole personality. The concept is reminiscent of Erving Goffman's concept of 'total institution' as has been used to describe the Victorian public schools of England in the nineteenth century which had the task of supervising pupils twenty-four hours a day (Bourdieu, 1978). Such statements obviously exaggerate the situation of voluntary sports clubs, and the label of 'greedy' is only meant in relation to the traditional way of thinking about members in the specific separation of activities. The soccer club is often 'competing' against the handball club in their recruitment of members. When the demand for training increases, especially in the teenage life phase, it may 'force' the member to choose between disciplines. It becomes an 'either-or' choice. Also, sport clubs have very little tradition for corporation with other departments representing different disciplines, be it other sport clubs or even other sport providers, in optimizing the offers available to their members. They seldom consider a broader perspective in their attempts to retain members and to combat dropout rates in adolescence. Many sport disciplines work towards maintaining the loyalty and continuous participation of their members, but they do so in traditional ways guided by the logic of making the member adapt to the existing sporting system instead of offering adapted training and ways of organizing activities in order to suit different group's needs and demands in different phases of their lives.

In the project society the focus is turned more onto the individual, and the demand for more flexibility in everyday life is a requirement of the 'project society'. Sport and exercise in the context of the project individual is more loosely connected to time, content and space. People run on the pavements and in the forests, and exercise can also be taken care of at home, at work, or in the transition from home to work, during vacations or business trips. It is a confluent system of domains in everyday life in which the athlete, as a reflexive individual, creates both the sporting practice and the space for sport and exercise in their bodily encountering with the physical surroundings.

Sport and exercise in late-modern everyday life can be understood in this way as relative and changing activities taken up by the individual based on limitations of cultural, historical and physical surroundings in different stages of life and in different conditions

of everyday life. In the result section of the *character* of sport and exercise the following hypothesis will be investigated:

Sport and exercise is developing from traditional club and team sports participation towards more individual, flexible and self-organized ways of carrying out activities.

3.5.2. The context of late-modern sport and exercise – about individualism and social relations

Some critical sociologists approach the development of flexibility and changeability within the domain of work life with scepticism. The fragmented way in which late-modern work life is structured is said to reflect a general societal transformation that permeates every corner of everyday life where it becomes difficult to maintain social relations and to make stable social commitments (Bauman, 2002; Putnam, 1995; Sennett, 1999). A consequence is the development of an individualized society. It is directly exemplified within the field of sport by Robert D. Putnam using the metaphor of 'Bowling alone' by which he described the decline of social capital within American culture (Putnam, 1995).

In a Danish context, social relations and social capital seem to exist to a greater extent today. Empirical studies show a growing amount of social capital in society based on operationalized terms of tolerance, trust and voluntary work (Gundelach, 2011). But participation in commercial fitness studios and self-organized activities as well as individual activities – that is, activities that can take place alone or together with others – develop to a greater extent than club sport and team sports in particular. Is this a sign of increased individualism within the field of sport and exercise? Or is it a sign of general societal modernization processes towards new ways of structuring social commitment in everyday life?

In article four the focus is on leisure time sport and exercise among teenagers. A special emphasis lies on the tendency to drop out of club-organized sport. Is this a result of individualistic behavior or is it caused by the prerequisites of late-modern everyday life? The empirical material does not allow for a direct test of a hypothesis about individualism

vs. social relations in the tendency to participate in sport and exercise. The article is primarily concerned with the following hypothesis:

Teenagers' tendencies' to drop out from club organized sport and exercise are caused by a mismatch of the sport clubs' expectations and the young people's prerequisites for participation in a flexible late-modern youth way of life.

Social stratification is expected in accordance with the adolescents that manage to maintain a sport- and exercise-filled lifestyle in this turbulent phase of life.

4. Method section

4.1. Presentation of data

The four articles in the thesis are based on Danish national survey data. In Denmark, participation in sport and exercise has been investigated eight times among a representative sample of the Danish population in a way that is close to being directly comparable. The first nationwide cross-sectional Survey on Cultural Habits, under which a smaller sample of questions about sport and exercise was included, was conducted in 1964 by the Danish National Centre for Social Research. It has since been repeated in 1975, 1987, 1993 and 1998. In 2004 the cohort survey was continued by a different research institute, TNS Gallup.

Besides the Survey on Cultural Habits, the Danish Foundation for Culture and Sports facilities conducted an independent survey in 2002, only focusing on participation in sport and exercise. The data from this survey is not requisitioned for secondary analysis in the thesis.

The latest survey from 2007, also only focusing on sport and exercise participation, was coordinated by the Danish Institute for Sport Studies in corporation with – and with financial support from – the National Olympic Committee and Sports Confederation of Denmark (DIF), Danish Gymnastics and Sports Associations (DGI), Danish Federation for Company Sport (Dansk Firmaidrætsforbund), the Danish Outdoor Council, Team Danmark, the Danish Ministry of Culture and the Danish Ministry of Culture Committee on Sports Research (KIF).

Table 1 shows information about the survey design, number of respondents and response rates from the different survey years (Pilgaard 2009). Table 2 presents the survey data used for primary and secondary analysis in the thesis.

Table 1. Data collection on sports participation among the Danish population

Year	Time of data collection	Survey method	Sample size	Response rates
1964	Feb/Mar	Visit	3.534	80%
1975	Jan/Feb	Visit	3.723	74%
1987	Feb/Mar	Telephone/postal	3.302	66%
1993	Nov/Dec	Telephone/visit	1.843	73%
1998	Nov/Dec	Telephone/visit	1.364	68%
2002	Nov/Dec	Telephone/visit	2.811	87%
2004	May-August	Telephone/postal/internet	2.513	65%
2007	Nov/Dec	Postal/internet	4.147	49%

Table 2. Presentation of survey data

	Age spread	Age mean	Gender (M)	Participation rate	Participation question
1975	17-94	44,6	50,3	30,0%	Do you participate in sport (exercise)?
1987	16-74	41,8		42,8%	Do you participate in sport or exercise?
1993	16-94	43,2	51,5	46,2%	Do you participate in sport or exercise?
1998	16-95	43,4	49,5	49,5%	Do you normally participate in sport or exercise?
2007	16-98	48,2	46,2	55,8%	Do you normally participate in sport/exercise?

The data from 1964 has not been preserved and cannot be obtained for secondary analysis. The data from 1987 only includes respondents aged between 16 and 74 years, whereas there is no top age limit in the remaining data.

The 2007-data is the most central data in this thesis and set the basis for the main analysis in article one, three and four. In article one and four with occasional glance at data from

earlier survey years. Article two is investigating the development in sports participation level by comparing data from 1975, 1987, 1998 and 2007.

4.1.1. Primary data from 2007

The questionnaire from 2007 was constructed by the Danish Institute for Sport Studies in a process together with represents from the six financing stakeholders from DIF, DGI, Danish Federation for Company Sport, the Danish Outdoor Council, Team Danmark, the Ministry of Culture and KIF.

It has been the intention to construct a questionnaire that allow for comparisons with the earlier surveys on cultural habits. Further it was the intention to reach a much deeper perspective on Danish sports- and exercise participation from a comprehensive questionnaire only concerning sport and exercise in relation to the narrow perspective on sport and exercise presented in the surveys on cultural habits.

Separate questionnaires are designed for children aged 7 to 15 years and for adults aged 16 and older and the questionnaire for children is less extensive with a total of 38 questions while the adult questionnaire contains 61 questions. Only article four includes analysis of the data from children.

The data collection was performed by Epinion Capacent who was in charge of sending out and collecting questionnaires. The survey was based on a combined postal- and internet based collection of data and the respondents were selected based on a simple random Central Persona Register (CPR-based) sample under the then Interior- and Health Ministry. The data collection was carried out in November and December 2007. All participants received a postal questionnaire with the option of using an online code to answer the questions online. Less than 10% used this opportunity.

There has been sent out 9.000 questionnaires for adults and 3.800 for children. 172 of the adult- and 57 of the children schemes were returned due to wrong addresses. Of the remaining 8.828 adults and the 3.743 children 4.147 adult- and 1.987 children participated in the survey. This results in a response rate of 47% among adults and 53% among children.

From table 1 it shows that the 2007-data contains almost twice as many participating respondents as in any of the earlier surveys but on the other hand the response rate is lower. High response rates are generally an increasing challenge in survey based studies, and combined with the narrow theme of sport and exercise participation it is likely that respondents with a certain interest in sport and exercise are more willing to return the questionnaire.

An analysis of the sample shows a minor underrepresentation of men by 3%-points and a minor underrepresentation of respondents aged 20 to 39 years while the age group 16 to 19 years and 40 to 79 years are slightly overrepresented (by less than 2%-point). People with long educational levels are also overrepresented in the data which has also been a challenge in the earlier surveys on cultural habits (Bille et al., 2005). Since higher educated are generally more involved in sport and exercise than other population groups the general level of participation must be expected to be slightly overestimated.

4.1.2. Secondary data from 1975, 1987, 1993, 1998 and 2004 and issues of data comparison

Data from the surveys on cultural habits are requested from the Danish Data Archive. The secondary analysis is primarily presented in article two only looking into the level of participation in sport and exercise based on the question ‘Do you normally participate in sport or exercise?’ Issues of comparisons of the question are addressed in the following. The result section in chapter 5 further investigates development in activity forms based on activities listed in five categories which will also be discussed in the following.

The first national survey from 1964 included a question about participation, asking ‘Do you participate in sport? This question has been repeated in most of the following surveys and is seen as the most central question in investigating the development of participation rates over time. However, the wording of the question has been continuously modified in an attempt to capture and sufficiently cover the many types of activities taking place as leisure time sport and exercise (Kühl, 1976; Pilgaard, 2009).

In 1975, the word ‘exercise’ (‘motion’ in Danish and ‘Bewegung’ in German) was introduced as a supplement to the word ‘sport’ in the question ‘Do you participate in sport (exercise)?’ In 1998 the question changed to ‘Do you normally participate in sport/exercise?’ The addition of ‘normally’ may be seen as an acknowledgement of the changing everyday life structure into something less routine based and more flexible. Daily routines cannot be expected to be repeated on a weekly basis and people may be involved in many different bigger or smaller activities and events creating a changing and content-rich everyday life. Asking about ‘normally’ participating may give a connotation of somewhat repeated affairs in everyday life excluding one-time events from the commonsense understanding of participation. Thus, modifications of the question can be seen as a sign of an expanded and developing framework in order to articulate changes in the sporting practice (Kühl, 1980).

In 2004 the survey was conducted by a different research institute, TNS Gallup, and the central question ‘Do you normally participate in sport/exercise’ was not included. Instead they used a question about frequency, asking how many times per week the respondents participated in sport or exercise. This formulation was partly selected in order to allow for international comparisons, as frequency was the central focus in much of the existing international survey based literature. As will be discussed in the first article of this thesis there are major complications involved in comparing participation rates across different types of questions because the outcome is very sensitive to the specific method and wording of the question. From Table 3 it becomes clear how big of an issue the specific question is to the outcome of participation level in sport and exercise based on the 2007 data.

Table 3. Response rates among adults to four different questions about participation in sport and exercise

	1993	1998	2007
1) Do you normally participate in sport/exercise?	47%	51%	56%
2) Have you attended at least one of the following listed activities regularly within the past year?	57%	69%	86%

Table 4 List of activities from all survey years, listed in the original order

	1975	1987	1993	1998	2002	2004	2007
1	Swimming	Soccer	Soccer	Soccer	Soccer	Soccer	Soccer
2	Sea sports	Handball	Handball	Handball	Handball	Handball	Handball
3	Soccer	Other team ball game	Other team ball game	Other team ball game	Other team ball game	Other team ball game	Basketball
4	Handball	Badminton	Badminton	Badminton	Badminton	Badminton	Volleyball
5	Other team ball game	Tennis	Tennis	Tennis	Tennis	Tennis	Other team ball game
6	Track and field	Other individual ball game	Other individual ball game	Other individual ball game	Other individual ball game	Other individual ball game	Badminton
7	Biking	Track and field	Golf	Golf	Golf	Golf	Tennis
8	Horseback riding	Running	Running	Running	Gymnastics	Bowling	Golf
9	Skiing/orienteering	Walking	Walking	Walking	Shooting	Horseback riding	Bowling
10	Ice skating	Swimming	Swimming	Swimming	Horseback riding	Swimming	Petanque
11	Badminton	Gymnastics	Gymnastics	Gymnastics	Canoeing/kayak/rowing	Running	Billiard
12	Tennis	Bodybuilding	Work out	Aerobics/work out	Sailing	Walking	Table tennis
13	Other individual ball game	Work out	Weight training	Weight training	Cycling	Rollerblades	Squash
14	Gymnastics	Yoga	Ballet	Modern dancing	Recreational biking	Cycling	Other individual ball game
15	Shooting	Karate	Sports dance	Sports dance	Martial arts	Spinning	Nordic walking
16	Wrestling/boxing/judo	Shooting	Folk dance	Folk dance	Swimming	Gymnastics	Running
17	Trim/exercise	Hunting	Yoga	Yoga	Folk dance	Weight training	Orienteering
18	Hunting/angling	Angling	Karate	Martial arts	Sports dance	Track and field	Walking
19	Other	Cycling	Shooting	Shooting	Running	Dancing	Rollerblades
20		Horseback riding	Hunting	Hunting	Aerobics	Yoga	Skateboard
21		Rowing	Angling	Angling	Weight training/body building	Karate	Cycling (not as transport)
22		Sailing	Recreational biking	Recreational biking	Yoga	Boxing	Horseback riding

Continues...

Table 4 continued...

	1975	1987	1993	1998	2002	2004	2007
23		Skiing	Cycling	Cycling	Modern dance	Shooting	Engine sports
24		Other	Horseback riding	Rollerblades	Rollerblades	Hunting	Gymnastics
25			Canoeing	Horseback riding	Walking	Angling	Aerobics/work out
26			Sailing	Canoeing	Hunting	Canoeing/kayak	Strength training
27			Other	Sailing	Angling	Sailing	Dancing
28				Other	Other	Sport for disabled	Yoga/meditation
29						Other	Spinning
30							Boxing
31							Martial arts
32							Track and field
33							Climbing
34							Swimming
35							Other water sport
36							Canoeing/rowing
37							Kayak
38							Sailing/windsurfing
39							Ice skating
40							Shooting
41							Hunting
42							Angling
43							Sport for disabled
44							Role playing
45							Other

The differences in responses to the four questions about participation in sport and exercise outline how important it is to pay careful attention to survey design and the purpose of the survey. This becomes especially urgent when comparing different surveys to express development over time, or when comparing different nations simultaneously.

The higher participation rate shown in question two compared to that in question one may indicate that people are likely to participate in some of the 45 activities from the list without considering themselves as part of a sport or exercise culture. The list was expanded from 19 activities in 1975, 25 activities in 1993 and 28 activities in 1998 (see Table 4). Maybe the understandings of sport and exercise have remained more traditional and narrow within the population compared to the researchers conducting the survey. However, when only looking at the same 25 activities in 2007 as were listed in 1975 there is still 81% of the respondents that participate in at least one activity.

Question two refers to a time frame of one year, whereas question one asks about ‘normally’ taking part. The discrepancy between question one and two has increased over time giving the impression that more people today participate in at least one activity regularly in a given year, but do not identify themselves as being participants at the particular moment in which they are asked about their participation. This observation is in line with the assumptions about a late-modern, flexible sports participation which indicate that many Danes take up activities regularly *at some point* during the year, but do not necessarily engage in them as a constant, yearly repetition.

4.2. Sport and exercise between history, culture and subject

In this thesis participation in sport and exercise is investigated from a commonsense perspective following the everyday life sociological approach as participation in sport and exercise is investigated through the survey method using the question ‘Do you normally participate in sport/exercise’ without a specific definition of the two concepts ‘sport’ and ‘exercise’ prior to the question. The focus lies on the part of the population who consider *themselves* as part of a sport and exercise culture – based on their commonsense understanding of the concepts.

Inter-subjective knowledge arises in social settings creating a common frame of reference that makes it possible to separate, recognize and communicate about different phenomena within the current cultural context (McFee, 2007). But sometimes commonsense phenomena in everyday life can be an arena of ideological struggles about the formation of mass-consciousness (Jacobsen & Kristiansen, 2005), as has been the case in a sports sociological context regarding definitions of sport and exercise. Different understandings can be seen as a continuum from a very narrow to a very wide definition of what should be considered leisure time sport and exercise. In Southern European countries the understanding is more 'traditional' and linked to organized sport in formal sports clubs following defined rules, times and sporting spaces. In Finland, on the contrary, the understanding of sport and exercise is even broader than in Denmark, and encompasses sauna culture and household activities like gardening (Gratton et al., 2011). The differences emerge from culture, history and the construction of everyday life, but they are also developed by individual actions. The acknowledgement of people walking with the intention of exercising has led to the inclusion of walking in surveys on sport and exercise participation. And through this inclusion more people become aware of walking as an exercise activity, thereby leading to more walking activity. Thus sport and exercise develops both proactively and reactively in an interwoven process between linguistic (commonsense) understandings and the sporting practice (Breivik, 1998).

This approach concedes that participation in sport and exercise emerge from the past in a historic, experiential, ongoing process where the individual is seen as actively involved in developing society based on their actions (Schutz, 1975). To paraphrase Joseph A. Maguire, paraphrasing Karl Marx: *people make their own history but in situations not of their own choosing* (Maguire, 2011: 865). It is not possible to understand the current patterns of participation in sport and exercise without looking back at the specific history from which the patterns emerge. The culture of the sporting system in Denmark is unique and different from the sporting system in Sweden or Norway. And the culture of sport in Scandinavia is similarly very unique and different from Southern European countries and even more different from American or Asian sports culture (Lim et al., 2011; Stamm & Lamprecht, 2005). As described above the commonsense understandings of what is considered sport and exercise in Denmark may be different from what is considered sport and exercise in other countries, and thus differences occur in the sporting practice. Even

within a Danish context different understandings are likely to evolve between certain population groups as socializing processes are often found to lead to different values, opinions and behaviours across social structures of demographic and sociocultural backgrounds (Horne et al., 1999; Inglehart, 1977, 1990). There is no objective truth but rather subjective opinions based on cultural, historical and individual contexts (Maguire, 2011).

Within a Danish body cultural context cultural struggles have led to different but yet simultaneously developmental patterns. The Ling-inspired gymnastics among the peasants with focus on civic education, civic society and democratic values was fundamentally different from the Danish-German-inspired gymnastics that developed among the workers and the bourgeoisie in the cities. Where the former was concerning training of the whole body that would often be warped and worn from physical arduous work in the fields, the latter had special focus on competition, specialization and results. The two different directions of gymnastics represented fundamentally different ideologies which were crucial for the formation of the dual sport model that developed and characterizes the Danish *club organized* sports culture today represented by the two major sports federations DIF and DGI (Trangbæk et al., 1995). This dual system is very characteristic for the Danish sport- and exercise culture evolving from two crucially different traditions in relation to values, ideologies, content and purposes with the sporting practice – possibly linked to the character of the everyday lives representing the peasants vs. the city-people. The dual system may have played an important role in the broad perspective on sport and exercise as we see today compared to other - often Southern European countries.

4.3. Measuring sport and exercise – a methodological challenge

The complexity of defining and delineating the field of sport and exercise has certainly not decreased with societal changes towards a late-modern, change-oriented project society where the spheres of everyday life have become more interwoven and fluent. This is especially the case in the context of sport and exercise, as it no longer (only) refers to a specified and restricted part of leisure time in restricted sporting spaces following restricted, organized time schedules and rules. Whereas athletes traditionally ‘played

soccer or basketball' as a regulated and scheduled activity, more and more people now weave physical exercise into other parts of everyday life in ways such as using active transportation to and from work as the only means of getting some exercise, going for a round of golf with a colleague or a business partner as part of a business meeting, jumping on the garden trampoline with the children to combine play and family time with physically demanding activities, etc. Outdoor public facilities for skateboarding, BMX, street basketball, mountain biking, walking, running and ice skating in the winter are gaining ground in the public sphere allowing the inhabitants to exercise in many different ways at different times in everyday life, i.e. using the facilities intentionally as part of a training regime, wearing specific clothes for the activity, or as a more spontaneous activity combined with 'hanging out' with friends or family. Many of these activities may not be new, but the perception of the activities as sport and exercise is new. Parkour (in its original version) is a great example of a late-modern movement culture where the bodily actions create time and space for the sporting practice. It is only as the athlete 'surfs' through the city that the sporting space is created as an ongoing process embedded in the body. In parkour there is no definition of time and space separated from other domains in the process of everyday life. Thus, today it may be seen as a bigger challenge than ever to define and delineate the concept of sport and exercise in a project-oriented everyday life, and there are fluid boundaries between concepts of sport, 'idræt', play, games, dancing, expressive and aesthetic movements, physical activity and movement per se.

The method of measuring sports participation among the population has since the first nationwide survey in 1964 been based on the question 'Do you participate in sport', which has been changed to 'Do you normally participate in sport/exercise' in 2007, as referred to earlier. No definitions of sport and exercise are provided in the questionnaire, leaving it up to subjective understandings as to whether the respondents define themselves as a part of a sport and exercise culture or not. This is a methodological challenge since survey questions should generally avoid words with wide semantic fields – or preferably add probes to specify the meaning of the question asked (Olsen, 2001). In quantitative research everyday life language is not seen as sufficient or adequate for scientific investigation since it can lead to uncertainty about what the respondents are replying to (Hellevik, 2002; Olsen, 2001). The original question from 1964 was asked at a time when sport was maybe a more clearly defined activity with a very narrow semantic field as something taking

place in a sports club setting most likely with the intention of playing or competing. Participating in sport could be seen in this way as common knowledge often defined by membership to a sports club. Asking about sports participation would not have been different from asking about going to the movie theatre, so no probes or specific definitions were needed. However, in a Danish article from 1957 it becomes clear that even at this point in time the definition of sport was not necessarily an obvious affair. The article is seen as one of the first sports sociological papers in a Danish context (Andersen et al., 1957). It is presenting data from different surveys of quantitative character, including 'the Sports Count' which contained data on memberships of DIF, DGI (then called D.D.S.G & I) and the Danish Federation for Company Sport collected by the Department of Statistics with a time span of five years between 1938 and 1953.

In the article the authors focus on sports, games and athletics indicating that sport was not a sufficient and clear concept:

The words 'sport, games, and athletics' are used here in such a way as to comprise pure sports activities only. In the first place such a delimitation of the words implies concentrating on a group of actions demanding physical training and efforts. In the second place such actions must bear the stamp of play and competition, and the essential interest for the participant should not be financial advantage. (Andersen, et al, 1957:1)

The logic of sport was defined as physical training with elements of play and competition. However, professional sport as we know it today was not considered as being sport. Running or fitness with the intention of only achieving physical exercise was not considered as sport as long as there was no play or competition involved. On the other hand there was no specific focus on the context in which the activities took place. Later in the article it becomes clear that only club sport is under investigation, whereas school sport and sports and games outside the organizations are excluded from the analysis (Andersen et al, 1957). This acknowledges that sport and games *could have* taken place outside club organizations but, most likely due to the lack of empirical data, the authors chose to only focus on club-organized participation.

Over the past four decades sport and exercise has developed into a much more complex and relative field, as alluded to earlier. Sport might still be sport in the 'traditional' sense of participating in an organized sports club setting, but the addition of exercise has made it far from clear what is meant by such activities. The commercial sector has since developed and today not only commercial fitness centres, but also activities such as soccer, dancing, squash, badminton, bowling and golf can be used by 'pay and play' concepts. Recreational exercise develops in this setting without competition as a goal, especially among the adult part of the population, and competitive activities also develop in commercial settings.

Several attempts to define sport have been made in literature about sport. In a Danish context such attempts are presented in, among others: (Eichberg & Bøje, 1994; Ibsen, Jørgensen, Stelter, & Trangbæk, 1991; Larsen, 2003a; Møller, 1999). Most contributions focus on defining the Nordic concept of 'idræt' and the differences and similarities between 'idræt' and sport, whereas less focus is on exercise ('motion' in Danish). All attempts acknowledge the difficulty in coming to a precise definition of sport (or idræt), and the definition made by Eichberg and Bøje in 1994 is so broad and comprehensive that it appears as a broad description of the possible outcomes of 'idræt' rather than as a definitive definition in itself:

Idræt is a body and movement praxis that, through societal processes, has developed towards a multitude of (sub) cultures and – in a contradictory manner – is gathering around performance and competition, health and fitness, cultural ('popular') body experience and identity. (Eichberg & Bøje, 1994: 10).

Eichberg (Eichberg, 2009) developed his framework and thoughts on movement culture leading to the following statement in 2009:

Movement should not be given a narrow and 'exact' definition seeking- or requiring consensus among all (...) 'Movement' is a search and curiosity notion pointing to analytically significant contradictions in people's practice. (Eichberg, 2009:11).

In 2002 Norwegian Ørnulf Seippel similarly pointed to a perspective of the relativity in the words of sport and exercise and stressed that nobody should bother defining 'idræt' in a way that all can agree to and that appears equally fruitful in all contexts (Seippel, 2002).

In the European 'Whitepaper on Sport' the authors investigate sport based on the definition made by the European Commission:

All organized or non-organized physical exercise with the intention of improving physical and psychological condition, developing social relations or gaining results through competition at any given level. (Council of Europe, 2007:6).

The element of relativity from the subjective *intentions* is especially complex but important to consider. Today many different activities in many different settings can appear similarly but with very different subjective intentions. A walk or a bike ride may look the same to an observer but will be caused by different aims held by the person carrying out the activity. Some might see the physical movement as a necessary way of transport. Others might have intentions of improving physical condition, losing weight, socializing with others or engaging in a competition (against others or oneself). In 1999 Engström claimed that the definition of any physical activity was defined by the individual through the purpose of the activity (Engström, 1999). If a physically demanding activity is performed with the intention of being sport or exercise it *is* sport or exercise. If it is performed merely as transport, for example, it must be considered as an everyday life physical activity. Further, there are differences between activities that people carry out with the intention of competing and winning, and activities carried out for recreational, social or health reasons (Møller, 1999). From the everyday life sociological perspective presented in this thesis it must be noted that the subjective understandings emerge from existing understandings in society based on cultural and historical developments. This way, subjective understandings are expected to develop from established background knowledge and there are no completely autonomous boundaries to what an individual sees as sport and exercise. In 1999 Verner Møller described the commonsense understanding of the words sport and 'idræt' as being used interchangeably and it thus *'appears unproblematic to juggle with the concepts as it falls suitable in the context, and then*

further relies on the context to promote a secure intuitive decoding of the nuances of the meaning' (Møller, 1999: 112).

We must believe that there is a certain level of commonsense understanding of the words of sport, 'idræt' and exercise in the Danish population that allows for sensible communication about the words without thorough definition prior to any communication. However, what is specifically referred to as sport and exercise by the individual is not totally clear and must be a central point of awareness prior to any analysis of sport and exercise participation from such a methodological approach. For example, in the survey from 2007 some respondents mention sex, house cleaning, biking, being a postman employee, or playing with children in the garden as sport and exercise when asked which sport and exercise activities they performed 'last week' followed by an open response category. This only includes less than one percent of the respondents, though, which may be due to unreliable or 'joking' answers. But also consider the opposite scenario: some respondents claim to participate in skateboarding, self-organized basketball or soccer in the park with friends, but they claim to not participate in sport and exercise when asked 'Do you normally participate in sport/exercise?' Is it only sport or exercise when the participants consider it as such? What if they have no reflections or intentions of the activities as being sport or exercise, but just play with friends as part of hanging out during leisure hours?

From this it becomes important to differentiate between defining and delineating a concept. While one definition in all cultures at all times is not possible, all research projects should refer to a delineation in order to make sense of the inferences. And such a delineation can only be made by the researcher based on his or her preconceptions, which leads to issues of 'double rupture', as referred to by Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1998; Hammerslev & Hansen, 2009), meaning that the role of the researcher is not completely objective. The researcher is also predisposed to certain understandings and must therefore be reflexive towards both the research process and the scientific subject under investigation. From this, different readings of the data are likely to arise depending on the scientists involved in analysing the data. It becomes the task of the researcher to make a clear delineation of what is considered sport and exercise in the specific research context where the data is presented. Bourdieu's reflexive sociology is a method used to avoid the

phenomenon of double rupture by applying a critical reflection to the preconstructions dominating the research environment (Bourdieu, 1998; Hammerslev & Hansen, 2009).

Thus major challenges arise when researchers from different nations and cultural backgrounds have to agree on a research method from which a comparison of participation levels and patterns between nations is made possible.

A first initiative of international comparison was taken by the COMPASS project during the 1990s (Gratton et al., 2011). This project was mostly concerned with improving the comparability of sport participation research in Europe but never succeeded in achieving a truly comparable cross-country methodology. An initiative taken by the Dutch Mulier Instituut in 2010 has led to a new international working group, MEASURE, which is currently working towards a better understanding of the cultural differences and thus the difficulty of defining, measuring and comparing sports participation in Europe based on one overall definition (Breedveld & Hoekman, 2011; Gratton et al., 2011; Hoekman, Breedveld, & Scheerder, 2011a). In surveys like Eurobarometer, participation in sport and exercise is based on the question: 'How often do you participate in sport?' But from this question it is still not clear to what extent a Dane considers activities as sport compared to a Spanish citizen, for example. Due to the well-developed sport for all culture and the dual sports organizational model in Denmark, the Spanish citizen would be likely to have a narrower understanding of 'sport' than a Dane. Even within the network of MEASURE great discrepancies and discussions exist about how and why measuring and comparing participation rates among the European nations should or could be carried out in a tension between the positivistic belief in one definition in all countries at all times and more cultural, relativistic beliefs in the importance of acknowledging cultural and historical differences in the comparative method, discourse and implications about sport participation (Hoekman, Breedveld, & Scheerder, 2011b).

4.4. Summary

Viewed together one objective definition of sport and exercise in all cultures at all times does not exist. There are many considerations involved in acknowledging this, and thus considering the respondents' own preconceptions as the overall measure of the percentage

of the population who participate in sport or exercise. Does such data suffer from reliability bias? Is it justifiable to regard data from different survey years as comparable? How problematic is the modification of the question, going from 'Do you participate in sport' in 1964 to 'Do you normally participate in sport/exercise' in 2007? The first prerequisite for comparing data must be to have identical questions. The form of the question has been kept consistent in the sense that the question was asked before any other question about sport and exercise and in the sense that a preliminary definition was left out. The addition of 'exercise' might cause a bias, but the same could be said about *not* adding it since the sporting practice *is* developing. Also, the modification of the question is in itself valuable knowledge in the investigation and understanding of the way sport and exercise is developing in Denmark. This leads to the central issue of cohort analysis because different terms, understandings and societal institutions change over time. When the same question is asked at different time periods it could lead to an issue concerning a measurement of different things over time (Gundelach, 2011). Differences across time periods this way occur due to confounding reasons of changes in measurements and understandings of what sport and exercise is and changes in the sporting practice. This is a prerequisite and must be taken into consideration in the implications.

Further, the intention of the surveys about sports participation does not derive from a health political but rather a cultural political perspective. In order to fully understand sports participation, development and cultural differences, it is important to pay attention to the bodies performing the activities in their physical and intentional appearance in time and space. From this the delineation of sport and exercise in this thesis emerges from a perspective of openness to subjective understandings as well as cultural and historical trails of development in such. The interest is in *leisure time* sport and exercise and not total amount of physical activity in everyday life. Therefore physical exercise in school-, educational- and work related settings are not central to the questions. Also biking as transport is excluded by applying a probe to this particular activity as follows: bicycling (not as transport).

In article one the focus is on differences in the respondents' replies to the different questions in order to investigate subjective understandings, and thus no delineation is made.

In article two the focus is on development of participation in sport and exercise by comparing data from 1975, 1987, 1998 and 2007. The overall question ‘Do you participate in sport/exercise’ is central here, as it is the most comparable question available. In all four survey years both ‘sport’ and ‘exercise’ are included, lowering the risk of investigating linguistic changes rather than changes in the sporting practice.

In article three the first part of the analysis is based on the same question as in article two, whereas the second part is based on a combination of the two questions as presented in table 3, adding a view on the specific ways of organizing the activities. Only people who answered ‘yes’ to the first question are included in the second analysis because of the significant differences in the responses to the two questions in 2007. The focus in this article is also on connections between *current* everyday life conditions and *current* participation in sport and exercise, which would only be biased if the question about which activities – and under which organizational forms they took place – was used, as this refers to regular participation *within the past year*.

In the fourth article the overall participation rate is measured by the first question, whereas the character of activities and organizational forms are based on the second question. This method is seen as most appropriate in this context as the information about different activities within the past year is interesting knowledge regardless of current participation in sport and exercise.

5. Result section

The thesis has as a main objective to investigate what can explain the development, the character and the variation in sport and exercise participation in Denmark. In the state of research section, a particular gap in the relation between societal development, current variations of everyday life conditions and participation in sport and exercise is clarified. Following this, the theoretical section develops a framework within everyday life sociology as a way of analyzing and explaining why sport and exercise participation develops and appears the way it does among the Danish adult population. The thesis consists of four different articles in which the first two primarily focus on development, the third on variations, and the fourth on characteristics of participation in sport and exercise as well as the tendency to drop out from club sport during the specific life phase of teenagers. The following result section summarizes the findings of the four articles in such a way that the results of the articles are integrated into an overall perspective of results supplemented by results not presented in the articles concerning the development, the character and the variation in sport and exercise between 1964 and 2007. This means that the findings from the articles are not limited to one specific section in the following.

Article one (published): Pilgaard, M. (2010). 'Når idræt bliver et spørgsmål om fysisk aktivitet'. *Forum for Idræt, Historie og Samfund*, 2-2010, Syddansk Universitetsforlag.

Article two (submitted to European Journal for Sport and Society): Pilgaard, M. 'Age specific differences in sports participation in Denmark – is development caused by generation, life phase or time period effects?'

Article three (submitted to Sport in Society): Pilgaard, M. 'Does the character of everyday life affect leisure time sport and exercise?'

Article four (published): Pilgaard, M. (2012). ‘Teenageres idrætsdeltagelse i moderne hverdagsliv’. *Scandinavian Sport Studies Forum*. Vol. 3, 71-95.

5.1. Development of sport and exercise in Denmark

In 2007 56% of adults aged 16 and older claimed to participate in sport and exercise on a regular basis. The level has increased from 15% since the first survey was conducted in 1964. Today no less than 78% of the participants say that sport and exercise is of great importance in their everyday lives, 68% say that sport and exercise is part of everyday life on equal terms with other leisure time activities, while 42% of the participants claim that sport and exercise takes up a lot of time in their everyday lives (Pilgaard, 2009). This underlines the important and central position that sport and exercise culture possesses in today’s Danish society.

The development in sport and exercise participation in Denmark set the basis for article one and two presented in this thesis. In **article one** the focus is on methodological issues about changes in subjective understandings and sporting practice over time by investigating the differences in the respondents’ answers to two different questions about participation in sport and exercise, as presented in the method section. Why do 86% say they have participated in at least one activity within the past year (question two) when only 56% have answered ‘yes’ to question one: ‘Do you normally participate in sport and exercise?’ In the article the assumption is a developing focus on health at a societal level leading towards a focus on physical activity when determining to what extent an activity should be considered as sport or exercise or neither (and thus answering consistently to the two different questions about sport and exercise). The assumption holds true to some extent insofar as the analysis shows a significant association between the level of physical content an activity normally contains, and the tendency to answer consistently – that is, to participate in an activity *and* to say ‘yes’ to normally participating in sport and exercise. But, similarly, some activities like basketball – normally involving a high level of physical content – is relatively often carried out by respondents who do not consider themselves as part of a sport and exercise culture according to question one. The association is only investigated from cross-sectional analysis and changes in subjective understandings are

not investigated longitudinally as to whether there is an intra-individual change in the understandings over time. But the difference in response to the two different questions has increased over time, and activities like hunting and angling, which used to be central in the cultural surveys on sport and exercise participation (Kühl, 1980), are often carried out today by people who do *not* consider themselves as part of a sport or exercise culture. From the analysis it can be concluded that development in the sporting practice and subjective understandings of sport and exercise should be understood in a complex light linked to the level of physical activity, subjective intentions with the activity and the character of the sporting culture from which the activities develop in line with the theoretical assumptions in this thesis of social change as interaction between individual, cultural, and historical aspects.

Further, **article one** suggests a fourth wave in addition to Larsen's framework of a development in three waves between 1964 and 2002 (Larsen, 2003) concerning identity-related lifestyle sport and exercise where the activities become an integrated part of a late-modern, flexible lifestyle, as also stressed by Jensen (2009a, 2009b), where it is difficult to separate and define the activities into specific times and spaces in the domain of leisure time.

In **article two** the focus is more on the overall development in participation rates between 1964 and 2007, looking into the number participating in sport or exercise as indicted by the question 'Do you normally participate in sport/exercise?' The article investigates to what extent development in sports participation is related to generational, life phase or periodical effects and thus age differences and changes as such are central to the analysis. From the analysis all three perspectives show significant influences on development. Newer generations are more involved in sport and exercise than older ones, and the same generations also become more involved in sport and exercise over time despite their increasing age. This is explained by a strong periodical effect that has higher impact on the older part of the population leading to a relatively high increase in participation rates between 1964 and 2007 compared to a more moderate development in younger age groups and generations. Further, the youngest generations indicate a decrease in participation over time leaving the question of whether participation rates can be expected to develop in a negative direction with the new generations in the future – or if the negative development

is due to a relatively high starting point with the majority of children in the newest generations growing up with sport and exercise followed by a relatively high drop-out rate in the transition from teenager to young adulthood. The article suggests a diminishing periodical effect (as it has had a strong effect during the past decades) leading to a clearer life phase effect in recent years with an expectation that the youngest generations will increase their participation rates again after a busy life phase that usually involves establishing a career and starting a family.

In summary, sport and exercise participation has developed remarkably between 1964 and 2007, both according to the articulation of activities and the sporting practice as well as the relations between different population groups. In the following the focus is on characteristics of the specific character of activities.

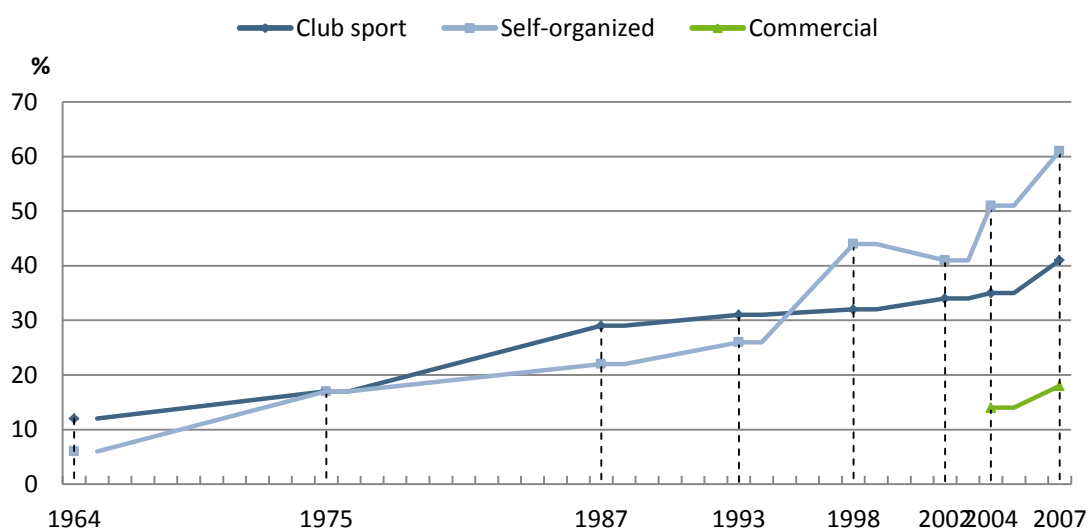
5.2. The character of sport and exercise in Denmark

The character of sport and exercise is not a separate focus in any of the articles. However, part of the description of development and differences between population groups in all the articles is concerned with changes in the character, mainly focusing on the development from club-organized to self-organized and commercially organized activities. In **article three** the associations between the character of work life and the organization of sport and exercise is investigated among the working part of the respondent group. This analysis finds that modern work-life conditions (sedentary and flexible) are connected to modern (self-organized and commercially organized) ways of participating in sport. This follows the theoretical assumptions that the structure of work life (and daily occupation in general) is connected to the structure of other domains in everyday life, and in this context the domain of leisure time sport and exercise. This could lead to higher demands for modern ways of carrying out sport and exercise in the future as more and more work positions develop in a modern direction.

Work life is not the only reason for modern sports- and exercise participation, though. People outside the labour market are also taking up such activities, and in general the development has meant that voluntary sports clubs seem to have lost some of their market share to other organizing arenas within the past decades. Considering the findings from

article two this may be explained by a periodical effect causing all parts of the population to not only be more involved in sport and exercise, but similarly to be more ‘modern’ in their ways of participating in sport and exercise regardless of age, life phase or everyday life conditions. However, it is important to note that increasing patterns still occur within club organized sport, as shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Proportion participation in club-organized, self-organized and commercially organized sport and exercise separated by survey year



Note 1): The numbers of self-organized activities from 2002 are defined differently and do not include recreational biking, walking, angling and hunting as they were characterized as everyday life exercise, causing a drop in Figure 1 between 1998 and 2002.

Note 2): In 2004 Commercial sport/exercise is measured as 'member of a fitness centre'. In 2007 it includes all activities organized in a commercial setting. Thus this comparison is not reliable.

In **article four** the focus is on characteristics of participation in sport and exercise among teenagers in 2007. The paper separates the activities into five activity forms differentiating between team ball sports (soccer, handball, basketball, volleyball and ‘other team ball sports’), individual ball sports (tennis, badminton, golf, table tennis, bowling, pétanque, billiards, squash and ‘other individual ball sports’), individual activities often organized in a team setting (horseback riding, gymnastics, swimming, dancing, track and field, boxing and martial arts), fitness activities (weightlifting/strength training, aerobics, yoga and

spinning) and running⁴. Running is separate because of its major significance, involving 25.4% of the adult respondents aged 16 and older in 2007. The article shows cross-sectional differences in the character of participation according to age in 2007. Children are more involved in club-organized team sports and individual activities organized in team settings like gymnastics, swimming and horseback riding, whereas adolescents and adults are more involved in flexible activities that can be carried out alone or together with others. The article analyses reasons for teenager's tendencies to drop out of club-organized sport and exercise and finds that there is a greater tendency to drop out due to external 'forced' reasons rather than 'voluntary' reasons related to issues concerning the club or sport per se. Following this the pattern of increased individuality among teenagers and young adults is not necessarily a sign of increased individualization in society, as suggested by some late-modern theories, but rather a sign that young people today are subject to a flexible project-oriented society that permeates every corner of everyday life (Jacobsen, 2004; Sennett, 1999). This makes it difficult to maintain stable and routine based participation in a sports club as long as the clubs are not ready to open up for a less 'greedy' approach (Coser, 1974) allowing the participants to experience the 'freedom' of a more flexible club connection that suits their busy everyday lives while simultaneously experiencing the 'security' of being connected to a familiar social context. The article further shows an increase in the tendency to participate in many different activities in more than one organizational setting between 1998 and 2007. This is also an indication of a more flexible way of incorporating sport and exercise into everyday life. However, this result may also be due to methodological reasons since the questionnaire in 1998 contained 29 activities as opposed to 45 in 2007. The greater number of options listed on the questionnaire may have led to a higher tendency among the respondents to identify their participation in specific sporting activities. As mentioned in the method section in chapter 4 it is a less obvious explanation though, since 81% of adults in 2007 participate in at least one of the same 25 activities as was included in the questionnaire in 1975 (see table 4).

⁴ In 1975 'running' was not included, but instead the word 'trim/motion' appeared. This may have included many health- and fitness-related activities

Due to space limitations none of the four articles show developments in the specific character of participation over time.

By taking a glance at the character of participation among adults aged 16 and older and, in particular, the additional activities included in the surveys between 1964 and 2007, the findings add further information to the understanding of sports participation development. The activities added to the questionnaire since 1964 give an impression that a development occurred favouring activities that were more individual and flexible in character, as referred to in the theoretical section. The hypothesis about a development from traditional club and team sports participation towards more individual, flexible and self-organized ways of carrying out activities can be confirmed.

From 1964 to 1975 running and martial arts were added and from 1975 to 1987 walking, bodybuilding, workout, yoga and skiing appeared on the list. In 1993 the question also included golf, ballet and sports dance and in 1998 rollerblading was listed. Finally, the questionnaire from 2007 was more detailed overall with basketball and volleyball being added as specific team sports, and table tennis, squash, bowling, billiards and pétanque added as individual 'ball games'. Nordic walking, 'engine sports' skateboarding, spinning and climbing were also added. In Table 5 the development across 19 selected activities is shown.

Table 5. Percentage of adult respondents aged 16 and older participating in different activities in five different survey years

Activity	1964	1975	1993	1998	2007
Soccer	4	5	7	6	10
Handball	2	3	3	3	4
Badminton	3	5	9	8	10
Tennis	1	1	3	3	4
Golf	-	-	1	3	6
Gymnastics	5	10	10	11	18
Shooting	0	1	1	2	2
Horseback riding	0	1	2	2	3
Cycling	0	1	2	5	12
Swimming	2	4	10	18	15
Jogging	-	3	9	15	25
Aerobics	-	-	5	7	17
Weightlifting/strength training	-	-	4	10	19
Yoga	-	-	1	2	6
Dancing	-	-	1-2	4-5	7
Spinning	-	-	-	-	10
Walking	-	-	3	15	32
Hunting	1	1	2	4	4
Angling	1	1	3	8	6

From the data available it is possible to compare 1975, 1993, 1998 and 2007⁵ across the five activity form categories presented in article four. Figure 2 below illustrates the development and points to a clear change from team ball sports being the second largest activity form in 1975 to the smallest activity form in 2007. All activity forms develop in a positive direction, though, only changing position relative to each other. The activity form

⁵ The coding of activities from the data in 1987 is different from other survey years making a comparison impossible. It is thus left out of the analysis in this particular case.

of individual activities that often take place in a social setting continuously kept its position as the most attractive activity form between 1975 and 2007. The high proportion of individual activities is mostly due to gymnastics and swimming, with the data showing a peak in 1998 and a slight decrease in the last period between 1998 and 2007. Looking into the development of the single activities within this particular category, only swimming experienced a decrease in participation from 18 to 15% between 1998 and 2007, whereas gymnastics increased from 11 to 18% in the same period. Horseback riding, track and field, boxing and martial arts remained stable at very low levels, below 3%, and dancing also increased from 5 to 7%. Thus, that a lower proportion participating in at least one of the activities is listed under this category in 2007 without any actual decreases in the single activities' participation can be explained by a higher tendency to participate in more than one of the activities as referred to in article four. This results in a higher proportion in all of the single activities without raising the total number when the activities are collected into one category.

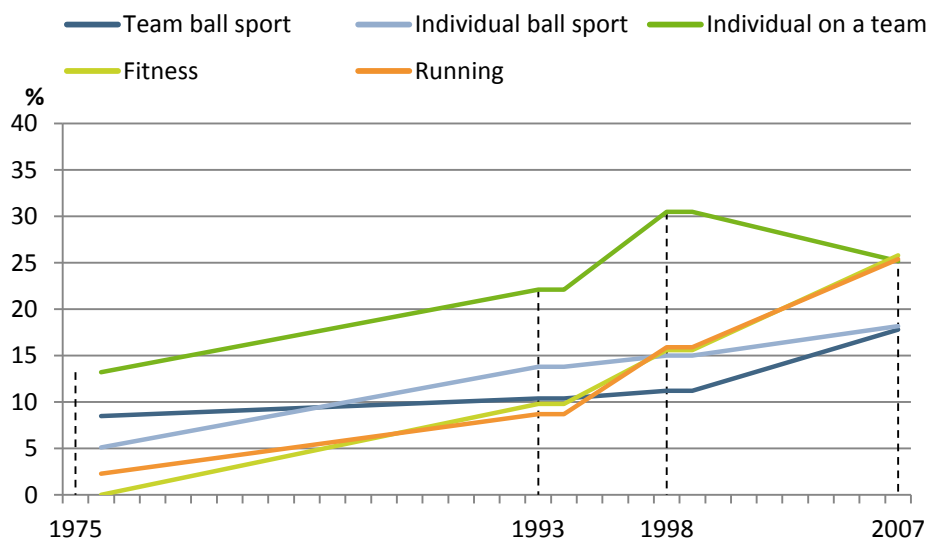
Individual ball sports have developed into a bigger activity form than the team ball sports that already took place between 1975 and 1993, as also noticed by Ibsen in 1992, mentioned in Chapter 2 'State of research'. In the first period the development was mostly led by increases in activities like badminton and tennis, and after 1993 the increase mostly occurred in golf and bowling.

Finally, fitness and running have developed almost simultaneously from being non-existent before 1975 (at least as a specific articulation of running and fitness) to being the largest activity forms in 2007. Thus, a clear pattern appears indicating a shift from ball sport and individual activities taking place in a team setting in 1975 towards individual and fitness-related activities in 2007.

The newer and most rapidly growing activities take a very different form than traditional ballgames and other competition games in traditional sports clubs that are guided by the logic of win-lose codes. They might be better characterized as exercise, recreation or leisure time physical activities than as actual sports, because they follow a tendency to focus on health and active lifestyles, as Larsen (2003a) also refers to in his framework of the second and third wave of sport and exercise. It also follows a general development

from modern, team and routine based activities to late-modern individual, flexible and project-oriented activities, as stressed by Jensen (2009a).

Figure 2. Proportion of participation in five different activity forms separated by survey year



Taken together the analysis of the specific character of participation supplements the theoretical framework of a developing individualized and flexible sports participation in a late-modern ‘project-society’. But the myth that this tendency reflects an increasing individuality in society and demands for participating in sport and exercise alone is not likely to be founded. As suggested in **article four**, the tendency is more likely to be a sign of necessity in order to fit sport and exercise into a busy and changing everyday life. Thus the involvements in activity forms that are individual and flexible in their character are mostly taken up by young adults in a busy life phase of building career and starting family and by people in modern and flexible work life positions.

5.3. The variation of sport and exercise in Denmark

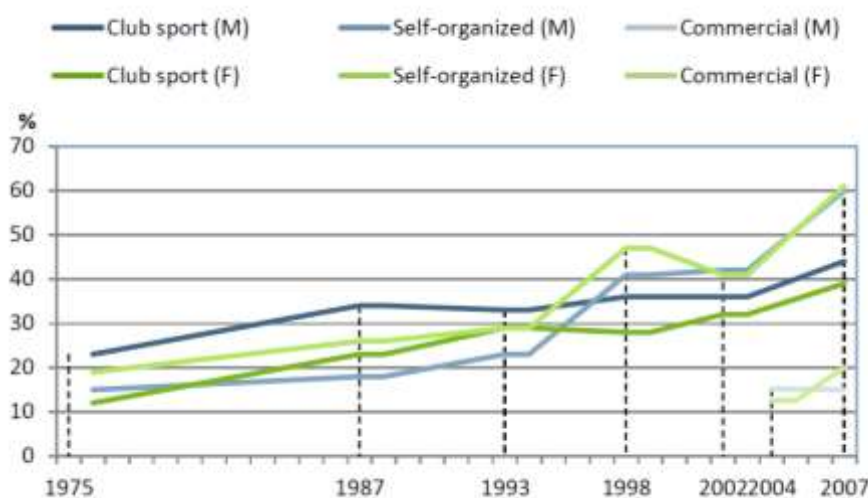
Variation in sport and exercise between different population groups is also investigated in different ways in all four articles. **In article one**, differences in subjective understandings according to age, gender and educational level are shown and **article two** mainly focuses

on differences in overall participation rates according to age. **Article four** focuses on age and gender differences in the overall participation rates as well as in the character of participation, but mainly from a perspective of the life phase of teenagers. **Article three** is the most central article in relation to variations between different population groups because its main focus is on *explaining* the variation. In general, three overall themes, age, gender and education, are central to the study of variation since they have played a central role in the tradition of descriptive analysis of survey based research in sport and exercise participation.

5.3.1. Gender differences

The overall descriptive analysis of variations between the central themes of age, gender and educational level shows interesting developmental patterns. Firstly, the data shows a change in gender differences over time. In 1964 women were only half as involved in sport and exercise as men (10% in relation to 20% of men, according to the question: ‘Do you normally participate in sport/exercise?’), whereas the difference seemed to have diminished in 2007 when the survey indicated that women tend to be even more active (58%) than men (53%) ($p < 0,000$). Figure 2 shows that women are still less involved in club organized activities, whereas they have been more likely to take up ‘modern’ activities from the second wave of sport development (Larsen, 2003a).

Figure 3 Proportion participating in club-organized, self-organized and commercially organized sport and exercise in different survey years, separated by gender



Article one highlights issues of gender differences in the subjective understandings of sport and exercise. Women seem to have a broader understanding of what should be considered as being sport and exercise, as women's participation rates are higher according to their own responses to the question 'Do you normally participate in sport/exercise?' (59% among women with a partner). By comparison, when the men were asked whether their female partners participated, only 46% gave a positive answer. This is most likely because the character of women's participation is less defined and institutionalized into specific sporting spaces that follow a fixed schedule on a weekly basis. The development of the sporting practice during the past decades towards more exercise-related activities that do not focus on competition and performance in accordance with the traditional sports logic has thus had a bigger impact on women's relation to- and perception of leisure time sport and exercise. Periodical effects of increased focus on health related physical exercise, and, thus, more focus among sport providers on targeting offers to women, are also factors in women's growing engagement with the sport and exercise culture.

In article 3 the character of work life can explain some of the variance according to gender differences among the working part of the population. In 2007 the greater tendency to participate among working women disappears in the multivariate analysis when controlled for the character of work life. Men are typically more involved in hard, physical labour, which partly explains the lower tendency to participate in leisure time sport and exercise. The character of participation still differs between men and women following the theoretical description of men and women having different preferences in the work domain, which also partly influences the domain of leisure time sport and exercise in accordance with the character and the organizational setting of the activities.

5.3.2. Age differences

Changes occur in the cross-sectional data between 1964 and 2007 according to age. In the first cohorts up to 1998, an increase in age was followed by a decrease in participation rates. But in 2007 the curve is u-shaped. While population groups aged 40 years and older seem to become more and more involved in leisure time sport and exercise, the opposite

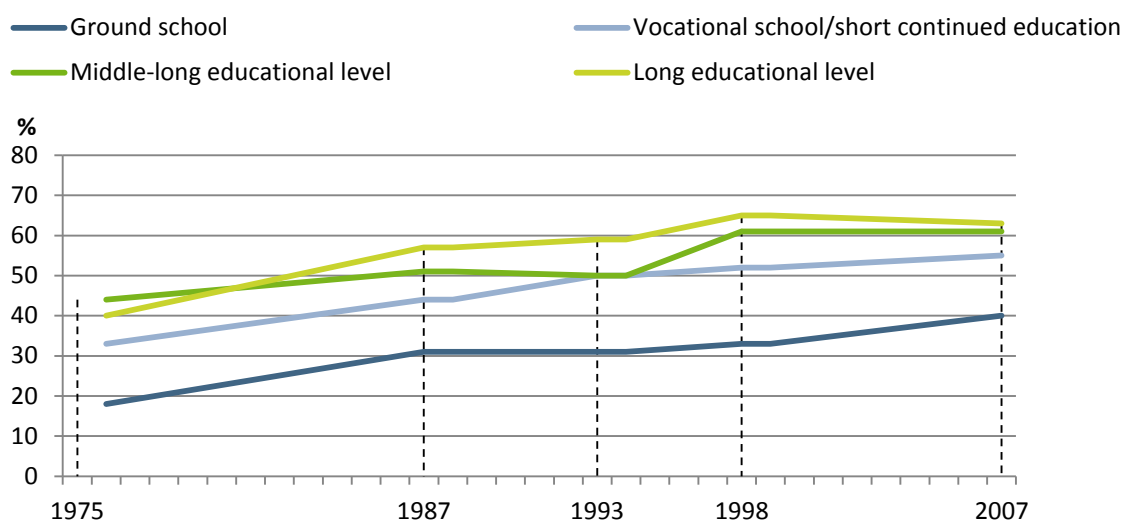
occurs among younger age groups. The age differences are examined in article two, three and four. **In article two** the main focus is on the analysis of developments between 1964 and 2007, as also described earlier. **In article three** the analysis shows that age differences can partly be explained by certain conditions in everyday life linked to specific life phases. Among the working part of the population the influence of age on participation in sport and exercise disappears when controlled for parenthood. Having children under the age of 13 prevents many adults from active participation. Further, pensioners were more involved in sport and exercise than the working part of the population in 2007, giving the impression that a recreational life phase occurs where people have more time and energy to maintain an active lifestyle.

Age differences are also central to **article four**, which has a primary focus on the life phase of teenagers as being an independent and turbulent life phase where a focus on social relations and obligations in everyday life leads to a less stable or routine based participation in sport and exercise.

5.3.3. Educational differences

Educational differences in sports participation are consistent in contrast to the two aforementioned variables of age and gender. Education still plays a significant role in the tendency to participate in sport and exercise. This is despite the fact that stratification policies have been developed both nationally and internationally throughout the past decades in an attempt to redress social differences in sports participation and to create good opportunities for all population groups to participate in sport and exercise (Hoekman et al., 2011).

Figure 4. Proportion participating in sport/exercise from the question ‘Do you normally participate in sport/exercise?’ in different educational groups, separated by survey year



The differences between the highest and lowest educational levels were relatively smaller in 2007, though, compared to in 1964 (see figure 4), as also shown in other literature (Scheerder et al., 2005), and the development in overall participation rates among people with the shortest educations is occurring at a similar pace to the other educational levels.

Article one reveals a higher tendency among people with short educations to participate in activities regularly within the past year without claiming that they participate in sport or exercise from the question ‘Do you normally participate in sport/exercise?’ As with gender, population groups with shorter educations intend to have a more narrow subjective understanding of what should be considered sport and exercise. Similarly, they are more involved in activities like hunting, angling, bowling and billiards, which have low levels of physical activity, without the *intention* of participating in physical sport or exercise, and thus such activities are generally less often linked to participation in sport and exercise today.

In **article three** the character of work life acts as a mediating factor explaining some of the educational variance among the working part of the respondent group. Higher educated workers are more often positioned in modern, sedentary and integrated work-leisure time lifestyles leading to higher participation levels in leisure time sport and exercise. But work life does not explain all the variance and some of the explanation of

educational differences seems to simply lie in the cultural capital of higher education. However, within commercial settings all the influence of educational differences disappears when controlled for the character of work life. This particular way of organizing sport and exercise in everyday life seem to have a relatively strong connection to the character of work life within the working part of the population.

6. Discussion

From the result section it becomes clear how modernization processes in everyday life can help explain why participation in sport and exercise develops the way it does and varies the way it does between different population groups.

Articulating sport and exercise and development as such requires constant reflection, knowledge and insight within the field of sports sociology through thorough analysis of meanings, intentions, forms and extent of sport and exercise. It is important as an integral part of analysing and understanding cross-sectional and cohort associations between generation, life phase, time period, structural differences, everyday life conditions and the outcome of participation in and the character of sport and exercise.

The theoretical section questions to what extent leisure time sport and exercise mirrors other domains of everyday life. The presented theories reveal similar characteristics of values in late-modern society represented by changes in the domains of work life, family life and leisure time, and values developing in new and popular ways of carrying out sport and exercise. The analysis presented in the four articles provides different perspectives on these associations. Article one focuses on subjective understandings in relation to developments in the sporting practice and in relation to differences among age, gender and educational level. Article two identifies generational differences, changes in life phases and periodical development as factors leading to development and current variations among different age groups' overall participation in sport and exercise. Article three focuses on ways in which aspects of everyday life influence participation in sport and exercise, and, in particular, how work life and family life act as mediating factors explaining the variations in age, gender and educational level in overall sport and exercise participation as well as in the specific character of participation among the active working part of the population. Finally, article four focuses on teenagers' tendencies to drop out from club organized sport and exercise as a result of 'forced' reasons linked to certain life conditions in a specific period in life. But due to the way in which the data makes cross-sectional cuts through the ongoing process of sport and exercise development it is not possible to empirically verify that *changes* in everyday life conditions have a direct effect on *changes* in participation in sport and exercise from an intra-individual perspective.

6.1. Flexible sports participation in late-modern everyday life

From an overall perspective sport and exercise has developed over the past four decades from traditional club-organized, towards more self-organized and commercially organized sport and exercise (light sporting communities), as articulated by Knud Larsen's three waves (2003a). Furthermore, the character of physical activity is developing from team ball sports towards individual exercise, with individual ball sports and individual activities that often take place on a team keeping a stable relative high level of participation over time.

Even though flexibility is a key word in late-modern everyday life – and within the debate about the development of sport – there is a need to challenge the *meaning* of the way flexibility is understood and carried out in praxis. There may be a need for flexible *possibilities*, whereas the practical outcome of the structures in everyday life still may be centred on an *intention* of keeping everyday life stable and routine based. Surveys reveal that people tend to practice fitness at the same time every week but still value the opportunities of flexibility (Kirkegaard, 2009). In article four it is suggested that the sport clubs should be less 'greedy' in the sense of giving their members an ultimatum of 'either-or'. Instead, there could be an advantage in taking a more open approach of 'both-and' in a more 'light community setting' (Scheerder & Vos, 2011) that allows members to stay connected to a well-known social setting, giving a feeling of security, and structures the activities in ways that allow for a certain kind of flexibility. The demand for both flexibility and security may seem to represent two incompatible requirements that challenge traditional ways of structuring sport and exercise. Nonetheless, it is an important challenge to overcome in today's late-modern project-society, and as the different domains of everyday life seem to be somewhat linked to each other, it may be interesting to take a closer look at the framework of 'flexicurity' in future research on sports participation. Flexicurity is a mixture of flexible and security referring to the current situation at the labour market (Dansk Arbejdsgiverforening, 2007). Here it is the intention to create flexible labour market possibilities without leaving the individual worker without any feeling of security. But the security is not anchored within the specific job, but in providing better opportunities for getting a job and a good welfare system that can provide

dismissed workers with qualified assistance to help them move on in the labour market system. This dynamic labour market model may be an appropriate one to draw inspiration from in relation to the Danish sports sector as a whole and in relation to ensuring that the individual has many opportunities to participate in sports and exercise throughout life – in light of the 'professional qualities' of the individual in relation to physical ability, experience with an activity, everyday conditions and structure, as well as in relation to life phase and generational values and interests.

Children are still involved in traditional, routine based club sport to a large extent, but in some life phases – and in transitions between phases – individual and flexible solutions seem to be the preferred (and for some maybe the only) way to incorporate sport and exercise into everyday life. It may be perceived as a negative behaviour when many drop out from club sport during adolescence. But from an overall perspective it is positive to realize that a drop out not necessarily equals a sedentary lifestyle. Many alternative opportunities for physically active recreation have arisen in recent years, and more people are tending to take advantage of these on a regular basis. New light sporting communities seem to aim at target groups that have not traditionally had good opportunities to participate in sport and exercise in traditional sports clubs.

A critical approach to this development sees an increasingly individualized society as a concern, as the nature of the activities is often geared towards individual participation without promoting the values of social relations and democratic involvement that are usually connected to voluntary sports clubs (Putnam, 1995; Ulseth, 2004; Bauman, 2002). In 2004 Ulseth pointed out that physical activity might be losing its role as an important contributor of social capital as an increased part of the population is tending to take up sport and exercise in commercial or self-organized settings. This remains a hypothetical myth that has not been possible to directly verify or falsify empirically from the data available in this thesis. Ulseth herself finds that people in commercial settings are not necessarily on their own but often participate with friends from an existing network (Ulseth, 2004). Other empirical studies of social capital operationalized by solidarity, trust, tolerance, a belief in the family as an institution, civil society and voluntary engagement disproves the general retreat of social capital (Gundelach, 2006; Gundelach, 2011; Ibsen, 2006; Lorentzen, 2001).

Thus the development from club-organized, to less organized sporting practices, as well as the change from team ball sports to individual activities, is not necessarily happening as a replacement, since many people still take up activities in traditional club sport and in team ball sports. Further, individual activities that often take place in a social setting, like gymnastics, swimming and horseback riding have had a steady placement as the most popular activities between 1975 and 2007. Many of the activities outside sports clubs can be seen as a supplement in a late-modern everyday life in which the focus on physical exercise has become important and central to understandings of a healthy and active lifestyle. From this a fourth wave may be present today illustrating a more flexible, project-oriented, physically active lifestyle where it is not so much about the specific type of activity, but, rather, the way of incorporating multiple kinds of physical activities into everyday life that is characteristic of today's project-oriented participation in sport and exercise.

But it is likely that new generations will have a different approach to participation in sport and exercise and the way of participating in social settings in the future. Development of values and cultural areas and thus leisure time sport and exercise are said to happen with a certain interregnum in the wake of social change (Malcomson, 1973; Horne et al., 1999; Stamm & Lamprecht, 2005). Deeply rooted traditions and rules inside the bureaucratic system of sports confederations and voluntary sport clubs, in particular, can be expected to remain very stable and resistant to changes outside the system. In fact, stability can be seen as the main objective in the survival and the enormous development of the sport club system today. The associations survive and develop by virtue of routine, repetition and constancy. Ironically, though, the inertia within this system may simultaneously be the reason for the loss of market share to other, newer organizational forms as many sport clubs face today (Pilgaard, 2009; Steen-Johnsen & Kirkegaard, 2010; Scheerder & Vos, 2011). They are challenged by changes in the values and the organization of everyday life within new generations of sport- and exercise-partaking individuals. There is a growing demand for light sporting communities replacing the 'greedy institutions' led by higher educated population groups as the modern structure of everyday life permeates this part of the population prior to other parts. Stratification patterns still exist, most notably, in the self-organized and commercially organized settings clarifying how important social and cultural resources (still) are to the individual in order to independently and reflexively

incorporate sport and exercise into a late-modern everyday life. The higher educated are generally more involved in modern work life forms and in the suggested fourth wave of project-oriented sport and exercise. Thus, the higher educated can be said to be taking the lead in forming the development of modernization processes in society. This viewpoint is supported by Engström, who mentioned in 1999 that sport and exercise develops under the premises of the middle and upper class groups in society. Future studies will reveal to what extent self-organized and commercially organized sport and exercise (particularly represented by running and fitness) will turn into ‘every man’s right’ while the middle and upper class will move towards new ways of participating and adopting new beliefs in and intentions for the active movement culture. The development may even shine through already.

In summary sport and exercise is developing along societal changes into modern, less structured and less traditionally organized activities but parallel to very traditional sport and exercise which still carries considerable support from many Danes – especially among children, elderly, men and population groups with lower educational levels. Classical social determinants are still important ‘filters of likelihood’ (Jespersen & Riiskjær, 1982) in the probability to participate and in the specific character of sport and exercise. But adding a new everyday life perspective this thesis has become a step closer to part of the reason *why* variations happen the way they do in the population today.

7. Implications and future perspectives

Taken together it can be said that physical activity developed from being a necessary and integrated part of work life and everyday life in general before the industrialization period. During and after the industrialization period physical activity moved towards the domain of leisure time as work life and everyday life in general became less dependent on manual labour and the working day was reduced to eight hours, allowing for more leisure hours to carry out such recreational activities (Elias & Dunning, 1986; Hans-Erik Olson, 2010; Kühl, 1980). Recently, physical activity has been re-affiliated into all domains of everyday life as a *reflexive* behaviour. Today people are reminded to ‘choose’ the stairs instead of the escalators, to ‘choose’ the bike instead of the car or public transportation, or even to ‘choose’ to pillow fight with your children on Friday nights, as suggested by the then Minister of Culture in 2009 when she presented a new report on sport for all in Denmark⁶ (Kulturministeriet, 2009). This is an attempt to incorporate physical exercise in everyday life in an efficient and time optimized way due to the health-related reasons of keeping the body moving and fit. The use of the word ‘choose’ is marked by inverted commas because the choice should not be understood as being simply reduced to an individual affaire, but, rather, as an opportunity of choice within the frame of history, culture, socialization, everyday life conditions, life phase and physical surroundings as the theoretical perspective of everyday life sociology as well as the empirical analysis emphasizes. But sport and exercise has not only turned into compensation for the immobilizing structures of society. It is an important part of leisure time for the majority of the participants involving several values other than health and physical movement. There is still unexplained variance in the population’s tendency to participate or not, and in the tendency to participate one way or another. And often the same individual can be expected to participate in many different activities in many different settings and for many different reasons in reflecting a late-modern project-oriented movement culture. In

⁶ See comment on the website of Idan posted the 11th of March 2009: www.idan.dk ‘Breddeidrætsudvalg klar med forslag’.

acknowledgement of this it also becomes difficult to define, delineate and separate sport and exercise from straight physical activities, and further to separate leisure time activities from other domains as people tend to combine and mix activities and intentions in complex ways in late-modern everyday life.

Referring to the inferences of this thesis, an expectation of current late-modern and future sport- and exercise participation can be made with demands for activities and organizational forms that require several rather opposing values. Paradoxically, the flexibility needs to become 'routine based' and the individual demands often need to be incorporated in social settings in today's project-oriented sport and exercise. When the element of routine completely disappears the individual is left to rely strongly on reflexivity and personal resources to arrange and be responsible for their physical movements. In this way participation in sport and exercise is constantly at stake as a reflexive process from time to time, turning participation into a very fragile affair of 'Tomorrow, I will do it'. And due to everyday life conditions, socialization and physical surroundings the 'reflexive processes' will come easier to some population groups than others. Personal training is a good example of a need for structure in order to maintain participation. In this case, the individual can pay a personal training partner to help them keep their training structured and consistent in a way that is tailored to their own needs and demands. Other examples are sport clubs which deliver different kinds of activities on different days allowing members to participate in the same structural setting with the same social group, and which also offer flexible opportunities for members to participate on different days and try a range of different activities that only require a low level of preexisting skills.

Virtual arenas have become important platforms which allow for 'flexible routines' and 'flexicurity' as opposed to the more 'greedy insitutions'. The connection and communication between participants in a virtual network makes it possible to arrange different events or activities with short notice. It simultaneously accommodates individuals' needs and demands whilst connecting them to a social network.

Future surveys on sport and exercise participation in Denmark will provide further insights into the population's preferences in choosing to participate alone or together with others, as well as preferences in methods of organizing the activities as routine based vs.

flexible. Such information will provide more comprehensive answers as to the extent to which different population groups value individual and flexible ways of exercising over collective and routine-based ways of carrying out sport and exercise, and the extent to which such values exclude or amplify each other in connection to the general structures of everyday life.

Also, it would be interesting to add perspectives that have not been central to this thesis, for example a focus on competing level and in what ways the desire for competition becomes present. Similarly the interest in voluntarism, consume of sport in the media as well as economic consumption of sport- and exercise equipment, memberships etc. would be interesting to investigate further as to create a thorough analysis of what role sport and exercise as a whole plays as an integrated part of everyday life.

There is a need for a continuous development in the ways in which the quantitative surveys ask about sports participation in order to capture the many different activities and settings used and the transitions between the domains of everyday life. It would be particularly interesting to get a closer picture of the difference between the structure and the social content in different organizational settings in order to better understand the differences and similarities between organizational settings and why they develop in relation to each other the way they do. In addition, more comparative research is needed to establish how participation in Denmark compares with other countries using a more in-depth approach in order to get closer to the specific culture of sport and exercise participation in Denmark. Denmark is generally a very sport- and exercise-involved country compared to other countries, as indicated by the few superficial surveys available, like Eurobarometer (TNS Opinion and Social, 2010) and the Whitepaper on Sports (Council of Europe, 2007). It is important to generate more specific knowledge on the factors in the culture, the history, the current physical surroundings, the political support and the Danish population that lead to the characteristics of the sporting practice. Finally, it would also be beneficial to gather longitudinal data in addition to the cohort analysis in order to get a closer understanding of socialization processes and the importance of life phases on sport and exercise participation.

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9. Appendix

Questionnaire sent to adults aged 16 and older in November and December 2007

[Questionnaire is not included in this printed version]

10. Article one

Title: Når sport og motion bliver et spørgsmål om fysisk aktivitet

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Abstract

Quantitative research on sports participation among the Danish population has been conducted seven times between 1964 and 2007. The current study aims to find a better understanding of the ways the respondents reply to different questions about their sports participation. From the analysis it becomes clear, that the respondents reply very inconsistent according to the ways of asking. This inconsistency has grown remarkably within the last decades and men and people with short education levels tend to answer with more inconsistency than other population groups. The study discusses the impact of health interventions and an increased focus on physical activity as a cause of greater variety among the subjective understandings of sport and exercise – and thereby a change in the populations individual understanding of sport and exercise. Further the study suggests a greater consciousness about the purpose of these kinds of surveys when conducting them, because it has great influence in the following analysis from which perspective the design arises.

Introduktion

”Er vi vitterligt vidne til en radikal forandring af befolkningens idræts- og motionsvaner – for ikke at sige en veritabel bevægelsesrevolution – i disse år, eller er fremgangen snarere udtryk for, at den almindelige hverdagsforståelse af udtrykket ’sport eller motion’ – dets ’common sense’ betydning – har ændret sig?” (Larsen 2003).

Idrætsforsker, Knud Larsen, såede tvivl om udviklingen af den idrætslige praksis i den danske befolkning, da han i 2003 stillede spørgsmålstejn ved den stigende andel af danskerne, der er idrætsaktive. Er stigningen udtryk for, at flere og flere danskere rent faktisk dyrker sport eller motion, eller er der snarere tale om ændrede opfattelser af de eksisterende begreber, så de nu omfatter aktiviteter, der ikke tidligere har været defineret som sport eller motion? Spørgsmålet knyttede sig især til en markant stor andel af befolkningen, som pludselig angav vandreture som en idrætsaktivitet, mens man kan hævde, at befolkningen altid har vandret og gået ture.

I dag hersker debatten stadig, og uoverensstemmelser mellem den idrætslige praksis og befolkningens opfattelse af sport og motion er blevet større. En stadig større andel af befolkningen forholder sig uoverensstemmende til to forskellige spørgsmål, som på hver deres måde måler, hvor mange der dyrker sport eller motion. I undersøgelsen af Danskernes motions- og sportsvaner 2007 (Pilgaard 2008) angiver 56 pct., at de dyrker sport eller motion til spørgsmålet: ”Dyrker du normalt sport/motion?”, mens hele 86 pct. angiver, at de har dyrket mindst én aktivitet ud af en liste med 43 aktiviteter inden for det seneste år. Det tyder på, at nogle respondenter dyrker aktiviteter, som de ikke selv (i første omgang) anser for at være sport eller motion. Som det fremgår af tabel 1, er denne tendens blevet mere markant gennem årene i undersøgelser af befolkningens motions- og sportsvaner og antyder, at de idrætslige praksisser ikke udvikler sig parallelt med udviklingen i befolkningens forståelse af begreber som sport og motion.

Tabel 1. *Respondenterne svarer uoverensstemmende på forskellige spørgsmål om idrætsdeltagelse*

		Voksne 16 år+		
		1993 (n = 1.843)	1998 (n = 1.364)	2007 (n = 4.147)
1	<i>Andel, der normalt dyrker sport eller motion</i>	47 %	51 %	56 %
2	<i>Andel, der har dyrket mindst én aktivitet regelmæssigt inden for det seneste år</i>	57 %	69 % ⁷	86 %

Jeg søger i denne artikel svar på, hvorfor uoverensstemmelserne mellem spørgsmål 1 og 2 er blevet mere markant siden 1993, samt i hvilke aktiviteter uoverensstemmelserne primært opstår i 2007. Desuden søger jeg efter mønstre i uoverensstemmelserne relateret til køn, alder og uddannelseslængde, da idrætsdeltagelsen ofte varierer på tværs af disse befolkningsgrupper.

Det er ikke min hensigt at nå frem til en endegyldig definition af begreberne sport og motion. Formålet med artiklen er snarere at skabe bevidsthed omkring begrebernes kompleksitet samt at få indsigt i, hvordan befolkningen forholder sig til begreberne. Der er ikke tidligere foretaget systematiske undersøgelser af befolkningens respons til forskellige spørgsmål omkring sport og motion. Denne viden er interessant, da stadig flere aktører ønsker at måle på befolkningens idrætsdeltagelse eller generelle fysiske aktivitetsniveau som led i en evidensbaseret tilgang til at øge befolkningens deltagelsesniveau hvad enten det gælder idrætsorganisationer, kommuner, nationale sundhedsmyndigheder eller idrætsforskere. Resultaterne bliver ofte brugt til at sammenligne med tidligere undersøgelser af samme art, samt til at sammenligne idrætsdeltagelsesniveauet i Danmark med andre lande. Derfor er det nødvendigt med en reflekteret analyse af, hvordan respondenterne forholder sig til begreberne i forhold til den idrætslige praksis. Danskernes motions- og sportsvaner er blevet undersøgt gennem kvantitative, landsdækkende undersøgelser syv gange siden 1964. Analyserne er baseret på befolkningens forståelse i forhold til spørgsmålet 'Dyrker du normalt sport/motion?' uden

⁷ Denne opgørelse er baseret på alle aktiviteter, dvs. vandreture, turcykling, jagt og fiskeri er inkluderet. Knud Larsen medregner ikke disse aktiviteter som sport og motion i sin opgørelse fra 1998, hvorfor han angiver en andel på 59 pct. (Larsen, Knud 2003: *Idrætsdeltagelse og idrætsforbrug i Danmark*, Forlaget Klim).

nogen forudgående definition af, hvad sport, motion eller 'normalt' indbefatter. Ord med brede semantiske felter (betydningsvidder), kan føre til usikkerhed omkring, hvad respondenterne egentlig svarer på (Olsen 2001:21). Professor i socialvidenskabelig metode, Henning Olsen, ser ikke hverdags sproget som tilstrækkeligt eller fyldestgørende i en videnskabelig surveyundersøgelse, og i nogle tilfælde kan det måske ligefrem føre til konsekvenser i retning af Thomas' theorem: *If men define a situation as real, they are real in their consequences* (Merton, 1995: 380). De senere år hælder flere og flere til accelerometermålinger eller pedometermålinger, da de mere præcist kan dokumentere den fysiske aktivitet uafhængig af individuelle forståelser for begreberne (Leicht 2008). Sådanne studier er dog meget krævende, og en analyse fra Australien, som sammenholder pedometermålinger med selvrapporterede skemaer viste i 2008, at selvrapporterede metoder er ganske valide – om ikke andet til at undersøge idrætsdeltagelsen i et tværsnitsstudie blandt en homogen befolkningsgruppe⁸ (ibid). Men gælder det også, når man undersøger en udvikling over tid på tværs af hele den danske befolkning? Samtidig har disse målinger af fysisk aktivitet den store svaghed, at de ikke skelner mellem forskellige former for aktiviteter – om man løber efter en bold eller løber efter en bus. Desuden tog de tidligere idrætsvaneundersøgelser ikke specielt sigte på at belyse idrætsdeltagelsen ud fra en sundhedsmæssig synsvinkel.

Teori: Mellem idrætslig praksis og begrebsmæssige forandringer

I de danske undersøgelser af befolkningens motions- og sportsvaner er begreberne sport og motion blevet benyttet som komplementære og supplerende begreber i et forsøg på at ramme så bredt som muligt i studiet af de forskellige aktiviteter, den danske befolkning deltager i (Pilgaard 2009). Ordlyden er dog blevet ændret med tiden og forsøgt tilpasset den samtid, hvor spørgsmålet er blevet stillet. Således blev der i 1964 spurgt 'dyrker De sport?', hvilket i 1975 blev udvidet til 'dyrker De sport (motion)?'. I 1987 og 1993 'dyrker De sport eller motion?', og i 1998 og 2007 blev spørgsmålet ændret til 'dyrker De normalt sport eller motion?'. I 2004 indgik spørgsmålet ikke, hvorfor andelen, der angav at dyrke sport eller motion mindst én gang om ugen blev anvendt. Som det fremgår af tabel 1, er der store usikkerheder forbundet med at sammenligne forskellige spørgemetoder. I 2007

⁸ Alle respondenter i denne undersøgelse var universitetsstuderende på et universitet i Australien.

var andelen, der angav at dyrke sport eller motion mindst én gang om ugen f.eks. på 77 pct., hvilket afviger markant fra de 56 pct., som angiver at dyrke sport eller motion ifølge det traditionelle spørgsmål.

Sportsbegrebet repræsenterer et traditionelt og velkendt felt i den danske idrætskultur, oftest med konkurrenceelementet som centralt omdrejningspunkt, mens motion figurer som et nyere, bredt og alment dækkende begreb om de forskellige fysiske aktiviteter, befolkningen udøver i fritiden med henblik på at træne og bevæge kroppen (Bøje & Eichberg 1994). Disse to begreber tilsammen formodes derfor at nå en bred opfattelse i befolkningen, så både håndboldspilleren og weekendcyklisten kan identificere sig selv som dyrkende sport eller motion. Idræt og idrætsdeltagelse indgår ikke direkte i undersøgelserne men bliver brugt som overordnet fællesbetegnelse for sport og motion og skelner ikke kategorisk mellem aktiviteternes type og karakter. Idræts- og motionsbegreberne knytter sig dog til fysisk bevægelse af kroppen, mens sport primært refererer til konkurrenceaktiviteter, som ikke nødvendigvis indeholder fysisk aktivitet, men som dog ofte kræver kropslig koordination. Det gælder f.eks. motorsport, dart, billard eller skak (Kulturministeriet 2009). Undersøgelserne fokuserer udelukkende på aktiviteter, som foregår i fritiden, mens aktiv transport og fysisk aktivitet i arbejdslivet eller i forbindelse med ferier bliver spurgt til i separate spørgsmål. Desuden er fokus på aktiviteter, der foregår regelmæssigt eller 'normalt', hvilket har været op til den enkelte at definere.

Tilføjelsen af motionsbegrebet i 1975 samt 'normalt' i 1998 skal ses i forlængelse af udviklingen i den idrætslige praksis i Danmark. Sports-, idræts- og motionsbegreberne er socialt konstruerede, foranderlige størrelser, der ændrer sig i takt med det samfund og den kultur, hvori de idrætslige praksisser udfolder sig. Begreberne afspejler samfundet og dets udvikling, og har derfor forskellige betydninger og udtryksformer i forskellige samfund og i forskellige tidsperioder (Breivik 1998, Horne, Tomlinson & Whannel 1999). De kulturelle forståelser relaterer sig dog også til forskellige meninger, betydninger og praksisser inden for et givent samfund blandt enkelte individer. Her spiller socialiseringsprocesser en stor rolle, og forskellige forståelser opstår ofte på tværs af køn, social klasse og etnisk tilhørsforhold (Horne, Tomlinson & Whannel 1999).

I den forstand giver det ikke mening at foretage en endegyldig definition af begrebernes indhold. Kultursociologen Birte Bech-Jørgensen hævder lige frem, at man bør afstå fra at

indlede en analyse af hverdagsfænomener med en formel definition, da hun ikke mener, at hverdagslivet kan defineres sociologisk (Bech-Jørgensen 1994: 150-151).

Den amerikanske videnskabsteoretiker og filosof, Thomas Kuhn, hæfter sig dog ved begrebet 'normalviden' om hverdagsfænomeners intersubjektive element. I den forstand eksisterer en form for objektiv eller intersubjektiv viden om begreber, som skaber en fælles referenceramme at forholde sig til inden for den gældende kultur, og som adskiller fænomener fra hinanden (McFee 2007: 65).

Denne tankegang læner sig op ad Bourdieus beskrivelse af de sociale og samfundsmæssige rammer for at blive konstrueret og konstruere sig selv som subjekt. Den sociale virkelighed skabes ikke udelukkende af den enkelte, men kan modificeres inden for de processer og rammer, som allerede eksisterer (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1996). Ifølge sådanne teorier er individet ikke udelukkende overladt til sig selv i definitionen af de aktiviteter, det udøver. Det må nødvendigvis ske inden for rammerne af individets forhåndskendskab til idrætsbegrebernes kontekstuelle eller faktiske eksistens. Dvs. den enkelte danner sig meninger baseret på en *kombination* af den historiske og kulturelle udvikling og subjektive forståelser.

Fra idræt til fysisk aktivitet

Den danske idrætskultur har forandret sig meget siden den moderne idræts gennembrud i sidste halvdel af det 19. århundrede. Idrætten i Danmark tog sit afsæt i gymnastikken, inspireret fra Frankrig, Tyskland og Sverige, samt skyttebevægelsen og sporten, som primært blev bragt til Danmark fra England (hestevæddeløb, sejlsport, skøjteløb, fodbold, roning, cricket og skydning). Sporten, skyttebevægelsen og gymnastikken opstod som folkelige bevægelser, der tog form af organiserede engagementer i frivillige foreninger. Den svensk-lingske og den dansk/tyske gymnastik udviklede sig dog forskelligt og repræsenterede to grundlæggende forskellige ideologier, som fik afgørende betydning for dannelsen af den tostrengede idrætsmodel, der præger den danske idrætskultur i dag. Den svensk-lingske gymnastik blev primært udfoldet blandt bønderne på landet med en tæt kobling til bondebevægelsen, folkeoplysning og demokratiske værdier. Fokus var på træning af hele kroppen, som ofte var skæv og nedslidt af hårdt fysisk arbejde i landbruget. I byerne var der større fokus på de fysiske udfoldelser og konkurrence gennem

den dansk/tyske gymnastik, som indeholdt redskabs-, måtte- og springøvelser (Trangbæk et.al. 1995). Sportens udbredelse foregik også i første omgang i byerne blandt adelige og siden blandt borgerskabet og arbejderne med konkurrenceelementet og de sportslige præstationer i højsædet under industrisamfundets værdier omkring 'hurtighed, fremdrift og styrke' (Kulturministeriet 2009).

Parallelt med den sportslige praksis udviklede den svensk/lingske gymnastik sig gennem gymnastik- og skyttebevægelsen op gennem det 20. årh. til også at omfatte andre aktivitetsformer med fokus på folkeoplysende idræt. Dvs. idræt, som distancerede sig fra sportens præstations- og konkurrencelogik. En stigende andel af befolkningen vendte også blikket mod nye, mere uformelle og fleksible, selvorganiserede træningsformer som jogging i parker og skove eller aerobic på stuegulvet i sidste halvdel af det 20. årh. (Larsen 2003). Motionsbegrebet vandt frem i takt hermed inspireret af det engelske udtryk for 'bevægelse' som en betegnelse for den idræt, der foregår uden sportens konkurrencelogik men i stedet har træning af kroppen og sundhed for øje. Interessen for motionsaktiviteter tog til i tidsrummet mellem 1964 og 1975, hvilket afspejler sig i idrætsvaneundersøgelsernes udvidede begrebsapparat til også at indeholde motion i 1975.

I løbet af 1980'erne kom endnu en træningsform i fitnesscentre som en helt ny, kommerciel arena for idrætsdeltagelse inspireret af amerikansk idrætspraksis (Kirkegaard 2007). Moderne livsstil, fleksible arbejdstider, en fysisk inaktiv arbejdsdag og mobile leveformer stiller større krav om fleksibel idrætsdeltagelse og hensyn til individuelle behov. Derfor bliver det mere og mere populært for befolkningen at betale sig til ydelser i et fitnesscenter eller 'pay and play' koncepter, som vinder frem inden for f.eks. golf, fodbold, squash, badminton etc.

Nye, mere fleksible og selvorganiserede måder at dyrke idræt på i moderne hverdagsliv står i modsætning til den traditionelle organisering i foreninger med faste træningstidspunkter på faste træningsdage. I idrætsvaneundersøgelsen fra 1998 blev ordet 'normalt' tilføjet til det overordnede spørgsmål omkring deltagelse i sport og motion. Dette kommer i forlængelse af ændringer i befolkningens hverdagslige praksis. Hverdagslivet er mere omskifteligt i dag og forløber ikke så kontinuert som tidligere. Det moderne arbejdsliv er f.eks. blevet karakteriseret ved 'ikke-fast-ansættelse', ustabilitet og kortsigtede ansættelsesforhold, hvilket fører til et samfund af individer, der konstant er

underlagt forandring (Sennett 1999, Jacobsen 2005). Dette afspejler sig også i måden, hvorpå en stadig større andel af befolkningen dyrker sport eller motion. Derfor er begrebet 'normalt' tilføjet i et forsøg på at fange den hverdagspraksis, som er hyppigst forekommende, selv om det ikke nødvendigvis forløber med ugentlig gentagelse og rutine.

I de senere år har sundhedseksperter og myndigheder i stor stil rettet fokus på relationen mellem sundhed, livskvalitet og fysisk aktivitet i forlængelse af samfundets udvikling i retning af mere fysisk inaktiv livsstil. Den fysiske aktivitet har flyttet sig fra arbejdslivet over i fritidslivet gennem det 20. årh., og i dag er sport og motion ikke længere nødvendigvis en fritidsbeskæftigelse på lige fod med musikskolen eller biografturen. I dag er sport og motion nærmere borgernes pligt eller ansvar (i det mindste fysisk aktivitet mindst 30 minutter om dagen) i forhold til at opretholde en sund og funktionsdygtig krop som kompensation for en meget inaktiv livsstil (Regeringen 2002). Denne udvikling bemærkede Ejgil Jespersen og Søren Riiskjær allerede i 1982:

"Sport og idræt anses snart for så værdifuldt, at borgerne næsten skylder samfundet at dyrke idræt. Den tid er måske ikke så fjern, hvor der begynder at blive talt om at nedbringe antallet af "idrætsløse". (Jespersen & Riiskjær 1982).

Sundhedsmyndighedernes opfordring til fysisk aktivitet har også sat fokus på aktiviteter, der er integreret i hverdagslivet gennem f.eks. rengøring, havearbejde, trappegang, cykling og gang som transport mv. Disse aktiviteter blev i løbet af 1990'erne kategoriseret under begrebet 'hverdagsmotion', som en betegnelse for den fysiske aktivitet, befolkningen udøver i hverdagen uden at være decideret idræt, sport eller motion (Larsen 2003).

Noget tyder på, at sundhedsmyndighedernes evidensbaserede kampagner omkring fysisk aktivitet i mindst en halv time om dagen kan have præget befolkningens idrætslige praksis og forståelse af begreber som sport og motion de seneste årtier. Langt de fleste voksne idrætsudøvere har primært sundhedsmotiver for øje, når de trækker i træningstøjet (Ibsen & Ottesen 1999, Ottesen 2006). Desuden har motionsaktiviteter som jogging, aerobic, vandreture, cykling og styrketræning, der ofte tjener et sundhedsmæssigt formål, udviklet sig meget markant gennem de seneste 30 år, mens traditionelle sportsaktiviteter og spil som fodbold, håndbold, badminton og tennis oplever begrænset fremgang eller stagnation (Pilgaard 2009, Fridberg 2010).

Udviklingen af sports- og motionsbegreberne og den idrætslige praksis gennem gymnastikken, skyttebevægelsen, sport og motion i fritiden og tilmed gennem aktivitetsformer, der ligger på grænsen af idræts-, sports- og motionsbegreberne som hverdagsmotion og øvrig fysisk aktivitet i hverdagslivet, fører til et komplekst felt af aktivitetsformer og begrebsdannelser i dag. Dertil kommer friluftsliv samt eksperimenterende, dansende, legende, ekspressive og ekstreme bevægelsesformer (Bøje & Eichberg 1994). Komplexiteten omkring, hvad befolkningen forstår ved sport og motionsbegreberne, kommer til udtryk i respondenternes stigende tendens til uoverensstemmende svar. Er vandreturen med familien i skoven eller børns leg i havetrampolinen for eksempel sport eller motion? Og hvad med de naturoplevelser, frisk luft og bevægelse, der følger med en fisketur eller en jagt? Eller den motion, det giver at træne sin hund til agility? Er det motion på lige fod med en fodboldkamp på stadion med to hold, dommere og tilskuere eller den løbetur, som også foregår i skoven eller omkring søen?

Jeg vil i det følgende søge efter mønstre i befolkningens uoverensstemmende svar på baggrund af undersøgelsen fra 2007. Den kvantitative metodetilgang egner sig ikke til at undersøge individuelle meningsdannelser, men kan i stedet undersøge årsagssammenhænge og forklaringer på forskellige sociologiske fænomener. Derfor ønsker jeg i analysen at undersøge, hvor uoverensstemmelserne opstår, samt hvad der kan forklare de uoverensstemmelser, som opstår mellem de 2 forskellige spørgsmål. På baggrund af den teoretiske og historiske gennemgang tager jeg i analysen udgangspunkt i en hypotese om, at debatten omkring sundhed har ført til et øget fokus på fysisk aktivitet i befolkningens opfattelse af begreberne sport og motion. Det er min fornemmelse, at sundhed og fysisk aktivitet er med til at sætte dagsordenen for, hvad befolkningen opfatter som sport og motion.

Jeg kontrollerer samtidig for effekten af organiseringsgrad. Dvs. hvorvidt aktiviteter, der i høj grad organiseres på egen hånd, influerer på inkonsistente svar. Denne kontrol er relevant på baggrund af den historiske udvikling af den idrætslige praksis, da flere aktiviteter udføres under uformelle organiseringsformer og måske i nogle tilfælde flyder sammen med det øvrige hverdagsliv.

Metode

Analysen er baseret på et omfattende datamateriale med svar fra 4.147 respondenter over 16 år fra undersøgelsen af Danskernes motions- og sportsvaner 2007. Analysen tager udgangspunkt i inkonsistente svar defineret som respondenter, der angiver at have dyrket en aktivitet regelmæssigt inden for det seneste år, men som ikke anser sig selv for at dyrke sport eller motion (N = 681)⁹. De 40 aktiviteter er 'ranket' fra 1 til 5 i forhold til deres fysiske indhold. 1 svarer til lavt fysisk indhold mens 5 svarer til højt fysisk indhold. Det fremgår af tabel 1, at forskellen mellem andelene i spørgsmål 1 og 2 er steget fra 10 procentpoint i 1993 over 18 procentpoint i 1998 til hele 30 procentpoint i 2007. Ifølge spørgsmål 2 er idrætsdeltagelsen øget med 29 procentpoint mellem 1993 og 2007. Til sammenligning er idrætsdeltagelsen steget med mere beskedne 9 procentpoint fra 1993 til 2007 opgjort på spørgsmål 1. Den store stigning i forhold til spørgsmål 2 er primært foregået inden for de 18 aktiviteter, som også indgik i undersøgelsen fra 1993¹⁰. En opgørelse fra 2007, som udelukkende inkluderer disse 18 aktiviteter viser, at hele 81 pct. har dyrket mindst én af disse aktiviteter.

Resultater: Når sport og motion handler om fysisk aktivitet

En bivariat analyse af sammenhængen mellem fysisk indhold og uoverensstemmelsesniveau antyder en statistisk signifikant lineær sammenhæng¹¹. De største uoverensstemmelser mellem spørgsmål 1 og 2 forekommer i aktiviteter som rollespil, skydning, fiskeri, billard/pool, jagt og bowling. Med undtagelse af bowling angiver over en tredjedel af udøverne i disse aktiviteter, at de ikke normalt dyrker sport eller motion. Omvendt er tvivlen omkring aktiviteternes karakter som sport eller motion mindst blandt personer, som spiller badminton, squash, går til aerobic, tennis, jogging, eller håndbold.

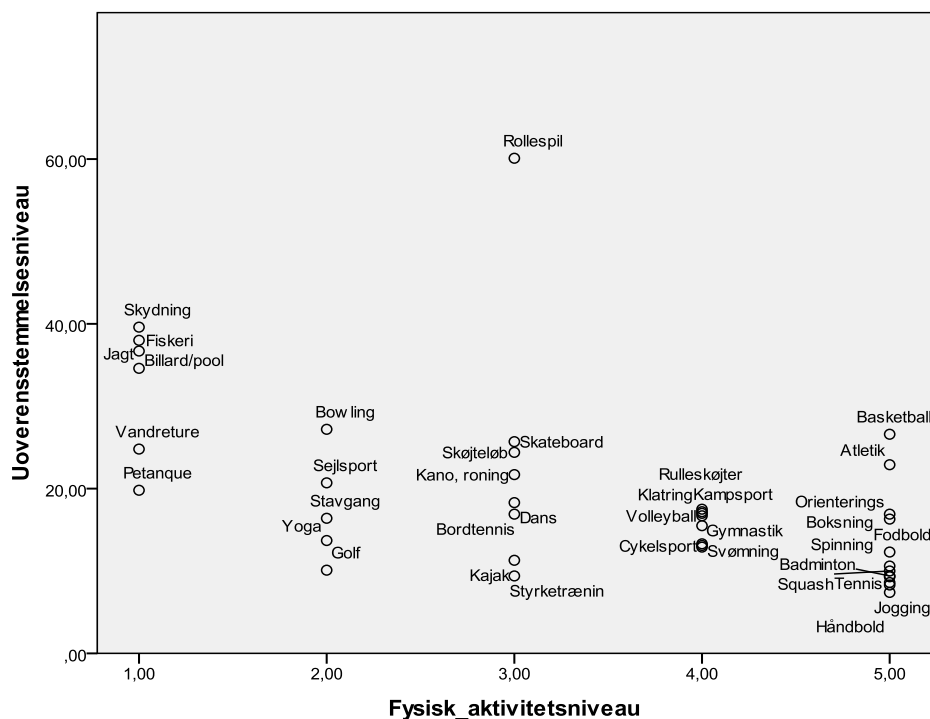
⁹ 15 pct. af respondenterne har angivet 'ikke for tiden' til spørgsmålet "Dyrker du normalt sport eller motion?". I disse tilfælde kan der således være en reel forklaring på, at de har angivet at dyrke en aktivitet inden for det seneste år, selv om de ikke angiver, at de normalt dyrker sport eller motion. Disse respondenter er derfor udeladt af analysen.

¹⁰ De 18 aktiviteter er: Fodbold, håndbold, badminton, tennis, golf, gymnastik, skydning, ridning, cykelsport, svømning, jogging, aerobic, styrketræning, yoga, dans, vandring, jagt og fiskeri.

¹¹ Analysen er gennemført i SPSS 18.0 som dummyregression i GLM, med fysisk indhold som kategorisk uafhængig variabel og uoverensstemmelsesniveau som metrisk afhængig variabel.

Som det fremgår af figur 1, ligger rollespil langt fra de øvrige aktiviteter, som alle samler sig om en ret linje. Blandt rollespillerne anser et flertal på hele 61,1 pct. ikke sig selv om idrætsaktive. Rollespil var med i undersøgelsen for første gang i 2007, og måske opfatter de fleste det mere som en hobby end som en decideret idrætsaktivitet. Man kan også forestille sig, det er en aktivitet, der ikke nødvendigvis foregår 'normalt', men at det er en begivenhed man deltager i med ujævne mellemrum. Desuden må man ikke underkende usikkerheder i disse målinger – især for rollespil, som kun er baseret på 18 respondenter. Det kan dog heller ikke udelukkes, at nogle har angivet den form for rollespil, som man kan udføre med spillekort. Når rollespil fjernes fra analysen, bliver den statistiske sammenhæng således stærkere, som viser sig ved en stejlere hældningskoefficient og en øget forklaringskraft (R^2 adjst. stiger fra 31,1 pct. til 51,4 pct., $p < 0,002$).

Figur 1. Bivariat sammenhæng mellem fysisk indhold og uoverensstemmelse for forskellige aktiviteter.



Uoverensstemmelse niveauet er givet ud fra, hvor stor en andel, der har angivet at dyrke en aktivitet, men som ikke anser sig selv for at dyrke sport eller motion. Dvs. 60 pct. af alle rollespillere mener ikke, de dyrker sport eller motion.

Det er interessant, at der forekommer stor grad af uoverensstemmelse omkring aktiviteter som jagt, fiskeri og skydning, da de alle indgik i den første undersøgelse fra 1964. På daværende tidspunkt var de blandt de 12 største sportsaktiviteter, som danskerne dyrkede. Dette er med til at understrege, at det ikke nødvendigvis er nye aktiviteter, som har forårsaget en stigning i uoverensstemmelserne, men i stedet en ændret opfattelse af, hvad det vil sige at dyrke sport eller motion inden for de aktiviteter, der tidligere har været opfattet som sport eller motion. Det kan dog også skyldes, at den praksis, som ligger omkring at dyrke jagt, fiskeri eller skydning har ændret sig. Skydning var før i tiden en væsentlig disciplin i den militære gymnastik og skoling mens jagt og fiskeri måske mere betegnes som en hobby i dag, fordi det ikke er decideret fysisk krævende, eller fordi det udføres som sjældnere begivenheder og ikke indgår i udøvernes hverdagslige praksis.

Forskelle blandt befolkningsgrupper

Nogle befolkningsgrupper er mere tilbøjelige til at svare uoverensstemmende end andre. En sådan systematisk sammenhæng mellem forskellige befolkningsgruppers opfattelser af sport og motion kan føre til en skævvridning i det generelle billede af udviklingen i befolkningens idrætsdeltagelse. En bivariat analyse af sammenhængen mellem uoverensstemmende svar i forhold til køn, alder og uddannelseslængde viser, at mænd i lidt højere grad end kvinder angiver at dyrke aktiviteter, selv om de ikke angiver at dyrke sport eller motion.

Dette er interessant, da det samtidig viser sig, at mænd faktisk er lige så idrætsaktive som kvinder opgjort på spørgsmål 2, selv om spørgsmål 1 viser, at kvinder i dag er mere idrætsaktive end mænd. Dertil kommer, at mænd fremstår som *mere* idrætsaktive end kvinder, når respondenterne skal angive, om deres partner normalt dyrker sport eller motion. Kvinders opfattelse af, hvad det vil sige at dyrke sport eller motion, er således bredere end mænds, og dette kan måske ligefrem være én af årsagerne til, at kvinder rent faktisk fremstår som mere idrætsaktive, fordi spørgsmål 1 er blevet brugt til at tegne billedet af befolkningens idrætsdeltagelse.

Ligeledes svarer befolkningsgrupper uden videregående uddannelser oftere uoverensstemmende end øvrige befolkningsgrupper. Omvendt har alder ingen betydning i denne sammenhæng.

Befolkningsgrupper uden videregående uddannelse dyrker stadig færre aktiviteter ifølge spørgsmål 2 end øvrige respondenter, men forskellene er mindre markante opgjort på spørgsmål 2 (17 procentpoints forskel mellem laveste og højeste uddannelsesgruppe) end på spørgsmål 1 (37 procentpoints forskel).

En del af forklaringen på den større uoverensstemmelse blandt mænd og befolkningsgrupper uden videregående uddannelse kan tilskrives, at disse befolkningsgrupper oftere dyrker aktiviteter med lavt fysisk indhold, hvor uoverensstemmelserne typisk opstår. Mænd spiller mere bowling, billard/pool, går til skydning, jagt og fiskeri end kvinder. Befolkningsgrupper uden videregående uddannelse spiller oftere bowling, billard, går til skydning og fiskeri end øvrige grupper¹². Omvendt er kvinder mere tilbøjelige til at dyrke såkaldt 'bløde' idrætsformer som f.eks. yoga, pilates, stavgang mv., som også rangerer lavt hvad fysisk aktivitet angår. Disse aktiviteter har dog netop ofte *til formål* at træne kroppen i modsætning til bowling, billard, skydning, jagt og fiskeri, og netop derfor er kvinder mere bevidste omkring at opfatte disse aktiviteter som sport eller motion.

Diskussion

Analysen tegner således et mønster, hvor respondenterne er mindre tilbøjelige til at opfatte sig selv som idrætsaktive, når de deltager i aktiviteter med begrænset fysisk aktivitet. De opfatter måske snarere aktiviteterne som ikke-sportslige hobbyer. Dette er med til at understøtte hypotesen, at et fokus på fysisk aktivitet og sundhed er med til at forme befolkningens opfattelse af begreber som sport og motion. Om end i højere grad højtuddannede og kvinder. Måske skyldes det, at disse befolkningsgrupper gerne svarer i overensstemmelse med 'normen' snarere end virkeligheden? Undersøgelsen fra Australien viste dog ingen kønsforskelle i forhold til at sammenholde pedometermålinger med selvrapporterede skemaer (Leicht 2008).

Analysen viser også, at respondenterne til en vis grad svarer inkonsistent på aktiviteter, som er ranket højt i forhold til fysisk indhold, og derfor kan være vanskelige at forklare i denne sammenhæng. Det gælder f.eks. i rollespil, basketball, skateboard, skøjteløb, atletik samt kano/roning. Her er der tale om relativt små aktiviteter med kun få respondenter,

¹² Se en opgørelse over forskelle på køn, alder og uddannelseslængde i (Pilgaard 2008).

hvorfor man må tage forbehold for statistiske usikkerheder¹³. Nogle af disse aktiviteter foregår mere uformelt på egen hånd – man klæder måske ikke engang om hertil, og skatere opfatter sjældent sig selv som idrætsaktive, da de repræsenterer en livsstil, hvor de ikke nødvendigvis identificerer aktiviteten med sport eller motion¹⁴ (Pilgaard & Toft 2010). Desuden kan årstidseffekt spille en rolle i forhold til disse aktiviteter, som primært er sæsonafhængige. Det kan også skyldes, at befolkningen opfatter de samme idrætslige praksisser forskelligt afhængig af, i hvilken kontekst de bliver udført. Basketballspillere, som spiller i en forening, eller som flere gange om ugen mødes omklædt for at spille basket er sandsynligvis mere tilbøjelige til at opfatte det som sport eller motion end dem, som spiller indimellem uden at klæde om, men som en del af det, at 'hænge ud' med vennerne. Her bliver det måske mere en beskæftigelse på lige fod med computerspil, biograf eller cafebesøg. Nogle aktiviteter egner sig mere end andre til at blive udfoldet i forskellige kontekster, og dette kan være en forklaring på, at uoverensstemmelserne opstår i aktiviteter, som normalt indeholder store mængder fysisk aktivitet. Måske kan graden af 'institutionalisering' af en aktivitet – eller mangel på samme – ligefrem være en mulig forklaring på uoverensstemmelserne? I analysen er det muligt at kontrollere, om sammenhængen mellem fysisk aktivitetsniveau og uoverensstemmelse forsvinder, når organiseringsgraden også kommer i betragtning. Organiseringsgrad er målt på, hvor stor en andel der dyrker de forskellige aktiviteter under organiserede forhold (i enten forening, firmaidræt, aftenskole eller i privat (kommerciel) regi). Variablen er opdelt i fire kategorier (1= under 25 pct. organiseret, 2 = 25-49 pct. organiseret, 3= 50-74 pct. organiseret, 4= 75-100 pct. organiseret).

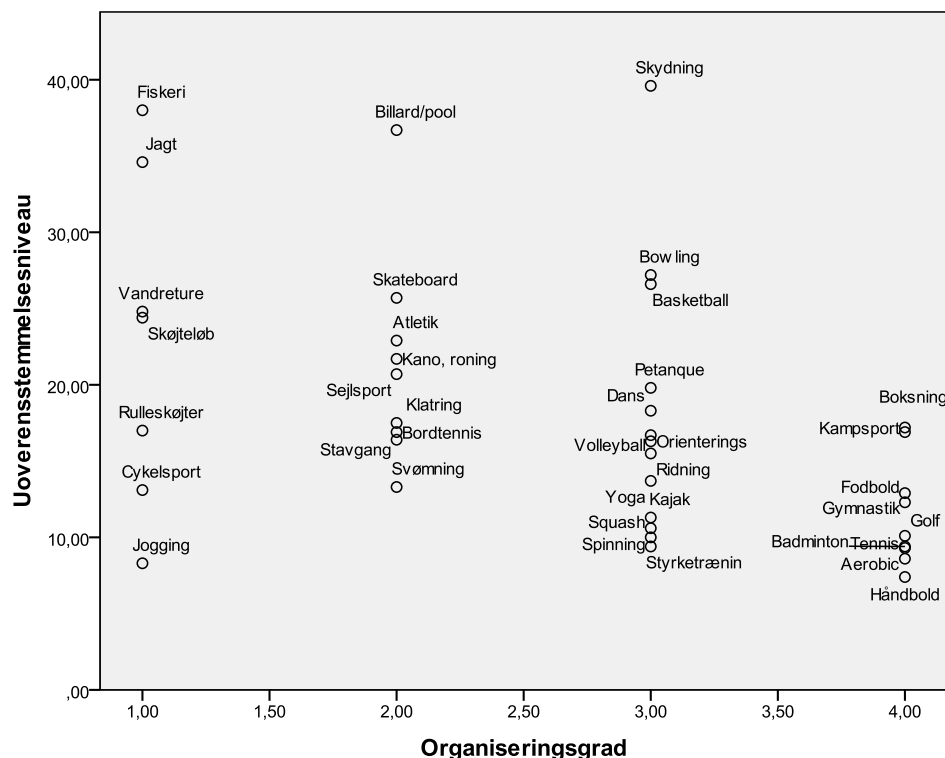
Der eksisterer en bivariat sammenhæng mellem organiseringsgrad og uoverensstemmelse. Men når organiseringsgraden betragtes i en samlet model med fysisk indhold, organiseringsgrad og uoverensstemmelse, ændrer det kun minimalt på den føromtalte sammenhæng mellem fysisk indhold og uoverensstemmelsesniveau. Tilmed ser det ud til, at fysisk indhold kan være med til at forklare de relationer, der eksisterer mellem organiseringsgrad og tilbøjelighed til at svare uoverensstemmende, da den signifikante sammenhæng for organiseringsgrad forsvinder i en samlet model.

¹³ N-rollespil = 18, N-skateboard = 35, N-basketball = 173, N-skøjteløb = 41, N-atletik = 35, N-Kano/roning = 69.

¹⁴ Dette bekræftes i et interview med projektleder for projekt Underground, som er et samarbejde mellem DGI-Østjylland og Århus Kommune med fokus på skatere og andre streetaktiviteter.

Uformelt organiserede aktiviteter med stort uoverensstemmelsesniveau skyldes, at disse aktiviteter samtidig har lavt fysisk indhold. Som det fremgår af figur 2 herunder, er der primært tale om fiskeri, jagt og billard/pool.

Figur 2. Bivariat sammenhæng mellem organiseringsgrad og uoverensstemmelse for 39 aktiviteter (uden rollespil)



Omvendt forekommer der aktiviteter med få uoverensstemmelser, som samtidig har en lav grad af organisering. Det gælder især jogging, men også inden for cykelsport, svømning, stavgang og rulleskøjter. Disse aktiviteter er normalt mere fysisk krævende end aktiviteter som fiskeri, billard, jagt og vandreture, og dette kan være årsagen til, at tvivlen er mindre på trods af en lav organiseringsgrad.

På trods af afvigelser i enkelte aktiviteter bekræfter analysen, at der overordnet set eksisterer en direkte lineær statistisk signifikant sammenhæng mellem aktiviteterne fysiske aktivitetsniveau og respondenterne tendens til at opfatte sig selv som idrætsaktive kontrolleret for organiseringsgrad.

Den foregående analyse og resultatgennemgang tydeliggør nødvendigheden af at være opmærksom på, hvilke spørgsmål man benytter, når man undersøger befolkningens motions- og sportsvaner. Hvis forskellige befolkningsgruppers opfattelser af sport og motion ikke udvikler sig parallelt, er det vanskeligt at opnå valid indsigt i befolkningens aktivitetsniveau, såvel som det er vanskeligt at danne sig et billede af udviklingen i de idrætslige praksisser, hvis befolkningens opfattelser af begreberne forandrer sig.

Der eksisterer en vekselvirkende relation mellem forskellige forståelser og opfattelser af begreberne og forskellige kropslige praksisformer. Befolkningens opfattelse af begreberne kan både afspejle de aktiviteter, der foregår i praksis og være med til at skabe en forståelsesramme, som påvirker befolkningen til nye praksisformer.

Engström hævdede i 1999, at idrætten primært har udviklet sig på middel- og overklassens præmisser. Netop fordi disse befolkningsgrupper er mest interesseret i motions- og fitnessaktiviteter, som oplever massiv fremgang i disse år, og som samtidig bliver dyrket med et primært formål om at komme eller være i form (Engström 1999). Dette viser sig også i de danske undersøgelser, og samtidig ændrer aktiviteter uden fysisk aktivitet som fiskeri og jagt karakter fra at være sport eller motion til at være noget andet – f.eks. en ikke-idrætslig hobby pga. det lave indhold af fysisk aktivitet.

Den seneste KRAM-undersøgelse¹⁵ fra 2009 viser, at både kvinder og folk med lange videregående uddannelser i højere grad end andre træner for at komme i form eller for at koble fra. Omvendt angiver de sjældnere at træne, fordi det er sjovt eller for at være sammen med andre (KRAM 2009). Det antyder, at disse befolkningsgrupper har et mere funktionelt eller sundhedsrelateret fokus på at dyrke sport eller motion. Dette kan være én af årsagerne til, at de har en bredere opfattelse af de aktiviteter, de udøver i hverdagen, som værende sport eller motion. Engström er netop inde på, at formålet med en aktivitet kan være afgørende for den individuelle definition af aktiviteterne (Engström 1999).

Mænd og befolkningsgrupper uden videregående uddannelser reflekterer måske ikke i samme grad over aktiviteternes sidegevinster i forhold til motion, og tænker det derfor ikke som at dyrke sport eller motion, når de udøver aktiviteter, der ikke har som direkte formål at være motion.

¹⁵ KRAM er en landsdækkende undersøgelse af danskernes sundhed og helbred. KRAM er en forkortelse for **K**ost, **R**øg, **A**lkohol og **M**otion (<http://www.kram-undersoegelsen.dk/>)

Generelt kan fokus på at komme i form eller træne kroppen være med til at forplante en holdning i befolkningen om, at alle aktiviteter, der indeholder fysisk aktivitet tæller med. Idrætsvaneundersøgelsen fra 2007 viser eksempler herpå, da enkelte respondenter (N = 51) nævner sex, telefonbogsuddeling, arbejdet som postbud, rengøring, 'tumble med børnene' eller havearbejdet som sport eller motion (Pilgaard 2008).

En anden forklaring på den stigende uoverensstemmelse relaterer sig til sporten og motionens mere uformelle karakter. Sport og motion foregår ikke længere udelukkende i en forening på faste træningsdage. Aktiviteterne flyder mange gange sammen med andre hverdagsforhold. F.eks. som transport, som en hobby, en livsstil eller som led i børnenes aktive leg. Denne sammensmeltning foregår også i andre af hverdagslivets facetter, f.eks. i forhold til arbejdsliv. Flere og flere beskæftigede har mulighed for fleksible arbejdstider, de arbejder hjemmefra, eller ordner forretningsanliggender over en frokost, på golfbanen eller via telefonen på vej i bilen. I moderne livsstil flyder dagsordenerne sammen i et forsøg på at effektivisere og udnytte tiden optimalt. Analysen tyder dog ikke på, at mere fleksible eller uformelle organiseringsformer i sig selv fører til uoverensstemmelse omkring aktivitetens karakter af sport eller motion. I stedet er det primært niveauet af fysisk indhold samt intentionen med aktiviteten, som er afgørende (Dog med undtagelse af visse 'livsstilsidrætter' eller 'legeaktiviteter' som f.eks. skateboard, rollespil og skøjteløb). Det er ikke overraskende, at organiseringsgrad ikke har nogen betydning for de fleste aktiviteter, da de fleksible, uformelle måder at organisere aktiviteterne på ligefrem kan være et udtryk for en nyttetankegang eller effektivitetstankegang omkring det at indpasse træning i en travl hverdag, som udtryk for en sund og aktiv livsstil.

Konklusion

Befolkningens opfattelse omkring sport og motion er ikke entydig. Uoverensstemmelserne mellem to forskellige spørgsmål, som spørger ind til andelen, der dyrker sport eller motion, er blevet markant større de seneste 15 år og opstår typisk omkring aktiviteter, som ikke udfordrer kroppen fysisk på trods af, at nogle af disse aktiviteter tidligere har været klart defineret som sport og motion. Uoverensstemmelserne opstår overvejende hos mænd og grupper uden videregående uddannelser, som dels dyrker aktiviteter, der generelt ikke

bliver opfattet som sport eller motion, og som dels har en smallere opfattelse af, hvad sport og motion indbefatter.

Selv om analyserne viser en sammenhæng mellem fysisk aktivitetsniveau og overensstemmelse, forekommer undtagelser i en række aktiviteter. Udviklingen i de idrætslige praksisser og individuelle forståelser skal ses i et mere komplekst lys, som knytter sig dels til forhold omkring fysisk aktivitet, dels til forskellige intentioner i de forskellige måder at praktisere idrætsaktiviteter på i dag. Basketball er ikke bare basketball. Det er heller ikke bare sport eller motion. Det afhænger af konteksten og intentionen, og ofte vil det formentlig være sådan, at man opfatter det som en sport i det omfang, man klæder om hertil, mens det mere er en integreret ikke-sportslig del af fritiden, hvis man spiller uformelt med vennerne. Sidstnævnte praksisform ser man dog mere og mere udført i og med flere kommunale tiltag vokser frem omkring opføring af offentligt tilgængelige pladser og arealer til uformelle, selvorganiserede idrætslige udfoldelser. Noget tyder på, at idræts- og sundhedseksperter udvidede fokus på at øge tilgængeligheden til fysisk aktivitet i hverdagen er med til at flytte befolkningens idrætslige praksis. Og parallelt hermed rykker det også ved de individuelle forståelser – om end i større omfang blandt kvinder og befolkningsgrupper med lange videregående uddannelser, der tilsyneladende er mere opmærksomme på sundhed og fysisk aktivitet i hverdagen.

Knud Larsen beskrev i 2003 udviklingen i den idrætslige praksis som tre bølger, hvor han skelnede mellem foreningsidræt, selvorganiseret idræt og hverdagsmotion (Larsen 2003). Spørgsmålet er, om vi i dag er vidne til en fjerde bølge, som handler om identitetsdannende livsstilsidræt. Gennem 1990'erne og på den anden side af årtusindeskiftet ser man en række aktiviteter vokse frem af forskellige subkulturer, hvor aktiviteterne bliver en integreret del af den enkeltes livsførelse. Nogle vokser frem med et ydre motiv om at træne kroppen som f.eks. jogging og fitness, mens andre har helt andre motiver i forhold til den idrætslige praksis som f.eks. skaterkulturen og streetdance kulturen i 1990'erne eller rollespilskulturen og parkour i det nye årtusinde. Disse 'streetaktiviteter' er ikke noget, man 'går til' eller træner til, det er noget, man er, og derfor opfattes det ikke nødvendigvis som sport eller motion (Pilgaard og Toft 2010). Dette kan føre til, at befolkningen i fremtiden i stigende grad vil polarisere sig i forhold til individuelle forståelser, mens den idrætslige praksis udlignes mere og mere. Dette er

problematisk, hvis undersøgelserne udelukkende fokuserer på et spørgsmål, der tager udgangspunkt i individuelle forståelser. En undersøgelse af befolkningens fysiske aktivitetsniveau fra 2010, baseret på 24 timers dagbøger viser f.eks., at mænd og kvinder samt lavt- og højtuddannede faktisk dyrker lige meget motion (Matthiessen et.al. 2010). Man bør overveje betydningen af disse forhold i relation til at undersøge befolkningens motions- og sportsvaner på baggrund af individuelle opfattelser i fremtiden.

Skævvridninger i forskellige befolkningsgruppers opfattelse af begreberne fører til svækkelse af validiteten i undersøgelse af udviklingen i den idrætslige praksis. For at undgå yderligere skævvridninger, må fremtidige undersøgelser af idrætsvaner forholde sig til begrebernes flertydige og komplekse karakter. Man har hidtil holdt fast i det traditionelle spørgsmål: ”Dyrker du normalt sport/motion” som det gennemgående og afgørende spørgsmål i de 7 landsdækkende idrætsvaneundersøgelser, der er blevet gennemført i Danmark. Dette er afgørende for at måle en udvikling over tid. De markante uoverensstemmelser stiller spørgsmålstegn ved, om der er behov for et paradigmeskift i den metodiske tilgang.

Det må være forskernes opgave hele tiden at arbejde på en passende afgrænsning i relation til den kontekstuelle samtid, som sikrer et solidt og validt udgangspunkt for overhovedet at kunne gennemføre kvantitative undersøgelser. Det har dog ikke været min hensigt i denne artikel at opnå konsensus omkring én definition på sport og motion. Men det er afgørende for den enkelte undersøgelse at klargøre, hvad man ønsker at undersøge, og hvad formålet er med undersøgelsen forud for den endelige analyse og tolkning af data. En definition eksisterer ikke, men snarere forskellige *forståelser*, og der er forskel på at definere og afgrænse et begreb.

Idræt, sport og motion, er socialt konstruerede, kontekstafhængige begreber. Omvendt er fysisk aktivitet et mere objektivt, kvantificerbart og mere sammenligneligt mål. I et forsøg på at mindske uoverensstemmelserne og øge sammenligneligheden på tværs af tid, kultur og socialisering, er det nødvendigt med nogle retningslinjer. Et studie fra Holland viser gode erfaringer med at opdele i tre forskellige spørgsmål, som spørger dels til sport, som foregår i fritiden, dels til sport, som foregår i organiseret regi, samt øvrig fysisk aktivitet i hverdagen (Romijn, Breedveld & Hover 2010).

Denne artikel belyser, at det ikke ligger fast, hvad respondenterne selv definerer som sport og motion, men at de har forskellige forståelser eller opfattelser af begreberne. Disse

opfattelser er dog ikke tilfældige. De har en mere grundlæggende betydning, som knytter sig til kulturelle og sociale forskelle samt den idrætslige praksis. Viden og indsigt på området samt fortløbende analyse af betydninger, intentioner, former og omfang af sport og motion er afgørende for kvaliteten af de kvantitative idrætsvaneundersøgelser.

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11. Article two

Title: Age specific differences in sports participation in Denmark – is development caused by generation, life phase or time period effects?

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Abstract

Leisure time sport and exercise has undergone remarkable development in Denmark between 1964 and 2007. Today's sport- and exercise participants represent all age groups from young children to seniors, and the latest survey representative of the Danish nation from 2007 showed that participation level no longer resembles a linear drop with increased age as has earlier been the case. The aim of the article is to analyse whether sport and exercise participation has developed as a means of generation, life phase or periodical effects. In the analysis only data from 1975, 1987, 1998 and 2007 will be included. The results show that sport and exercise participation is affected by all three theoretical perspectives. Periodical effects have the biggest impact on development – and bigger for women than men – followed by life phase (considering a linear drop in participation level with older stages in life) and generational effects. Further, an alternative model of a curve-linear life phase effect is occurring in 2007. With this in mind the paper presents two perspectives of interpretations that sport providers need to consider in particular in order to organize activities and to accommodate needs and demands in different life phases and generations in the future.

Keywords: sports participation, development, generation, life phase, periodical effects.

1. Introduction

Leisure time sport and exercise (excluding physical activity from physically demanding work, housekeeping and transport) has undergone a remarkable development within the past decades. In Denmark the proportion of the population that participates in sport or exercise on a regular basis increased from 15 to 56 percent between 1964 and 2007 (Pilgaard, 2009). This is based on a broad definition asking the question ‘Do you normally participate in sport or exercise?’ without any time restriction, level of competition or way of organizing the activities. Today’s sport and exercise participants represent all age groups from young children to seniors aged 70 and older, and the latest survey in Denmark from 2007 showed that the participation level no longer resembles a linear drop with increased age as has earlier been the case in Danish cross-sectional surveys (Bille, Fridberg, Storgaard, & Wulff, 2005; Fridberg, 1989, 1994, 2000; Kühl, 1976, 1980; Pilgaard, 2009) as well as in many other European countries (Breedveld & Hoekman, 2011; Gratton & Veal, 2011; Stamm & Lamprecht, 2005; Van Bottenburg & van Sterkenburg, 2005) and in international cross-sectional comparisons (Council of Europe, 1995, 2007; TNS Opinion and Social, 2010).

From cross-sectional surveys, however, it is not possible to specify whether differences according to age are caused by certain generations or by life phase effects. Ideally longitudinal data should be used in order to investigate changes over time according to the individual going through different stages in life. Longitudinal data allows the investigation of intra-individual developments, giving information about a specific individual’s history of dropping out and entering/re-entering sports participation. Such data is not available in Denmark, but this type of data also has the weakness that it does

not allow for analysis on an overall generational level. This means that periodical effects cannot be analysed in longitudinal studies.

This article will provide comprehensive evidence of the development of sports participation among and within generations from a time trend perspective of 43 years through cohort analysis comparing different generations from cross-sectional data collected in 1964, 1975, 1987, 1993, 1998 and 2007. The aim of the article is to analyse the significance of generational, life phase and periodical effects for participation in leisure time sport and exercise by asking the following research questions:

- a) Do circumstances in the individual's upbringing imprint stable and lifelong values leading to certain participation patterns within each generation?
- b) Do development and age differences related to roles and experiences follow different phases in life?
- c) Is it likely that certain periodical effects in society influence the characteristics of participation?

A differentiation between reasons for development of sports participation is interesting in relation to the outcomes of possible future changes. Generational effects will slowly, but predictably, change society as new generations replace the old. Life phase effects create stability at a societal level and will only alter with demographical changes. Periodical effects can shape society in unexpected ways and possibly cause rapid changes.

2. State of research

A study looking into all three perspectives of generational, life phase and periodical effects is scant in relation to explaining the development of sports participation. As

referred to above, there are numerous cross-sectional studies at both national and international levels, most of them revealing a decline in participation levels with increased age. Such associations are challenged in recent literature. Cross-sectional studies based on Danish, Norwegian, Swedish and Swiss samples indicate a change in age differences over time (Fridberg, 2010; Lamprecht, fischer, & Stamm, 2008; Pilgaard, 2009; Riksidrottsförbundet, 2009). In 2011 a special issue on sports participation was published by the European Journal for Sport and Society which stressed changes as well as the importance of definitions and methods of measuring participation levels regarding the specific outcomes of different studies (Breedveld & Hoekman, 2011; Gratton, Rowe & Veal, 2011; Stamm & Lamprecht, 2011; Van Tuyckom, Bracke & Scheerder, 2011).

Today, Danes aged between 30 and 39 years seem to be the least involved in leisure time sport and exercise, whereas the younger and older age groups show almost equal proportions of participation (Pilgaard, 2009). The figure illustrates the changes according to different age groups from Danish cross-sectional samples representative of the Danish population between 1964 and 2007. The participation level is measured by the question: 'Do you normally participate in sport/exercise?' Further information and methodological discussions about the survey method are provided in the method section. Not only does the group aged between 30 and 39 years seem to be the least active in sport and exercise in 2007, they also seem to become less active than the same age group in 1998.

[Insert figure 1]

Some longitudinal studies also challenge the cross-sectional understanding of age effects by showing that sports participation throughout a life course (at an intra-individual level) seems to be characterized more by changes in activity level and choice of activities than by a stable drop out with increased age (Butcher, Lindner, & Johns, 2002; Sarrazin, Vallerand, Guillet, Pelletier, & Cury, 2002; Scheerder et al., 2006; Seippel, 2005). During the late teenage years (during or after leaving high school) there seems to be a massive drop out from club organized participation, especially from competitive sports (Pilgaard, 2009; Scheerder et al., 2006; Seippel, 2005). The drop out from club organized sport may not lead to inactivity but to a change in organizational form from club organized to self-organized or commercially organized activities with greater opportunities for flexible planning (Pilgaard, 2009; Scheerder et al., 2006; Seippel, 2002). Further, retrospective studies of participation during the life course reveal a tendency to both drop out from *and* enter/re-enter sporting activities throughout life, which can be seen as a result of changes in needs, demands and wishes for sports participation as people enter new stages in life (Engel & Nagel, 2011). Studies by Breuer (2005) and Breuer and Wicker (2009) combine analyses of longitudinal and cohort sequence data in order to validate age differences revealed from cross-sectional analysis. In Breuer and Wicker (2009) a comprehensive overview of literature on development in sports participation is provided. From this, mixed inferences also appear considering different research methods. In the analysis they find that cohort effects contribute mostly to the development of sports participation leading to constant or even increased participation level in the same cohort over time despite increased age. The authors mention the periodical effect as being explained by increased health focus, target group-specific initiatives and modified age norms where the elderly are no longer

associated with a life period of inactivity. Thus periodical effects might compensate or even overcompensate for the age effects found in cross-sectional studies. Breuer and Wicker's study from 2009 was based on German samples from over 20 years and the authors recommend even longer time spans in order to conduct an effective analysis of development (Breuer & Wicker, 2009). Such an analysis will be provided in the following based on Danish cross-sectional data samples taken from four periods over 32 years (1975, 1987, 1998 and 2007).

3. Theoretical framework

In literature on value studies, and specifically on development of values over time (Botvar, 2005; Breivik, 1998; Gundelach, 2011; Hellevik, 2001; Twenge, Campbell, Hoffman, & Lance, 2010), it is common to consider generational, life phase and periodical effects in order to understand and explain the development. It is hardly ever possible though, that development can be explained from just one of the three (ideal) approaches alone. Usually a combination would be likely to occur, which is seen as a weakness of the cohort analysis in that one result can be accorded different explanations (Cavalli, 2004; Hellevik, 2001). This must be seen as a prerequisite in the social sciences acknowledging that the social world seldom can be understood from straightforward 'either/or' perspectives (Cavalli, 2004). Yet it is the purpose of this study, using the type of data available, to capture the meaning which can explain development. The theoretical perspective in the following presents three possible approaches to determining development which is *per se* of great value to creating a deeper understanding of leisure time sports participation development. Sports participation and exercise is often seen as a mirror of society in the sense that changes in other phases of everyday life, i.e. the character of work life, the quantity of 'free

time', family patterns, social relations and values are reflected in the character and the changes of sports participation during leisure hours (Bourdieu, 1978; Elias & Dunning, 1986; Horne, Tomlinson, & Whannel, 1999). The question is whether to expect development in participation related to values formed in contiguous cohorts, in certain life phases or within specific periods of time.

3.1. Generational perspectives

Among studies on values it is often assumed that habits, personality traits, values, opinions and behaviours are established during childhood and adolescence and remain stable throughout the course of life (Cavalli, 2004; Hellevik, 2001; Inglehart, 1977, 1990; Mannheim, 1952; Twenge et al., 2010). Values are formed by different forces that are characteristic of the socio-historical context in which each generation grows up, such as the economic situation in society, social events, the media, popular culture, etc. The values and cultural norms are potentially formed into collective actions causing *generational effects* where people from a certain generation remain 'faithful' to an established set of values forming opinions and behaviours through the life course. Values as such will only cause limited changes at the societal level over time, which Robert Inglehart called *the silent revolution* (Hellevik, 2001; Inglehart, 1977), often with a certain time lag in relation to general societal and economical changes (Horne et al., 1999; Stamm & Lamprecht, 2005).

Some value studies describe differences between generations in a more detailed way labelling the generations as the Silent Generation (born 1925-1945), the Baby Boomers (born 1946-1964), Generation X (born 1965-1981) and Generation Me (also called Generation Y) (born 1982-1999) (Twenge et al., 2010). More specific labels and time

frames have been used in literature for the case of Denmark with the Baby Boomers from 1945-54, the newly discovered Generation Jones (born around 1955-1964), Generation X from 1965-1974, Generation Y (born 1975-84), Generation Z (born 1985-2001) and Generation New Millennium (born after 2001) (Jensen, 2007). Since the data in this study is concerning Danish conditions the Danish time frames will be used in the following analysis.

In a very simplified version the Silent Generation grew up in a Crisis Era before and during World War II, which has formed values like ‘inner driven’, ‘suffocated’, ‘silent’ and ‘adaptive’ (Twenge et al., 2010). Baby Boomers grew up in the post-World War II period affected by women’s movements, student protests and a general political radicalization causing the generation to be more outer driven, result driven and stability oriented, and are said to have stable and long term connections to a job. They value solidarity and are also seen as being very exposed to a health discourse (also called ‘the health-strivers’) with a focus on healthy lifestyle (Jensen, 2007). Generation X is the first generation with focus on the individual; they are very independent and self-centred and are less committed to organizations than the Baby Boomers. Also, they embrace diversity, seek personal success, value harmony and are willing to pay for quality. Generation Y and Generation Z are the first generations for the internet, mobility and multitasking. They have great social skills and are generally ‘surfing’ or ‘zapping’ to find the best offer for the best price (Twenge et al., 2010). Further, they are the first generations to live a very flexible and project-oriented everyday life which challenges established and routine based institutions in society (Jensen, 2009; Lorentzen, 2001). The generational labels may reflect a rather ‘popular science’ perspective and are used here as a tool to make meaningful cohort separations in the analysis of sports

participation. Based on the theory of stable values in certain generations it is likely to assume the following:

H1a: Each generation will show a stable connection to sports participation over time.

H1b: Due to increased levels of sports participants over time younger generations are assumed to be more involved in sport and exercise than older ones.

3.2. Life phase perspectives

Alternatively to a generational effect, the development of sport and exercise can be explained from a *life phase* perspective where habits or values and behaviours are linked to situational determinants in different stages of everyday life. Following the introductory theoretical remarks of leisure hours reflecting the character of other phases in everyday life, it is likely to assume that different stages of life will influence leisure time activities like participation in sport and exercise. The transition from child to *teenager* is followed by great changes in everyday life. Teenagers are less dependent on institutional settings, and new activities appear in everyday life like student jobs, significant others, change of school and education, bodily changes, etc., which can all be seen as potential restraints to continued participation (Butcher et al., 2002; Côté, Baker, & Abernethy, 2007; Engström, 1999, 2004; Seippel, 2005; Vanreusel et al., 1997). *Young adulthood* is an independent life phase with a focus on education and possibly also *career building* before the *parent phase* occurs. The parent phase can be seen as a period of many restraints to leisure time activities as the focus is on the children in this period. After the parent phase, when the children become less dependent on their parents, typically during the teenage years, a *second independent life phase*

occurs. This age group is likely to experience more time for leisure activities than the parent and career-building age groups (Hirvensalo, Lampinen, & Rantanen, 1998). On the contrary aging processes of the body may limit the bodily actions to less physical demanding activities, and injuries or age- related disorders may even restrain many from sport and exercise in this life phase (Kulturministeriet, 2009; Pilgaard, 2009). The bodily restrictions might be a minor issue in the second independent phase, though, occurring more frequently later in life among the *elderly*. Following this pattern it is expected that sports participation levels will change as a cohort reaches different stages in life. This leads to the second assumption:

H2: A drop in the participation level is expected when people enter new stages in life.

There is no objective age in years linked to a specific life phase since different people may enter different stages in life at slightly different ages. Nevertheless the following analysis tests the life phase hypothesis by looking into differences in age. Differences in participation levels that are not linked to life phase must be caused by time period effects (Hellevik, 2001) leading to the third theoretical perspective.

3.3. Periodical perspectives

Thirdly, a *periodical effect* is likely to occur. In this context understanding sports participation can be seen as being related to trends and tendencies in society at a certain point and affected by smaller or greater events and changes in society. A periodical effect can be identified when changes occur across all generations or life phases at the same time. For example economic crises or limited job opportunities tend to prompt people to become more materialistic (Breivik, 1998).

The development of the education system is another example of something that affects people's opinions and behaviours in general (Gundelach, 2011) and sports participation in particular. Educational level (and social class) has long been seen as one of the strongest indicators on the tendency to participate in sport (Bourdieu, 1978; Breivik, 1998; Downward & Rasciute, 2010; Fridberg, 2010; Horne et al., 1999; Pilgaard, 2009). The developing education system may affect sports participation *per se*.

The developing health discourse and the acknowledgement of benefits from having a healthy lifestyle throughout the life course can also be seen as a possible periodical effect that influences increased participation across all generations and life phases in general and among the elderly in particular (Breuer & Wicker, 2009; Hirvensalo et al., 1998; Scheerder, Vanreusel, & Taks, 2005). The view on ageing has developed from a perspective of deficits and 'withdrawal' towards a dynamic process under the terms of 'lifelong learning' and 'successful aging' (Hirvensalo et al., 1998; Tokarski, 2004; Wicker, Breuer, & Pawlowski, 2009). Today's technology and knowledge society has further caused a change in the physical character of many work functions towards increased sedentary work life. Physical activity in general everyday life has therefore moved away from work life towards leisure time within the last century (Larsen, 2003). This has led to campaigns and focus on sport for all and lifelong sports participation as important goals for both sport and health policy, starting with the EU Charter 'Sport for All' in 1975 (Downward & Rasciute, 2010; Engel & Nagel, 2011; Scheerder et al., 2005; Wicker et al., 2009). A growing number of women in the labour market and a strong focus on equal gender rights (Gundelach, 2011; Minister for ligestilling, 2006) may lead to an assumption of greater periodical changes among women than men. A time period hypothesis will expect the following:

H3: Increased participation levels are expected in all generations and life phases from older to more recent periods.

4. Methods

4.1. Presentation of data

The cohort data sets referred to in this study were collected six times over the course of 43 years (in 1964, 1975, 1987, 1993, 1998 and 2007). The data from 1964 has not been preserved and could not be obtained for secondary analysis. The data from 1987 only contains respondents aged between 16 and 74 years so the multivariate analysis will only include respondents aged from 16-74. In the following table only data from 1975, 1987, 1998 and 2007 will be included as they only differ with few years of distance between the surveys. A presentation of the sample respondents from the four years is listed in table 1.

[Insert table 1]

The material contains rich and unique information on the development of sports participation patterns among the Danish population in a time frame of 32 years (43 years considering the data from 1964). But the material is also subject to some important methodological uncertainties that deserve attention before carrying on with the analysis.

Firstly, the relatively low response rate in 2007 might cause a self-selection bias. It is likely that people interested in sport and exercise are more willing to participate in these kinds of surveys than those who are not, however no systematic analysis of the participation level among non-respondents has been carried out. This might overestimate the absolute numbers of participants in 2007, leading to false inferences about periodical effects insofar as participation levels increase in all cohorts between 1998 and 2007. However, it does not affect comparisons between age cohorts at a given period. The overall development between 1964 and 2007 shows a steadily increasing curve indicating stable and reliable results in the different samples, and the developing patterns are similar to several other studies (TNS Opinion and Social, 2010; Van Bottenburg et al., 2005; Van Tuyckom & Scheerder, 2010).

Secondly, the 2007 survey uses a different methodology to the preceding ones, involving postal and internet responses instead of telephone and face-to-face interview. Moving to an internet/postal survey method requires an active (as opposed to reactive) decision to complete the survey, and this has possibly led to less people feeling 'obligated' to participate in the survey. On one hand the lower response-rate is likely to emphasise the non-response bias, meaning that individuals who are interested in sport and exercise will be over-represented. Since it is generally more impressive for an older individual to still be active, this is likely to be a bigger problem among older adults, raising the participation of this age group relative to younger ones. Thus, the apparent U-shape pattern of participation according to age, measured in 2007 only, may well be an artefact. On the contrary, personal contact in the survey method would expect to affect the normative response even more, arguing against a serious self-selection bias from the 2007 method.

Thirdly, problems arise from cohort-analysis because different terms, understandings and societal institutions change over time. Differences across time periods would in this case occur due to changes in measurements and understandings of what sport and exercise are and not due to changes in the sporting practice. Therefore, when the same question is asked at different time periods it could lead to varying responses depending on differing contexts, thus reflecting the issue concerning the measurement of different things over time (Gundelach, 2011).

It is important to note that this study has no intention to give the exact proportion of the population who actually participates in sports, as this information cannot be acquired from the available data. In this article the proportion of the population who *consider themselves* as part of a sport or exercise culture will be examined using the question: ‘Do you normally participate in sport/exercise?’ This is the most comparable question throughout the survey samples from 1964 to 2007 although the question has been slightly modified over time in order to fit into the time period in which it was asked (see table 1). The biggest change occurred from 1964 to 1975 with the addition of ‘exercise’ in 1975. In this analysis all data are based on the question including both sport and exercise. The addition of exercise indicates the development of both the understanding of sport and the sporting practice from a narrow perspective of traditional organized sport to a broader understanding of the ways in which sport and exercise can be carried out in contemporary everyday life (Engel & Nagel, 2011; Engström, 2004; Pilgaard, 2010). The addition of the term ‘exercise’ thereby contains interesting information about how sports participation patterns have expanded in today’s society. A study on methodological issues using the data from 2007 showed no signs of age differences in the understandings and definitions of sport (Pilgaard, 2010). Therefore it is likely to

presuppose that there will be no significant bias across different age groups from the same sample, but confounding issues are expected between periods of sample collections due to a general development of both the sporting practice and a broadening understanding of what should be considered as sport and exercise.

4.2. Data analysis

The analysis will investigate whether sport and exercise participation is developing as a result of generational, life phase or periodical effects testing H1a-b, H2 and H3 using IBM SPSS Statistics 19.0. The dependent variable is dichotomized into participation in sport and exercise (1 = 'Yes', 0 = 'No' or 'Yes, but not at the moment'). The independent variables are age in years (categorized into cohorts as shown in table 2) and period (1=1975, 2=1987, 3=1998 and 4=2007).

First the associations are investigated separately from bivariate analysis looking into Chi-square and Gamma values. H1a (stable generational patterns) is investigated from a horizontal reading of the age cohorts. Significant test values suggest rejecting H1a meaning that the participation patterns change over time in each generation, possibly due to life phase or periodical effects. H1b (younger generations being more active than older) can be examined by a diagonal reading comparing the same age-cohorts from different generations. The bivariate analysis does not test significance but gives an indication of the relationship to test further in the multivariate analysis – controlled for the importance of periodical effects. H2 (life phase effects) is investigated vertically in table 3 looking at participation levels in different age groups in the four periods. From the bivariate analysis alone it is not possible to conclude whether any differences between age groups are due to life phase or generational differences. H3 (periodical

effects) investigates changes by looking at the overall development as well as the development in specific cohorts horizontally in table 3. Again the bivariate analysis gives no answers alone since any changes may be due to generational differences.

[Insert table 2]

A multivariate analysis testing the importance of H1b, H2 and H3 is carried out as a logistic regression analysis. H1b is tested as the product of age cohorts and period (here both age and period are interpreted as continuous variables). H2 is tested by age in years and H3 by period. The results are presented as an overall regression as well as being separated by gender. The alternative assumption of the second independent life phase as being more active than the parent phase can be tested by including age and age-squared in the same model. This investigates whether a quadratic model is better at predicting participation levels than a linear model. It is carried out as regression analysis using Analysis of Variance for each period separately. In the analysis the variables are centred in order to lower the risk of multicollinearity, that is the product variable testing H1 being highly correlated with the two original variables (Aiken & West, 1991). The independent variables are age-centred in years ($\text{age}-44.39$)¹⁶, period-centred (1975=-16; 1987=-4; 1998 = 7; 2007= 16)¹⁷, and the product of age-centred and period-centred.

¹⁶ Since the average age is 44.39 years.

¹⁷ The median year between the first cohort in 1975 and the latest from 2007 is 1991. The distances of the four periods are set to number of years +/- 1991.

5. Results

Table 3 shows participation levels in different cohorts separated by period. The overall participation level in sport and exercise increased from 30.0 to 55.8% between 1975 and 2007.

[Insert table 3]

Generational perspectives

A horizontal view of table 3 suggests rejecting H1a due to significant Chi-square values meaning that none of the generations show stable participation levels over time. A diagonal reading of table 3 is required in order to investigate generational effects of development (H1b). It is important to note that the cohorts do not fully correspond with the distance between the periods leading to slightly different age groups when comparing generations over time (See table 2). The age only differs with maximum two years though, from 1975 to 1987. Looking diagonally at the data, it can be shown that younger generations are more involved in sport and exercise than older ones.. A large development occurred in particular from the oldest cohorts in 1975 to the middle-aged cohorts in 2007. The two youngest generations, however, seemed to develop in an opposite direction to the older generations. In 1998 52.0% of Generation X (aged 24-33) participated in sport or exercise, compared to 50.7% of Generation Y (aged 23-32) in 2007. And further, 65.4% of Generation Y (aged 16-23) participated in 1998 compared to 59.9% of Generation Z (aged 16-22) in 2007. The differences between the younger

and older generations could indicate a turning point in the overall development of a continuous rise in the proportion of sport and exercise-involved people in Denmark leading to new generations becoming less active in the future. From the theoretical approach Generation Y and Z are predicted to be less stable and to live very flexible and project- oriented lives (Jensen, 2009), which might indicate a mismatch of a stable connection to a routine based sports participation. Educational institutions, scouting movements and music schools have experienced similar challenges of increased drop out among the young generations within the past decade (Illeris, Katznelson, Nielsen, Sørensen, & Simonsen, 2009). Illeris et al. (2009) point towards the challenge to today's youth being that they are subject to an increased individualized and project- oriented society, making it difficult for them to maintain stable connections to organized activities in everyday life. However, the proportion of young participants between 16 and 23 years reached a relatively high level in 1998, at 65.4%, and the teenagers in 2007 were slightly more involved in sport and exercise than the teenagers in 1987. Thus, no clear signs of accepting or rejecting H1b are given from the bivariate analysis.

Life phase perspectives

As shown from other literature participation falls off most rapidly in the late teens (Butcher et al., 2002; Sarrazin et al., 2002; Scheerder et al., 2006; Seippel, 2005). This is confirmed in the results from table 3 where the participation levels drop significantly from younger to older life phases in 1975, 1987 and 1998. However, the Gamma values become weaker over time and in 2007 the relationship is even significantly positive. In 1987 the Baby Boomers showed higher participation levels than the younger Generation Jones (however not affecting the significance test), and in 2007 Generation Jones was more active than Generation X. The Baby Boomers in 2007 were also more active than

Generation Jones, but at an age of 63-72 years the Silent Generation was even more active than the Baby Boomers with the highest proportion of participation of all age groups. This result could be related to a combination of generational, life phase and periodical effects. As mentioned in the theoretical section Baby Boomers are seen as 'striving for health' (Jensen, 2007), which might be the reason for high levels of activity regardless of age (a generational effect). In 1987 people entered the parent phase at an earlier age than in 2007 (Danmarks Statistik, 2008). This means that for both 1987 and 2007 it is likely that the first increase is due to changes in life phase going from the parent phase to the second independent phase (a life phase effect). Further, the literature expects a periodical effect of the second independent life phase and the elderly phase becoming increasingly active and involved in recreation today (Breuer & Wicker, 2009; Hirvensalo et al., 1998). This can possibly explain why the increase among the older age-groups only occurred in 2007. As mentioned in the method section, it is also possible that the high proportion of sport and exercise-involved adults and elderly in 2007 is an artefact caused by a self-selection bias in the sample. Further, the development towards a broader understanding of sport and exercise could have had a bigger impact on the older part of the population leading to artificially high participation levels.

Periodical perspectives

A horizontal reading of table 3 shows that the oldest generations up to Generation Jones have become significantly more involved in sport and exercise over time. The Chi-square test for Generation X is not significant but the Gamma value indicates a weak negative development. Similarly, Generation Y is developing in a significantly negative direction. From this a clear periodical effect (H3) cannot be implicated. As alluded to in

the previous section, the older generations may be more affected by periodical development as they are the first generations with a high proportion of higher education, and with an understanding of the senior life phases as recreational and active phases rather than passive and retracted (Hirvensalo et al., 1998). It is possible that the 'health striving' label does apply to the older generations, as they are affected by the massive focus on healthy and active lifestyles that has become a societal norm within the past decades. On the other hand, Generations X and Y are the only generations that were measured during their teenage years. Thus the negative development in those generations might be due to a life phase effect going from teenager to early adulthood.

In summary, the bivariate analysis based on table 3 leads to contradictory inferences, as also referred to in the literature review of cross-sectional and longitudinal designs.

Cohort analysis indicates increasing participation levels in younger generations, however not in the youngest generations. Cross-sectional analysis indicates a decreasing relation between life phase and participation levels although moderated and possibly changed into a different association in 2007, and from a periodical perspective the overall participation level has increased between 1975 and 2007, however only the oldest generations become more active over time despite each generation becoming older.

In the following a multiple logistic regression is run in order to test H1b, H2 and H3 in one model. Both the overall bivariate and multivariate models as well as multivariate separations by gender are presented in table 4 below.

[Insert table 4]

The regression analysis shows that all bivariate and multivariate correlations are highly significant. When running the regression as 'forward conditional' 'period' appears to have the strongest effect followed by life phase and then generation. This indicates that periodical effects have had the biggest impact on the overall development of sport and exercise between 1975 and 2007.

Life phase shows a significant negative association whereas period shows a positive association that is stronger than the life phase effect. This results in a significant, positive generational effect. The positive periodical effect causing most generations to increase participation levels even when entering older age over time compensates or even overcompensates for the negative life phase association, as also found by Breuer and Wicker (Breuer, 2005; Breuer & Wicker, 2009).

The periodical effect seems to have a bigger impact on women than men. Only half as many women as men participated in sport and exercise in 1964, whereas women were significantly *more* involved in sport and exercise than men in 2007 ($p < 0.001$; not shown in the table, Pilgaard 2009). In summary, the regression model appears to verify all three hypotheses H1b, H2 and H3.

Testing an alternative model where age is replaced with age-squared (testing the quadratic effect of age over a linear effect as indicated in 2007 from the bivariate analysis) does not make a big difference in an analysis of all periods together (not shown in table). The association is also only expected from the 2007 data, and table 5 shows an Analysis of Variance including both age and age-squared (both centred) in each period separately. According to the mathematical test, age-squared is only

significant in 2007 with a contributory effect higher than age. Thus the life phase effect must be expected to have a different impact on participation levels in 2007 than in earlier periods.

The R^2 values are generally very low in the regression analysis. This is typical for analyses of sports participation (Breuer, 2006; Scheerder & Vos, 2011), but in this particular case of testing *differences* of influence between three variables, the significance level is more important. It should be kept in mind, though, that the few variables included in this analysis are not very good predictors of the *total* variance of participation – non-participation.

[Insert table 5]

6. Discussion

Over the past decades there has been a massive growth in the Danish population's tendency to participate in sport. From the result section the analysis shows that sport and exercise participation is affected by generational, life phase and periodical effects. Periodical effects have the biggest impact on development, and more so for women than men, followed by life phase (considering a drop in participation level with older stages in life) and generational effects. Further, an alternative U-shaped model of life phase effect is evident in 2007.

The generational effect of younger generations being more involved in sport and exercise than the older ones seems to diminish or even reach a turning point between

1998 and 2007. A 'worrying' scenario can be expected from a generational effect with the youngest generations dissociating from today's norms about the benefits of a physically active lifestyle. Over the years the Silent Generation has undergone the largest development, and in 2007 they were still the most sport- and exercise-involved generation in spite of the fact that they had reached the age of 63-72 years. The younger Generation Y and Z, instead, have developed in the opposite direction. They are the generations for the internet, mobility and multitasking. They are very flexible and subject to a change- oriented everyday life which might be difficult to combine with stable participation in sport and exercise (Jensen, 2007; Twenge et al., 2010). They have further grown up in a time period with an increasingly strong and normative focus on sport and exercise and the importance of this as part of their everyday lives. This has led to a very high participation level during childhood years with up to 85% of children aged from 7-15 years participating in sport in 1998, with the proportion falling slightly to 84% in 2007 (Pilgaard, 2009). The question remains whether this has imprinted values of active living on this age group for life, or if the opposite is likely to occur. Recent teenagers represented by Generation Y and Z reacted with revolt as they entered late adolescence after being brought up with a normative attitude towards physical activity and sports participation. When young people become increasingly independent of organizations and institutions during adolescence, does it cause 'socialization out of sport' (Horne et al., 1999) contradictory to the political intentions of promoting active lifestyles? The regression analysis predicts younger generations to be more involved in sport and exercise than older, but also that older generations have developed to a larger extent within the past decades. An interesting outlook for the future will be whether the youngest generations in 2007, only measured in early stages in life, will continue (or

return to) sport and exercise at later stages in life after career-building and parent phases as predicted from the 2007 cross-sectional data? And further, under which organizational forms will it happen? The literature stresses a great change in participation patterns these years from club sport participation to more individual, self-organized and commercially organized exercise (Pilgaard, 2009; Scheerder et al., 2006; Scheerder & Vos, 2011; Stamm & Lamprecht, 2005; Steen-Johnsen & Kirkegaard, 2010; Ulseth, 2004). It is likely to assume associations of generational, life phase and periodical effects not only in the overall participation level but also in the specific character of participation. Thus the differences between generations further become interesting in an analysis of the specific character of participation among the active. Based on the theoretical description Baby Boomers may be very traditionally-oriented towards democratic sport club settings whereas Generation X is expected to be more individual and self-organized. Generations Y and Z are expected to be very flexible and involved in many different settings. This issue is very relevant and will be of focus in future research on the Danish survey data, but due to space limitations it has not been possible to include in the current analysis. Further it is interesting to consider the outcome of a harsher cut-off point in the definition of sport and exercise. The relatively high rise in participation levels among elderly may be due to the broad definition. A study from Switzerland shows that the elderly are usually involved in activities for fewer hours a week compared to younger participants (Lamprecht, Fischer & Stamm, 2008). In a Danish context the time expenditure does not drop with increased age though. Using average time use per week as cut-off also leads to the lowest activity levels among the 30-39 year olds (Pilgaard, 2008).

Popular understandings of age differences are often linked to life phase explanations because this is most obvious when looking at cross-sectional data (Hellevik, 2001). But the analysis reveals that life phase is not the only explanation of cross-sectional differences. From the regression analysis a strong periodical effect seems to overcompensate for life phase effects within the 43-year time frame in which the surveys were conducted. Today there is a high participation rate across all age groups and generations, and sport and exercise can be seen as a lifelong enterprise with more than half of the Danish nation taking part independent of age. However, after a strong periodical effect during the past decades it is likely that this effect will diminish as an important indicator of development in the future. Instead the U-curve showing in the 2007 cross-sectional data is possibly a result of a change in life phase effects, meaning that current life conditions are keeping people in the parent phase 'away' from practicing sport whereas the older life phases have become increasingly recreational and active compared to earlier periods. As referred to in the method section the U-shaped curve in 2007 might be an artefact, though, caused by self-selection bias in older age groups. Hirvensalo et al. (1998) do stress that the elderly seem to become more accepting of the elderly life phase as a recreational and active phase. In the future older people may be more active than they are today because of changing societal values and expectations of older people to lead a more active life. The elderly are no longer rundown from physically arduous work lives and today this life phase is associated with self-realization and independency. This rather new view of aging can possibly explain the new patterns of cross-sectional age differences as referred to in figure 1. This means that periodical effects have led to changes in life phase effects since periodical effects have had a bigger impact on changes in the older life phases. With this in mind sport

providers need to consider especially two perspectives of organizing activities and to accommodate needs in the future;

1) The importance of the life phase suggests that sport providers should consider offers that are aimed at specific life phases. Children might need a very traditional, organized social setting for sports involvement whereas teenagers and young adults demand more possibilities for flexible, spontaneous and varied participation that fit into a modern everyday life. In the parent phase it may be of importance that the activities are less time demanding, or that the activities are coordinated with the children's participation so that parent and child can be active at the same time and space without necessarily participating *together*. Thus it might be beneficial to traditional sport clubs to offer alternative, flexible exercise or physical training for parents while their children participate in more traditional sport. People in the second independent life phase are highly interested in sport and exercise participation today, and targeted offers specifically aiming at this life phase also have great potential. By using adapted rules, games, purpose of the practice, structure and organization in order to fit different life phases, it would allow more people to enter sport and exercise participation at later stages in life without, as it is often seen, demanding that one has to develop specific skills for a certain sport during childhood before being able to find a club that has a suitable and available place for them. Commercial fitness or self-organized exercise like running or biking are more accessible activities for adults leading to high participation rates in such activities today. But traditional sport clubs also have the potential to attract more members if they are willing to soften up their tradition-bound ways of thinking.

2) The new generations are seen as growing up with new values of individuality, flexibility and change orientation leading to different needs and demands than required

by earlier generations. This is possibly causing the increased drop out of sport participation due to a mismatch of sport and other recreational offers. If the sport providers want to keep a strong position as important contributors of sport and exercise in the future, they might need to take the generational changes into consideration. A challenge will be to combine the newer generation's individual and flexible values with a focus on social relations, as the younger Generations Y and Z seem to also value social life to a great extent (Gundelach, 2011; Hellevik, 2001; Twenge et al., 2010). Many sport providers are already taking action by aiming at specific target groups and by acknowledging new demands for less focus on competition and involvement in a long season of competing every weekend. Good examples are the growing number of members in Danish running, soccer, and volleyball clubs¹⁸. This indicates, for one, that it is possible to provide team sport for adolescents and adults by changing the structure and the focus, and, secondly, that people do value being active in a social setting – as long as the activities can be performed by 'inexperienced' people and the concept of organizing fits into the adult's everyday life.

¹⁸ http://www.dif.dk/STATISTIK/Medlemstal_i_tal/Medlemstal_koen_alder_aar.aspx

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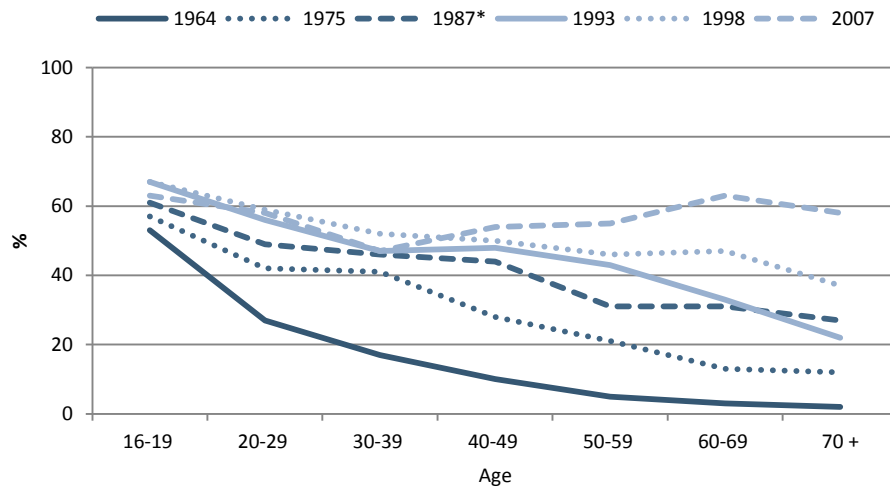
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Figure 1. The figure shows the proportion of respondents in different age groups that participate in sport or exercise, separated by survey year



*Data from 1987 only contains adults aged 16-74 leading to a relatively high participation rate

Table 1. Presentation of survey data

Survey year	Sample size	Response rates (%)	Age spread	Age mean	Participation rates (%) (SD)	Participation question
1975	3,723	74	17-94	44.6	30.0 (0.91)	Do you participate in sport (exercise)?
1987	4,956	66	16-74	41.8	42.8(0.91)	Do you participate in sport or exercise?
1998	1,364	68	16-95	43.4	49.5(0.97)	Do you normally

						participate in sport or exercise?
2007	4,147	49	16-98	48.2	55.8(0.88)	Do you normally participate in sport/exercise?

Table 2. Age cohorts based on generational labels, separated by period

		1975	1987	1998	2007
Generational label	Cohort	Age span in years			
GenZ/Me	1985-1991	-	-	-	16-22
GenY	1975-1984	-	-	16-23 ²	23-32
GenX	1965-1974	-	16-22 ¹	24-33	33-42
Gen Jones	1955-1964	-	23-32	34-43	43-52
Baby Boomers	1945-1954	21-30	33-42	44-53	53-62
Silent Generation	1935-1944	31-40	43-52	54-63	63-72
	1925-1934	41-50	53-62	64-73	73-82
	1915-1924	51-60	63-72	74-83	83-92
		n=2,600	n=4,835	n=1,343	n=4,142

1: Only birth cohort 1965-1971 is included; 2: Only birth cohort 1975-1982 is included.

Table 3. *Proportion (%) in different cohorts participating in sport or exercise, separated by period*

Generational label	Cohort	Survey year				Chi-square	Gamma	
		1975	1987	1998	2007			
GenZ	1985-1991	-	-	-	59.9	-	-	n=394
GenY	1975-1984	-	-	65.4	50.7	0.004	-0.294*	n=555
GenX	1965-1974	-	57.8	52.0	50.9	0.062	-0.101*	n=1,412
Gen Jones	1955-1964	-	43.8	49.5	53.6	0.001	0.144**	n=1,929
Baby Boomers	1945-1954	39.9	48.7	46.9	58.1	0.000	0.216**	n=2,661
Silent Generation	1935-1944	41.8	41.2	46.0	63.6	0.000	0.251**	n=1,932
	1925-1934	25.6	29.3	46.6	57.0	0.000	0.361**	n=1,302
	1915-1924	20.9	29.1	40.0	42.3	0.000	0.275**	n=1,008
Chi-square		0.000	0.000	0.008	0.000			
Gamma		-0.262**	-	-0.131**	0.059*			
			0.226**					
		n=2,589	n=3,199	n=1,342	n=4,063			

*p<0.05; **p<0.001

Table 4. *Logistic regression model*

n=10,920	Odds Ratio (S.E.)			
	Bivariate analysis	Multivariate analysis	Multivariate (men)	Multivariate (women)
Generation (Age*Period)	1.006(0.001)**	1.011(0.001)**	1.011(0,001)**	1.011(0.001)**
Life Phase (Age)	0.994(0.001)**	0.985(0.001)**	0.979(0,002)**	0.990(0.002)**
Period	1.029(0.002)**	1.036(0.002)**	1.029(0,002)**	1.042(0.002)**
Nagelkerke R square:		0.063	0.057	0.079

Note. (S.E.) represents Standard Error values, **p<0.001.

Table 5. *Analysis of Variance testing age and age-squared, separated by period*

	<i>F-test</i>			
	1975	1987	1998	2007
Corrected model	146.496**	50.805**	7.356*	16.482**
Intercept	1461.662**	2092.723**	1034.381**	4737.133**
Age	12.117*	4.911*	5.433*	19.363**
Age-squared	0.509	0.200	2.960	24.826**
**p<0,000; *p<0,05	n=3,452	n=3,256	n=1,292	n=3,839
R-squared; Adj. R-squared	0.078; 0.078	0.030; 0.030	0.011; 0.010	0.009; 0.008

12. Article three

Title: Does the structure of everyday life affect leisure time sport and exercise?

Sent to *Sport in Society*

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Abstract:

Sport and exercise during leisure hours is an important part of Danish adult's everyday life. But not all are equally involved in sport and exercise, and also differences occur in relation to the specific way of organizing the sporting practice among the active. This paper investigates what characterizes the variation among the Danish adult population by looking into determinants of daily occupation structured by the domain of work life. The data used in the analysis is from a national survey on sport- and exercise participation conducted in 2007 based on 4.147 respondents (response rate 49%) representative for the adult Danish population aged 16 and older. The result section reveals that work life acts as a mediating factor partly explaining classic structural differences in the participation in sport and exercise. A 'modern' work life is positively correlated with overall participation and with a 'modern' way of organizing the activities.

Keywords everyday life, work life, leisure time sport and exercise, organization,

13. Article four

Title: Teenageres idrætsdeltagelse i moderne hverdagsliv

Published in *Scandinavian Sport Studies Forum*

Titel: Teenageres idrætsdeltagelse i moderne hverdagsliv

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Abstract

During adolescence the tendency to withdrawal from club organized sport is high. This has been an issue among researchers for many years but is still concerning to the agents within the field of sport. The latest survey on sports participation among the Danish population even shows that the adolescents have become less involved in sport within the past ten years. This article focuses on what can explain the tendency of drop out. The analysis reveals a pattern of more individualized, self-organized and flexible sports participation among the adolescents. Also individual reasons for drop out from club-organized sport are analyzed differentiating between 'voluntary drop out' and 'forced drop out'. The theoretical approach of individualization as a general tendency of modern everyday life contributes to an understanding of a need for more 'light sport communities' in order to allow adolescents to combine sport and social relations as an incorporated part a modern everyday life.

Keywords: Sports participation, youth sport, individualism, flexibility, organizational form

1. Indledning

Sometimes if you wanna hold on you got to let go

Tina Dicow, 'Count to Ten'

Det virker måske banalt at indlede en videnskabelig artikel omkring unges idrætsvaner med et citat fra en sing-a-song writer. Ikke desto mindre rammer teksten i Tina Dicows 'Count to Ten' noget meget centralt i det komplicerede og ambivalente kærlighedsforhold, der eksisterer mellem den danske foreningsidræt og nutidens unge idrætsudøvere. I denne artikel vil jeg diskutere, hvorledes foreningsidrætten kan – og måske bør forholde sig, hvis de også ønsker at være en betydningsfuld aktør for unges idrætsdeltagelse i fremtiden.

I ungdomsårene stopper mange med at dyrke sport og motion (Pilgaard, 2009). Tendensen er langt fra ny, og langt fra enestående for danske teenagere (Butcher, Lindner & Johns, 2002; Sarrazin, Vallerand, Guillet, Pelletier & Cury, 2002; Seippel, 2005; Vanreusel et al, 1997; Weiss & Petlichkoff 1989), men ikke desto mindre vækker det til stadighed bekymring blandt idrætsaktører og politikere. De seneste tal fra en landsdækkende undersøgelse af danskernes motions- og sportsvaner viser tilmed, at unge dyrker mindre sport og motion end for ti år siden (Pilgaard, 2009). Men hvorfor falder de unge fra? Hvordan kan man fastholde de unge i foreningerne?

Der er mange positive værdier ved sport, motion og fysisk aktivitet, og der eksisterer en klar politisk holdning til, at alle borgere i samfundet bør opretholde en aktiv livsstil gennem hele livet (Cavill, Kahlmeier, & Racioppi, 2006; Christensen et al, 2011; Council of Europe, 1995, 2007; Ekholm, 2006; Matthiassen et al, 2010; TNS Opinion and Social, 2010). Der er mange sundhedsmæssige effekter ved at holde kroppen aktiv, men de

politiske incitamentter til at sørge for, at børn og unge dyrker sport og motion, handler også om social inklusion, kulturel integration, demokratisk opdragelse, glæde, velvære og trivsel (Horne, 1999). Sådanne værdier bliver ofte sat i forbindelse med foreningsorganiseret idræt, og mange antager, at foreningsfællesskaber bidrager til samfundets sociale kapital i en grad, som man ikke finder, når befolkningen dyrker sport og motion på egen hånd eller i et kommercielt center eller blandt ikke-aktive personer (Lorentzen, 2001; Putnam, 2000; Seippel, 2005; Ulseth, 2004).

Denne artikel har til formål at give en karakteristik af deltagelsesmønstre i sport og motion blandt teenagere i Danmark. Fokus er på at undersøge årsager til, at en stigende andel af de unge stopper med at dyrke idræt i foreningsregi og at sætte de empiriske data ind i en teoretisk forklaringsramme, som kan være med til at belyse og give nogle bud på, hvorfor unge i moderne hverdagsliv agerer i forhold til foreningsidrætten, som de gør.

Artiklen beskæftiger sig med teenagernes deltagelse i sport og motion i fritiden dvs. aktiviteter, som de unge dyrker eller deltager i uden for skolen på frivilligt basis og som har et kropsligt, fysisk aspekt. I artiklen hentyder 'deltagelse i sport og motion' til overordnet deltagelse i fritiden uden hensyn til organiseringsform, mens der i specifikke analyser skelnes mellem 1) foreningsorganiseret-, 2) selvorganiseret – f.eks. en løbetur på egen hånd eller streetbasket med vennerne uden for foreningsregi samt 3) kommerciel sport og motion. Dette refererer primært til kommercielle fitnesscentre, men kan i nogle tilfælde også være f.eks. dans i et privat studie. Denne afgrænsning adskiller sig fra et generelt fokus på fysisk aktivitet, hvor f.eks. også fysisk aktivitet i arbejde, skole og som transport regnes med. Man kan derfor ikke direkte sammenligne tallene fra denne undersøgelse med undersøgelser, der opererer på et mere overordnet niveau i forhold til unges fysiske aktivitetsmønstre i hverdagen.

2. Unge og frafald

Idræt forbindes ofte med mange positive egenskaber og værdier, hvorfor der generelt er stor interesse for at undersøge, hvad der kan forklare tendenser til frafald. Adskillige studier har fokus herpå, se bl.a. (Butcher, 2002; Ibsen & Nielsen, 2008; Sarrazin, 2002; Seippel, 2005; Weiss & Petlichkoff, 1989). I Weiss & Petlichkoff (1989) samt Seippel (2005) finder man grundige overblik over tidligere forskning på området med en præsentation af forskellige frafaldsårsager og typologier til at anskue befolkningens incitament til at stoppe med idræt.

Årsager til idrætsdeltagelse og frafald skal ses i et komplekst samspil mellem individuelle forudsætninger, erfaringer og ønsker samt mulighedsstrukturer i det omkringværende miljø (Ulseth, 2007; Weiss & petlichkoff 1989). Nogle af de oftest nævnte individuelle grunde til frafald kredser omkring udsagn som 'lack of enjoyment', 'wanting time for non-sport activities' og 'other sports' (Butcher, 2002; Gould, 1987; Weiss & Petlichkoff, 1989). Motivationsstudier af frafald blandt franske håndboldspillere (Sarrazin 2002) og canadiske svømmere (McPherson, Marteniek, Tihanyi, & Clark, 1980) påpeger, at årsager mere internt relateret til den enkelte idrætsgren kan føre til ophør. F.eks. følelsen af manglende kompetencer, manglende medbestemmelse, manglende socialt tilhørsforhold (Sarrazin, 2002), eller utilfredshed med træner, for meget pres og manglende fremgang (McPherson et al, 1980).

Seippel fokuserer på et interessant skel mellem 'selvvalgt' og 'påtvunget' frafald. Oplever de unge, at de foretager et reelt fravalg af idræt, eller er der omstændigheder, som 'tvinger' dem til at stoppe som f.eks. en skade, mangel på passende tilbud eller upassende

træningstider? I analysen når han frem til, at påtvungne forhold som at flytte bopæl, skader, uddannelse og familiære årsager vejer tungere end selvvalgte årsager, internt relateret til foreningen som f.eks. manglende tilbud og manglende interesse.

Studier af frafald fra foreningsidræt pointerer dog, at frafaldet ikke nødvendigvis fører til inaktivitet (Gould, 1987; Seippel, 2005; Van Tuyckom, 2010; Weiss & Petlichkoff, 1989). Mange skifter foreningsorganiseret idræt ud med mere løst organiserede aktivitetsformer som selvorganiseret idræt eller et medlemskab i et kommercielt center. Særligt de senere år stiger andelen af unge, som dyrker idræt uden for foreningsidrættens rammer, og kommerciel idræt udgør en stigende betydning for især unge kvinders idrætsdeltagelse (Lamprecht, Fischer & Stamm 2008; Pilgaard, 2009; Steen-Johnsen & Kirkegaard, 2010; Ulseth, 2007). Frafald blandt unge er altså en velkendt problemstilling i forskningen omkring unge og idræt. Men stigningen i alternative organiseringsformer giver anledning til en bekymring om, hvorvidt sådanne tendenser er udtryk for en ungdomsgeneration, der ikke i samme grad som tidligere generationer ønsker tilknytning til sociale fællesskaber og de forpligtigelser, der følger med deltagelse i foreningsidræt. Senmoderne teorier omkring samfundets individualisering og tab af social kapital er oplagt at knytte til disse handlingsmønstre. Anne-Lene Bakken Ulseth (2004) peger f.eks. på en konsekvens af en stigende andel af idrætsaktive i kommercielle fitnesscentre, at fysisk aktivitet taber sin position som en vigtig socialt inkluderende institution. Men er unges foreningsfracfald udtryk for øget individualisering? Eller kan man forstå deres handlinger ud fra en anden, og mindre bekymrende vinkel? Lad mig med det samme give mit bud på det korte svar til det sidste spørgsmål: Ja. I det følgende vil jeg komme med en begrundelse.

3. Unge i senmoderne hverdagsliv

Teenagernes tilbøjelighed til frafald fra idræt er tæt forbundet med andre facetter af hverdagslivet. Idrætsforeningerne deler skæbne med en lang række øvrige institutioner i Danmark som bl.a. spejderbevægelsen, musikskoler og ikke mindst uddannelsesinstitutionerne, som oplever dalende tilslutning og øget frafald blandt de unge. Flere end nogensinde dropper ud af en uddannelse, og særligt de erhvervsfaglige uddannelser oplever problematikken (Illeris, Katznelson, Nielsen, Sørensen, & Simonsen, 2009).

Ungdommen er generelt en livsfase præget af 'frigørelse' fra de rammebundne institutioner, som har fyldt meget i barndommen. De unge løsriver sig fra faste rammer og institutioner, de har været meget knyttet til som børn (Giddens, 1996). Livsfasen som teenager indebærer mange skift og overgangsfaser, som kan påvirke fritidslivet og må anses for potentielle frafaldsperioder fra en kontinuerlig idrætsdeltagelse (Côté, Baker, & Abernethy, 2007; Seippel, 2005).

I ungdomsårene oplever de unge et øget ansvar for selv at organisere og håndtere hverdagen. En opgave som bliver mere vanskelig i et senmoderne, individualiseret samfund, fordi valgmulighederne opleves som nærmest uendelige i dag (Bauman, 2002; Giddens, 1996).

Tidligere var fremtiden mere veldefineret for de unge. Man var mere eller mindre født ind i en social position, hvor det at 'bryde den sociale arv' var en sjælden forekomst. Klasse, køn og kulturelle strukturer var væsentlige indikatorer på udformningen af den enkeltes

opvækst og levevilkår (Bourdieu, 1978). I dag taler man om, at de unge har 'frit valg på alle hylder', hvad enten det gælder uddannelsesretning, fritidsbeskæftigelse eller sociale netværk (Beck, 2006).

Illeris et al., (2009) forklarer frafaldet fra uddannelsesinstitutionerne med denne større valgfrihed, flere muligheder og et øget ansvar til de unge i forhold til at tilrettelægge hverdagen. Selv om de unge oplever et større ansvar for at forme deres hverdag, betyder det ikke, at de reelt har større frihed til at varetage dette ansvar. De mange valgmuligheder forudsætter en konstant søgen og reflektiv stillingtagen til ens egen situation i forhold til at træffe 'de rigtige valg' (Giddens, 1996). Det er dog uklart, hvad 'de rigtige valg' indebærer for den enkelte, og derfor er de trufne valg og etablerede fællesskaber konstant på spil i søgen efter optimale løsninger, som skal medvirke til den enkeltes identitetsdannelse.

Der er imidlertid stor forskel på, hvilke forudsætninger de enkelte individer i samfundet har for at tage ansvar for deres eget liv og navigere selvstændigt i en kompleks, individualiseret verden af muligheder og tilbud. Bauman har beskrevet, at disse forskelle ofte antager en social dimension, hvor de ressourcestærke individer i samfundet har bedre forudsætninger for at træffe de 'rigtige' valg. Derfor kan individualiseringen af samfundet lige frem medvirke til en øget social ulighed og skabe en social polarisering (Bauman 1999).

3.1. Frafald som individualiseringstendens

Bauman (2002) taler om tryghed og frihed som to uforenelige begreber. Indgår man i et fællesskab, har man tryghed, men må samtidig give afkald på friheden. Omvendt opnår

man friheden uden for fællesskaberne, og frihed går hånd i hånd med usikkerheden. Ifølge Baumans terminologi, inspireret af Max Weber, kan man nærmest betragte foreningsfællesskaberne som jernbure af unedbrydelige grænser. I tråd hermed beskrev Lewis Coser i 1974 'Greedy Institutions' defineret som institutioner, der søger eksklusiv og udelt loyalitet fra deres medlemmer (Coser, 1974). I mange idrætsforeninger skal man møde til træning på faste tidspunkter, de fysiske rammer er fastlagt og indholdet i træningen er nøje tilrettelagt. Mange af de idrætsgrene, som udgør kernen af de danske idrætsforeninger, er udviklet i det industrielle samfund, hvor fremherskende samfundsværdier var rutine, specialisering, gentagelse og stabilitet (Breivik, 1998; Elias, 1986). I jernburet finder man tryghed og ingen frihed, som det i stigende grad kan være vanskeligt at forene med identitetsprojektet og en fragmentarisk og fleksibel hverdag. Nogle føler sig måske tvunget til enten/eller, og vælger derfor de 'grådige' institutioner fra.

Uden for foreningsfællesskaberne kan man sidestille selvorganiseret idræt, kommerciel idræt eller ikke-idrætsdeltagelse med det, at være 'frisat' i en usikker verden. Her er der ikke nogen organiseret enhed, som 'holder øje med' eller sørger for, at man træner. Det er ikke givet, hvem man træner sammen med, hvornår eller hvordan man træner i et fitnesscenter. Ens idrætsdeltagelse er konstant 'på spil' som en refleksiv proces fra gang til gang.

I modsætning til jernburet kan man beskrive sådanne fællesskaber som en 'let kappe' eller 'light sport communities' (Scheerder & Vos, 2011). De er præget af værdier i samfundet i dag med fokus på individualisering, omstillingsparathed, fleksibilitet, projektkultur og selvrealisering (Jensen, 2009). Dette ser Bauman som mere skrøbelige fællesskaber under betegnelsen et *opgave- eller aktivitetsfællesskab* (Bauman, 2002: 73). Den lette kappe

giver kun kortvarig eller ingen tryghed og må kontant redefineres og genskabes. Det giver frihed, men også et øget individuelt ansvar for handling. Denne løsning kan også udløse usikkerhed og en adfærd kendetegnet ved frafald, og det bliver i denne sammenhæng en individuel affære, hvorvidt man formår at opretholde sin deltagelse fra gang til gang. Betyder det, at teenageres frafald fra foreningsorganiseret idræt er forbundet med øget individualisering?

3.2. Frafald som påtvunget hverdagsvilkår

Når de unge stiller krav om individuelle løsninger og er svære at fastholde i længerevarende forløb, er det ikke nødvendigvis udtryk for de unges intension, men kan ses som et samfundsvilkår, som de unge lever med, og som til dels er med til at forme en fragmenteret og identitetssøgende hverdag (Illeris et al, 2009; Jensen, 2009).

Det er således vanskeligt at bekræfte, at fællesskaberne i dag er endt som 'de svages lod' og en forældet institution. Empiriske studier aflyser myter om fællesskabernes ophør¹⁹. Solidariteten, tilliden, tolerancen, troen på familien som institution, civilsamfundet og det frivillige engagement lever tilsyneladende i bedste velgående (Gundelach, 2006 & 2011). Men der er nok ingen tvivl om, at måden at dyrke fællesskaber på indtager nye former.

Unge stiller krav til en tilværelse, der giver både frihed og tryghed på samme tid (Howe, 2008), hvilket Bauman anser for nærmest umuligt (Bauman, 2002). Bauman er dog netop blevet kritiseret for sit meget pessimistiske syn på fællesskaber i det senmoderne samfund.

Maffesoli (1996) beskriver i stedet, hvordan de unge søger fællesskaber gennem

¹⁹ Mange forskellige fællesskabsbegreber bliver anvendt i sociologien på forskellige niveauer i spændet mellem struktur og aktør. Fællesskab (Bauman), Gemeinschaft og Gesellschaft (Tönnies), solidaritet (Durkheim), social kapital (Coleman, Putnam, Bourdieu), tillid (Giddens, Beck) og social integration (Newton).

tilhørsforhold til forskellige subkulturer, som kan være med til at forme deres identitet eller 'identifikationer', som Maffesoli kalder det. Ungdomstilværelsen er foranderlig og flygtig, og han ser identitetsdannelsen som en proces, der forandrer sig (Madsen, 2009; Maffesoli, 1996). Individet orienterer sig kraftigt mod omverdenen og formår at færdes, tilpasse sig og indgå i mange forskellige fællesskaber. Relationer får så stor betydning, at individet er villig til en fleksibel og omskiftelig adfærd i forhold til at tilpasse sig forskellige normer og krav, som råder i de fællesskaber, der giver mest mening for den enkelte. Netop fordi fællesskaberne kun eksisterer, så længe individerne oplever mening og får udbytte af at deltage, kan man forestille sig, at foreningsfællesskaberne er udsatte, når de unge oplever f.eks. at blive delt op i forskellige niveauer, at blive rykket ned eller at skulle træne mange timer om ugen uden den unge kan se et formål hermed. Ud fra disse betragtninger kan man tale om to forskellige teoretiske tilgange til at forstå unges frafald fra foreningsorganiseret idræt. På den ene side en forestilling om at unge i dag frigør sig fra forpligtende fællesskaber i en 'selvvalgt' proces, hvor individuelle ønsker og behov vejer tungere end fællesskaberne. Ledetråde i forhold til disse antagelser vil være, at unge dyrker mere individuelt orienterede sports- og motionsaktiviteter, og når de stopper med foreningsidræt, skyldes det primært 'selvvalgte' årsager internt relateret til foreningsidrætten. På den anden side kan man opstille en forventning om, at unges frafald fra idræt skyldes vanskeligheder med at indpasse de faste (grådige) rammer i foreningsorganiseret sport i et travlt og omskifteligt hverdagsliv. Ledetråde i analysen vil her være, at unge stopper med foreningsidræt på grund af ydre, 'påtvungne' årsager, eksternt relateret til forhold i hverdagslivet. Yderligere kan man ud fra Baumans teori forvente en social skævhed i forhold til, hvilke unge der formår at opretholde en idrætsaktiv livsstil i en travl og omskiftelig livsfase.

4. Data og metode

Analyserne i denne artikel bygger på data fra undersøgelsen 'Danskernes motions- og sportsvaner 2007' (Pilgaard, 2008). Undersøgelsen er opdelt i en børnedel (7-15 år) og en voksendel (16 år+), og er gennemført som en kombineret post-enquete og internetbaseret spørgeskemaundersøgelse. Respondenterne er udvalgt på basis af et simpelt tilfældigt CPR-baseret stikprøveudtag fra CPR-kontoret under det forhenværende Indenrigs- og Sundhedsministerium og er repræsentativ for den danske befolkning med en svarprocent på hhv. 53 og 47 pct. ($n_{7-15 \text{ år}} = 1.987$, $n_{16 \text{ år}+} = 4.147$). Det er ikke imponerende, da et stort bortfald kan betyde skævhed i stikprøven, som har afgørende betydning for resultaterne. En frafaldsanalyse i forhold til køn og alder viser minimal skævhed i forhold til populationen²⁰, mens der ikke findes præcise oplysninger om andre parametre. Da undersøgelsen er meget emnespecifik, kan man forvente en overrepræsentation af respondenter med 'ønsket' adfærd, dvs. flere som dyrker-, eller har interesse for sport og motion. Dette vurderes ikke at spille ind på deltagelsesmønstre blandt forskellige aldersgrupper, men kan tænkes at øve indflydelse på svar fra personer, der er stoppet med sport og motion. Hvis stikprøven indeholder respondenter med større interesse for sport og motion end gennemsnittet, kan der være overrepræsentation af unge, der stopper pga. ydre, påtvungne årsager frem for indre, interesse-mæssige årsager direkte relateret til

²⁰ Kvinder er overrepræsenteret med 3 procentpoint i voksenskemaet mens drenge er overrepræsenteret med 0,8 procentpoint i børneskemaet. Aldersmæssigt er der en mindre underrepræsentation af 20 til 39-årige, mens 16 til 19-årige samt 40 til 79-årige er svagt overrepræsenterede. Desuden er der lidt færre børn mellem 7 og 12 år repræsenteret i undersøgelsen, mens de 13 til 15 årige er overrepræsenteret med 3 procentpoint.

foreningsidrætten. Det er ikke muligt at teste for dette i det tilgængelige materiale, men sådanne overvejelser bør indgå som mulig fejlkilde i tolkningen af resultaterne.

I denne artikel er fokus primært på teenagere opdelt i 13-15-årige (n = 723) og 16-19-årige (n = 254) baseret på de to forskellige datamaterialer.

Tværsnitsdata udtrykker ikke en udvikling over tid men angiver forskelle mellem aldersgrupper på undersøgelsestidspunktet. En stabil udvikling i befolkningens idrætsvaner over årtier (Fridberg, 2000; Pilgaard, 2009) taler dog for, at det er muligt at se på frafaldsmønstre i teenageårene ud fra de tilgængelige tværsnitsdata. Longitudinelle data fra andre undersøgelser viser tilsvarende tendenser på frafald i ungdomsårene (Scheerder, 2006; Seippel, 2005; Vanreusel et al, 1997).

Analysen i det følgende er delt op i to dele. Den første del karakteriserer idrætsdeltagelsesmønstre blandt unge baseret på andelen, der dyrker sport eller motion (uanset organiseringsform) (0=dyrker ikke sport/motion, 1=dyrker sport/motion), aktivitetstyper (holdboldspil²¹, individuelle aktiviteter på hold²², individuelle boldspil²³, fitness²⁴ og løb) og organiseringsformer (Foreningsidræt, selvorganiserede aktiviteter og kommerciel idræt). I analyserne er der fokus på køns- og aldersforskelle samt en sammenligning med data fra en tilsvarende undersøgelse af befolkningens idrætsvaner fra 1998 (Fridberg, 2000) i forhold til andelen af idrætsaktive i forskellige aldersgrupper. Denne sammenligning er baseret på sekundær analyse af data præsenteret i (Fridberg, 2000). I 1998 er data tilsvarende opdelt i et børne- og voksenskema (n_{7-15 år} = 660, n_{16 år+ = 1.334). Disse data præsenterer en bedre svarprocent end i 2007 på 68 pct. Omvendt er}

²¹ Fodbold, håndbold, basketball, volleyball og 'andre boldspil for hold'.

²² Ridning, gymnastik, svømning, atletik, boksning og kampsport.

²³ Tennis, badminton, golf, bordtennis, bowling, petanque, billard, squash og 'andre individuelle boldspil'.

²⁴ Styrketræning, aerobic, yoga og spinning.

antallet af respondenter meget færre end i 2007. Hvorvidt det påvirker resultaterne er vanskeligt at vurdere, men der er ikke noget, der tyder på, at der er systematiske forskelle i de to stikprøver, da forskellige aldersgrupper har udviklet sig med forskelligt fortegn i andelen af idrætsaktive mellem 1998 og 2007. Endeligt indeholder første del en logistisk regressionsanalyse, som undersøger, hvilke forhold der har betydning for unges idrætsdeltagelse. Ud over køn og alder giver data mulighed for at inkludere flg. variable i analysen blandt børn (7-15 år): familieforhold (0=bor med én forælder, 1=bor med begge forældre, 2=bor med andre) og etnisk baggrund (0=begge forældre født i Danmark, 1=far er født i udlandet, 2=mor er født i udlandet, 3=begge forældre er født i udlandet).

Blandt 16-19-årige gennemføres ingen logistisk regression, men deltagelse i sport og motion analyseres i forhold nuværende påbegyndt uddannelsesniveau (0=9.-10. klasse, 1=gymnasial uddannelse, 2= erhvervsfaglig/teknisk uddannelse, 3=kort videregående, 4=mellemlang videregående, 5=lang videregående uddannelse).

Anden del fokuserer på unges frafaldsfrekvens fra foreningsidræt samt årsager til at stoppe med idræt i foreningsregi baseret på 16 opstillede udsagn.

Respondentgrundlaget for analyserne af årsager til at stoppe med foreningsidræt er meget spinkelt ($n_{13-15 \text{ år}} = 185$, $n_{16-19 \text{ år}} = 55$), og analysen er derfor inspireret af den tidligere nævnte norske undersøgelse af tilsvarende problemstilling, som bygger på et mere solidt datamateriale (Seippel, 2005).

Som nævnt i afsnit 2, Unge og frafald, opererer Seippel med en opdeling af udsagn i typologier. Han ser på selvvalgte vs. påtvungne årsager til frafald. Selvvalgte begrundelser er operationaliseret ud fra udsagn, der omhandler manglende eller uoverensstemmende interesser i forhold til foreningsidrættens udbud. Påtvunget ophør kan omvendt være en

skade, flytning, manglende tid eller manglende tilbud, som indikerer, at medlemmerne ikke har oplevet et reelt valg omkring fortsættelse. De to udsagn 'brød mig ikke om træneren' samt 'føjte mig ikke tilpas' er placeret under påtvungne årsager, da det beskriver en følelse af utilpashed, som har fået dem til at stoppe. Det adskiller sig fra årsager som f.eks. 'gider ikke' eller 'træt af at tage hensyn til andre', som mere har en karakter af, at den enkelte vælger foreningen fra og ikke omvendt. Der vil dog være en glidende overgang mellem placeringen af flere af udsagnene, som også Seippel gør opmærksom på (Seippel, 2005: 40).

I denne sammenhæng er selvvalgt ophør indikatorer på unges løsrivelse fra en rammebunden institution og et fravalg af de normer, værdier, krav og det definerede fællesskab, som eksisterer inden for foreningsidrættens rammer. I analysen vil sådanne resultater favorisere første perspektiv i det teoretiske aspekt, at unges frafald kan forklares som en mere eller mindre bevidst individualiseringsproces, hvor de faste regler om et defineret fællesskab og foreningsidrættens værdier vælges fra.

Omvendt udtrykker et påtvunget ophør nogle andre, ydre omstændigheder, som i større grad tvinger de unge til at vælge fra. Her er tolkningen ikke så meget udtryk for et fravalg af foreningsidrættens værdier, men et mismatch mellem unges hverdag og de forudsætninger, de har for at indpasse foreningsidræt heri.

[Indsæt tabel 1]

5. Unges deltagelse i sport og motion

I undersøgelsen af danskernes motions- og sportsvaner (dette udtrykt som både forenings-, selvorganiserede- og kommercielle aktiviteter) 2007 angiver 77 pct. af de 13-15-årige og 63 pct. af de lidt ældre teenagere mellem 16 og 19 år, at de dyrker sport eller motion. Teenagere deltager markant mindre end yngre børn ($P < .001$). Frafald blandt teenagere er ikke nyt, men tallene viser, at unge dyrker mindre idræt i dag end for ti år siden. Figuren herunder illustrerer tendensen.

[Indsæt figur 1 her]

Deltagelse i sport og motion blandt teenagerne antager en social dimension i tråd med Baumans teori. En logistisk regressionsanalyse af data blandt 7-15-årige viser dog, at teenageres deltagelse først og fremmest er påvirket af alder (tabel 2 herunder). Det vil sige, at selve det at blive teenager står som selvstændig forklaring på, at deltagelsen daler uafhængig af øvrige sociale baggrundsvariable. Men deltagelsen er også påvirket af sociale faktorer. Børn og unge dyrker mere sport og motion, hvis de kommer fra en familie med to forsørgere, og hvor begge forældre har dansk baggrund. Dertil viser andre undersøgelser, at det betyder noget, om ens forældre også selv dyrker sport eller motion (Engström, 1999; Ibsen, 2008; Pilgaard, 2009). Forudsætningerne for at dyrke sport og motion er således både bestemt af den 'bevægelseskultur' man er vokset op under samt forhold, der relaterer sig til livsfasen som teenager.

[Indsæt tabel 2 her]

Sports- og motionsdeltagelsen varierer også blandt de ældre teenagere mellem 16 og 19 år, her testet i forhold til nuværende uddannelsesniveau. For denne aldersgruppe er der ikke gennemført en regressionsanalyse, men unge på gymnasiale eller videregående uddannelser dyrker signifikant mere sport og motion (hhv. 66,0 og 68,6 pct.) end unge, som vælger en erhvervsfaglig/teknisk uddannelse (44,2 pct., $p < 0,002$)²⁵.

5.1. Aktivitetsvalg og idrættens organisering

Sports- og motionsdeltagelsen er karakteriseret ved en øget vekslen mellem aktiviteter. I dag dyrker unge op mod dobbelt så mange forskellige aktiviteter på et år i forhold til for ti år siden. 13-15 årige dyrker 4 aktiviteter i gennemsnit i forhold til 2,3 aktiviteter i 1998. 16-19 årige dyrker 3,6 aktiviteter i gennemsnit i forhold til 2,6 aktiviteter i 1998. Den øgede mængde aktiviteter gælder i nogen grad også i foreningsidrætten – dog kun blandt 13-15-årige, som dyrker 2,1 aktiviteter i gennemsnit i forhold til 1,2 aktiviteter i 1998. 16-19-årige dyrker uændret 1,7 aktiviteter i forening, hvilket er interessant. Noget tyder dermed på, at tendensen til at dyrke flere forskellige aktiviteter ikke finder sted i samme grad i foreningsidrætten som under andre organiseringsformer. De foreningsaktive knytter sig traditionelt til en bestemt idrætsgren, og de fleste idrætsforeninger har netop tradition for kun at koncentrere sig om én aktivitet.

²⁵ Signifikansanalyse er gennemført som Oneway Anova med test for mean difference (Bonferroni).

Som det fremgår af figur 2 herunder, oplever foreningsidrætten de største konsekvenser ved unges frafald fra idræt, da foreningsfracfaldet er større end den samlede idrætsdeltagelse giver udtryk for i 2007.

[Indsæt figur 2]

I ungdomsårene stiger andelen, som dyrker selvorganiseret idræt eller som vælger et kommercielt center (som primært dækker over fitnesscentre). Allerede blandt 16-19-årige drenge og piger overstiger selvorganiseret idræt foreningsidrætten. Foreningsidrætten bliver tilsyneladende en mindre relevant idrætsudbyder med stigende alder, og især piger/unge kvinder søger væk fra foreningerne til fordel for selvorganiseret og kommerciel deltagelse. Blandt kvinder i 20-erne udgør kommercielle idrætsudbydere en lige så stor rolle som foreningsidrætten (Figur 3b).

[Indsæt figur 3a]

[Indsæt figur 3b]

Det er ikke muligt med de tilgængelige data at identificere, inden for hvilke idrætsgrene frafaldet finder sted²⁶. Men ser man på idrætsdeltagelsesmønsteret blandt de idrætsaktive, finder man, at der i teenageårene sker et skift fra en stor tilslutning til holdidrætter og aktiviteter, som man kan karakterisere som individuelle, men som dog ofte foregår på hold (primært gymnastik og svømning), til individuelle boldidrætter, fitnessaktiviteter og løb (Figur 4). Holdboldspillene har dog en stabil tilslutning i teenageårene og oplever først markant nedgang blandt unge i 20'erne, men man kan tale om et tab i 'markedsandele', da individuelle aktiviteter og især fitnessaktiviteterne vokser i popularitet blandt de ældste teenagere. Disse tendenser bekræftes i norske data (Seippel, 2005).

[Indsæt figur 4]

Mens drenge er signifikant mere involveret i boldspil – både individuelle og på hold, er piger mere tilbøjelige til individuelle aktiviteter, der foregår på hold (primært gymnastik og svømning) og fitness. Løb finder begge køn stigende interesse for med stigende alder.

Resultaterne tyder på, at befolkningen bliver mere individuel og 'motionsorienteret' i dens idrætsdeltagelse med stigende alder. Et meget tydeligt frafald sker især fra holdboldspillene i overgangen fra teenager til voksen.

²⁶ Respondenterne kan have angivet at dyrke mere end én idrætsgren, og der er ikke spurgt ind til, hvilken idrætsgren man er stoppet fra, blot om man er stoppet med idræt i en forening inden for det seneste år.

Mange stopper med idræt under foreningsidrættens institutionaliserede rammer, mens selvorganiseret idræt og kommerciel idræt vinder frem. Dertil kommer en berøring med mange forskellige aktiviteter i løbet af det seneste år. De ændrede aktivitetsmønstre blandt unge giver indtryk af en fleksibel, vekslende, individualiseret og selvstændig idrætsdeltagelse i tråd med den indledende teoretiske karakteristik af senmoderne ungdomsliv.

Analysen skal i det følgende belyse, om frafald fra foreningsidræt er udtryk for et *selvvalgt* ophør fra foreningsidrætten, eller om det snarere skyldes ydre *påtvungne* årsager.

5.2. Hvorfor stopper unge med foreningsidræt?

I 2007 angiver 26 pct. af de 13-15-årige og 23 pct. af de 16-19-årige, at de er stoppet i en idrætsforening inden for det seneste år, hvilket er signifikant flere end i øvrige aldersgrupper. 63 pct. af alle 13-15-årige og 67 pct. af alle 16-19-årige, der er stoppet med idræt i en forening, angiver dog, at de stadig dyrker idræt.

En svarfordeling på 16 forskellige årsager til at stoppe med idræt i en forening er vist i figur 5 herunder. De største årsager til at stoppe adskiller sig i mindre grad mellem de yngre og de ældre teenagere (dog uden mulighed for signifikanstest), men generelt angiver de oftest 'jeg fik andre interesser', 'det blev for kedeligt', 'jeg mistede interessen' og 'jeg havde ikke tid nok'. Netop tidsaspektet står som meget tydelig årsag til at stoppe med idræt i foreningsregi blandt de ældste teenagere. Omvendt er det yderst sjældent årsager direkte rettet mod foreningsidrættens værdier som 'for meget frivilligt arbejde' eller fravalg af sociale relationer som at være 'træt af at tage hensyn til andre', som får unge til at stoppe med idræt i en forening. De stopper også relativt sjældent pga. en oplevelse af, at konkurrenceelementet blev for meget.

[Indsæt figur 5]

I forhold til Seippels inddelinger i selvvalgt-påtvungne årsager til at stoppe viser det sig, at flere teenagere angiver et 'påtvunget' end et 'selvvalgt' ophør. Blandt 13-15-årige angiver 63,2 pct. mindst ét påtvunget udsagn (Se tabel herunder), mens 60,0 pct. angiver et selvvalgt ophør. Blandt 16-19-årige har hele 83,6 pct. angivet en 'påtvunget' årsag i forhold til 49,1 pct., som stopper af 'selvvalgte' årsager. Teenagere oplever altså påtvungne årsager i signifikant højere grad end både børn og voksne, og i mange tilfælde ligger disse årsager eksternt placeret, dvs. de relaterer sig til forhold i hverdagslivet, som ikke direkte har relation til foreningsidrætten som sådan. Dog ytrer især 13-15-årige, at de stopper fordi de mistede interessen, idrætten blev for kedelig, eller at andre interesser har meldt sig på banen.

[Indsæt tabel 3]

6. Diskussion

Denne artikel har fokus på at beskrive deltagelsesmønstre i sport og motion blandt teenagere samt, hvad der kan forklare, at unge stopper med foreningsidræt. Det indledende teoriafsnit lægger op til nogle bud på et overordnet samfundsniveau, som falder i tråd med

generelle forhold i moderne unges hverdagsliv. På den baggrund kan man spørge, om frafald er udtryk for stigende individualisering og unges fravalg af fællesskaber, eller snarere en nødvendighed blandt unge, som er underlagt en fleksibel og omskiftelig hverdag? De tilgængelige data rummer ikke mulighed for direkte at påvise eller afvise en egentlig hypotese omkring individualisering og fællesskab, men giver anledning til nogle kvalificerede bud på baggrund af den deskriptive gennemgang af de tendenser, som præger unges deltagelse i sport og motion samt ophør fra foreningsidræt. Man kan derfor hævde, at den teoretiske ramme er for bred i forhold til de tilgængelige data, men i denne artikel har jeg valgt ikke at lade empirien begrænse det teoretiske bidrag til at søge forklaringer på, hvordan man kan forstå unges deltagelsesmønstre i sport og motion ud fra eksisterende og endnu ikke eksisterende viden. Hvorvidt foreningsidræt, selvorganiseret og kommerciel sport og motion kan sidestilles med hhv. fællesskabs- og individorienteret adfærd forbliver en myte, som der med fordel kan kastes lys over i fremtidige undersøgelser af befolkningens motions- og sportsvaner.

Resultaterne viser, at den overordnede deltagelse i sport og motion falder med stigende alder fra børn er mellem 10 og 12 år til unge 16-19-årige. Andelen er desuden faldet mellem 1998 og 2007. Deltagelse i sport og motion korrelerer med alder, familiestatus og om forældrene er født i Danmark. Ældre teenagere mellem 16 og 19 år, som er i gang med en faglært/teknisk uddannelse dyrker mindre idræt end unge på mere boglige uddannelser. Deltagelse sport og motion i børne- og ungdomsårene er altså knyttet til sociale ressourcer, som antydnet af Bauman, hvor de ressourcestærke har bedre forudsætninger for enten at indgå i traditionelle, faste foreningsrammer eller tager ansvar for at opretholde deltagelse i selvorganiserede eller kommercielle rammer.

Frafaldet fra sport og motion i ungdomsårene sker primært fra foreningsorganiseret idræt, særligt fra individuelle aktiviteter på hold og holdboldspil, mens der forekommer en stigning i selvorganiseret og kommerciel idræt i ungdomsårene, særligt fitness og løb. Der forekommer en stigende tendens til at dyrke flere forskellige aktiviteter under forskellige organiseringsformer, dog foreningsidrætten undtaget. Unge stopper primært med foreningsidræt på grund af påtvungne årsager. 13-15-årige angiver dog også ofte selvvalgte årsager internt relateret til foreningsidrætten, som manglende interesse, eller eksternt relateret i form af 'andre interesser'.

De aktiviteter, som vinder popularitet blandt unge og voksne, kan generelt karakteriseres som mere fleksible og individuelle end de største aktiviteter blandt børn. De kan dyrkes alene, men dog også sammen med andre, ofte selvorganiseret eller i kommercielt regi. En undersøgelse af norske fitnesskunder viser, at 39 pct. af de aktive kunder træner med venner, de kender på forhånd (Ulseth, 2004). Måske kan sådanne *light communities* (Scheerder & Vos, 2011) uden for foreningerne ligefrem være *mere* fordrende for fællesskabet end den lokale idrætsforening, netop fordi man har mulighed for at træne sammen med sine venner på tværs af køn, alder og niveau. Dette er med til at favorisere teoridelens anden del, at fravalg af foreningsidræt ikke nødvendigvis er udtryk for øget individualisering.

De populære aktiviteter blandt unge og yngre voksne stiller også færre krav til særlige tekniske færdigheder, adgang til specifikke faciliteter og muliggør en fleksibel deltagelse, hvad angår tid og rum, og hvem man gør det sammen med.

Unge dyrker også flere forskellige aktiviteter i løbet af et år end for ti år siden. Denne udvikling udtrykker dog ikke nødvendigvis, at de dyrker mange forskellige idrætter i

samme periode. Det indikerer snarere en tendens til et vekslende indhold, samt en stigende tendens til at dyrke sports- og motionsaktiviteter i forskellige sammenhænge. Det bærer præg af nuværende værdier i samfundet omkring fleksibilitet, omstillingsparathed og udvikling frem for industrisamfundets – og den traditionelle foreningsidræts værdier omkring rutine, gentagelse og stabilitet som beskrevet i teoriafsnittet. Hvor man før gik til fodbold, håndbold eller gymnastik mandag og onsdag eftermiddag, viser flere unge i dag en adfærd i retning af at dyrke sports- og motionsaktiviteter med et mere bredt indhold – og evt. med mulighed for vekslende tidspunkter. En undersøgelse af fitnesskunder bekræfter, at fitnesskunderne i høj grad værdsætter muligheden for et vekslende indhold, som fitnesscentre netop kan tilbyde (Kirkegaard, 2009). Denne mulighed er mere vanskelig i de traditionelle idrætsforeninger, som ofte tilbyder én specifik idrætsgren. Dette kan være en af årsagerne til, at de (i endnu større grad i dag end tidligere) oplever en ungdomsgeneration, som udlever en 'shoppe-kultur' med stigende tendens til at vælge idrætsforeningerne fra. Igen er dette dog ikke nødvendigvis udtryk for en negativ adfærd i tråd med individualiseringstesen, men blot en meget anderledes adfærd end man er vant til – eller har været opmærksomme på – i de traditionelle idrætsforeninger.

Analysen viser også, at flere teenagere stopper med foreningsidræt på grund 'påtvungne-' end af 'selvvalgte' årsager. Enten som internt relateret til foreningen – en dårlig oplevelse af utilpashed eller upassende træningstider, eller eksternt relateret til tidspres fra andre facetter af hverdagslivet som skole, uddannelse eller arbejde. Disse resultater er dog med forbehold for metodisk usikkerhed på grund af et relativt stort frafald i stikprøven. Under alle omstændigheder er der ikke meget, der tyder på, at foreningsfællesskaberne som sådan afskrækker de unge. Tvært imod kan ydre fortravlene omstændigheder i hverdagen 'påtvinge' de unge at træffe et valg om 'enten-eller' eller gøre, at de unge mister

interessen for at investere det i foreningsidrætten, som denne kræver. Det sker i en aldersperiode, hvor mange har brug for 'både-og'. Årsagerne til at stoppe med idræt i en forening er relevante for idrætsforeningerne at forholde sig nærmere til. Mange mister interessen i denne livsfase, og de får andre interesser, hvilket får mange til at stoppe med foreningsidræt. Der er dog intet, som tyder på, at det har med et bevidst fravalg af foreningsfællesskaberne at gøre, måske tværtimod. Analyserne antyder snarere, at de mister interessen, netop når det ikke er muligt at forene et liv uden for foreningsidrætten med den givne foreningsaktivitet, og mange skifter altså i stedet i denne livsperiode de 'forpligtende fællesskaber' (greedy institutions) (Coser, 1974) ud med mere 'light communities' (Scheerder & Vos, 2011). Som anført i teoridelens anden del kan man altså tale om frafald fra foreningsidræt som et påtvunget hverdagsvilkår i det omfang foreningsidrætten holder fast i en meget traditionel, om end forældet foreningsstruktur.

Hvordan kan foreningerne optimere mulighederne for at blive en mere relevant idrætsudbyder for flere unge i senmoderne hverdagsliv?

Mange foreninger intensiverer krav til færdigheder, præstation og træningsmængde i ungdomsårene. Mens øvrige facetter af hverdagen skifter karakter og bliver mere omskiftelige i ungdomsårene, intensiverer mange foreninger sine aktiviteter for netop denne målgruppe. Dette scenarie påpeger foreningsidrættens paradoksale betydning for udviklingen i de unges idrætsdeltagelse. På den ene side er foreningsidrætten med til at indføre børn i en idrætsaktiv bevægelseskultur, men samtidig kan foreningsidrætten – eller i det mindste dele af den – mere eller mindre ubevidst være med til at ekskludere unge, som ikke kan leve op til de krav, foreningerne stiller. De større krav om intensiveret træningsmængde og præstation er dog stadig relevant for de mange, som endnu gerne vil dyrke sport og motion under sådanne (traditionelle) vilkår og satse målrettet på idrætten.

Og dem må man endelig ikke glemme. Men andelen, der værdsætter større variation eller fleksibilitet stiger i ungdomsårene, og det samme gør andelen af ikke-sports- og motionsaktive. Og analysen tyder på, at de mest ressourcestærke (unge, der bor med begge forældre, med sports- og motionsaktive forældre, eller som selv er på vej mod de længste videregående uddannelser) i højere grad formår at tage 'ansvar' og 'træffe de rigtige valg' omkring vedligeholdelse af en sports- og motionsaktiv hverdag, ledende til sociale forskelle.

I en analyse af svenske idrætsforeninger anbefaler den svenske idrætsforsker Tomas Peterson (Peterson, 2008), at foreningernes tilbud til unge bør være kendetegnet ved større mangfoldighed i både udformning og ambitionsniveau, og samtidig skal der være mulighed for at starte på aktiviteter i teenagealderen eller senere i livet, selv om man ikke allerede som barn har deltaget og dermed skabt individuelle forudsætninger for at deltage. Foreningsidrætten skal med andre ord være mere rummelig og give mulighed for en kombination af frihed og tryghed, som er et krav fra mange unge i dag.

Dertil kommer, at den tryghed, som foreningsidrætten i princippet er garant for gennem fællesskab og social inklusion, ikke nødvendigvis eksisterer per se. Lige som foreningsidrætten kan være med til at socialisere børn og unge ind i foreningsidrætten, kan den også socialisere dem ud igen, hvis ikke de unge formår at indpasse sig i foreningsidrættens mere eller mindre ubøjelige rammer.

Dette er tankevækkende og med til at understrege, at de unge ikke nødvendigvis fravælger foreningsfællesskaberne og vælger individuelle og fleksible aktiviteter, fordi de ønsker at dyrke sport og motion alene. Men snarere som et udtryk for en nødvendighed i en

moderne hverdag der kræver fleksibilitet og omstillingsparathed for at kunne begå sig i hverdagens mange sammenhænge.

Der er behov for at indgå i fællesskaber på en måde, som tilgodeser både frihed og tryghed. Dette kan være en stor organisatorisk og indholdsmæssig udfordring for det etablerede foreningsliv, men er ikke desto mindre væsentligt at være opmærksom på i arbejdet med at udbyde foreningsaktiviteter til unge med forskellige ønsker og behov.

Sometimes if you wanna hold on you got to let go, som Tina Dicow synger.

Foreningsidrætten skal turde løsne op for den traditionelle, og i nogle tilfælde forældede måde at binde medlemmer til en fast og ufleksibel struktur.

En ny foreningsmodel udviklet i Belgien har kørt i en forsøgsperiode i Aalborg Kommune med stor succes. Modellen går ud på at lade unge købe et foreningspas med adgang til flere forskellige aktivitetsformer. Forskellige foreninger arbejder sammen om at skabe bedre adgang til at dyrke forskellige aktiviteter på forskellige dage, hvilket har fået mange såkaldt 'idrætsuvante' til at melde sig ind i foreningerne²⁷.

Selv om de store fortællinger skriver individualiseringen ind i historien som det altoverskyggende levevilkår i dag, og de individuelle og fleksible idrætsformer vinder kraftigt frem, har mange teenagere stadig blikket rettet mod meningsfulde fællesskaber, og kan det ikke lade sig gøre at kombinere fællesskaberne med foreningsdeltagelsen, ser det i stigende grad ud til at være på bekostning af netop foreningsidrætten.

Teknologiens indtog på idrætsarenaen og en massiv tilslutning til såkaldt 'virtuelle netværk' eller 'light communities' i disse år ser umiddelbart ud til at skabe grobund for en

²⁷ www.sport2go.dk

fremtidsvisionær løsning på at forene tryghed og frihed, fællesskab og fleksibilitet. Hvis idrætsforeningerne vil følge med og spille en betydningsfuld rolle for ungdommens deltagelse i sport og motion – også dem, som ikke nødvendigvis er talenter og meget dedikeret til en konkurrencesport, må de nødvendigvis forstå de forandringsprocesser, vilkår og kommunikationsflader, som præger unges hverdagsliv nu og i fremtiden. Det handler for foreningerne om at skabe en stabil base og et tilhørsforhold, hvor de unge kan skabe, vedligeholde og udvikle fællesskaber i et meningsgivende miljø, hvad enten fokus er på præstation og konkurrence, sociale relationer, sundhed eller en senmoderne kombination af alle dele.

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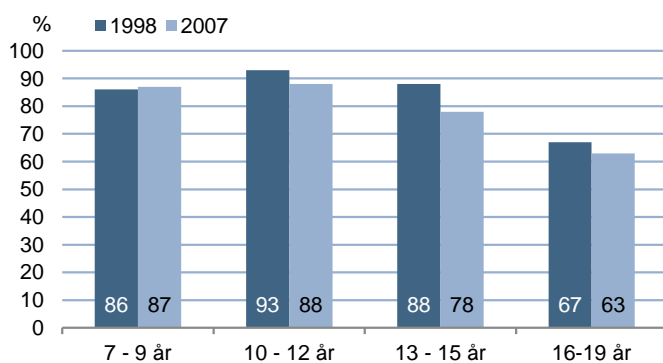
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Tabel 1. Tabellen viser 16 udsagn, som udtrykker årsager til at være stoppet med foreningsidræt det seneste år. Opdelt på selvvalgte vs. påtvungne årsager inspireret af Seippel (2005)

	Selvvalgte årsager	Påtvungne årsager
Internt relateret til foreningsidrætten	Mistet interesse/havde ikke lyst længere Jeg synes, at det blev for kedeligt Konkurrenceelementet blev for meget Træt af at skulle tage hensyn til andre Medlemskabet medførte for meget frivilligt arbejde Jeg havde fået det ud af idrætten/sporten, som jeg ville	Træningstiderne passede dårligt i forhold til min hverdag Jeg kunne ikke fortsætte pga. en skade Idrætsforeningen/sportsklubben kunne ikke tilbyde de aktiviteter, som jeg ønskede Brød mig ikke om træneren/instruktøren Følte mig ikke længere tilpas i foreningen/klubben
Eksternt relateret til omverdenen	Andre interesser	Havde ikke tid nok Flyttede Stiftede familie*
*Spørgsmålet er kun stillet i skemaet for voksne (16 år +)		

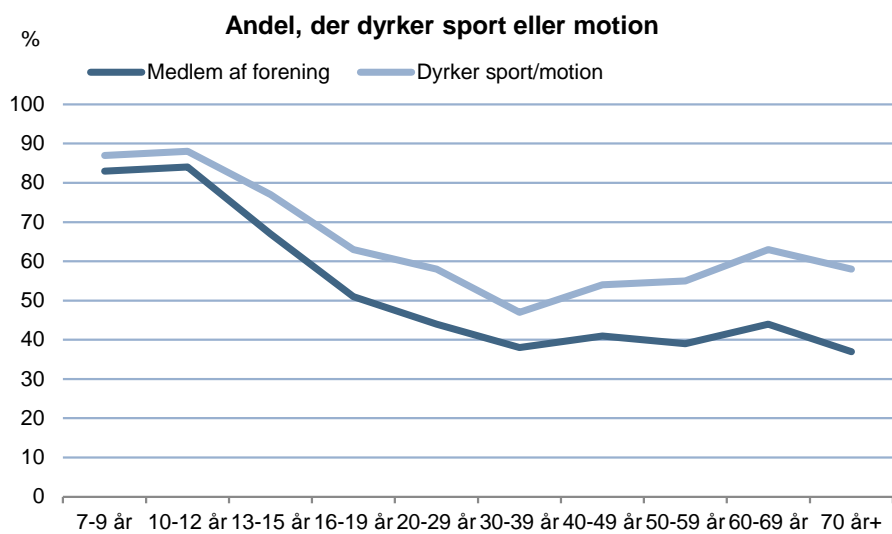
Figur 1. Andel, der dyrker sport og motion i 1998 og 2007 fordelt på alder



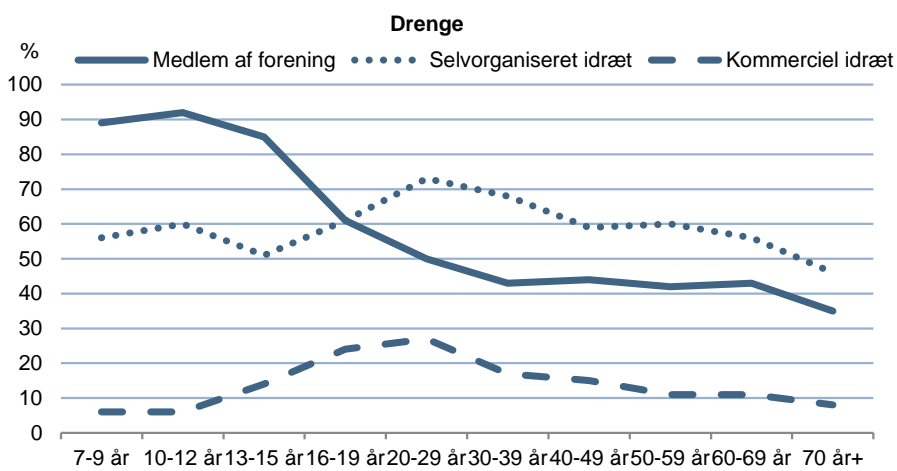
Tabel 2. Logistisk regressionsanalyse af forhold, der øver indflydelse på 7-15-åriges deltagelse i sport og motion

Deltagelse i regelmæssig sport eller motion (N=1.872)		N	Odds ratio	95 pct. konfidensinterval	
Variable				Lav	Høj
Køn	Dreng	970	-		
	Pige	902	1,116	0,865	1,438
Alder	7-9 år	550	-		
	10-12 år	634	1,136	0,798	1,616
	13-15 år	688	0,517**	0,378	0,707
Familiestatus	Bor med begge forældre	1.582	-		
	Bor med én forælder	224	0,514**	0,367	0,719
	Bor med andre	66	1,145	0,550	2,383
Forældrenes etniske baggrund	Begge forældre er født i Danmark	1.699	-		
	Far er født i udlandet	66	1,237	0,598	2,555
	Mor er født i udlandet	42	0,896	0,388	2,068
	Begge forældre er født i udlandet	65	0,357**	0,208	0,615
*p<0.05, **p<0.000		Nagelkerke R square = 0,056			

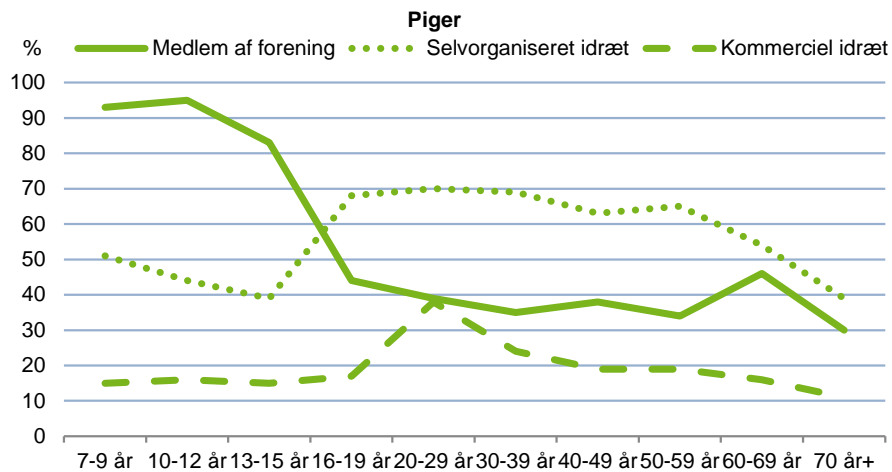
Figur 2. Figuren viser andelen, der dyrker sport/motion samt andelen, der er medlem af en idrætsforening. Fordelt på aldersgrupper



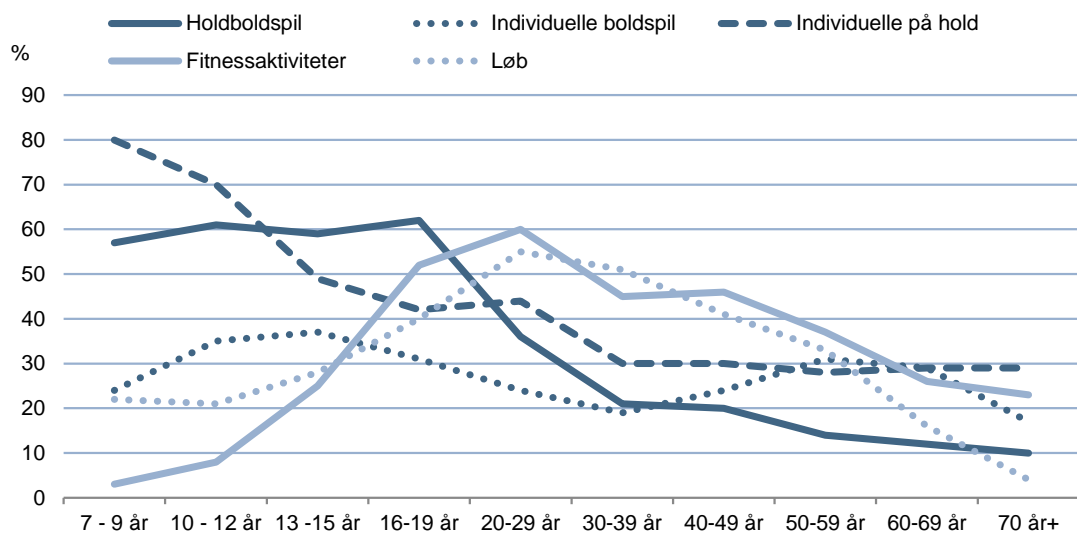
Figur 3a. Figuren viser andelen, der dyrker foreningsidræt, selvorganiseret- samt kommerciel sport og motion opdelt på aldersgrupper (drengene).



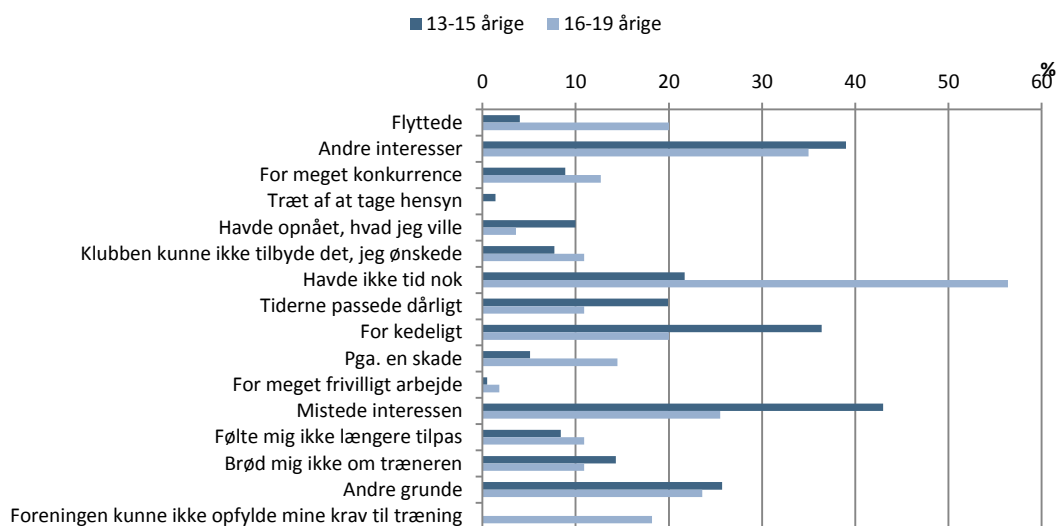
Figur 3b. Figuren viser andelen, der dyrker foreningsidræt, selvorganiseret- samt kommerciel sport og motion opdelt på aldersgrupper (piger).



Figur 4. Figuren viser andelen, der dyrker aktiviteter fordelt på fem forskellige typer, opdelt på aldersgrupper.



Figur 5. Figuren viser frekvensfordeling på 16 udsagn omkring årsager til at stoppe med foreningsidræt. I figuren ses både data fra børneskemaet (13-15-årige) og voksenskemaet (16-19-årige)²⁸.



²⁸ Det er ikke muligt at beregne signifikansniveauer på forskelle mellem 13-15-årige og 16-19-årige, da resultaterne stammer fra to forskellige datasæt (hhv. børne- og voksenskemaet).

Tabel 3. Tabellen viser andelen, der har angivet mindst ét udsagn i hver af de fire kategorier fordelt på aldersgrupper.

	Selvvalgt ophør	Påtvunget ophør
Interne årsager	7-9 år: 63,5 % 10-12 år: 66,4 % 13-15 år: <u>51,9 %</u> <i>p</i> <0,018 16-19 år: <u>36,4 %</u> 20-29 år: 25,4 % 30-39 år: 24,3 % 40-49 år: 44,8 % 50-59 år: 22,6 % 60-69 år: 25,5 % 70 år+: 19,5 % <i>P</i> <0,028	7-9 år: 34,4 % 10-12 år: 41,8 % 13-15 år: <u>50,3 %</u> <i>p</i> <0,008 16-19 år: <u>45,5 %</u> 20-29 år: 38,1 % 30-39 år: 32,9 % 40-49 år: 53,7 % 50-59 år: 48,4 % 60-69 år: 49,1 % 70 år+: 22,0 % <i>P</i> <0,015
Eksterne årsager	7-9 år: 41,7 % 10-12 år: 47,9 % 13-15 år: <u>30,8 %</u> <i>p</i> <0,006 16-19 år: <u>34,5 %</u> 20-29 år: 12,7 % 30-39 år: 8,6 % 40-49 år: 16,4 % 50-59 år: 14,5 % 60-69 år: 18,2 % 70 år+: 9,8 % <i>P</i> <0,005	7-9 år: 14,6% 10-12 år: 24,7% 13-15 år: <u>31,4%</u> <i>p</i> <0,009 16-19 år: <u>65,5 %</u> 20-29 år: 66,7 % 30-39 år: 71,4 % 40-49 år: 40,3 % 50-59 år: 27,4 % 60-69 år: 20,0 % 70 år+: 17,1 % <i>P</i> <0,000
Total	7-9 år: 76,0 % 10-12 år: 77,4 % 13-15 år: <u>60,0 %</u> <i>p</i> <0,001 16-19 år: <u>49,1 %</u> 20-29 år: 31,7 % 30-39 år: 25,7 % 40-49 år: 50,7 % 50-59 år: 32,3 % 60-69 år: 40,0 % 70 år+: 26,8 % <i>P</i> <0,013	7-9 år: 45,8 % 10-12 år: 56,8 % 13-15 år: <u>63,2 %</u> <i>p</i> <0,020 16-19 år: <u>83,6 %</u> 20-29 år: 87,3 % 30-39 år: 81,4 % 40-49 år: 79,1 % 50-59 år: 64,5 % 60-69 år: 65,5 % 70 år+: 34,1 % <i>P</i> <0,000