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Biggest but smallest – female football and the case of Norway

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Eivind Å. Skille

Hedmark University College

Lærerskolealleen 1

2418 Elverum

Norway

e-mail: eivind.skille@hihm.no

ph.: +47 62 43 00 54

fax: +47 62 43 00 01

Biggest but smallest – female football and the case of Norway

Abstract

This article treats the contemporary gender situation in Norwegian football (soccer), with reference to three questions: (i) why is there still a significant gender gap; (ii) why has female football grown rapidly the last decades; and (iii) why is the Norwegian situation relatively egalitarian after all, when compared to for example the UK? The two former are analysed by the application of the work of Dunning which shows that, first, football has historically been a male preserve, and secondly, the civilizing process has led to a more regulated society which in turn has led to increased female participation in sports. The latter question is analyzed by adding research on leisure and welfare state to nuance the general picture of welfare state, to show that the process of civilizing has worked differently – and probably faster – in the Scandinavian countries, which has led to increased female participation also in football in Norway.

Introduction

This article treats the contemporary gender situation in Norwegian football (soccer), and it does so, by two points of departures: the general situation in Norwegian sport; and former research into women and football. Approximately three-quarters of young people in Norway take part in organized sport during their childhood and early adolescence. However, as is common in many western societies, most of these drop out of sport during their mid- to late teenage years [1]. Participation in sport and early drop-out from sport are both strongly associated with gender and with socio-economic status [2]. In brief, boys have higher levels of participation in sport than girls, while adolescents from middle class homes with above average incomes and highly educated parents, and who attend an academic secondary school, are more likely to participate in sport than their peers from working class families with lower incomes and less well educated parents, and who attend a non-academic vocational secondary school [3].

These patterns are often explained by variations in cultural patterns and differences in socialization [4]. Similar patterns can be seen in relation to drop-out rates from sport: boys, and especially middle class boys, are less likely to drop out of sport and are more likely to remain involved in sport throughout their teenage years. As indicated above, several sociological variables are available for analysis, whereas the most important is probably gender. While research into female football has focused upon, for example the image problem of feminine stereotypes, the definition of female footballers as lesbians, or efforts to understand gender in relation to ethnicity and race [5], they do not trace the history in a way that relates directly to the contemporary situation. However, research on masculinity in general and masculinity in football in particular give some indications [6]. It is evident that masculinity, and in particular the so-called hegemonic masculinity, is easy to establish in sport – including football. Further, the history of sports show that women have – if they are mentioned at all – always had to struggle [7].

The aim of this paper is to shed light on the contemporary gender situation in Norwegian football. That will be done, on the one hand, by relating the contemporary situation in Norway to the origin of football as it took place in British public schools some hundred and fifty years ago, based on the framework of the civilization thesis of Norbert Elias and applied in the work of Eric Dunning [8]. And it will be done, on the other hand, by relating the general picture of the civilizing process of sport, to the characteristics of the Scandinavian welfare state, in brief comparison with other western welfare regimes. The description of the gender situation has its empirical basis in the registers of the Norwegian Olympic Committee and Federation of Sports and the registers of the Football Association of Norway (FAN), and, for the brief comparison, similar data from UK [9]. Before moving on to the empirical descriptions and the analysis, some context (history and contemporary institutional arrangements) on Norwegian sport and football will be presented.

Sport and football in Norway – short history

Norwegian sport history is usually considered as having a starting point in 1861, while the first nation wide umbrella organization for sport was established. It was based on local rifle clubs, and aimed at providing the military with good soldiers. Alongside the sport movement related to defence, developed, throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century, the movement of gymnastics. It was imported, partly from Germany and partly from Sweden, and focused upon health promotion and provision for the population. In addition, the typical Nordic winter sports, such as cross country skiing and speed skating, had 'always' been there, and thus did not need any further legislation than the roots and the tradition.

So, the very fact that the – until then – dominating sport ideology in Norway must be considered as instrumental, with their focus on defence and health, respectively, lead to a ideological break when the English sports were introduced in the late nineteenth century [10]. About exactly how and when football came to Norway, as a sport [11], there are at least two stories, indicating that it is something worth being mentioned for in the history books. First, a man from Bergen claimed

that he introduced football, according to the written British rules, in 1883 or 1884, and that his music band was the first organization that played football in Norway. Second, and more confirmable, is the story about the first football club, established in Christiania (today Oslo) May 28th 1885. During the following decades, organized (and probably unorganized) football expanded, a development which continued also after the establishment of the Football Association of Norway (FAN) in 1902 [12].

Female football is usually considered as starting up in the 1970s, but it first occurred already in the late 1920s/1930s. However, it was then considered, especially by the representatives (only men) in the FAN and by the public, as a humoristic contribution to other sport events. And the effort of seriousness related to football by the women themselves, was ignored by the FAN. When female football was taken up again in the 1970s, it still had to struggle, and had to detour its development through being happenings during breaks in other sport events, before it was taken seriously. Since the early 1970s, though, female football did not only struggle for the sport itself, it also became a symbol of women's liberation more generally [13].

In the 1970s, due to the general societal development towards gender equality, and according to 'sport for all' as the vision for the NOC, the FAN had to declare its acceptance for football for girls and women. It happened officially at the general assembly of the FAN in 1976. During the thirty years of female football in Norway, it has undergone a tremendous development. But: 'It did not happen by accident. Women's football in Norway got its time of struggle, its time of break through and its time of flourishing ... And still, it was all the time put into a world dominated by men and man's culture' [14]. In that respect, and as a major point for the subsequent analysis, although female football in Norway has expanded since the early 1970s, the development has been paralleled by a taken-for-granted male dominance.

In sum, according to historians Goksøyr and Olstad, Norwegian football's history may be divided into three epochs: the educative, the popular, and the commercial [15]. While the analysis of the mentioned historians stops by sketching the epochs, it will in this article be shed some critical

light on them, in a gender perspective. Are the popularity and the commercialization of football reinforcing mechanisms of the male dominance? As it will be spelled out in the further, it may seem so, because the history of Norwegian football may be seen as the history of a continuation of a gender patterned sport. However, the figures which will soon be presented can be seen in a different light when compared to other countries, as will be come back to.

Sport and football in Norway – the contemporary situation

In general, organized sport is dominated by men. The aggregated numbers of the special sports federations’ member data bases, show that there are 1.518.508 male members and 589.428 female members registered in the NOC. The relative gender relationship is about the same within football alone, thus the findings and discussion of the case of football, which will be analyzed below, may be generalized, or at least transferred to other sports.

The most popular sports in Norway are, in a ranked order: football, work place sport [17], skiing, golf, and handball. The most popular sports for females are, in ranked order: football, handball, work place sport, skiing, and golf. See Figure 1. With the exception of handball, which is ranked as number two among females and number five among all members (in the NOC register), the picture of which type of sport is the most popular, is similar for females and males.

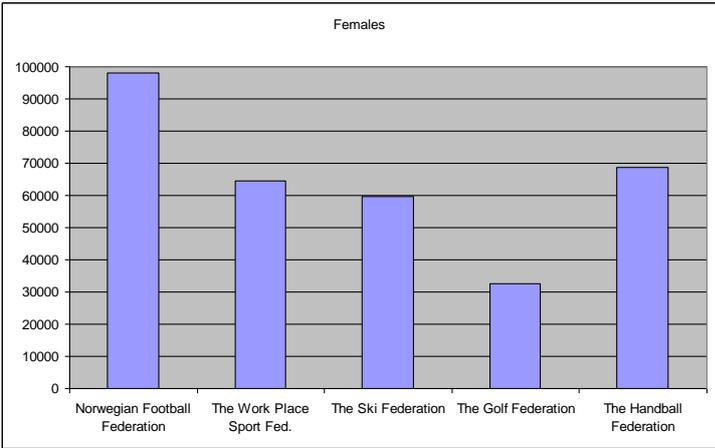


Figure 1: Number of female members in the five most popular

Considering football, the most popular sport for females, in comparison with males, it is still a male dominated sport. The number of registered football players (members in football clubs and therefore in the football federation) reveals that there are two and a half times more male footballers than female footballers in Norway. See Figure 2.

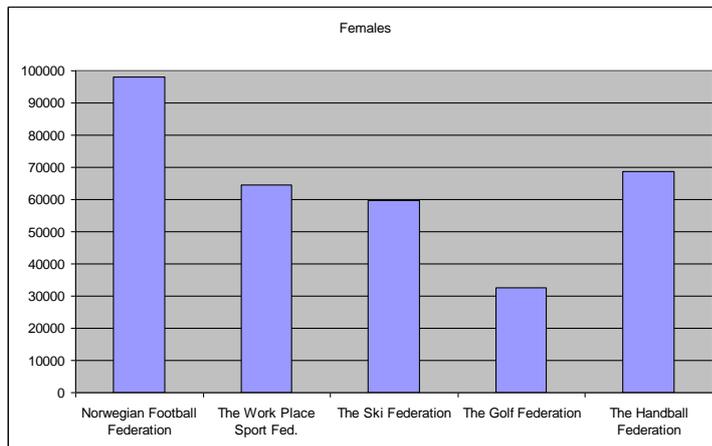


Figure 1: Number of female members in the five most popular

With regard to age, it is a cutting edge at the age of (between) 19/20, because it is common knowledge and evident in research (see introduction above) that patterns of sociological characteristics are revealed during and after the peak of drop outs during mid to late teen ages [18]. See Figure 3. Although the visible difference is large between the genders for youth (defined as everybody at the age of 19 and under), some eighty two thousand females compared to some hundred and ninety thousand males, the relative difference is significantly larger for adults (defined as 20 years old and up). While there are more than twice as many boys than girls that are playing football, there are more than four times more men than women playing football (63.782 males versus 15.425 females, when over the age of 20).

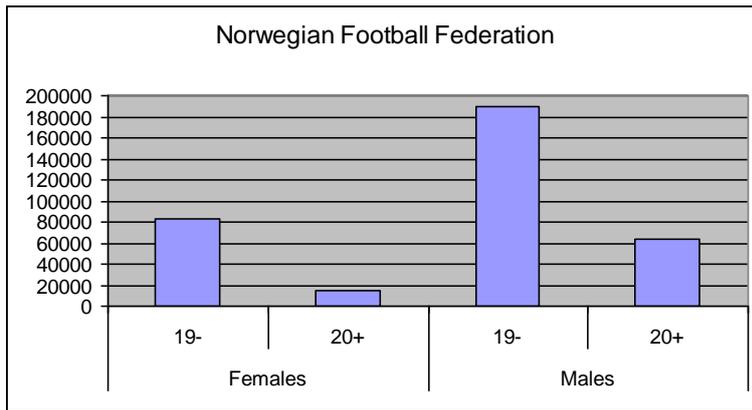


Figure 3: Number of participants in the football federation, divided on youth (age 19 and down) and adults (age 20 and up).

To shed some more light on the issue, two more points will be made [20]: first, football is so much more than an organized activity, of which it is possible to read figures out of the membership registers; and second, football is a major part of the everyday discourse, at lunch table and with regard to media coverage. For example, an overview of gender and sport in the media shows that only about (just over) ten per cents of the space is used on female sport, the coverage which actually is about female sports is often trivialization of the achievements in comparison to men's sport, and – with specific regard to football – there is registered a decrease in the coverage of female sport (from just over to just under ten per cents) during the football season.

In addition, football is also an unorganized activity, which together with the everyday discourse, has to be seen in relation to football in general – including the organized part of the game. In particular, and very popular in Norway at present, is the role of the 'ball bins'. That is small football pitches with artificial grass and rinks, which are not allowed to book for ordinary training sessions. That is, they are, in principle, open for everyone, all day. However, a study of the use of ball bins revealed that the dominance of males is overwhelming. In sum, the role of the public space in relation to football, whether that is about how female sport and female football is covered and presented in the media or whether it is about how the 'open facilities' are used, reinforces the male dominance.

In sum, the empirical evidence with regard to gender differences in organized football in contemporary Norway generates the relevance for some specific questions for the guidance of the further analysis to be posed. 1) Why is 'the world game', 'still a man's game' [19]? 2) Why did female football grow so rapidly the last decades? The latter has to be seen in comparison to other European countries. For example, the UK figures reveal a gender difference of between eight and fifteen times more male players (it depends on how the aggregated numbers based on the FA web sites are calculated) than female players. In that respect, the Norwegian numbers of three times more male as female players must be interpreted as a sign of equity. Thus yet another question has to be posed: 3. Why are the Norwegian numbers much better, in a gender equity perspective, than the UK numbers?

Historical and theoretical analysis – football as a male preserve

It is a striking finding that football, which is the most popular sport for females in general and for female youth in particular, has generated a gender pattern of participation – especially after a certain age – which is as unequal as sport in general (although it is the most popular sport for females). It may seem that (Norwegian) football, which typically includes many girls, has failed to break down, and have actually reinforced, existing gender patterns. Why is that so? Some historical clues are indicated through the rather descriptive presentation of how football came to Norway, as a game created by and for men. In the further, however, the history will be traced back to the origin of football on the British islands, and during the analysis some points thereof will be discussed directly with the contemporary situation of Norwegian football.

Perhaps the first point to note in this connection is that it is by no means unusual for policies, if it can be considered as such that football should be equally distributed among the population, whether in sport or other areas of social life, to have outcomes which are unplanned and which may even be the very opposite of those which were intended. It is important to emphasise that such outcomes are, as Elias has pointed out, a commonplace occurrence in everyday social life [21]. But, with regard to the specific problem in relation to the skewed gender rates in participation in football

in Norway: how can it be explained, the much greater gender imbalance in participation in adult football than in youth football? The work of Eric Dunning, which draws upon Norbert Elias's theory of civilizing processes, provides some useful clues in this respect. Thus, the contemporary Norwegian situation will be treated, during the first part of the analysis, with the guidance of Elias' theory of the civilizing process as Dunning applies it on sport and in particular on football [22].

Dunning notes that, although there is obviously a degree of overlap between the sexes in this regard, it is the case that males have tended in all societies to be bigger, physically stronger and faster than females and therefore better equipped as potential fighters. This has been an important source of the greater power chances of men relative to women. However, the power chances which men derive from their greater power, strength and capacity for inflicting physical violence have varied according to the degree to which constraints have been effectively imposed on the use of physical force and violence in everyday social life. Where there are relatively few constraints on the everyday use of physical force in social life – as, for example, was the case in European societies prior to the establishment of relatively stable, modern nation states in which the state has established a monopoly of the legitimate use of violence – then their greater capacity for fighting and for the use of violence in general was a very important source of men's greater power chances compared to women.

However, as part of the long term civilizing process which took place in Europe from the Middle Ages until the early twentieth century, the use of violence in everyday social life has come to be increasingly regulated, with the result that the use of direct force has played a diminishing role in social relations. This, in turn, has been associated with a shift towards the equalization of the power chances of those who were physically weaker relative to those who were physically stronger [23], a fact that has been one of the key processes underlying the shifting balance of power between men and women in an equalizing direction.

These broad social changes have also had important implications for sport. Firstly, sports have themselves undergone a civilizing process. For example, as they developed in Britain in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, sports such as boxing, rugby and soccer came to eliminate some forms of physical violence, while also requiring that participants should exercise stricter self-control in regard to physical contact [24]. However, although they are considerably less violent than they were in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, modern sports continue to serve as a central avenue of expression for socially generated aggressive impulses which are not normally permitted to be expressed in other social contexts. In this regard, it can be said that, in present-day societies, many sports have become enclaves for the expression of physical violence, not in the form of unlicensed or uncontrolled violence, but in the form of socially sanctioned violence as expressed in violently aggressive 'body contact'; indeed, in the relatively highly pacified societies of the modern West, sport is probably the main – for many people the only – activity in which they are regularly involved in aggressive physical contact with others.

The close association between sport, aggression and violence, even in modern societies, provides an important key to understanding why sport is in modern societies perhaps the most widely available arena for the legitimate expression of masculine aggression and for the display of traditional and dominant notions of masculinity involving physical power, strength and courage [25]. As Dunning has noted, sport, along with such occupations as the military and the police, has come to represent 'an enclave for the legitimate expression of masculine aggression and the production and reproduction of traditional male habituses involving the use and display of physical prowess and power'; put more succinctly, sport is a 'primary vehicle for the masculinity-validating experience' [26].

It is important to note that there are important differences between sports in terms of the degree to which they provide appropriate contexts for generating and sustaining particular conceptions of masculinity. For example, Dunning has suggested that 'it is perhaps reasonable

to describe soccer as an intrinsically more “civilized” and “civilizing” game than American football ... while it, too, is a mock battle played with a ball, in soccer the war-like element is less obvious, more muted and usually more controlled’ [27]. Although it is less violent than it was in the late nineteenth century, American football remains, by comparison with most other sports, relatively violent. As Guttman has noted, proponents of American football list among what they see as positive features of the game its bellicosity and its similarities to actual warfare and the pain and self-sacrifice which it requires. For many players and fans alike, relatively violent sports such as American football are, precisely because of their violent character, arenas *par excellence* for young men to demonstrate a particular kind of aggressive masculinity [28].

In the light of these considerations about civilizing processes, violence and masculinity, the key question in relation to football and the gender balance/imbalance in Norway today is: what is it about the game of football which accounts for the marked gender inequality in participation? Are there some respects in which it might be argued that football constitutes a specifically masculinity-validating experience which, at the same time that it makes these activities attractive to males, also makes them less attractive – but not unattractive – to females? It will not in any way be suggested that the game itself does not fit the female body or the female mind. However, there are one or two other aspects of football which is the critical element of these schemes which explains the marked gender imbalance [29].

It was noted earlier that the power chances which men derive from their greater power and strength vary according to the degree to which constraints are imposed on the use of physical force and violence in everyday social life and that, where there are relatively few constraints on the use of physical force, their greater power and strength is a very important source of men’s greater power chances compared to women. As mentioned above, a major point of the long term civilizing process which took place in Europe from the Middle Ages until the early twentieth century, was that the use

of violence in everyday social life became increasingly regulated. This, in turn, has been associated with a shift towards the equalization of the power chances of those who were physically weaker relative to those who were physically stronger, a fact that has been one of the key processes underlying the shifting balance of power between men and women in an equalizing direction.

Two empirical examples from Norwegian sport and physical activity, show, when seen together, that regulated elements of the organization of the activity may be gender equalizing and even favour women. First, open sport supplies are male dominated, and, second, commercial training centres are female dominated. For example, Skille and Waddington found in a study of an open sports hall, that is available facilities where the youth come and go as they please and organize the activity themselves, that older boys (18 years olds) constituted a core group of participants, who clearly felt that the open sport hall was 'their' territory [30]. The sports hall was, for the older boys, not only a locus for their sporting activity, but it was also an important focus for their social activity more generally; in this sense, the sport hall might, perhaps, be regarded as a functional alternative to the 'street corner' for youths in other western societies. It may be considered similar with the open places – including the ball bins – used to play football, being a place for a boy becoming a man. On the contrary, Ulseth found that commercial training centres are more popular among females than among males [31]. It may be significant in this regard that commercial fitness centres are normally run on very formal lines, and they often have quite strict codes governing participants' behaviour, including the use of offensive language, and sometimes dress codes, all of which appear designed to ensure that the sensitivities of all users of the facility, but perhaps especially the sensitivities of less 'robust' users such as some women, are not offended, and that all users can exercise in a situation in which they feel both physically and psychologically secure.

To sum up so far, the theory of Elias, as it is applied by Dunning make a major contribution to the analysis of gender differences in football (question number 1). It also indicates that gender differences should, if not be diminished, so at least decrease during the development of the modern

west, through processes referred to as civilizing processes (question number 2). However, with regard to the question about why the differences are smaller in Norway than in for example UK (question number 3), it has to be underscored that the theory of the civilizing process, which may seem more or less universal, has worked differently or has entered different phases of development, in countries such as Norway and the United Kingdom. Further, while the civilizing process as it is applied by Dunning and cited above, focus upon sport and football in particular, the gender situation in football must be seen in relation to other and broader processes of societal development.

Civilizing processes are observable both at the level of state-societies and of human society as a whole, as well as the level of the individual. Thus while it is possible to observe the development on a societal level of more civilized codes of behaviour – including the stricter regulation of violence and aggression – the process of socialization in modern societies is itself a civilizing process on the level of the individual. These processes are intimately linked and, as Elias noted, ‘the specific psychological process of “growing up” in Western societies ... is nothing other than the individual civilizing process to which each young person, as a result of the civilizing process over many centuries, is automatically subjected from early childhood, to a greater or lesser degree and with greater or lesser success’. He continued: ‘since in our society every human being is exposed from the first moment of life to the influence and the moulding intervention of civilized grown ups, they must indeed pass through a civilizing process in order to reach the standard attained by their society in the course of its history’ [32].

Leisure including sport is one sphere where the levels from state regulations to individual experience are linked together, more or less directly. In one of the first leisure studies with an outspoken gender focus, Deem found a number of constraints experienced by women, in relation to participation in leisure activities: childcare, household obligations, and hours of employment where those without any occupation felt a higher threshold for leisure participation [33].

Leisure cannot be compartmentalised and explored in isolation from other parts of life, as the character of its vital ingredients – time, resources and commitment – are indicators of the broader social structures within which they emerge; for women that generally involves a web of inequalities. A women's right to freedom in leisure is circumscribed by her employment status and income level, her family situation and, most important, her lack of status as a woman in a patriarchal society [34].

Thus the civilizing processes influence leisure patterns in general as well as football participation patterns in particular, for example by the means of the different arrangements of the different kinds of welfare states [35]. That will be explored a bit further. First, the reader should be reminded that the point of departure for the following analysis is the difference between the gender patterns of football participation in Norway in comparison with the UK. The figures of Norwegian football are, at the worst (adults) 4 to 1, while the British figures are up to 15 to 1, all in favour of males over females [36]. In that respect, Scandinavian exceptionalism may help explain football participation while, as indicated by the analysis of the civilizing process, regulated societies facilitate equity more than less regulated society. That phenomenon relies, according to Elias [37], upon the biological fact that men are bigger and stronger than women, which, in turn, has led to a historical and long term development, where men has dominated women in many areas (typically those parts which give some kind off status) of social life. What are the regulative mechanisms then?

While all welfare states, according to Esping-Andersen [38], are systems of stratifications, the different types of welfare regimes identified by Esping-Andersen, work differently in that respect, where the Scandinavian welfare state, the so-called social democratic model, pursues equity at every level and in every societal sector. In these countries regulations and incentives are made by the state to increase gender equity, hence participation has to be seen as a part of broader societal processes, in which men's and women's life courses resemble each others'.

In a growing number of countries, women's lifetime participation curves begin to resemble men's. Lifetime employment is now practically the norm among the North American and Scandinavian women. And indications are that the same norm is now being embraced throughout the advanced countries. We are witnessing a "masculinization" of the female life course, driven probably more by choice than by constraints [39].

The resembling of gender life courses includes the domestic arrangements, and data from many countries in the west show that male partners of employed women to an increasingly degree contribute in housework. However, while women's careers and life courses become more "masculine", the masculinisation of women's lives become limited when or if they have children, and may be part of the explanation of the increased gender difference of football participation when turning 20. Moreover, the social democratic welfare state model of the Scandinavian countries has developed concrete incentives facilitating the development of gender equity by for example the boast of explicit incentives for fathers to take leaves after child births. The mentioned examples fit into a general belief in and struggle for universalism, with regard to social security and health provision paid by and most often organized by the state [40].

In sum, the Scandinavian exceptionalism, in terms of broader societal circumstances of which the civilizing process has developed differently – probably faster in some respects – than in other countries, has influenced the leisure and sport participation rates so that there is a rather small gender gap in football participation compared to probably most other countries. Under such circumstances the footballization of females, as Duke and Crolley call it, has apparently grown better than under other welfare arrangements.

As far as the distributional issues are concerned, women's role as players has increased, particularly since the mid 1980's (...) The values of our patriarchal society are changing gradually, but the structures remain in place. It is women who are joining the men's game, on

men's terms. The feminization of football promised in the 1980's has been superimposed by the small-scale footballization of women [41].

Concluding remarks

This article has shown that there is a gender gap when it comes to participation in Norwegian football. Moreover, it is shown that Norwegian football has enjoyed a measure of success in breaking social barriers to participation in at least two respects. First, it has enjoyed a measure of success in attracting higher levels of participation from females than any other sport in Norway and, second, in comparison with other countries Norwegian football has enjoyed a measure of success in braking down the gender difference relatively well. Both the latter success stories appears to be due to the fact that the break through has followed and propelled general societal development referred to as women's liberation or processes of gaining equality status among the sexes.

It has been theorized here how major historical-sociological explanations, such as the theory of the civilizing process as it is applied on the analysis of the development of modern football, may explain the gender gap which still exists. In that respect, the research on women and football cited in the introduction [42] is not devalued in any sense, but it is believed that this historical-sociological approach may add a contribution to the literature. Moreover, the general process of civilizing described in the theory of Elias is nuanced by adding to the analysis research on leisure and on welfare states, which all are more or less influenced by the general or universal processes of societal development. In this connection, the process which is described as the growing individualisation of the lifestyles [43], and the preferred leisure activities is of particular importance. It should be noted that although Roberts is describing the situation in Britain, the process of individualisation is a much more general process which is also evident in Norway and, indeed, throughout Western Europe.

More generally, it could be suggested that football and other sports, are meeting new challenges, when especially young people – boys and girls – will demand greater informality and flexibility by comparison with what is conventionally undertaken in sports so far, if it is to remain and become more attractive to young people. It is, however, always hard to look into the future:

As far as tomorrow is concerned, there is one bit of evidence which speaks in favour of the egalitarian agenda, namely the vision of the “good society” as today’s children see it... What, unfortunately, we do not know is whether this is merely an egoistic juvenile preference, or whether a new gender choice-set is simmering in the minds and hearts of the coming twenty-first century adults [44].

Notes

- [1] Ekeland et al., 'Er barn og unge mindre fysisk aktive i dag enn tidligere?'; Hansen, *Ung og aktiv*; Seippel, *Orker ikke, gidder ikke, passer ikke?*.
- [2] Krange and Strandbu, *Ungdom, idrett og friluftsliv*; Kurtze et al., 'Svett og andpusten, jeg?'; Sjøgaard et al., 'En oversikt over norske studier – hvor mye beveger vi oss i fritiden?'
- [3] Sisjord, *Idrett og ungdomskultur*; Skogen, 'A touch of class – the persistence of class cultures among Norwegian youth'.
- [4] Engström, *Idrott som social markör*.
- [5] Caudwell, 'Women's football in the United Kingdom'; Harris, 'The image problem in women's football'; Scraton et al., 'Bend it like Patel': Centring 'Race', Ethnicity and Gender in Feminist Analysis of Women's Football in England'; Skogvang, *Toppfotball: et felt i forandring*.
- [6] Andreasson, 'Mellan svett och mascara: Maskulinitet I ett kvinnligt fotbollslag'; Connell, *Maskiliniteter*.
- [7] Hargreaves, *Sporting Females*; Goksøy, and Olstad, *Fotball!*; Murray, *Football. A history of the world game*.
- [8] Dunning, *Sport matters*; Dunning and Sheard, *Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players*; Elias, *What is sociology?*; Elias, *The Civilizing Process*.
- [9] NOC, *Idrettsregistreringen*; NFF, *Statistikk breddefotball*; FA, *Student Research Resource*.
- [10] Olstad, *Norsk idretts historie*, pp. 75-93.
- [11] There had probably been English circus artists in Norway, at least as early as in the 1850s, doing feet juggling with a ball and the word 'football' was used to describe it. Goksøy and Olstad, *Fotball!*, 26.
- [12] Goksøy and Olstad, *Fotball!*, 26-42.
- [13] Goksøy and Olstad, *Fotball!*, 77-103.
- [14] Goksøy and Olstad, *Fotball!*, 77, my translation.
- [15] Goksøy and Olstad, *Fotball!*, 360-363.
- [16] NOC, *Idrettsregistreringen*; NFF, *Statistikk breddefotball*.
- [17] Work place sport is a generic term for a number of sports, but it is federated in one organisation, and therefore presented as one. The following figures all base on the registers of the NOC and the NFF. NOC, *Idrettsregistreringen*; NFF, *Statistikk breddefotball*.
- [18] Ekeland et al., 'Er barn og unge mindre fysisk aktive i dag enn tidligere?'; Hansen, *Ung og aktiv*; Seippel, *Orker ikke, gidder ikke, passer ikke?*; Krange and Strandbu, *Ungdom, idrett og friluftsliv*; Kurtze et al., 'Svett og andpusten, jeg?'; Sjøgaard et al., 'En oversikt over

- norske studier – hvor mye beveger vi oss i fritiden?'; Sisjord, *Idrett og ungdomskultur*; Skogen, 'A touch of class – the persistence of class cultures among Norwegian youth'.
- [19] Murray, *Football. A history of the world game*; Scraton et al., It's still a man's game?.
- [20] Magnussen, *Ballbingen: en møteplass for de mange eller en rugeplass for de få?*; Wichman, *Kön och sport i nordiska massmedier och ungdomars praktiker*.
- [21] Elias, *What is sociology?*, 71-103.
- [22] Dunning, *Sport matters*.
- [23] Dunning, *Sport matters*, 45.
- [24] Dunning, *Sport matters*, 64.
- [25] Andreasson, 'Mellan svett och mascara: Maskulinitet I ett kvinnligt fotbollslag'; Connell, *Maskiliniteter*.
- [26] Dunning, *Sport matters*, 229.
- [27] Dunning, *Sport matters*, 229.
- [28] Guttmann, *From Ritual to Record*, 121.
- [29] Andreasson, 'Mellan svett och mascara: Maskulinitet I ett kvinnligt fotbollslag'; Connell, *Maskiliniteter*.
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- [31] Ulseth, 'Social Integration in Modern Sport: Commercial Fitness Centers and Voluntary Sport Clubs'.
- [32] Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, xi.
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- [39] Esping-Andersen, *Why we need welfare states*, 88.
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- [41] Duke and Crolley, *Football, Nationality and the State*, 144.
- [42] Caudwell, 'Women's football in the United Kingdom'; Harris, 'The image problem in women's football'; Scraton et al., 'Bend it like Patel': Centring 'Race', Ethnicity and Gender in Feminist Analysis of Women's Football in England'; Skogvang, *Toppfotball: et felt i forandring*.
- [43] See for example Roberts, *Leisure in contemporary society*.
- [44] Esping-Andersen, *Why we need welfare states*, 95.

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