

Women and Sport in Scandinavia: Policy, Participation and Representation

Kurt Klaudi Klausen, Department of Political Science and Public Management, Odense University

Throughout the 20th century women have gradually gained access to sporting activities but it is only in recent decades that they have become widely represented in the decision-making bodies of sport. How can we account for this development and the weak position of women in sport? The perspective in this article is historical and three levels of explanation are considered. To what extent can the developments be explained as the result of public policy, the organization and policy of the voluntary associations and federations and by the action or predispositions of (groups of) women themselves. The article presents an overview of the state of the art in the research on women and sport in Scandinavia in the sense that new data have been collected and existing research and writings are being reviewed. By questioning central myths about sport and politics, and about the roles women play, it is shown that the role of women in sports is related both to gaining access to the sporting activities *per se* and to the fora where decisions are being made, and that this access has been hampered as well as facilitated by government policies and policies of associations and interest organizations of the sports world. Government policies, however, cannot account for the remarkable changes in physical participation and democratic representation of women in sports which has taken place during the past century. The policies of the voluntary sports associations and federations are of greater importance. But the key to the understanding is found among the women themselves. So it is argued that physical performance and involvement in management and decision-making are dependent not only on formal structures and the policies of governments and interest organizations, but to a large extent upon the way in which women see themselves. This argumentation rests on the available data and a critical reading of the literature and research on women and sport in Scandinavia.

Myth and Reality about Women and Sport

Gender cleavages are mostly analysed by looking at the political system or the labour market and by posing questions to matters of inequality and uneven distribution of power (SOU 1990, 73–116). This article examines the relationship between women and sport as another arena where gender cleavages have been dealt with in its own particular way. Until recently, that is broadly speaking until the 1980s, there has been a lot of talk about women's unequal position in sport but very little action to promote change and research to unravel this complicated relationship. This article sets out to

Women and Sport in Scandinavia: Policy, Participation and Representation

Kurt Klaudi Klausen, Department of Political Science and Public Management, Odense University

Throughout the 20th century women have gradually gained access to sporting activities but it is only in recent decades that they have become widely represented in the decision-making bodies of sport. How can we account for this development and the weak position of women in sport? The perspective in this article is historical and three levels of explanation are considered. To what extent can the developments be explained as the result of public policy, the organization and policy of the voluntary associations and federations and by the action or predispositions of (groups of) women themselves. The article presents an overview of the state of the art in the research on women and sport in Scandinavia in the sense that new data have been collected and existing research and writings are being reviewed. By questioning central myths about sport and politics, and about the roles women play, it is shown that the role of women in sports is related both to gaining access to the sporting activities *per se* and to the fora where decisions are being made, and that this access has been hampered as well as facilitated by government policies and policies of associations and interest organizations of the sports world. Government policies, however, cannot account for the remarkable changes in physical participation and democratic representation of women in sports which has taken place during the past century. The policies of the voluntary sports associations and federations are of greater importance. But the key to the understanding is found among the women themselves. So it is argued that physical performance and involvement in management and decision-making are dependent not only on formal structures and the policies of governments and interest organizations, but to a large extent upon the way in which women see themselves. This argumentation rests on the available data and a critical reading of the literature and research on women and sport in Scandinavia.

Myth and Reality about Women and Sport

Gender cleavages are mostly analysed by looking at the political system or the labour market and by posing questions to matters of inequality and uneven distribution of power (SOU 1990, 73–116). This article examines the relationship between women and sport as another arena where gender cleavages have been dealt with in its own particular way. Until recently, that is broadly speaking until the 1980s, there has been a lot of talk about women's unequal position in sport but very little action to promote change and research to unravel this complicated relationship. This article sets out to

provide an overview of the literature on women and sport in Scandinavia, and to present and discuss the latest data on women's participation in sporting activities and representation in electoral bodies of sport. There are three levels in the discussion focusing on the role of public policy, voluntary organizations and individual women in explaining women's participation in sporting activities and representation in the democratic fora of sport in Scandinavia.

Myth and reality mix in a strange twofold way when we are looking at women in sport and body culture. The myths are rooted in the past with regard to both women and sport. The *myths about women* in relation to sport and body culture in the Western hemisphere are linked with motherhood and Christianity (Danneskiold-Samsøe et al. 1983; Gammelgård 1984; Trangbæk & Ørnstrup 1986). The myths have engulfed women to the extent that they have been compelled to look upon themselves as feeble creatures, who should not do too much exercise in order not to disturb their predestined role as mothers, who give life to healthy children; yet, at the same time, they have been looked upon as gifted with supernatural powers rendering some of them bewitched. Much of this can be traced to the Christian separation of body and soul and to the materialization of "the fall of man" in the tempting, lustful and sinful body of women. Consequently, since the Middle Ages women have had to hide away their beauty and interest in playful physical activity, at any rate to the extent that such activities might reveal their sinful bodies – an issue subsequently to be addressed in the struggle for equality between men and women in sport.

The struggle for the equality of women in sport is part and parcel of the general struggle for equal rights and access. It is a story about modernity, the bourgeois revolution and the fight for democracy and equal rights; and these are indeed the theoretical concepts around which this article revolves (Karvonen & Selle 1995).

At the end of the last century Nordic women in general were allowed (sic!) to do gymnastics (Trangbæk 1987). Norwegian women from the peasantry and the lower middle class occasionally did do some skiing or skating (Lippe 1986). Danish women were allowed to play tennis and do some fencing, but bicycling was looked upon as utterly unwomanly; in fact women were not supposed to do things which men considered their domain (Madsen 1986; Trangbæk & Ornstrup 1986). As late as in the 1940s, Norwegian female participants in cross-country orienteering/running had to wear cow bells – otherwise (or so the male organizers thought) they might get lost! It was late in this century before the prejudices regarding women's physical capabilities (e.g. the notion that physical activities might be bad for them, and that their sex might obstruct them) had been proven wrong. However, it is often argued in the research and writings on women and sport that the victories which have been won by women, as they have gained

access to all disciplines and organizations in the world of sport, do not in fact represent the liberation of women but just another hideous suppression of women by men – or at least by “the men’s world” because sport is guided and penetrated by male values (Pilz 1982).

One of *the myths about sport*, cultivated by Coubertin, is that of equality in the pursuit of excellence in peaceful competition; the notion that politics and sport are separate and should be kept separate is yet another one (Coubertin 1931). What really counts is to participate and in that sense sport should be a magnificent vehicle for democratization and modernization of society. This, however, has turned out to be wishful thinking – not least with regard to the Olympic Games. Women have had great difficulties in gaining access to the games, and the Olympic Games have been drawn into and (mis)used in world politics on numerous occasions; the Olympic Committee is the most closed, oligarchic group of self-co-opting old men one can imagine, and women have had to fight a bitter struggle to be included in the games.¹

Furthermore, research in the history and the sociology of sport (Elias 1939; Heinemann 1983; Eichberg 1988; Hansen et al. 1990) tells us that norms and values differ from time to time and from place to place, that resources for training, research and facilities vary from country to country, from region to region and from location to location, so that some individuals and social groups have better opportunities than others. Similarly, research in the psychology, physiology and kinesiology of sport tells us that there are differences between, for instance, men’s and women’s psychic disposition for sport and for competition (Eberspächer 1986; Fasting 1987), that, for example, muscle tissues, height, age, and sex are at odds with the idea of an equal competition from the very outset (Åstrand & Rodal 1977; Asmussen & Hohwü-Christensen 1977) and that it is possible to bridge the gap between, for example, age and gender only at the lowest levels of competition and in sports activities, where the element of competition is less pronounced. There are, however, exceptions from the purported rule such as endurance tests in which women have improved their results considerably more than men during the 20th century.

In this way the myths of women and sport have been challenged and should continue to be challenged. Women are not feeble creatures and sport and politics cannot be separated. What then is the role of politics in sport? I deal with this question, first with reference to society in general, and then more specifically with regard to the representative structures of the voluntary organization of sport in Scandinavia.

The Politics of Sport – Sport as a Political Arena

In the Scandinavian countries sport has historically been part of the policies of education and national defence, and today sport policy is an integrated part of social and cultural policy. This is reflected in the public/political support to the voluntary associations of the sports movement. The financial support to the sports associations and the general cooperation between them, the state and the local governments resemble in many ways the closed relationship which has been guiding the relationship between the state and the third/voluntary sector throughout this century, a relationship which has been characterized by intimate cooperation and integration (Klausen 1989; Kuhnle & Selle 1990; Klausen & Selle 1995). In the Scandinavian countries the voluntary organization of sport has truly been the third largest popular movement alongside the labour and the peasant movements. It has penetrated the countries from centre to periphery (which means a great deal in countries like Norway and Sweden), gained support from all parts of society (high and low) and played a role in the political, the social, and the cultural developments in Denmark (Korsgaard 1982), Sweden (Lindroth 1975) and Norway (Tonnesson 1986; Olstad 1987).

With the general law on education in 1814 Denmark was the first country in the world to include gymnastics as a compulsory part of primary school education. This law was originally meant to cover Norway as well but, as the union between Denmark and Norway was dissolved in 1814, gymnastics did not become compulsory in Norwegian schools until 1848 (in the towns) and 1860 (in the countryside). The Danish law of 1814 was created in a spirit of enlightenment and applied to men and women alike. By 1828, when the law was rewritten for men and men alone, enlightenment and liberalism had given way to nationalistic and militaristic sentiments and values. Women were left outside the legal framework on sport until 1899 and were not integrated into it until 1903, when a new law on primary education was passed by the parliament (Trangbæk 1987). So throughout the 19th century the primary purpose of gymnastics in primary and secondary schools was to ensure that boys would become good soldiers. Sport played – and still plays – a prominent role in military education, and public authorities have supported the nationalistic rifle shooting associations ever since they spread through the three countries in the latter half of the 19th century. But there was also an element of enlightenment and fairness, particularly in the philosophy guiding the education of sports teachers, in the official approach to competitive sports.

Since the end of the 19th century public authorities have supported the non-governmental sports activities financially. In Sweden this included support to activities requiring travel and the publication of journals; and though sceptical towards sport (gymnastics was generally preferred to

English competitive sport), the parliament responded favourably to a government proposal to allocate 100,000 Swedish crowns annually to sport (Lindroth 1988).² This sum was reduced somewhat after World War I. The tide turned in the 1930s, when football pool/lotto funds were established. As a matter of fact, in all three countries sport is today heavily dependent upon lotto funds and the more or less direct public support to their administrative activities and notably to the building and running of facilities.

Sport is not mentioned specifically in the constitutions but this does not mean that there are no legislative measures and acts of parliament aimed at the sports sector. In Denmark there are (at least) three acts of parliament of direct relevance to the sports sector: (1) the Act on Football Pools and Lotto; (2) the Act on the Allocation of Financial Support to Popular Enlightenment ("Folkeoplysning"); and (3) the Act on the Promotion of Elite-Class Sport. In Norway sport is covered by the "New Cultural Policy" which was promulgated by the Norwegian parliament in order to promote active participation, to make culture more democratic and to decentralize power and reinforce regional action. The voluntary associations have to abide by the general laws and there are in fact very few special legislative measures. In Sweden one of these has to do with drug abuse (criminalizing the possession of, trafficking in and handling of certain doping agents, mainly anabolic steroids) while another law forbids professional boxing (Council of Europe 1992).

In Denmark and Norway the Ministry of Cultural Affairs is responsible for sports policy matters; in Sweden this lies within the realm of the Ministry of Finance.

For more than 60 years, from 1929 to 1992, there were three competing national federations in Denmark but after the fusion of the two "popular" movements there are now two. In Norway and Sweden there is only one central national sports federation. In Sweden this is very much due to the governmental policy of granting lotto funds only to the Swedish Sports Federation. The development of these structures was far from peaceful; they have a history of heated debates, hostility, hatred, and political power games. There were many disputes and conflicts before the present structure in Sweden was established (Lindroth 1988).

In Denmark some of the central lines of conflict have been between gymnasts and rifle-shooters (on whether or not nationalism, competition and the celebration of victory were the all-important matters) and between the large interest organizations, notably between the so-called popular federations (originally mostly interested in gymnastics, rifle shooting and popular enlightenment) and the sports federation (Korsgaard 1982). The conflicts may to some extent be dismissed as traditional conflicts of interests about political power and financial resources, but they have also had a highly salient normative component attached to them (Klausen 1988). The

perennial question whether sport should be seen as a goal in its own right or just a means to an end that shook the Norwegian Sports Federation is just one example of many.

In Norway there was in fact a distinct centre-periphery cleavage within the sports movement. The centre tended to favour British style competitive sports, where sport is seen as a goal in its own right, while the rural periphery with its rifle sport associations was inclined to perceive sporting activities as a means to promote health, morality and patriotism. The rise of the labour movement and its sports associations between the two world wars did not do much to alleviate the tensions (Tønnesson 1986; Olstad 1987). The workers' associations have traditionally been much better organized and influential in the general picture of organized sport in, say, Norway, Germany and Finland than in, for example, Denmark and Sweden where their influence did not last long. After World War II, and notably from the 1960s onwards, the sports arena in Norway and Sweden became more peaceful and consensual while the conflicts continued in Denmark. From a historical point of view the organization of non-governmental sport in Scandinavia is certainly heavily conflict ridden and there is every reason to call it a *political arena*.

The individual sports organizations and the public authorities of the three Scandinavian countries join in the efforts to emphasize that the sports movement is independent as well as non-governmental (Council of Europe 1992; Ueberhorst 1976), even in the face of plenty of evidence to the contrary. There is clearly a very close relationship between national authorities and the national umbrella organizations (probably most prominently in Sweden); and the sports federations (at all levels: nationally, regionally and locally) are undoubtedly involved in political decision-making, in the administration of public funding and in the implementation of special legislation (e.g. regarding drug abuse). The financial dependence of the sports federations on the state is beyond a shadow of doubt, and the sports federations are clearly well integrated into the political system, but they remain, nevertheless, private institutions; they are heavily dependent upon voluntary work; they have their own democratically elected boards and take pride in legitimizing their activities as being a part of an "independent" voluntary or third sector, regardless of the obvious constraints under which they operate (Klausen 1992, 1995).

Where in all this do women fit in? We find the traces of the role and the function of women in sport only sporadically in the historical accounts since almost all the leaders of the sports movement were men (certainly in the 19th century) and women only gradually gained access to the disciplines and to the leading posts in the voluntary organization of sport during this century. In Sweden, for instance, they formed two federations exclusively for women early in this century. In the public accounts and reviews on, for example, sport and education from the 19th and early 20th centuries, women are

mentioned with regard to their physical abilities, emphasizing the limitations of women's abilities to engage in sporting activities (Danneskiold-Samsøe et al. 1983; Trangbæk 1988; Smith-Rosenberg & Rosenberg 1987) – most of which have now been refuted (Åstrand & Rodahl 1977). In modern accounts and reviews, such as in the extensive reports, analyses and investigations which paved the way for the laws on the elite and mass sport education in Denmark in the 1980s, no particular attention was given to women (Ministeriet for kulturelle anliggender 1983a; 1983b; 1987 I, II, III). The statistical analyses show that women in elite sport are supported with an amount of money equal to that of the men in elite sport (1983b, 73) – but the question why there are fewer women than men in elite sports is not raised, nor any other questions related to possible discrimination against women. As for mass sport, the commission had been given the mandate to “consider how the recruitment of women to work as leaders and instructors/coaches may be encouraged” (1987 I, 11), but the recommendations go no further than to suggest positive discrimination, the introduction of quota recruitment and a well-meaning reiteration of the supposedly long-standing commitment to increased female participation on all levels of the organization (1987 II, 167; III, 371, 380, 398).

Historically, public policy has favoured the development of (voluntary) sport in Scandinavia. At times these policies have been aimed specifically at the role of women (in the 19th century these efforts were primarily aimed at physiological aspects and gymnastics in the schools and at the end of the 20th century with the participation of women on equal terms both in actual physical activities and in management and policy-making). But in general it can not be argued that public policy has played an important role as seen from a women's perspective.

So at first sight it seems as if women play only a minor role in sport. The sports movement and its disciplines have been introduced, led and developed by men. But is this the whole truth, and, if it is, how can this be explained?

Power Distribution – Representative Democracy?

During this century there has been a gradual development towards greater female participation. Today women participate in almost all disciplines and constitute between 30 and 40 percent of the memberships of the sports federations in all three Scandinavian countries. There are differences, however, with respect to how much time women and men spend on sports activities (the men are far more active/spend more time than women) and there are pronounced differences about which disciplines they choose (Jespersen & Riiskjær 1982; DIF 1983; Arbejdsgruppen Kvinder og Idræt 1987; Dølvik, Danielsen & Hernes 1988). As indicated in the table below,

Table 1. The Distribution of Active, Organized Men and Women According to Type of Sport in Denmark (in Percent)

	Women/Men in 1985	Women/Men in 1994
Football	10/90	14/86
Handball	56/44	52/48
Gymnastics	84/16	83/17
Badminton	40/60	37/63
Shooting	13/87	11/89
Table tennis	23/77	10/90
Volleyball	46/54	46/54
Tennis	40/60	32/68
Swimming	54/46	54/46
Sailing	18/82	18/82
Horse riding	81/19	85/15

Sources: Breddeidrætsudvalget (1986, 33) and the Danish Sports Federation.

women are less active in some of the individual and competitive sports disciplines such as shooting, table tennis, tennis, sailing and football and more active in, for instance, gymnastics (rhythmical gymnastics – somewhat similar to aerobics), horse-riding and swimming. Furthermore, this pattern has stabilized in as far as there seem to be almost no changes in the relative distribution of men and women in the various disciplines over the past decade (with the exception of table tennis and tennis).

It is only natural that the first battle of women in relation to sport follows the classical liberal idea of seeking equality, i.e. equal access to engage in sports activities and equal representation in the political structures in the world of sports. This is reflected in the earliest writings on women and sport from the latter part of the 19th century (Pfister 1980) and inequality is still seen as the main obstacle to women's participation in sports activities (Lippe 1982; Andersen et al. 1991; Hovden et al. 1993; Dorfinger & Moström 1993).

Today this seems in many ways a paradox because, as the above figures show, there are about as many women as men engaged in sports activities on a regular basis, and because sport is most commonly organized in democratic associations at the local level (and with regional associations, branch associations and national federations as their umbrella organizations), there are equal opportunities for men and women to influence and decide the (critical) contents and developments in the sports sector.

All analyses, nevertheless, show that men are over-represented on the elected posts as leaders (Ibsen 1992, 40) and that, of course, does not constitute a good basis for the introduction of female values in the political decision-making of the sporting world. This is very explicitly formulated by the Swedish Sports Federation when it states that "Women and men have

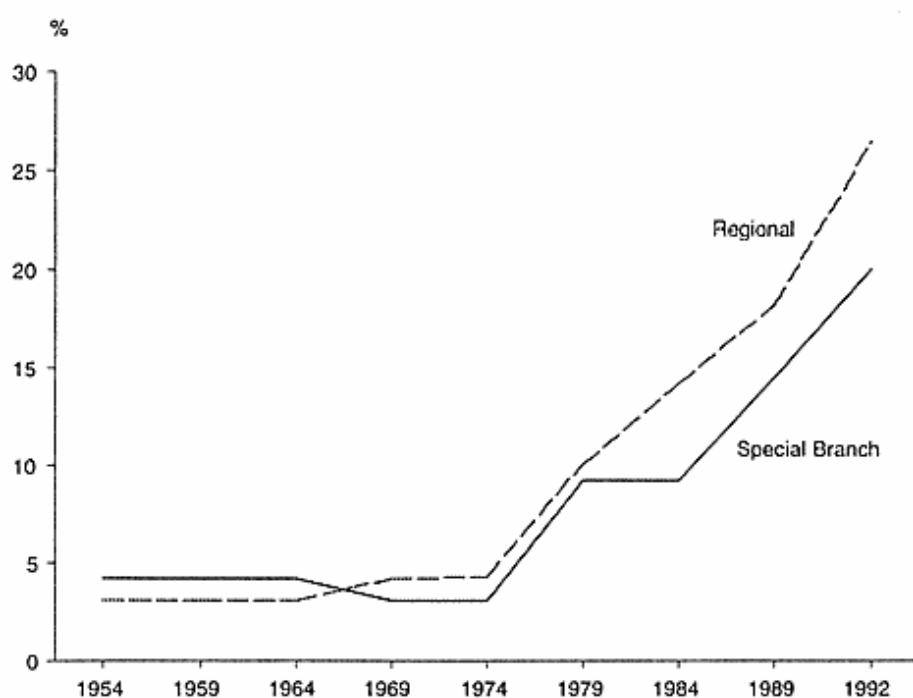


Fig. 1. Share of Female Board Members in Swedish Special Branch Associations and Regional Associations 1954–92 (Percent).

different knowledge and experiences . . . Women and men have different views and different interests. A higher female representation may thus bring new questions and perspectives on to the agenda. Therefore equality is also a question of interests” (Sveriges Riksidrottsförbund 1989, 4).

The following tables represent the available data in the three countries.³ A brief look at the development over the last century is sufficient to convey the message that there have been important changes to the advantage of women in all three countries. Female representation on the decision-making boards has increased over time. It may thus be argued that the gender gap is closing. But the changes have been very gradual, and, to the extent that the gender gap is indeed closing, it is a phenomenon of rather recent vintage (Fig. 1).

How are we to explain this rather dramatic change in female representation within the last decade? First, it should be mentioned that the women of the 1980s were very active in promoting the idea of women being more active in the political decision-making structures of the sporting world. And second, as I will refer to later, there has been more research in this area and as a result thereof there has been a lot of debate and writing on women’s issues in sport. But at the same time, and probably also as a result thereof, the sports associations and federations have become more active. Women’s issues have been on the agenda (with special committees, programmes, selective discrimination, etc.) in the Swedish Sports Federation

Table 2. Representation of Women and Men in the General Assembly of the Norwegian Sports Federation 1947–94 (in Percent)

Year	1953	1963	1973	1978	1982	1987	1994
Women	1.4	6.5	10.4	20.3	24.8	26.7	29.5
Men	98.6	93.5	89.6	29.7	75.2	73.3	70.5

Sources: Skirstad (1983, 54, 1987, 3) and the Norwegian Sports Federation.

since the early 1970s; they have been on the agenda of the Danish Sports Federation since the early 1980s and on that of the Norwegian Sports Federation since the late 1980s.

Though latecomers within the Nordic context, Norwegian women have also become better represented during the past two decades (Table 2).

When asked to account for this phenomenon, Gert von der Lippe and Else Trangbæk, who have followed and examined this process closely (both as researchers and as active participants in the public debate and the organizational life of the sports world), argue that the Norwegian activists have been more aggressive and have used the mass media more deliberately than was the case in Sweden and Denmark.

It is worth noting, however, that the relative (under)representation varies with the level of the representative hierarchy. Statistics from the three countries show that women are relatively better represented at the lower levels of the representative hierarchy than at the higher levels. There are, for instance, relatively more elected female leaders in the associations than in the special branches and central committees (figures from the Norwegian Sports Federation in 1994; Andersen et al. 1991, 26–27; Rapport 1993, 6, 9). Furthermore, the under-representation varies with age in as far as women are

Table 3. The Elected Leaders of Danish Sports Associations 1986; Elected Leaders to the Board and Elected Leaders of the Committees of Special Branch Associations of the Danish Sports Federation in 1994. Distributed on Age, Specified for Men and Women (in Percent)

	Leaders of Sports Associations Men/Women 1986	Leaders of Branch Committees Men/Women 1994	Leaders of Branch Associations Men/Women 1994
Under 20 years	6/4	0/0	0/0
20–39 years	42/19	23/8	16/4
40–59 years	21/7	52/7	67/8
60 years	2/0	8/2	4/1
Total	70/30	83/17	87/13

Sources: Breddeidrætsudvalget (1986, 40) and the Danish Sports Federation 1994 (based on response from 38 branch associations out of 56).

Table 4. The Committee Structure of Sports Associations – Total of All 4 (Out of 19) Norwegian Sports Districts. Percentage of Women

Position/year	1983 (%)	1986 (%)	Modification (%)
Secretary	49.9	54.0	+4.1
Treasurer	34.5	35.8	+1.3
Board Member	28.4	28.7	+0.3
Deputy Chairman/Elected Leader	18.6	18.8	+0.2
Chairman/Elected Leader	12.3	15.0	+2.7
Total	28.6	30.1	+1.5

Source: Thidemann (1987, 74).

Table 5. Distribution of Office on the Boards of Danish Special Branch Associations – Total of 40 out of 56 Special Branch Associations. Percentage of Men and Women

	Chairman	Deputy Chairman	Treasurer	Secretary	Other offices	Total
Men	92	83	67	80	81	81
Women	8	17	33	20	19	19

Source: The Danish Sports Federation 1994.

closer to proportional representation in the younger age cohorts (see Table 3).

If we look at the absolute top of the representative hierarchy, the under-representation becomes even more evident. In the board of the Danish Sports Federation, which is the umbrella organization for some 1.7 million members organized in 10,000 associations, it may be seen that the women increased their representation from 1.2 to 5.1 percent on a board with a total of 79 members during the four-year period from 1984 to 1988 (Arbejdsgruppen 1987).⁴ Only as a result of a very deliberate policy two women were elected in 1988 out of the eleven members of the executive committee (on which women in the last decade had been represented from time to time by only one member). In a similar vein, Hanne Pedersen was elected vice-president of the Danish Sports Federation several times from the late 1980s onwards. This holds true for the other big Danish umbrella organization DGI (De Danske Gymnastik og Idrætsforeninger) as well; there is a massive female under-representation but there is a female vice-president.

In order to be able to say something more about the actual formal influence, it is relevant to examine the different levels in the internal organizational hierarchies (Tables 4 and 5).

Figures from Swedish special branch and districts show the same tendency in the distribution of office (Olofsson 1989). And similarly, figures from the

Table 6. Representation of Women in the Central Administration of the Gymnastics and Turn Association in Norway

	1960	1965	1970	1985	1990	1993
Women in numbers	4	3	5	3	4	3
Women in Percentage of the total	33	25	42	43	57	60

Sources: Lippe (1982b, 58, 1982c, 100) and the Norwegian Sports Federation.

Norwegian Sports Federation show an average of no more than 7.2 percent elected female chairmen/leaders in the Norwegian special branch organizations, districts, commissions and associations in 1994. So in the Norwegian case there may be a female representation of approximately 30 percent in the representative structure at the lowest level but they do not get elected as top leaders.

From these figures it becomes clear that even those women who are formally elected do not hold central power. Indirectly, however, a position as secretary may of course be useful since information, gate-keeping, etc., may provide a strong power base. But in the associations these sources of power are mostly exploited by the chairmen, since they are often charismatic and regarded as the main leaders and the mail to and from the organization tends to go through their hands (Klausen 1990).

Not even in disciplines where we find a distinct over-representation of active women, do they have the political power one might expect (see Table 6) – the men are relatively more active in getting elected than they should be if compared with the number of active male members.

In the Special Branch of Gymnastics in Denmark there are similarly four elected men and two elected women on the central board; and 25 elected men and 27 elected women as leaders of central committees as opposed to 105 male and 207 female leaders of gymnastics associations (figures from the Danish Sports Federation 1994). These figures are quite remarkable and illustrative of the fact that women do not get elected to top positions.

The picture is clear: women have gained access both to the sports disciplines and to the political fora of the sporting world – and this is facilitated by the deliberate policies of the sports federations – but women are still under-represented at all levels and they do not hold central power. The relatively lower representation of the older age groups of women in the electoral bodies of the associations may explain why there are relatively fewer women elected to higher posts in the branch associations and the national sports federations, since it takes time to become known, to get

acquainted with and to gain influence in huge and hierarchical organizations marked by tradition. But it does not explain why women tend to drop out at an earlier stage and it does not explain why those who do stay, do not get elected to the central offices. We might expect to get some answers to these questions in the research on women and sport.

Research and the Quest for Womanhood in Sport

Previously, I have referred to the research and literature on women and sport which have proliferated since the 1980s. In many ways these research initiatives and writings are part of the history and development of women and sport in Scandinavia. Because those engaged in the research and studies on women and sport often are active politically in the sports movement, and in the public debate they have to a large extent not only:

- analysed, specified and made visible various roles and inequalities with regard to women and sport; but at the same time;
- encouraged and taken action to change the situation;
- provided explanations and possible reasons for this; and
- tried to set a new agenda.

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s research seminars have taken place under the auspices of the national sports federations, but the driving force has been influential women and groups of women, some of whom have been active in, for instance, the yearly seminars at the K ng Folk High School.

Most of the research and studies on women and sport in a social science perspective are conducted by women.⁵ At times it seems as though men have been excluded from these endeavours. This is true in so far as there are no contributions by men in a number of the anthologies on women and sport (all the K ng reports; Dahlstr m 1992; Lippe 1982; Olofsson & Wester-Wedman 1990; Pfister 1980; Peyton & Pfister 1989; Schenk 1986).

It may be difficult for political scientists to appreciate some of the research and writings on women and sport. The reports from the K ng seminars are cases in point. The first reports from these sessions were of a high (scientific) quality – such as Trangb k et al. (1982) – and helped clarify the roles, power distribution and gender cleavages, but the latter (such as Klastrup et al. 1985 and J rgensen et al. 1989) have been less empirically founded and more essay-like and normative.

Nevertheless, in order to grasp the entire scene of women and sport it is necessary to try to answer more questions than those that have to do with public policy and power distribution. To a certain extent this kind of research may be seen as research in a women's perspective,⁶ and as part of the *quest for womanhood in sport* and the setting of a new agenda. This is done by

exploring themes such as women's liberation (Fasting 1982a; 1982b), women's conscience and body conscience (Jensen ed. 1984), women's energies (Klastrup et al. 1985), women's visions (Klastrup et al. 1986; Jørgensen et al. 1989); women, body and imagination (Sanders 1984); motivation (Hansen et al. 1987); the androgynous ideal (Møller et al. 1988). Even though the (scientific) quality of these studies (from an anthropological and a sociological point of view) may be disputed, and the writings are embryonic and should be more solidly founded, they are important.⁷ It is important and necessary to explore these themes because they question central myths about women and sport and the ideals of sport which have to a large extent been formulated by men. It is also necessary because this may help explain why women do not engage in sports activities and in the political activities of the sports sector to the same extent as men.

Simply saying that sport is a reflection of society at large (as in the classical sports critique) and that the role women play, and have played in sport, is nothing more than a match thereof, does have some truth in it but it certainly does not explain why this is so.

The reasons why women have gained access to the disciplines and the political fora of the sporting world only very gradually should be seen not only in the light of the development of society in general and the role that various groups of women have played in the liberation of women (women's lib-movements, etc.) but (of course) also in the light of specific developments within the sports sector. The policy of public authorities has concentrated on the sporting activities which in the first place (in the 19th century) made men good soldiers and did not violate the physical conditions which public authorities well into the 20th century thought characterized women. The leaders of the sports associations and federations, and the public at large, only very gradually accepted the engagement of women in sporting activities, which were thought of as unwomanly. And the policies of the associations and federations to encourage female representation in the hierarchical structures of the voluntary sports sector have met with only moderate success, although the gender gap has narrowed substantially during the last decade.

From Discrimination to Choice

Some women have succeeded in gaining political power and a lot of women are engaged in sporting activities in exactly the same way as men are. Still, women in general seem more inclined to choose other disciplines than men do, and it is very difficult to find female candidates for leading posts in the voluntary organization of sport. So in the sporting world we have witnessed a historical development from a situation where women were clearly

discriminated against to a situation where they choose not to comply with kind offers of positive discrimination. In contrast to the weak and complex patterns we find in the recruitment of women to political parties (Lovenduski & Norris 1993) the world of sports shows clear evidence that the “supply-side” (i.e. those who are willing and eligible) does not feed the “demand-side” (i.e. the demand by the organizations for female leaders and representatives – evidenced by positive discrimination).

If this is not exclusively the result of public policies, the suppression by men, and the participatory structures of the sporting world, the explanation at first hand would be to say that women are not interested in sport and in acquiring positions of power. The argument would be that competitive sport appeals more to men than to women, that the managerial and political decisions are becoming increasingly competitive and market-oriented,⁸ and that women prefer the more aesthetic activities to the more competitive sporting activities, and think of power games as ridiculous and time-consuming, causing stress in daily life and ruining family life.

So the relative dropout of women may be explained by their inclination to serve the family – that is what most literature on women and leadership indicates – and, furthermore, it may be difficult to engage in and gain influence at a later stage in their lives. A Norwegian survey in the volleyball league suggests there are so few female leaders and trainers because women have different priorities and values from men (Hovden m.fl. 1993). This is also the result of a Swedish investigation, “The most important explanation why there are so few women in the various layers of the representative hierarchy must be that women are not interested in the work which is being done there . . . women are more interested in their families and in other activities” (Dorfinger & Moström 1993, 38). “Women don’t bother, it’s not worth taking the trouble of being a leader in this men’s world”, as the influential researcher and “agenda-setting political activist” Else Trangbæk emphasized when I asked her about this. There is probably some truth in this emphasis upon the fundamental differences in value orientation between men and women.⁹ In many ways this men’s world *par excellence* is incompatible with the lifestyle and the ideals of women (Fasting 1982b, 1987; Ottesen 1989).

We have witnessed a remarkable closing of the gender gap during this century with regard to access to sporting activities and within the last decades of the 20th century with regard to women’s representation in the management and decision-making bodies of sport in the three Scandinavian countries. Compared with, for instance, the representation of women in Scandinavian parties and parliaments (Lovenduski & Norris 1993; Karvonen & Selle 1995) the world of sport is not leading the way in the quest for democracy and equality – i.e. for modernity. The problem of participation has almost been solved but not the problem of representation. The women

are closing in but the men are still in charge and over-represented as power-holders.

It is tempting to conclude that there is no gender problem since women have the opportunities and choose not to make use of them. It is however, not going to be my (defeatist) recommendation that there should be no further efforts by public policy-makers, by the voluntary associations and federations and by individual women and researchers.

The closing of the gap can largely be explained through the policies of the voluntary associations and federations which encourage female representation, by the role played by central female figures of the sports movement, and by the agenda-setting by female researchers – public policy has played only a minor role. Central myths about women and sport have been challenged by recent research on women's issues and this research has provided some explanations of the relative under-representation and dropout of women mainly linking this to female values.

Most of the studies on women and sport in Scandinavia, however, are normative and unsubstantiated, but some of the projects referred to above look promising. What is needed is more thorough investigation into the patterns and processes of recruitment and derecruitment and on the processes which produce barriers for women's participation in the managerial and political decision-making in sport. One line of research which will have to be pursued further is to examine the mechanisms that are framing the value orientation in sport and the processes that are socializing men and women into different positions, because it seems evident that if the guiding values in sport had been different, more women might have found it attractive to engage in managerial and political work.

NOTES

1. The French baron Pierre de Coubertin, who advocated the renaissance of the Olympic Games in 1896, boldly testified to the closed character of the IOC (1931, 22, 25, 67). Women succeeded in gaining access to the Olympic Games and were admitted to various disciplines, but only in a very gradual and piecemeal fashion. Coubertin was in fact one of the most outspoken opponents against opening up the Olympic Games to women throughout the modern history of the games. In 1935 he declared that the primary role of women "[A]t the Olympic Games . . . should be like in the ancient tournaments – the crowning of the (male) victor with laurels" (Simri 1983, 32). But it is also worth noting that Coubertin strongly emphasized that the Olympic Games should include literature and art (1931, 86). In 1900 women participated for the first time in tennis and golf, in 1920 they participated in tennis, archery, swimming and figure skating and in 1988 they participated in 17 out of 23 disciplines (Trangbæk 1988, 97). Women are under-represented in both the summer and the winter games. In 1948 they constituted 9.4 percent, in 1964 13.1 percent, in 1984 23 percent and in 1992 29 percent of the participants (Betænkning 1987–88, 40; and IOC, Bern).
2. The way in which the ancient Nordic concept of "idræt" is used today comprises all physical leisure-time activities and is therefore a broader concept than sport. In the Nordic countries the notion of "sport" is usually associated with the (English)

competitive disciplines – that is why Scandinavians often distinguish between sport and gymnastics. In Scandinavia the English sport first gained influence in the towns and within the upper classes, whereas the traditional and popular games, gymnastics, tourney and rifle-shooting activities had their stronghold in the countryside. Even though the traditional activities still have their strongholds throughout the Scandinavian countries, sport has become dominant. This is true even if sport had many enemies, in Norway for instance it was fought against by the church, the intellectuals, the government, and the labour movement (Olstad 1987; Tønneson 1986). The way in which I use the word sport in this context, however, connotes with *idræt*.

3. I express my thanks to Gun Ahl, Conni Haugbølle and Beathe Kristensen from the Swedish, the Danish and the Norwegian National Sports Federations for providing me with the latest statistical data on women and sport in Scandinavia.
4. The under-representation in the executive committee has characterized the Danish Sports Federation throughout this century. In 1920 it was decided “that there should be female representatives on the board” (Sander 1946, 155) and during the 1920s and the early 1930s there were several women on the board (*ibid*, 297, 298). This changed, however, due to a restructuring of the federation in the late 1920s. Because of this, the branch associations came to power. The top hierarchy of these pillars of the organization had no female representation and hence it became more difficult for women to gain influence. They had to be elected (more indirectly) by the council. One of the important female characters, Else Thomsen, motivated her resignation from the board in 1932 by saying that there was nothing for her to do since the branch associations had taken over all the influence (*ibid*, 208). The uneven composition of the board can be seen from all the early reports – as an example there were 3 council-elected women out of 41 board members in 1943, and in 1961 the figures were 4 out of 49 (Dansk Idræts-Forbund 1943, 8; 1961, 5–6). As it becomes obvious from these and the above-mentioned figures, there has been no progression during the century in the absolute top of the hierarchy.
5. If we look at research on women and sport in general the picture is somewhat different. In a search on a CD-ROM Sports Disc I noted two striking tendencies; first, that many of the authors were men, and second, that the bulk of studies dealt with performance issues, notably physiology, training, motivation, choice, and selection issues. These two features are confirmed when looking at a bibliography on Nordic research, books, articles, and master theses on women and sport in one of the reports from Danish conferences on women and sport (Arbejdsgruppen Kvinder og Idræt 1987, 100–115). The male writers, however, were almost all engaged in the physiological research endeavours.
6. The Norwegian researcher Kari Fasting identifies four characteristics of a female research perspective: (1) It should focus on differences, suppression and power relations; (2) the starting-point should be the practices, experiences and consciousness of women; (3) it should be aimed at women and not just about women; (4) it should be holistic, i.e. try to capture the complexity of women’s lives (Fasting 1987, 53).
7. In this sense it is still necessary to question the myths of the sexes and to search for what may be behind the masculine and the feminine mystique (Friedan 1963; Holm 1979).
8. This market orientation in the sports world changes the power-plays, the motivation and skills needed to engage in decision-making processes (Klausen 1992, 1995). These features may be more in accordance with the lifestyle and ideal self-image of men than of women.
9. A good historical example of the very deliberate nourishing of differences between men and women is the ideals of gymnastics at the two Danish sports high schools Ollerup and Snoghøj. Here, the Swedish gymnastics of P. H. Ling was developed in a special Danish and Nordic way by the Dane Niels Bukh and the Finn Eli Björkstén. As expressed in their ideology, and as shown in pictures from the two schools in the 1930s, the one emphasizes beauty, grace, nature, and circularity, whereas the other emphasizes masculinity, power, indoor activity and square angles. Both are harmonious ideal types in accordance with what was thought of as typical for men and women at that time. At

the same time both praise what was thought of as the Nordic ideals at that time. The Nordic heritage is symbolized by the Snoghøj girls carrying beech branches.

REFERENCES

- Andersen, V. Z. et al. 1991. *På vej*. Frederiksberg: DIF.
- Annerstedt, C. 1983. *Kvinnoidrottens utveckling i Sverige*. Malmö: Liber.
- Arbejdsgruppen Kvinder og Idræt 1987. *Rapport fra kvindeidrætskonference, 2-4 oktober 1987 i Idrættens Hus*, København: Dansk Idrætsforbund.
- Asmussen, E. & Hohwü-Christensen, E. 1977. *Idrætsteori, Fysiologi, Kinesiologi*. København: Akademisk Forlag.
- Asp, I. 1991. *Att vara kvinna & idrottsman*. Växjö: Sveriges Riksidrottsförbund.
- Barbro, C. 1991. *Flickor, flickor, hållningen, flickor: De Svenska gymnastiklärarinnorna "i första kurvan"*. Högskolan i Örebro.
- Betænkning 1987-88. *Betænkning udarbejdet for udvalget om kvinders rettigheder om kvinder og sport*. Europa-Parlamentet, Mødedokumenter, serie A dok A2-32/87.
- Borgen, J. S. 1990. *Bruk af "sykelige" vektrollteknikker, forekomst av spiseforstyrrelser og menstruasjonsforstyrrelser blant kvinnelige eliteidrettsutøvere*. Norges Idrettshøgskole.
- Coubertin, P. de 1931. *Olympische Erinnerungen*. Berlin: Sportverlag 1987.
- Council of Europe 1992. *Sports Structures in Europe: Situation in the Countries of the Committee for the Development of Sport of the Council of Europe*. Unisport: Junta de Andalucía.
- Dahlström, B., ed., 1992. *Kvinnor om motion och idrott*. Arena: Värnamo.
- Danneskiold-Samsøe, B. et al. 1983. "Myter og fysiolog", pp. 85-96, in Ekner, D. et al., eds., *Rapport fra Dansk Idræts-Forbunds seminar om Kvinder og idræt*. København: Dansk Idræts-Forbund.
- Dansk Idræts-Forbund 1943. *Aarsberetning*. København: Chr. Christensens Bogtrykkeri.
- Dansk Idræts-Forbund 1961. *Aarboeg*. København: NC-Trykkeriet.
- DIF 1983. *Hvem, hvad, hvornår*. Dansk Idræts-Forbunds Idræt 80s udvalgs rapport: København.
- Dorfinger, K. & Moström, K. 1993. *Jämställd idrott? Kartläggning av attityder til jämställdhet bland ledande personer: Jämställdhetsåtgärder inom förbunden. Slutrapport*. Solluntuna: JUAB Jämställdhetutveckling AB.
- Dølvik, J. E., Danielsen, Ø. & Hernes, G. 1988. *Kluss i vekslinga: Fritid, idrett og organisering*. Nikolai Olsens trykkeri: FAFO.
- Eberspächer, H. 1986. *Idrætspsykologi - en introduktion*. Auning: DUO.
- Eichberg, H. 1988. *Det løbende samfund: Idrætssociologi ud fra kroppen*. Slagelse: Bavnbanke.
- Elias, N. 1939, 1978. *Über den Prozess der Zivilisation*. Vol. 2. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Taschenbuch Verlag.
- Elias, N. & Dunning, E. 1986. *Quest for Excitement: Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Engquist, P. O. 1973. *Katedralen i München*. København: Samleren.
- Ekner, D. et al., eds., 1983. *Rapport fra Dansk Idræts-Forbunds seminar om Kvinder og idræt*. København: Dansk Idræts-Forbund.
- Elsig, A. 1987. *Kvinder & idræt*. Skærum: Dansk Idræts-Forbund.
- Fasting, K. 1982a. "Kønsroller, feminisme og idræt - hvad er sammenhængen?", pp. 80-91, in *Centring krop & sport* 3. årg. 1982/2.
- Fasting, K. 1982b. "Kvinnens engasjement i idrett", pp. 131-157, in Lippe, G., ed., *Kvinner og idrett. Fra myte til realitet*. Oslo: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag.
- Fasting, K. 1987. "Kvindeperspektiv i idrætsforskningen - findes det?", pp. 51-61, in *Arbejdsgruppen Kvinder og Idræt 1987*.
- Forsberg, A. & Nilsson P., eds., 1988. *Kvinnor och Idrott*. Sundbyberg: Swedish Sports Confederation.
- Friedan, B. 1963. *The Feminine Mystique*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc.
- Gammelsgård 1984.

- Hansen, L. et al. 1987. Kvinders motiver til at dyrke idræt. Køng seminar 1987, Glamsbjerg: Kvinder & Idræt.
- Hansen, L., Nielsen, M. & Larsen, S. 1991. *Maskuline og feminine kvaliteter i undervisningen på DHL*. København: DHL.
- Hansen, J. 1988. "Fra Crystal Palace til Athen: OL og verdensudstillingerne", pp. 14–24, in Hansen, J. et al., eds., [Hansen et al. 1990?]
- Hansen, J., Kayser Nielsen, N. & Ottesen, L., eds., 1990. *Kropskultur og idræt – regionalt, nationalt og internationalt*. Idrætshistorisk Årbog 1990, Viborg: Odense Universitetsforlag.
- Hansen, N. L. et al. 1984. *Kvinder & idræt. Rapport fra seminaret "Idrætslige modbilleder – idræt på kvinders betingelser"*, Køng seminar 1984 København: Kvinder & Idræt.
- Heinemann, K. 1983. *Grundbog i idrætssociologi*. Auning: Duo.
- Holm, E. 1979. *Den maskuline mystik*. København: Rhodos.
- Hovden, J., Solheim, L. J. & Andreassen, A. 1993. *Er det prisen verdt? Ein studie av kvinnelege trenarar og tillitsvalde sine erfaringar med arbeid i Norges Volleyballforbund*. Norges Idrettsforbund.
- Ibsen, B. 1992. *Frivilligt arbejde i idrætsforeninger*. København: DHL/systeme.
- IOC 1931.
- Jensen, L., ed., 1984. *Kvindebevidsthed – Kropsbevidsthed – en antologi*. Sorø: Forlaget Bavnbanke.
- Jensen, L. 1984. "Køn, krop og kultur – mod en ny kvindeidrætskultur", pp. 39–60, in Jensen, L., ed., *Kvindebevidsthed – Kropsbevidsthed – en antologi*. Sorø: Forlaget Bavnbanke.
- Jespersen, E. & Riiskjær, S. 1982. *80'ernes idræt – mod en ny breddeidræt?* Fuglebjerg: Bavnbanke.
- Jørgensen, B. et al. 1989. *Krop, Rum & Kultur – kvinders visioner i idrætten*. Køng seminar 1989. Glamsbjerg: Kvinder & Idræt.
- Karvonen, L. & Selle, P., eds., 1995. *Women in Nordic Politics: Closing the Gap*. Aldershot: Dartmouth.
- Kirkebøen, S. E., ed., 1986. *Idrettsjenter: Veien til topps*. Universitetsforlaget: Norges Idrettsforbund.
- Klausen, K. K. 1988. *Per Ardua ad Astra: En konflikt- og organisations sociologisk analyse af idrætslige interesseorganisationers interaktion og mulighed for politisk opinionsdannelse*. Viborg: Odense Universitetsforlag.
- Klausen, K. K. 1989. "Den tredje sektor: Frivillige organisationer mellem stat og marked", pp. 227–282, in Klausen, K. K. & Nielsen, T. H., eds., *Stat og marked: Fra Leviathan og usynlig hånd til forhandlingsøkonomi*. Charlottenlund: Jurist og Økonomforbundets Forlag.
- Klausen, K. K. 1990. *Organisatorisk inertie og mikrodynamiske processer: Ledelsesmæssig og organisatoriske processer i frivillige organisationer*. København: Samfundslitteratur.
- Klausen, K. K. 1992. "Management und Marketing im Sportverein", pp. 95–134, in Zimmer, A., Hrsg., *Vereine heute – zwischen Tradition und Innovation: Ein Beitrag zur Dritten-Sektor-Forschung*. Basel: Birkhäuser Verlag.
- Klausen, K. K. 1995. "On the Malfunction of the Generic Approach in Small Voluntary Associations", pp. 275–290, in *Nonprofit Management & Leadership* 5(3).
- Klausen, K. K. & Selle, P., eds., 1995. *Frivillig organisering i Norden*. Oslo: TANO og Danmarks Jurist- og Økonomforbunds Forlag.
- Klastrup, I. et al., eds., 1985. *Kvindevisioner i idrætten*. Køng seminar 1985. København: Kvinder & Idræt.
- Klastrup, I. et al., eds., 1986. *Kvindeenergier i idrætten*. Køng seminar 1986. Århus: Kvinder & Idræt.
- Korsgaard, O. 1982. *Kampen om kroppen. Dansk idræts historie gennem 200 år*. København: Gyldendal.
- Kuhnle, S. & Selle P. 1990. "Autonomi eller underordning: Frivillige organisasjoner og det offentlige", pp. 162–185, in Kuhnle, S. & Selle, P., eds., *Frivillig organisert velfærd – alternativ til offentlig*. Bergen: Alma Mater.
- Leine, L. 1989. "Historische Entwicklung des Frauensports in Finnland", pp. 113–131, in Peyton, C. & Pfister, G., eds., *Frauensport in Europa: Informationen – Materialien*, Arensburg: Verlag Ingrid Czwilina.
- Lindroth, J. 1975. *Nær idrotten blev folkrörelse*. Stockholm:

- Lindroth, J. 1988. *Från "sportfåneri" til massidrott: Den svenska idrottsrörelsens utveckling 1869–1939*. Stockholm: [Publisher?]
- Lippe, G. v. d., ed., 1982. *Kvinner og idrett: Fra myte til realitet*. Oslo: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag.
- Lippe, G. v. d. 1982b. "Kvinneidrettens historie i et kjønsperspektiv", pp. 39–60, in Trangbæk, E. et al., *Kvinder og idræt – rapport fra et seminar*. Køng seminar 1982. Glamsbjerg: Kvinder & Idræt.
- Lippe, G. v. d. 1982c. "Glimt fra kvinneidrettens historie", pp. 70–102, in Lippe, G., ed., *Kvinner og idrett: Fra myte til realitet*.
- Lippe, G. v. d. 1986.
- Lippe, G. v. d. 1988. *Gla'håndbold. Håndballkvinnene – fra idrettsleik til medieidrett*. Oslo: Pax Forlag.
- Lovenduski & Norris, eds., 1993.
- Madsen, W. B. et al., ed. 1985. *At træne piger/kvinder*. København, Dansk idræts-Forbund.
- Madsen, A. B. 1986. "Kvindekamp og kollektive aktioner omkring århundredeskiftet", pp. 169–192, in Mikkelsen, F., ed., 1986. *Protest og oprør: Kollektive aktioner i Danmark 1700–1985*. Viborg: Modtryk.
- Møller, J. et al., ed., 1988. *Kvindelighed og mandlighed i idrætten*, Køng seminar 1988 Glamsbjerg: Kvinder & Idræt.
- Olofsson, E. 1989. *Kvinnlig idrott eller jämställd idrott? Utvärdering af Sveriges Riksidrottsförbunds jämställdhetsarbete under 1980-talet*, Pedagogiska institutionen: Umeå Universitet.
- Olofsson, E. & Wester-Wedman, A. 1990. *Kvinnorna och idrotten: Rapport från Nordisk seminarium om kvinnor och idrott, JÄMFO*. Delegationen för jämställdhetsforskning and Pedagogiska institutionen: Umeå Universitet.
- Olstad, F. 1987. *Norsk Idrettshistorie. Bd. 1 Forsvar, sport, klassekamp 1861–1939*. Oslo: Aschehoug.
- Ottesen, L. 1989. "Fodboldklub, familieliv og bytteøkonomi", pp. 132–141, in Christensen, L. R., *Livstykker: 12 studier af livsformer og vilkår*. Ringø: Kulturbøger.
- Peyton, C. & Pfister, G., eds., 1989. *Frauensport in Europa: Informationen – Materialien*. Arensburg: Verlag Ingrid Czwalina.
- Pfister, G., ed., 1980. *Frau und Sport*. Frankfurt an Main: Fischer Taschenbuch.
- Pilz, G. A. 1982. "De kraftens kvinder: Udviklingen af kraftaspekter i kvindesport", pp. 92–99, in *Centring, krop & sport 1982/2*.
- Rapport 1993. *Rapport – idrottens jämställdhetsarbete 1989–93*. Swedish Sports Federation.
- Sander, H. 1946. *Dansk Idræt Gennem 50 Aar*. bd. 1. København: Standard Forlaget.
- Sanders, K. 1984. "Kvinder, krop og imagination: Kvindelige udtryksformer og kvindelige (kropslige) selvbilleder", pp. 7–21, in Jensen, L. ed., *Kvindebevidsthed – Kropsbevidsthed – en antologi*. Sorø: Forlaget Bavnbanke.
- Schenk, S., ed., 1986. *Frauen – Bewegung – Sport*. Hamburg: VSA-Verlag.
- Simri, U. 1983. *A Concise World History of Women's Sports*. Wingate Institute for Physical Education & Sport: Netanya.
- Skirstadt, B. 1983. "Er kvinnene underrepresentert i norsk idrettsledelse?", pp. 48–68, in Tangen, J. O. et al., eds., *Rapport fra Norges første forskningsseminar om kvinner og idrett ved Telemark Distriktshøgskole*. Telemark: Telemark Distriktshøgskole.
- Skirstadt, B. 1987. *Med lupe og stoppeklokke på Idrettstinget*. Foredrag, Oslo: Norges Idrettshøgskole.
- Smith-Rosenberg, C. & Rosenberg, C. 1987. "The Female Animal: Medical and Biological Views of Women and Their Role in Nineteenth-century America", pp. 13–37, in Mangan, J. A. & Park, R. J., eds., *From "Fair Sex" to Feminism: Sport and the Socialization of Women in the Industrial and Post-industrial Eras*. Exeter: Frank Cass.
- SOU 1990.
- Storhaug, H. 1990. *Kvinner, idrett og spiseforstyrrelser*. Oslo: Norges Idrettsforbund Kvinneutvalget.
- Sveriges Riksidrottsförbund 1989. *Idrottens jämställdhetsplan inför 90-talet*. Stockholm: Ale Tryckteam.
- Tangen, J. O.; Fasting, K. & Lippe, G. v. d., eds., 1983. *Rapport fra Norges første*

- forskningsseminar om kvinner og idrett ved Telemark Distriktshøgskole. Telemark: Telemark Distriktshøgskole.*
- Tebelius, U. & Miletoft, I. 1989. *Kvinnor tar ledningen*. Malmö: SISU.
- Thidemann, A. 1987. "Kvinder kan - vil - tør", pp. 69-75, in *Arbejdsgruppen Kvinder og Idræt* 1987.
- Trangbæk, E. 1987. *Mellem leg og disciplin. Gymnastikken i Danmark i 1800-tallet*. Auning: Duo.
- Trangbæk, E. 1988. "Olympiske Lege - et forhindringsløb for kvinder", pp. 91-100, in Hansen et al., eds. [Hansen 1990?]
- Trangbæk, E. et al. 1982. *Kvinder og idræt - rapport fra et seminar*. Køng seminar 1982. Glamsbjerg: Kvinder & Idræt.
- Tranbæk, E. & Ørnstrup, (?) 1986.
- Tønnesson, S. 1986. *Norsk Idrettshistorie. Bd. 2. Folkehelse, trim, stjerner 1939-1886*. Oslo: Aschehoug.
- Ueberhorst, H. 1976. *Geschichte der Leibesübungen. Band 5. Leibesübungen und Sport in Europa*. Berlin: Verlag Bartels & Wernitz KG.
- Wester-Wedman, A. 1988. *Den svårfångade motionären*. Umeå: Pedagogiska institutionen, Umeå Universitet.
- Åstrand, P.-O. & Rodahl, K. 1977. *Textbook of Work Physiology: Physiological Bases of Exercise*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company.