

Steen-Johnsen, K., Kirkegaard, K. L. (2010). The history and organization of fitness exercise in Norway and Denmark. *Sport in Society*, 13, 609-624.

Dette er siste tekst-versjon av artikkelen, og den kan inneholde ubetydelige forskjeller fra forlagets pdf-versjon. Forlagets pdf-versjon finner du på www.informaworld.com: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17430431003616308>

This is the final text version of the article, and it may contain insignificant differences from the journal's pdf version. The original publication is available at www.informaworld.com: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17430431003616308>

The history and organisation of fitness exercise in Norway and Denmark

Kari Steen-Johnsen^a and Kasper Lund Kirkegaard^b

^a*Norwegian School of Sport Sciences, Norway;* ^b*Idrættens Analyseinstitut, Denmark*

This article examines the development and organization of fitness exercise within Scandinavia in the latter half of the twentieth century. Based on a combination of qualitative and quantitative data from Denmark and Norway, contemporary differences in the distribution and organization of fitness exercise in these two countries are identified. Compared to Norway, Denmark has a relatively weakly developed for-profit fitness sector, combined with a strong tradition for fitness exercise within the non-profit sector. The relative conceptual and organizational openness of the non-profit Danish gymnastics tradition and the adaptive work conducted by for-profit fitness entrepreneurs in Norway in the 1990s are presented as conditions that have led to this situation. The article thus concludes that even though the Scandinavian welfare states share many overall national characteristics and values, the conditions for the introduction and development of new exercise forms differ, and must be studied specifically in relation to its national context.

Since their beginning, Scandinavian sports have been influenced by foreign trends.¹ English sports and German gymnastics represent two pertinent examples of such trends.² With time, foreign training forms have found different expressions and followed varied developments within the three countries, depending on pre-existing activity forms and on national sport traditions. Hence, a training form like gymnastics displays important variety within contemporary Scandinavia.

This article focuses on the development and organisation of fitness exercise in the Scandinavian countries, with a particular emphasis on Denmark and Norway. Fitness, described as a set of ideal physical characteristics and a set of exercise techniques aimed at obtaining these characteristics, has long historical roots, and has been linked to gymnastics among other things.³ In the latter half of the twentieth century a more individualized and commercialized type of fitness emerged, which also impacted on the Scandinavian countries.⁴ The processes of introduction and expansion of this fitness exercise culture are the topic of this article.⁵

When an international trend is incorporated in national contexts one must assume that a local adaptation occurs. Much research treats the Scandinavian countries as a unified group distinguished from other European countries because of its strong universalistic welfare states.⁶ As part of this picture, the Scandinavian countries also have strong voluntary sports

sectors and strong links between sports, non-profit idealism and volunteerism. The ideas of social commitment and membership are central to this volunteer-based organization of sport.⁷

The question is asked in this paper whether this similarity in the organization of sports has prepared the ground for a similarity in how the new, more individually-focused fitness training has been received. In order to shed light on this question, an identification of contemporary differences in the scope and organization of fitness in the Scandinavian countries is necessary. Emphasis has been put on this aspect of the article since no prior publications present this type of comparative data. The second part of the paper sets out to explain a significant difference between Denmark and the two other Scandinavian countries, using Norway as a case of the latter: the relatively weak development of the Danish for-profit fitness sector combined with a strong integration of fitness exercise in the non-profit sector. Using the theoretical concept of translation, two explanations are offered: i) the relative openness, both conceptually and organizationally, of the non-profit Danish gymnastics tradition compared to the Norwegian tradition, and ii) the active process of translation and adaptation of the new fitness concepts by for-profit entrepreneurs in Norway commencing in the 1990s.⁸

'Translation' is a theoretical expression that describes processes where new, foreign practices are combined with already existing national or local practices.⁹ Within this perspective, the inherited repertoire of practices and principles within a given society is important in understanding its tendency to adapt to influences from the outside.¹⁰ Eventual changes are also highly dependent on the ideational roles and capacities of certain actors, such as the for-profit fitness entrepreneurs mentioned above.

The material that forms the basis for this article emerges from two different projects: A Norwegian Ph.D.-project which focused on the local-level organization of keep-fit exercise, including the national organization and strategies of the leading fitness chains, and a Danish project about both the historical development of the commercial fitness sector and the first attempt to map and collect the empirical figures of the contemporary Danish fitness sector.¹¹

The meaning of fitness – between fun, sport, health and well-being

As argued by Sassatelli the history of fitness may be linked back to ancient Greece.¹² But it is first and foremost linked to the progress of Modernity and the development of the Nation State.¹³ Within the politics of the state, fitness exercise was used as a disciplinary tool in the army, in the schools and through gymnastic exercise.¹⁴ In this perspective, the emergent commercial forms of fitness that were introduced in the latter part of the twentieth century

express a de-politicization of fitness exercise, and mark a shift in emphasis from collective rules to individual desires.¹⁵ We will now describe the main forms of this contemporary type of fitness, which will hereafter be termed “individualised fitness”, and provide a time line for their introduction to Scandinavia.

In contemporary Scandinavia, the term “fitness exercise” covers a broad range of different physical activities that are often motivated by specific bodily ideals, health ideals or a combination of both.¹⁶ The activity forms included in for-profit fitness clubs may roughly be divided into three main types: Individual training with various equipment focused on the strengthening of specific parts of the body, group-based training (including aerobics, cardio-work, spinning) focusing mainly on endurance, slimming and toning the body, and finally relaxation exercises including different wellness concepts.¹⁷

The first activity type – strength training – emerges from the centuries-old tradition of body building. Bodybuilding has traditionally involved two distinct logics, one puritan and one aesthetic.¹⁸ The first logic focused on discipline and hard bodywork. This tradition has lent itself to various ideologies, from Christianity to fascism.¹⁹ The second has resided in the for-profit sector and is normally linked to the film industry and the American dream of success. The training form did not reach a broad public outside the United States until the late 1970s when Arnold Schwarzenegger became the main icon and vehicle for spreading the practice of strength training.²⁰ In Denmark, a close friendship between Arnold Schwarzenegger and the local well-known Danish bodybuilder, Sven-Ole Thorsen, brought the bodybuilder icon to Denmark several times in the beginning of the 1980s. This had a major impact on the Danish tradition of bodybuilding.²¹ Compared to the many later different fitness activities, the early years of bodybuilding had a strong element of competition and an implicit sporting attitude.

In the mid-1980s and early 1990s, the masculine strength-trend was supplemented and partly replaced by new exercise concepts that focused on endurance. This wave was primarily related to women who sought a slimmer body. Kenneth H. Cooper’s²² work on developing different types of physical aerobic²³ activities that could improve astronauts and pilots’ level of fitness established the basis for this specific kind of aerobic training.²⁴ From the beginning, commercial aerobics was centred on the exercise output where shaping an attractive and healthy body were central motives. In the early 1980s, a slightly more aggressive concept of aerobics reached a mass audience and a consumer’s market through Jane Fonda’s training concept called ‘Workout’, which was a specific model of aerobic with high intensity. The

concept became a massive commercial success in the number of VHS-videos and books sold.²⁵

The latest trend in the for-profit fitness industry is the introduction of a third type of activity, the so-called wellness-wave where the activities offered in principal are not only about physical training and shaping the body, but mainly about well-being and relaxation. This third group of activities was introduced at the beginning of the new century; mainly in the biggest for-profit training chains in the urban areas.²⁶

Each of the three activity types has a different historical international background and was introduced into Scandinavia in different periods.²⁷ They share, however, a focus on the individual as the goal and instrument of the activity. Later, we will examine how they intertwined with existing keep-fit exercise forms in Norway and Denmark, and also how they were integrated into both the for-profit and the non-profit sectors.²⁸ First, the current impact of for-profit and non-profit fitness in Scandinavia will be presented.

The scope of for-profit fitness in Scandinavia

Fitness is a training form which may be exercised alone in front of the television set, at the workplace or, as in Denmark, within the adult evening school system. Consequently, precise figures of the numbers of persons involved in fitness training are not readily available. Recent surveys of the Norwegian population state that 17 per cent of the adult population claim to be involved in aerobic activities, and 22 per cent report participation in strength training.²⁹ The corresponding numbers for Denmark are 12 per cent (gymnastics, aerobic and workout) and 11 per cent (strength training).³⁰ This article limits itself to organized fitness in for-profit fitness clubs or the non-profit sport associations and will therefore not capture the total impact of fitness in depth.

The impact of for-profit fitness in a given country may be measured by the number of fitness clubs, by the annual turnover of these clubs, or by the penetration rate.³¹ Based on data collected by IHRSA³² and Idan,³³ it is possible to compare national figures to mean data for different parts of the world. On a global level, the USA stands out as having a significantly stronger for-profit fitness sector than any other country. In 2006, the 29,357 health clubs in the USA had an annual turnover of approximately €13 billion. By comparison, taken together the EU states³⁴ had approximately 38,191 fitness clubs with an annual turnover of about 19,85 billion €³⁵ In the Scandinavian region, Sweden has the largest for-profit fitness economy with an annual turnover of 592.80 million €³⁶ Norway is second with 300.92 million €³⁷ with Denmark in third place with an annual turnover of 208.85 million €³⁸ This

indicates that large variations exist in the size of the fitness industry within countries with developed economies. This variation is even more clearly expressed through penetration rate.

While USA has a penetration rate of 14.3 per cent of the population, the European mean is 8.5 per cent. Norway and Sweden are well above the European mean, at 11.85 per cent and 14.29 per cent respectively³⁹, while for-profit fitness in Denmark is below at 8.48 per cent of the population⁴⁰.

Country	Sweden	Norway	Denmark
Population in millions	9.1	4.6	5.4
Area km²	449,964	324,220	43,094
Population per km²	20.22	14.19	125.31
Penetration rate of for-profit fitness	14.29 %	11.85 %	8.48 %
Number of for-profit fitness clubs	800	470	334

Based on the monitoring of the international expansion of fitness over time, it seems clear that a correlation exists between the level of economic development and the rise of fitness training.⁴¹ For-profit fitness is a phenomenon that is often introduced into societies in connection with economic growth. The introduction of fitness to a country or geographical region tends to coincide with the presence of a sufficiently large class of people with the financial means to pay for commercial fitness activities and services. Hence, a close relation may be observed between GDP per capita, the presence of a for-profit fitness industry, and market size. This relation also varies within the countries according to regional economic structure and the local purchasing power of the population.⁴²

The major conclusion to draw from this overview of the for-profit fitness sector is that in the Scandinavian context, there is a marked difference in penetration rate between Denmark and the two other countries. Economic growth does not, however, provide a sufficient explanation for the differences found between the three countries. These differences also occur because of divergence in the history of the commercial fitness industry in the three countries. The organisation of non-profit fitness is one important element in these institutional conditions. In the following, we will limit the study to Norway and Denmark, and present two sets of institutional conditions that may influence on the growth of for-profit fitness.

The organization of non-profit fitness in Norway and Denmark

The structure and the size of the non-profit fitness sector in Denmark and Norway display interesting differences. A larger and more multifaceted non-profit fitness sector exists in Denmark where there is a combination of fitness centres owned by voluntary sports clubs, municipalities and independent non-profit institutions. Many of these non-professional fitness clubs are members of the Danish Gymnastics and Sports Associations, which organize approximately 50 per cent of the non-profit fitness sector – about 130 out of 250 clubs.⁴³ Most of these non-commercial facilities are small-scale clubs, but otherwise they do not differ from the commercial facilities. Some clubs are also members of another non-profit organisation in Denmark: the Danish Association for Company Sport, which has a total of about 41,000 members in the associated fitness clubs. In total, the non-profit fitness clubs organize at least 80,000 members, or 1.5 per cent of the population.⁴⁴ If we also include the numbers of people taking part in classes where activities such as aerobics, pilates and yoga are organised by the many gymnastic associations, the totals are much higher.

In comparison, Norway's non-profit fitness sector is smaller and less multifaceted. Publicly-owned fitness centres directed towards the broader population do not exist. Fitness is organized by voluntary sports associations, but on a smaller scale than in Denmark. The Norwegian Gymnastics Federation reports that 20,000 members participate in their fitness activities. Only seven local gymnastics associations own a fitness club. This implies that most fitness activities take place in gymnasiums located in schools or in venues that are not constructed for fitness purposes. A parallel situation exists in the "Friskis & Svette" movement where only the clubs in the larger cities own their venues.⁴⁵ Hence, few offers are to be found within the non-profit fitness sector that is equivalent to the offers of the for-profit fitness centres. In total, non-profit fitness associations organize approximately 45,000 members, or 0.9 per cent of the population.

Arguably, the strength of the non-profit fitness sector has consequences for the distribution of for-profit fitness. The for-profit fitness industry has its basis in the urban and closely populated areas where the market and the demands for the service are greatest. When these markets seem saturated, new concepts are developed that are more adapted to the smaller markets. This seems to conform to the development in Norway which has a larger geographical distribution of for-profit fitness clubs than Denmark. In Norway, the regional markets have been accessible because non-profit fitness has not been strongly developed,

neither in urban nor the rural areas. One important element in the for-profit expansion into the regions is the existence of a fitness concept designed for smaller communities 'SPENST', which has 39 clubs in middle sized communities and cities.⁴⁶ The SPENST concept is owned by the largest training chain in Norway, Sport Aerobic Training Centre (SATS), and clubs are normally run by local owners on a licence from SATS. The marketing director of SATS Norway points to the popularization of fitness as a necessary strategy in a country where the urban population is not sufficiently large to constitute the market alone. In 1999, the SPENST concept was developed as an attempt to adjust to the more modest market demands and possibilities outside the large cities. Local clubs, whether they are part of the SPENST concept or not, tend to represent concepts that differ from urbanized versions of fitness.⁴⁷

As opposed to the Norwegian situation, the Danish market for sport, health and physical activity can be separated into two geographical areas corresponding to the two different ownership models. The for-profit sport facilities have significant impact in the urban areas while voluntary non-profit sport clubs still play a major role in fitness activities outside the big cities (and for youth). Several explanations exist. First, for-profit fitness in Denmark is less developed and has therefore not reached its saturation point in the urban areas. Second, the existence of non-profit fitness clubs in the regions implies a competition that makes this market less attractive to for-profit fitness owners. Third, public sector policies in the larger cities have tended towards limited political interest and financial support for non-profit sport facilities, opening up a market for modern for-profit sport facilities.

Another consequence of the impact of the non-profit fitness sector is manifest in the gender balance in for-profit clubs. In Norway, women dominate the clientele in for-profit clubs with 70 per cent of the membership.⁴⁸ In comparison, 55 per cent of members in Danish for-profit clubs are women.⁴⁹ This difference may be explained by the fact that the Danish non-profit fitness sector organizes many aerobic activities in which the majority of participants are women. Hence, there is strong competition regarding aerobic activities in order to attract new members.

The translation processes of fitness in Denmark and Norway

Individualised fitness has been introduced and integrated into the Scandinavian context in the course of a 40-year period. In the following, the theoretical perspective of "translation" will be used to point out some crucial differences and similarities between Denmark and Norway.

Translation in the neo-institutional tradition is defined as a process where new ideas are combined with already existing local institutional practices.⁵⁰ In an attempt to specify this

process, Campbell points to the interaction between the types of *ideas* involved in a change process, and the *ideational roles* of actors.⁵¹ In relation to ideas, Campbell states that a given society holds an inherited repertoire of principles and practices. A broader repertoire of principles and practices increases the chances of revolutionary change.⁵² The following demonstrates that Norway and Denmark had different repertoires of organizational principles for sport and of keep-fit exercise practices when individualised fitness was introduced in the latter part of the 20th century. This had consequences for how fitness was institutionalized in the two countries.

In Campbell's discussion of possible ideational roles within a change process, interaction between actors belonging to different spheres of public life is underscored.⁵³ According to Campbell, the capacity of entrepreneurs to translate concepts is 'their location at the interstices between social networks, organisational fields and institutions'.⁵⁴ This means that networking actors, with a strong knowledge of other relevant fields in society such as politics or research, are better placed to introduce new practices that may fit a certain context. The ability to 'mobilise political support' and 'the availability of adequate financial, administrative and other implementation capacities' are also considered important for the potential of entrepreneurs to succeed.⁵⁵ The entrepreneurial capacity for performing translation is thus linked more to the ability to interact with a set of sectors and organizations than to financial or administrative resources. As we shall see, the change processes that occurred when the larger fitness training chains emerged provide an interesting demonstration of differences between Norway and Denmark in this regard.

In the following, the institutionalization of fitness will be described for three phases: i) the introduction of fitness in the early 1980s, ii) the establishment of the larger for-profit fitness chains, and iii) the major period of international ownership from 1999 to 2002.

The introduction of aerobic activities in the early 1980s

One central characteristic of the early phase, both in Norway and Denmark, was the importance of individual entrepreneurs who had experienced fitness through travelling. In the voluntary sport organizations in Denmark, aerobics began in the year of 1983, when two Danish au pair girls returned from a one-year sojourn in the USA where they had learned aerobic exercise. One of them, Ina Thanild, introduced aerobics to her non-profit gymnastic club in the city of Greve.⁵⁶ Within one year, aerobics had gained such a member success that the Danish Gymnastics and Sports Associations, which organize almost all of the voluntary based gymnastics-for-all clubs in Denmark, decided to develop the first of many courses in

aerobics for volunteer instructors. This quickly gained success in non-profit gymnastics clubs all over the country, and aerobics soon became a very popular activity for women.

Nevertheless, the introduction of aerobics in the non-profit sphere was not without controversy. Many of the leading persons in the Danish Gymnastics and Sports Associations, who were mainly men, were sceptical to the content and the goals of the women-dominated aerobic activity. Since their beginning, Danish gymnastics have had a strong element of education and enlightenment of the public.⁵⁷ The movements involved in doing gymnastics should be rational and effective, but aesthetics also formed an integral part. This aesthetics of movement was linked to morality since the inner person was to be expressed through movement. As pointed out by Madsen, this morality had a strong collective dimension. An inherent aspect of the quick and smooth movements in gymnastics was their potential to display a societal dynamics that transcended cultural distinctions.⁵⁸

The fact that the aerobics instructor often faced the mirror rather than the participants was problematic for some traditionalists because it ran counter to the collective understanding inherent in gymnastics. Nevertheless, the success of aerobics was evident in its popularity and the activity quickly became a widespread aspect of the voluntary non-professional sport society in Denmark. Through courses, conventions and workshops, aerobics was effectively spread to other non-profit sport clubs. Somehow, the success of aerobics within the gymnastics movement also contributed directly to the establishment of aerobics in the for-profit sector. In many larger urban areas of Denmark former volunteer gymnastics instructors opened privately-owned for-profit aerobic studios only few years after its introduction in the non-profit sector.⁵⁹ Consequently, the widespread and massive commercial success of aerobics resulted both in the establishment of a professional for-profit tradition, and a tradition of aerobics provided by the non-profit sport gymnastics-for-all clubs.

In many ways, the introduction of aerobics in Norway was similar to that of Denmark, but it also involved some interesting differences. During the early 1980s, the introduction of aerobics into the for-profit sector slightly preceded voluntary sports when several female entrepreneurs either started their own privately-owned small scale aerobics studios, or introduced the activity into already existing for-profit gyms. Anne Kristoffersen, one of the earliest fitness centre entrepreneurs, first experienced the training concept while in Australia as a student. Upon her return to Norway, she set up classes at an already-established private dance institute where aerobic training became an overnight success. She soon started instructors' courses, organized as seminars or "conventions". Kristoffersen's description of the strategies she used in order to recruit participants to such courses and hence to spread the

practice, sheds light on related institutions existing at that time. She describes how she looked up the phone numbers of solariums and gyms in different parts of the country and tried to recruit participants for her conventions.⁶⁰ In Oslo some for-profit gyms that had activities for both women and men were already in existence, but outside the capital the gyms were generally reserved for men. During the 1980s, small-scale private aerobics studios popped up everywhere throughout the country, either in already existing for-profit gyms, or in community centres or gym halls. From the beginning of the 1980s, there was an ongoing development of for-profit small-scale fitness clubs based on already-existing gyms and on the existence of instructor's conventions. Similar to Denmark, development within the voluntary sector added to the spread of fitness training, most importantly through the establishment of a comprehensive instructors' course entitled 'Gymnastics in flight with the time' (GIT) in 1985-1986.⁶¹ It was, however, met with scepticism similar to the situation in Denmark and did not result in the same member success.

It thus seems that in the first phase institutional entrepreneurs were acting more or less independently, but still sought to link their activity to already-existing institutions and traditions. This underscores the point made by the theory of translation that pre-existing institutions are crucial in laying the premises for change. One may ask why the translation of fitness into the voluntary sector, i.e. the Danish Gymnastics and Sports Associations was more successful than in Norway. After all, Norway had protagonists for aerobics that had both a theoretical capacity and a link to the Norwegian School of Sport Sciences, as well as links to the decision-makers of the Norwegian Gymnastics Federation and a personal competence in shaping the practical training activities. They were thus well located at the interstices between relevant sectors.⁶²

However, sport traditions in the two countries are different and may have constituted different repertoires for the integration of new ideas. The practices and principles of the Danish gymnastics tradition may have made it easier to implement fitness in Denmark than in Norway. Even though fitness was first met with resistance by the board of men in the Danish Gymnastics and Sports Associations, the Danish gymnastics movement already had a broad focus on health issues and had fewer rules than its Norwegian counterpart. In Norway, a combination of Swedish and German gymnastics prevailed, and the competitive aspects, and not the health issues, were therefore still an important focus in this version of gymnastics.

The difference in focus was partly associated with the variation on how local gymnastics was organized. In Norway gymnastics sports clubs required a stronger participation in the life of the club on the part of the members. One of the major problems in

the Norwegian context was the resistance towards the introduction of a new group of instructors to the clubs with particular privileges, such as a higher remuneration, and also, the explicit loosening of bonds between the members and the sports club. Within the GIT – concept, it was an explicit philosophy and strategy that participants should not be required to do voluntary work within the sports club.

Finally, the fact that Denmark already had a tradition for organizing fitness in the voluntary non-profit sports clubs could be important. The history of non-profit and civic ownership of fitness clubs began in the city of Odense in the late 1960s, where four bodybuilders decided to establish Odense Body-Builder Club (OBBC) as a democratically governed non-profit sport club.⁶³ They were not interested in professional careers, and their approach to strength training was primarily motivated by fun and masculine body ideals. The foundation of OBBC was in opposition to the emerging for-profit organizational form for private gyms, and may have constituted an inspiring example for entrepreneurs in Denmark.⁶⁴

In the first phase, one may thus conclude that the inherited repertoire of gymnastics in Denmark created larger space for the introduction of individualised fitness training, both in relation to established training practices and in relation to the prevailing organizational forms. Therefore, it was easier for Danish entrepreneurs to introduce the new training forms, also within the non-profit sector.

The era of professionalism: The advent of the large training chains

The introduction of aerobics in the early 1980s left two slightly different landscapes in Norway and Denmark. While aerobic activities had been integrated into some gymnastics sports clubs in Norway, the main part of fitness activities (muscle training and aerobics) took place in small-scale for-profit gyms. In Denmark, aerobics was actively pursued both in for-profit and non-profit sport clubs.

The next step in the development of fitness in these countries came with the establishment of larger for-profit training chains. Their main contributions were an increase in professionalism, and in the economic capacity to build or pursue specific concepts in terms of facilities, training forms and activities.⁶⁵ To an increasing degree there were full-time employed fitness instructors in the fitness clubs who were required to be educated in fitness instruction, through either internal or external education programs. At the management level, there was an increasing requirement to be educated in business and management and to run the fitness club according to accepted business standards.⁶⁶ In Campbell's terms, professionalization allowed for the establishment of a group of "framers", i.e. people who

promote “symbols and concepts that enable decision makers to legitimize programs to their constituents”.⁶⁷ As we shall see, framers adopted different strategies in Norway as compared to Denmark.

The development of large-scale fitness chains started earlier in Denmark than in Norway and Sweden. Commencing in 1985, there was an initial period of expansion led by the two biggest fitness clubs, ‘Form & Figur’ and ‘Fitness Club’. Between 20 and 30 new for-profit fitness clubs were opened every year, but in 1991, however, both of these major chains became insolvent, largely resulting from the rapid expansion which had been financed with excessive loans. This state of affairs was not improved when the creditor of ‘Fitness Club’ merged with the leading conservative bank of Denmark, which did not trust the business of for-profit fitness.⁶⁸ The commercial consequences were massive. Between 80,000 and 100,000 former fitness clients and 65 for-profit fitness clubs disappeared in a very short time.⁶⁹ Both the customer’s money and the fitness sectors reputation were lost. In the years following the economic collapse of the two biggest fitness chains in Denmark many for-profit fitness centres lacked access to adequate financial support, and either closed or forced to become non-profit sport clubs to uphold the fitness activities. In this non-profit frame, the fitness activities were almost the same, but the level of client services changed in of the period 1992 to 1995.

It is worth noting that the leading chains in Denmark and Norway have pursued different strategies with regard to target groups and the development of new concepts. This has had consequences for the image of fitness in the two countries. In Denmark, the urban population is still the most important commercial market. Especially in the city of Copenhagen, this has resulted in a highly modern and an almost elitist characterization of for-profit fitness where product innovation, new fashionable facilities, and promotion of fitness is connected to a fitness culture and a ‘lifestyle’, where the core costumers identify themselves with an active lifestyle.

In Norway, on the other hand, the for-profit entrepreneurs of SATS and FRISK⁷⁰ identified a strong need to translate fitness to the Norwegian market which was regarded as popular and accessible.⁷¹ Moreover, they targeted not only the young, urban population, but also people in large rural centres throughout the country. The result of these differing strategies is visible, as we have seen, in the geographical distribution of centres in Norway and Denmark, but also in the profile of non-profit sports clubs.

To sum up the past ten years’ development in for-profit fitness in Norway and Denmark, the Norwegian training chain SATS has been more successful in establishing a

stable market than its Danish counterparts. One explanation for this is the strategy of excessive loans followed in Denmark, combined with unfortunate changes on the side of creditors. At a more profound level, one may argue that the conditions for developing for-profit fitness were different in the two countries, because of the differences described within non-profit fitness. In Norway, a niche for a popularized, low threshold version of fitness existed, since fitness had no strong hold in the voluntary sports clubs. The protagonists of SATS successfully translated an individualised fitness culture into a concept that fitted a broad Norwegian market. This was possible due to their financial resources, but was also a result of a profound knowledge of the non-profit sector that made them into successful framers. In the next section, the necessity of such local knowledge will be further exemplified.

The period of international ownership

One interesting aspect of the expansion of aerobics in Scandinavia is that during the past six years the dominating fitness chains have had only one international owner, i.e. SATS. Other international chains have attempted to access the Scandinavian market but without success. This may indicate that there are features in the Scandinavian market that require local knowledge in order to gain financial success. In relation to this it is interesting to examine the short period where the large American fitness corporation, 24 Hour Fitness, sought dominance in the Scandinavian market. In 1999, this corporation acquired SATS Norway and SATS Sports Club Sweden, followed by the acquisition of Form & Fitness in Denmark in January 2000. The investment was not successful and 24 Hour Fitness withdrew from the Scandinavian markets with a substantial loss only few years in 2002.

Adaptation problems were central to the failure of 24 Hour Fitness, according to interviews with representatives of Form & Fitness in Denmark and with SATS in Norway. The current head of information in 'SATS Scandinavia' describes the period of American ownership as an era of increasing conflict over marketing strategies where campaigns produced at an international level were to be implemented at the national level. One specific campaign may illustrate which different understandings were at play - that built around super model Cindy Crawford. Underlying this campaign was the idea that costumers are attracted to people they like, i.e. people with a status, a good reputation and an image. Hence, the series of photos taken for the campaign exposed Crawford in a sexy and daring way. This strong focus on appearance, with an elitist twist, fundamentally conflicted with the mode followed by SATS hitherto. After an intense period of internal lobbying, the Norwegian campaign ended

up excluding many of the original pictures. Among those retained was one of Crawford on a training cycle, and another where she is up in the air using a springboard. According to those who were responsible, these pictures were chosen because they could be linked to ‘physical functionality’ (cycling), not only to appearance, and to joyful play (jumping on the springboard).⁷²

In Denmark, the content of the campaigns seem to have been less of a problem for the local management, but the CEO of Form & Fitness points to the lack of understanding for a differentiated price policy between urban and rural districts as one major problem. He states that at no point did the American owners acquire an understanding of the three different Scandinavian markets, and the American business attitude distressed many of the central persons in the management. This is linked to a problem of management styles, also pointed out by Norwegian leaders, i.e. an authoritarian style that was eager to implement its own established solutions. Moreover, the excessive focus on recruiting new members through campaigns, without assuring the quality of the product and the maintenance of the training centres, proved to be an expensive short-term strategy without commercial success.

It may thus be concluded that there were adaptive flaws in the business concepts introduced by 24 Hour Fitness since these concepts failed to take into account the specific requirements of the Scandinavian market. As indicated, these adaptation problems existed at different levels and varied between Denmark and Norway. Local management in both countries shared a concern for differentiation, regionalization and management styles, while the question of cultural translation was seen as most pressing in Norway. In comparing the two countries, it can be claimed that the Norwegian SATS management were stronger and more successful framers than their Danish counterparts. This was due to two factors. One was their insight into the norms of the popular linked to Norwegian keep-fit exercise, i.e. the low threshold and the popularity. Another was their internal power within the SATS corporation, making it possible for them to partly defend the frames that they had established prior to the takeover by 24 Hour Fitness. The success of the Norwegian protagonists thus underscores the importance of cultural knowledge and administrative resources in order to enhance translation processes.

At the present time for-profit fitness is firmly established in the Scandinavian keep-fit exercise contexts, while non-profit fitness is considerably stronger in Denmark than in Norway. In the above, this situation has been described as the result of a process of institutionalisation through translation, where both the established ideas and repertoires in the respective countries, and the power and capacity of the entrepreneurs, played a role. In the

following, we will briefly discuss the consequences of the introduction of for-profit training concepts into the Scandinavian sports sector with its traditions of a non-profit voluntary organization.

Professionalism, commercial fitness and the consequences for voluntary sport

Sports activities play a major role in contemporary society with more active participants than ever before. According to some sport historians, sport activities in Scandinavia have traditionally existed in a tension between two main motives – competition or the inherent joy of the activity.⁷³ It may be argued that the introduction of fitness to Scandinavia has implied a more functional turn in the motives for training activity.⁷⁴ The question is whether a structural link exists between the new functional training activities, their utility oriented motives, and the fact that these activities seem more suitable for organization in the private for-profit sector.

In a discussion of the economy of voluntary democratic organizations, Enjolras points out that competitive sport activities are “relational goods” that require the participation of members in order for them to be produced.⁷⁵ Enjolras argues that the traditional voluntary democratic form is well suited to produce this type of goods because it ensures the interests of the members and avoids the free-rider problem. Still, the democratic voluntary form is vulnerable to change. Voluntary sport is based on a large amount of voluntary work and on the democratic idea of representation where the local members of a sports club elect their board. This board has the main responsibility for organizing and developing the sport club’s activities. A challenge for many voluntary sport clubs is that the contemporary democratic volunteer system suffers from a major lack of member interest in the democratic discussions.⁷⁶ This lack of interest may be attributed to an increasing individualization of needs, and an increase in alternative offers. Moreover, as pointed out by Enjolras, this type of relational economy is vulnerable to the introduction of market relations: once market exchange is introduced in this context, it threatens the reproduction of reciprocity.⁷⁷

Fitness, with its mainly functional goals, may be turned into a “private good” or an object for market consumption more easily than competitive sport. In this situation the market organization has some advantages. One explanation of the relative success of the fitness industry can be found in the professional approach towards the single client. One central element that differs from the voluntary organizational form is that the private owner needs to know the client’s opinion in order to manage and survive in a market. Therefore, he often develops methods that assist him in handling the lack of information – for example surveys

among the clients. This results in detailed knowledge about challenges and is likely to be followed by a more effective communication between the two parts. A second central element that correlates to this is the level of product development. The private owner has an economic interest in developing products that consumers demand. Therefore the private owner is often much more vigilant towards new tendencies and developments in the market of fitness. Compared to this, the more traditional way of organizing non-profit sport activities has an implicit conservatism since it is directed towards the needs of existing members.

Tendencies towards professionalism and commercialism in non-profit sport seem to be a general challenge for sport traditions in the Scandinavian countries.⁷⁸ An important question facing non-profit voluntary sports organizations is whether they should imitate the professional for-profit sports sector in shaping more flexible organizations or fight for their long tradition of volunteerism. In Denmark, contemporary sport activities are increasingly financed through the economic support of private sponsors and member subscriptions.⁷⁹ At the local level, the discussion of professionalism is a question about obtaining the best instructors, and who now have a chance to become paid and maybe even have a career in the commercial sport sector instead of working voluntarily.

Conclusion

In this article we have traced the development of fitness in the Scandinavian countries with particular emphasis on the for-profit sector which is predominant in providing fitness training in these countries. Based on comparative statistical data, it has been pointed out that for-profit fitness is a phenomenon that foremost tends to be introduced into societies in connection with economic growth. Moreover, this development must be understood in the light of the transition from an industrial-based economy to one with a flourishing service sector. This is often accompanied by increased needs for and consciousness of health and physical activity.⁸⁰

The main question of the article was whether the similarity in the organization of sports has prepared the ground for a similarity in how fitness training has been received in the Scandinavian countries. Given the differences between the present fitness sectors in Denmark and Norway, it seems clear that a comparison of the welfare state models, or the general sport systems of the two countries, is not sufficient in order to understand the institutionalisation of new sports. A more precise analysis of the relevant pre-existing practice forms, like gymnastics, with their inherent ideas and values, and an account for the ideational roles of entrepreneurs, like the protagonists of SATS, is needed.

In the above we have described how individualised fitness was introduced to Denmark and Norway respectively by individual entrepreneurs who brought fitness home after having experienced it abroad. Furthermore, we described how the tradition of sport and gymnastics in existing voluntary non-profit sport clubs initially resisted the new training form, but got involved more or less reluctantly, especially in Denmark. Fitness acquired a stronger foothold within the Danish Gymnastics and Sports Associations than in the Norwegian Gymnastics Federation because non-profit fitness clubs already existed in Denmark prior to the introduction of aerobics. The existence of a range of such clubs in the early 1980s resulted in non-profit aerobics introduction in many of the local gymnastics clubs. Moreover, Danish gymnastics were traditionally more strongly directed towards health than Norwegian gymnastics, while the Norwegian gymnastics were more oriented towards competition. This history may explain why there is a more heterogeneous fitness sector in Denmark than in Norway, combining non-profit and for-profit fitness. It also sheds light on crucial characteristics of the fitness sectors in the two countries: The penetration rate of for-profit fitness, the proportion of female to male members in the for-profit sector and the distribution between for-profit and non-profit fitness centers.

For-profit sports and fitness may represent a challenge to the voluntary sports sector in the future. This relates to the individualization of needs and a turn towards outcome-motivated sport and exercise. The more professional organization of for-profit providers in order to meet such needs give them an advantage. In Denmark, the challenge is even more explicit than in Norway, given the emergence of 'pay-and-play' sports facilities, where the use of sport facilities no longer requires membership of a sports club. If this tendency continues a new significant challenge becomes reality for many of the non-profit sport organizations.

Notes

¹ Olstad, *Norsk Idretts Historie vol. I: Forsvar Sport, Klassekamp 1861-1939*.

² Bonde, *Mandighet og Sport*; Goksøyr, *Idrettsliv i borgerskapets by. En historisk undersøkelse av Idrettens utvikling og organisering i Bergen på 1800-tallet*; Madsen, *Oplysning i bevegelse – kultur, krop og demokrati i den folkelige Gymnastik*

³ Park, *A Decade of the Body: Researching and Writing About the History of Health, Fitness, Exercise and Sport*; Sassatelli *The Commercialization of Discipline. Keep-fit Culture and Its Values*, 3.

⁴ Sassatelli *The Commercialization of Discipline. Keep-fit Culture and Its Values*

⁵ Henceforth, the terms “fitness” and “fitness exercise” will be reserved for the new types of commercially driven fitness exercise forms that emerged in the latter part of the twentieth century. This will be contrasted with gymnastics and keep-fit exercise, which are more traditional training forms.

⁶ Esping-Andersen *The three worlds of welfare capitalism*.

⁷ Selle & Klausen, *The third sector i Scandinavia*, 99-122; Sivesind, Lorentzen, Selle, & Wollebæk, *The Voluntary Sector in Norway – Composition, Changes and Causes*, 2.

⁸ Campbell, *Change and Globalization*.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid., 86.

¹¹ In our study, the general comparative statistics on the sector in Norway are based on data from the National Associations and from International Health, Racquet & Sportsclub Association (IHRSA). The qualitative analyses of the fitness sector and its historical development are obtained from on in-depth interviews with 10 centrally placed actors in Norway and in Denmark. The interviewed are leading individuals involved with commercial fitness chains, or the National Gymnastics Associations in the two countries, or central figures who were early entrepreneurs in the era of bodybuilding from the 1950s onwards. See Steen-Johnsen, *Individualised Communities. Keep-fit exercise Organisations and the Creation of Social Bonds* and Kirkegaard, *Overblik over den danske fitness-sektor - en undersøgelse af danske fitnesscentre* for further description.

¹² Sassatelli, *The Commercialization of Discipline. Keep-fit Culture and Its Values*.

¹³ Ibid., 3.

¹⁴ Augestad, *Skolering av kroppen: om kunnskap of makt i kroppsøvningsfaget*; Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*.

¹⁵ Sassatelli, *The Commercialization of Discipline. Keep-fit Culture and Its Values*.

¹⁶ Jensen, *Fitnesscentre som analytisk kategori. Distingverende konstruksjoner og levende erfaringer*.

¹⁷ Pedersen, *Fritid, joggesko og tredemølle*.

¹⁸ Johansson, *Den skulpterande kroppen: gymkultur, friskvård och estetikk*.

¹⁹ Green, *Fit for America: health, fitness, sport, and American society*.

²⁰ Johansson, *Den skulpterande kroppen: gymkultur, friskvård och estetikk*, 43.

²¹ Kirkegaard, *Fra muskelmasse til massebevægelse – indblik i den kommercielle fitness-sektors historie*.

²² 'The Cooper Institute' developed different training methods that enhanced endurance, based on ideas of variation, moderation and balance. This model was later in the 1970s further developed by Jackie Sorensen, who created a dance program for the local cable TV in USA based on Cooper's ideas of aerobic fitness training. Cf. Jensen, *Fitnesscentre som analytisk kategori. Distingverende konstruksjoner og levende erfaringer*; Bø, *Aerobics – the lost potential – or a challenge for the goal "sport for all" within the European Sport Organizations*.

²³ The word 'aerobe' refers to the energy production that takes place in the body when oxygen is present.

²⁴ Cooper, *Aerobics*.

²⁵ Bø, *Aerobics – the lost potential – or a challenge for the goal "sport for all" within the European Sport Organizations*; Cooper, *Aerobics*.

²⁶ Kirkegaard, *Fra muskelmasse til massebevægelse – indblik i den kommercielle fitness-sektors historie*.

²⁷ Damsgaard, *Det organiserte kommers*; Johansson, *Den skulpterande kroppen: gymkultur, friskvård och estetikk*; Kirkegaard, *Fra muskelmasse til massebevægelse – indblik i den kommercielle fitness-sektors historie*

²⁸ A non-profit organization is "one that is precluded, by external regulation or its own governance structure, from distributing its financial surplus to those who control the use of organizational assets". The non-profit sector is "the collection of private entities defined as non-profit (Powell & Steinberg, 2006:1).

²⁹ Norwegian Monitor database 1985-2005. MMI. Oslo. 2006.

³⁰ Bille, *Danskernes kultur og fritidsaktiviteter 2004 – med utvikling tilbake til 1964*.

³¹ The estimated total number of subscribers (including subscribers using the services of other operators) divided by the total population number in the designated area.

³² IHRSA – International Health, Raquet & Sportsclub Association.

³³ Idan - Idrættens Analyseinstitut (Danish Institute for Sport Studies).

³⁴ The European Union statistics consists of the data of the current members of the European Union (= Germany, UK, Austria, Belgium, Netherlands, France, Italy, Ireland, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Finland, Sweden, Denmark, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovak Republic, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Slovenia, Hungary plus economic data but no fitness data from Luxembourg, Malta, Cyprus).

³⁵ IHRSA, The IHRSA European Market Report. *The size and scope of the health club industry*, 24.

³⁶ Ibid., 58.

³⁷ Ibid., 52.

³⁸ Ibid., 36.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid., 26.

⁴² An interesting demonstration of these points is found in Germany where the role played by the for-profit fitness industry differs in the eastern and western regions of the country. In 2005, the penetration rate in general

amounted to 6.12 %. The Eastern German States have penetration rates between 3 – 4 %, while the Western states and cities shows a significantly higher penetration rates. Hamburg takes the top position, with it's a penetration rate of 10.7 %. See Deloitte, *The German fitness & Health Market*, 7.

⁴³ It is important to understand the difference between a commercial fitness centre and a non-commercial fitness facility: A fitness centre is a facility one can join immediately by paying an amount of money, while a fitness facility demands a connection to the owners of the facility i.e. living in the building that owns the facility or working at the firm that owns the facility for the employed people. The vast majority of the commercial fitness centres normally prize the consumer for a product that differs in both level of services, equipment and the educational aspects of the instructors.

⁴⁴ Kirkegaard, *Overblik over den danske fitness-sektor – en undersøgelse af danske fitnesscentre*.

⁴⁵ The “Friskis & Svettis” movement started in the city of Stockholm in the year of 1978. Today the movement exists both in Sweden, where it is very popular and collects 417,371 members, and to a smaller degree in Norway with its 27,581 members and finally it also exists in Denmark, where only 229 members join the concept. See: http://web.friskissvettis.se/medlemsstatistik__2038.aspx

⁴⁶ “Spent” is a Norwegian term for resilience, elasticity.

⁴⁷ Steen-Johnsen, *Individualised Communities. Keep-fit exercise organisations and the creation of social bonds*.

⁴⁸ Ulseth, *Treningscentre og idrettslag. Konkurrerende eller supplerende tilbud?*

⁴⁹ Kirkegaard, *Overblik over den danske fitness-sektor – en undersøgelse af danske fitnesscentre*.

⁵⁰ Campbell, *Institutional Change and Globalization*; Maguire and Hardy, *Identity and Collaborative Strategy in the Canadian HIV/AIDS treatment domain*.

⁵¹ Campbell, *Institutional Change and Globalization*

⁵² *Ibid.*, 86.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 86.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ Salminen, *Aerobics – motion, fitness & Sport*, 57.

⁵⁷ Madsen, *Oplysning i bevægelse – kultur, krop og demokrati i den folkelige gymnastikk*.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ Kirkegaard, *Fra muskelmasse til massebevægelse – indblik i den kommerzielle fitness-sektors historie*.

⁶⁰ Gyms are the early for-profit fitness club focusing on strength training exclusively.

⁶¹ This training was set up by people that were central to the Norwegian Gymnastics Federation, and had both an explicit scientific basis and an ambition to adapt aerobics to the needs of Norwegian women.

⁶² Campbell, *Institutional Change and Globalization*.

⁶³ From 1964 and on the democratically formed organisations obtained the right for economic support from the local community.

⁶⁴ Kirkegaard, *Fra muskelmasse til massebevægelse – indblik i den kommerzielle fitness-sektors historie*.

⁶⁵ ‘Professionalism’ implies i) the use of paid work; and ii) a formalization of the educational background in order to hold a position (Abbott, 1988). In the for-profit fitness industry the process of professionalization was related to both aspects of the term.

⁶⁶ Kirkegaard, *Fra muskelmasse til massebevægelse – indblik i den kommerzielle fitness-sektors historie*.

⁶⁷ Campbell, *Institutional Change and Globalization*, 94.

⁶⁸ Den Danske Bank – today Danske Bank.

⁶⁹ Kirkegaard, *Fra muskelmasse til massebevægelse – indblik i den kommerzielle fitness-sektors historie*.

⁷⁰ The FRISK chain was bought by British investors in 2001 and became part of the international chain ELIXIA.

⁷¹ Steen-Johnsen, *Individualised Communities. Keep-fit exercise organisations and the creation of social bonds*.

⁷² Despite these efforts, it may be argued that the campaigns from SATS’ international period stand out as strikingly more focused on perfection and on outer appearance than previous campaigns.

⁷³ Tønneson, *Norsk idretts historie, vol II: Folkehelse, trim, stjerner, 1939-1986*.

⁷⁴ Jensen, *Fællesskap fitness og foreningsidræt. Kulturanalytisk studie af fællesskapsrelasjonerne i to danske idrætsmiljøer*.

⁷⁵ Enjolras, *Community-based economy, market and democracy*.

⁷⁶ Ibsen, *Foreningsidrætten i Danmark – udviklinger og udfordringer*.

⁷⁷ Enjolras, *Community-based economy, market and democracy*.

⁷⁸ Enjolras, Seippel and Waldahl, *Norsk Idrett*.

⁷⁹ Ibsen, *Foreningsidrætten i Danmark – udviklinger og udfordringer*.

⁸⁰ Crawford, *Healthism and the Medicalization of Everyday Life*.

References

Abbott, A. *The System of Professions*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1988.

Augestad, P. *Skolering av kroppen. Om kunnskap og makt i kroppsøvingfaget*: Høgskolen i Telemark, 2003.

Bille, T. *Danskernes kultur og fritidsaktiviteter 2004 – med utviklingslinjer tilbake til 1964*. København: Akf-forlaget, 2005.

Bø, K. *Aerobics - the lost potential - or a challenge for the goal "sport for all" within the European Sport Organizations*: In X -European Sports Conference 1991, 1991.

Bonde, H. *Mandighet og sport*. Odense: Odense Universitetsforlag, 1991.

Campbell, J. L. *Institutional Change and Globalization*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.

Cooper, K. H.. *Aerobics*. (Norwegian ed.) Oslo: A/S Hjemmet-Fagpresseforlaget, 1983

Crawford, R. *Healthism and the Medicalization of Everyday Life*: *Journal of Health Services*, 10, 365-388, 1980.

Damsgaard, K. *Det organiserte kommers*. In Trondheim: Statens Idrettskonferanse 1997, 1997.

Deloitte, *The German fitness & Health Market, Newsletter 2nd Quarter 2006*. Düsseldorf, 2006.

-
- Enjolras, B. *Community-based economy, market and democracy* (Rep. No. 6:2001). Oslo: Institute for Social Research, 2001.
- Enjolras, B., Seippel, Ø., & Waldahl, R. H. *Norsk idrett. Organisering, fellesskap og politikk*. Oslo: Akilles, 2005.
- Esping-Andersen, G. *The three worlds of welfare capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990.
- Foucault, M. *The History of Sexuality I*. Penguin Books: London, 1976.
- Goksøyr, M. *Idrettsliv i borgerskapets by. En historisk undersøkelse av Idrettens utvikling og organisering i Bergen på 1800-tallet*. Norges Idrettshøgskole, 1991.
- Green, H. *Fit for America : health, fitness, sport, and American society*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988.
- Ibsen, B. *Foreningsidrætten i Danmark – udviklinger og udfordringer*. København: Idrættens Analyseinstitut, 2006.
- IHRSA. The IHRSA European Market Report. *The size and scope of the health club industry*, Boston, 2007
- Jensen, J.-O. *Fitnesscentre som analytisk kategori. Distingverende konstruksjoner og levede erfaringer*. In K.Lüders (Ed.), *Idrætspædagogisk årbog 2002*. Århus: Klim, 2002.
- Jensen, J.-O. *Fællesskap, fitness og foreningsidræt. Kulturanalytisk studie af fællesskapsrelasjonene i to danske idrætsmiljøer*. Center for idræt, Aarhus Universitet, 2004.
- Johansson, T. *Den skulpterade kroppen : gymkultur, friskvård och estetik*. Stockholm: Carlssons, 1998.

Kirkegaard, K. L. *Fra muskelmasse til massebevægelse – indblik i den kommercielle fitness-sektors historie* København: Idrættens Analyseinstitut, 2007.

Kirkegaard, K. L. *Overblik over den danske fitness-sektor - en undersøgelse af danske fitnesscentre*. København: Idrættens Analyseinstitut, 2007b.

Madsen, B. V. Oplysning i bevægelse (I). In O.Korsgaard, B. V. Madsen, & N. K. Nielsen (Eds.), (pp. 71-88). København: Gads Forlag, 2001.

Madsen, B. V. *Oplysning i bevægelse - kultur, krop og demokrati i den folkelige gymnastik*. Århus: Klim, 2003.

Maguire, S., and Hardy C.. *Identity and Collaborative Strategy in the Canadian HIV/AIDS treatment domain*, Strategic Organization 3 (1): 11-45, 2005.

Olstad, F. *Norsk Idretts Historie, vol I: Forsvar, Sport, Klassekamp 1861-1939*. Oslo: Aschehoug, 1987

Park, R. J. *A Decade of the Body: Researching and Writing About the History of Health, Fitness, Exercise and Sport, 1983-1993*: Journal of Sport History, 21, 59-82, 1994.

Pedersen, L.. "*Fritid, joggesko og tredemølle*". In Trondheim: Statens Idrettskonferanse 1997, 1997.

Powell, W. W. & Steinberg, R. *The Non-Profit Sector. A Research Handbook*. (2nd ed.) New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006.

Salminen, M. A. E. *Aerobics – motion, fitness & Sport*. Århus: Aagaard, 2003.

Sassatelli, R. *The Commercialization of Discipline. Keep-fit Culture and Its Values*. Journal of Italian Studies, 2000.

Selle, P. & Klausen, K. K. The third sector in Scandinavia. *Voluntas*, 7, 99-122, 1996.

Sivesind, K. H., Lorentzen, H., Selle, P., & Wollebæk, D. *The Voluntary Sector in Norway - Composition, Changes and Causes* (Rep. No. 2002:2). Oslo: Institute for Social Research, 2002.

Steen-Johnsen, K. *Individualised Communities. Keep-fit exercise organisations and the creation of social bonds*. Phd Dissertation, Norwegian University of Sport and Physical Education, 2004.

Tønnesson, S. *Norsk idrettshistorie, vol II: Folkehelse, trim, stjerner, 1939-1986*. Oslo: Aschehoug, 1986.

Ulseth, Anne-Lene Bakken. Treningssentre og idrettslag. Konkurrerende eller supplerende tilbud? 2003:2. 2003. Oslo, Institutt for Samfunnsforskning. ISF-Report.