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Suzanne Lundvall & Britta Thedin Jakobsson

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To move on … – a comparative study of Swedish adolescents in a changing sport and leisure-time landscape

Suzanne Lundvall and Britta Thedin Jakobsson

The Swedish School of Sport and Health Sciences (GIH), Stockholm, Sweden and Department of Food and Nutrition and Sport Science, University of Gothenburg, Gothenburg, Sweden

ABSTRACT

Societal and technological changes have had a great impact on the overall physical activity and leisure time practices of children and youth, in Sweden and in other countries. The understanding of sports participation is a complex issue as the taste for sport is formed under specific conditions. The aim of this comparative cross-sectional, longitudinal study is to explore how Swedish adolescents view and reason about sport and leisure time practices in relation to everyday life in a changing recreational landscape. Findings from two focus groups interviews conducted almost 10 years apart (2007 and 2016) are compared. The analysis is inspired by Bourdieu's theory of practice and the concept of belonging. Several similarities between the two data sets are found, but also differences. New organisational structures, schoolwork, a tension between experienced lack of time and a need for flexibility, as well as own learning and development play a more central role in 2016. Furthermore, the digitalised leisure time landscape has affected the boundaries of the overall field of recreation, challenging the interrelated dimensions between social agents and structures of organised sport, and future policies and initiatives for the entire community of leisure time practices.

KEYWORDS

Leisure time; club sport; comparative study; Bourdieu; social agents

Background

A number of social and cultural changes, such as urbanisation and new technological forms of communication, have in recent decades strongly influenced young people's leisure-time practices (Seippel, Sisjord, & Strandbu, 2016; Vollmer et al., 2019). With the growth of the internet and new forms of digital communication tools, a new, expanding recreational landscape has begun to evolve, as seen in practices such as gaming and social media (Eklund & Roman, 2019). Since physical inactivity is increasing among

CONTACT Suzanne Lundvall Suzanne.Lundvall@gih.se The Swedish School of Sport and Health Sciences (GIH), Stockholm, Sweden and Department of Food and Nutrition and Sport Science, University of Gothenburg, Gothenburg, Sweden

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children and adolescents, this expanding recreational landscape and new leisure-time practices have become a major public health concern (Public Health Report, 2019).

In the Nordic countries, a strong argument made for promoting club sport has been that many children meet through, and participate in, organised club sports as part of their leisure-time practices. Therefore, voluntary sports clubs are still seen as having an important role to play in this respect, although their success has been questioned (Karp et al., 2014; Seippel et al., 2010).[1] Despite government-run club sport initiatives, the attraction of participating in club sport has since 2008 been waning in Sweden (Norberg, 2019, 2020). The increasing trend of early specialisation in club sport has been put forward as one explanation for the growing number of early dropouts. This pattern of children dropping out from club sports in their early teens has been reported in many Western countries (Borgers, Seghers & Scheerder, 2016; Coakley & Pike, 2014; Findlay et al., 2009; Pilgaard, 2012, 2013; Scheerder et al., 2006; Seabra et al., 2007). A growing polarisation between very sports active and sports inactive adolescents in Sweden has also been noted (Fahlén, 2011; Lundvall & Brun Sundblad, 2017; Thedin Jakobsson et al., 2012).

Even though studies of young people's leisure-time show that other forms of individual, self-organised/informal sports and recreational activities have increased in urban environments (Bäckström & Sand, 2019; Pilgaard, 2012, 2013; Säfvenbom et al., 2018), only 10% of young people regularly do self-organised activities (Elofsson et al., 2019; see also Harris et al., 2017). Altogether, this has in Sweden, as in many other countries, led to various government initiatives to encourage sports participation, stop dropouts and support and increase physical activity among children and youth.

The understanding of sports participation and the landscape or field for these social and cultural activities is a complex issue as the interest in sport is formed under specific conditions. Societal and cultural aspects and socio-economic positions continue to influence sports participation (see, for example, Engström, 2008; Norberg, 2019; Vollmer et al., 2019).

Young people's sports choices are influenced by a wider social context, including aspects of self-realisation and identity-seeking, entailing a constant need to evaluate and re-evaluate the activities that they want to participate in and spend time on (Bauman, 2001; Illeris et al., 2009). Our point of departure in this paper is that sport constitutes a cultural and social practice and that a person requires specific dispositions if they are to be comfortable with, and want to continue, their practice in a certain field (see, for example, Bourdieu, 1984; Engström, 2004, 2008). Taste and possible distaste for sports participation and the experienced value of participation are part of a larger social and political context where understanding young people as social acting agents needs to include the values of a field and how these emerge for the social agents in question. Different choices are part of relational mechanisms and negotiations within a surrounding social environment (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). At present, there is a lack of research on, and understanding of, young people's views on everyday life, leisure-time and sport and physical activity in relation to a changing recreational landscape (see, for example, Fahlén, 2011; Frydendahl Nielsen et al., 2018; Norberg, 2020).

In this paper we have been inspired by Bourdieu's theoretical framework to increase our understanding of young people's ways of navigating in a changing recreational landscape. We have done so by comparing findings from two focus groups interviews conducted 10 years apart. Further knowledge of mechanisms and relations that constitute the field of leisure-time practices can help to better inform and develop future policies and initiatives (Alanen et al., 2015; Carlman & Augustsson, 2016).

Theoretical frame of reference

We consider the participating adolescents as social agents constructing their reality individually but also collectively. Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice is used for analysing the empirical material and the objective structures of leisure-time practices (Bourdieu, 2000, pp. 150–151). His toolbox of analytical concepts enables a double reading of systems of power relations. How the world is understood is determined by an individual's habitus, dispositions of capital, tastes and preferences (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 131). Hence, habitus should be seen as a system of dispositions embedded in people's minds and bodies through experiences of social situations and collective memories. Applied to sport as a social practice, a certain habitus is required in order to adapt and be comfortable with, and want to continue to take part in, organised sports. By doing sport spontaneously, in school, together with parents and/or in a club, young people acquire experiences that, in different ways, help to shape and reshape their habitus with different tastes for sport. A habitus in practice determines people's ways of moving, thinking, acting and engaging in a field (Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Bourdieu states that

> […] the immediate fit between habitus and field is only one modality of action, if the most prevalent one/ … The line of actions suggested by habitus may very well be accompanied by a strategic calculation of costs and benefits, which tends to carry out at a conscious level the operations that habitus carries out in its own way. Times of crises, in which routine adjustment of subjective and objective structures is brutally disrupted, constitute a class of circumstances when indeed "rational choices" may take over, at least among those agents who are in a position to be rational. (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 131)

Bourdieu stresses that habitus is an open system of dispositions constantly subjected to experiences and therefore constantly affected by them in a way that either reinforces or modifies its structures (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). The agent's socially defined qualities (capital) and dispositions (habitus) can, if managed well, be transferred between fields (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 11). Each field has specific forms of interests, a tacit recognition of the values at stake, a specific illusion to describe the personal interest and investment in a game (2000, p. 11). This *illusio* or investment is guided by habitus, the body's ability to do the right thing, which implicitly can trigger actions (2000, p. 148). By being in a field (game) or entering it, the player accepts the rules of the game and acknowledges what is at stake. An action is therefore neither purely impulsive nor purely rationalised and instead a combination of structure and the individual consciousness that 'doxa' can be acted upon (2000, p. 11).

The concept of 'belonging' (Thomson, 2007) is also used to enrich the Bourdieuian analysis. Belonging is here seen as a relational and spatial concept, as a practice and a product of the relations and negotiations of power embedded in daily practices (Thomas, 2015). It is in the borderland of social structures that there can be a rethinking of belonging (see, for example, Bourdieu, 2000; Thomas, 2015; Thomson, 2007). Here a margin of freedom creates room for possible discourses and feelings of belonging, seen from inside. Of interest in this comparative study is how the reading of the adolescents' feelings, thoughts and judgements can be related to surrounding objective structures and back again. The analysis will focus on the interrelation between structure and social agents, on values at stake, as well as on the boundaries of a field in question.

The aim of the study

The more precise aim of this comparative cross-sectional, longitudinal study is to increase our understanding of how young people view and reason about leisure-time practices in relation to everyday life in a changing recreational landscape. This has been done by comparing results from two focus group interviews conducted in 2007 and 2016.

Our research questions are as follows:

- What experiences and expectations of leisure-time practices emerge in the empirical material?
- What are the similarities and differences in the social agents' taste for sport and experienced values in relation to everyday life and leisure-time practices?

Method and design

The longitudinal research project Skola–Idrott–Hälsa (School-Sport-Health, SSH) initiated in 2001, provided the opportunity to address the above-described research questions. The research project involved 1976 students, aged 9, 12 and 15, from 48 randomly selected Swedish schools (Engström, 2004). The SSH project included studies of sports participation, self-reported physical activity, participation in physical education, as well as studies of physical status and motor competence, etc. This study is a follow-up cross-sectional, comparative SSH study based on focus group interviews conducted in 2007 (Thedin Jakobsson, 2013) and in 2016. The analysis of the empirical data is inspired by Bourdieu's theoretical framework (Bourdieu, 1984, 1990; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

Participants

Eight semi-structured focus group interviews with 48 adolescents (30 boys, 18 girls) were conducted in 2016. The participants were selected based on a strategic sample of four schools that participated in the 2001 baseline study (Engström, 2004). This sample took into account, as did that of the 2007 study, a geographic spread of

Table 1. Overview of participating schools and distribution of participating students.

2007 49 participants 14 focus group 3–6 students/group	Place and school
2007 A1	Big city (800,000 inhabitants) city centre school
2007 A2	Big city (800,000 inhabitants) city centre school
2007 B1	Suburb school of a big city 61,500 inhabitants
2007 B2	Suburb school of a big city 61,500 inhabitants
2007 B3	Suburb school of a big city 19,000 inhabitants
2007 B4	Suburb school of a big city 19,000 inhabitants
2007 B5	Suburb school of a big city 19,000 inhabitants
2007 B6	Suburb school of a big city 19,000 inhabitants
2007 C1	Small urban school in the south of Sweden: 26,400 inhabitants
2007 C2	Small urban school in the south of Sweden: 26,400 inhabitants
2007 D1	Rural school in the north of Sweden: 6500 inhabitants
2007 D2	Rural school in the north of Sweden: 6500 inhabitants
2007 D3	Rural school in the middle of Sweden: 6500 inhabitants
2007 D4	Rural school in the middle of Sweden: 6500 inhabitants
2016 **48 participants** **8 focus group** **5–8 students/ group**	**Place and school**
2016 A1	Big city (one million inhabitants) city centre school
2016 A2	Big city (one million inhabitants) city centre school
2016 B1	Suburb school of a big city 25,000 inhabitants
2016 B2	Suburb school of a big city 25,000 inhabitants
2016 C1	Small urban school in the south of Sweden: 27,300 inhabitants
2016 C2	Small urban school in the south of Sweden: 27,300 inhabitants
2016 D1	Rural school in the north of Sweden: 6000 inhabitants
2016 D2	Rural school in the north of Sweden: 6000 inhabitants

The names of the schools are coded with the year of the study (2007 and 2016) and given the letters A–D to provide information of from which focus group interview the quotes come.

schools across the country and the size of the municipalities (population) (see Table 1 below). In the 2007 study, 14 focus group interviews were conducted with 49 adolescents (24 boys, 25 girls). For both studies, the physical education teachers in the selected schools were informed that we wanted focus group interviews. We asked for volunteers, both sports active and sports inactive students. The teachers decided which of the students who had expressed an interest in participating had made the final selection.

Interview procedure

The data collection for the 2007 study was performed by one of the authors of this paper and the data collection for the 2016 study by both authors. The 60–90-minute focus group interviews were conducted in a similar way: digitally recorded in the form of a private conversation to encourage openness and follow-up questions. A core interview guide with semi-structured questions, based on previous literature, was used (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015; Patton, 2015; Walker et al., 2012) for the interviews. An inductive qualitative content analysis guided the procedure for analysing the two sets of empirical material. Two pilot interviews in 2007 and 2016 were conducted, to gain familiarity with the interview guide.

Ethical considerations

Both interview studies were carried out in accordance with ethical guidelines (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015; Swedish Research Council [SRC], 2019), including gathering informed consent from all participants and parents/guardians of students under 15. At the outset of each interview, the interviewee was guaranteed confidentiality and told that they were not obliged to answer the questions and could leave the interview at any time.

The data is treated as confidential; therefore, we do not identify participants by name or the school, nor do we reveal other easily traceable information in the results presented. We obtained consent for the school's participation from the head teacher. Students from the selected classes had received information about the study during a PE lesson. The guardian/parent of a student who had expressed an interest received information about the study and, together with the student, agreed to the latter's participation (SRC, 2019). None of the students withdrew from the study.

Data analysis procedure

We began the analysis for this paper by listening to and reading the transcripts and made notes especially on the following question: 'What does this comment say about leisure-time and leisure-time practices in relation to sport and physical activity and everyday life?' Next, the transcripts were coded into meaning units from each piece of text considered relevant to the study's aim (Côté et al., 1993). We critically discussed two interviews from the 2007 and 2016 focus groups, the coding density and the relevance of each meaning unit to the study's aim and research questions. Next, the other 18 interviews were coded separately, and the degree of coherence examined. The core comments were categorised into themes (Patton, 2015). After that, we compared the categorisations of themes that we each had found. These essentially corresponded to each other, but we discussed what to call them before reaching an agreement. This part was largely inductive (Côté et al., 1993; Patton, 2015).

After the first categorisation of empirical material into meaning units and themes, we carried out the analytical procedure paying attention to the interrelation of agency and structure, the values at stake and the boundaries of the fields in focus. Three themes were formed: *the organisation of time and practices*, *flexibility* and the culture of *learning and development*. In the following part of the paper findings are described, compared and analysed.

Findings

The organisation of time and practices

In the two sets of empirical material, the adolescents describe in a similar way what leisure- time is all about. Leisure-time is a social-cultural and temporal space that allows them to hang out with friends and do, for example, sports, physical activities or other activities (drama, learning an instrument, etc.). In the 2007 the answers around leisure-time could be:

I do some sports like golf and floorball. (2007 B4 Will)

I have started to play some computer games and watch TV. (2007 D2 Toni)

Being with friends. (2007 D1 Olga)

In 2016 there were similar answers:

I usually play computer games and things like that quite often … I'm also with my friends, doing homework and playing football. (2016 C2 Lars)

Eh, yes … homework … friends … and I work too. (2016 B2 Karin)

I dance and then I do a core workout, some strength training. I'm with my boyfriend and with my friends as well. (2016 C2 Hanna)

For most adolescents, the desired culture of leisure-time practices includes expectations of social spaces and settings where they can forget about everyday life, be alone or with others. Several comments in the 2016 study, but not as common in the 2007 study, are about doing a leisure-time activity to relax from the schoolwork and everyday life: 'So then I don't think about school [—]' (2016 D2 Hans). When schoolwork is mentioned in the 2007 interviews, it is in the context that homework could take a lot of time and would be harder next year in upper secondary school.

Participation in a physical sports activity seems to give something in return, a kind of embodied feeling that they do not want to be without: 'It feels good afterwards, satisfying, doing something practical, something with your whole body' (2016 C1 Ebba). For some, the physical practice appears necessary to be able to cope with everyday life: '[—] Otherwise it will be so monotonous to come home from school, eat, sleep, school [—]' (2016 A2 Gustaf). The physical exercise helps to create a break that requires full participation, thus providing the opportunity to let go of stressful thoughts. Moreover, as one teenager states: '[—] it's like entering another dimension … when moving [—]' (2016 A2 Tor). The 2007 empirical material also contains comments about the feeling of both well-being and belonging: 'I mean [playing floorball] so that you can laugh together and joke with each other' (2007 B2 Kim).

However, leisure-time experiences and expectations differ as several respondents claim there is a lack of leisure-time and of activities worth participating in. Especially in the 2016 study, the feeling of finding it difficult to make choices and/or handle everyday life is present. The noted differences in the leisure-time expectations can be related to structures, practices and experienced opportunities. In 2016, those interviewees satisfied with participating in organised sport had a specific approach to time: it was all about planning and discipline. Some of those adolescents saw themselves, so to speak, as masters of their own time. The interviewees talked about being able to prioritise and negotiate time with regard to, for example, schoolwork and activities:

So if you're doing your work in the lessons, your schoolwork will not take much time. But, on the other hand, you might have to do schoolwork instead of playing on your mobile. You have to prioritise homework if you really need to. (2016 D2 Carl)

After all, I've my own horse, which I can't just leave. I have to see it every day and train. So that's why I stay up at night and finish things. (2016 A1 Sanna)

Also in the 2007 interviews, time, or the lack thereof, was mentioned: 'When you were younger, you could do sport two days a week and also be with friends and all

that. But now when you are older, you have to have a plan if you want to have time for other things too' (2007 D3 Siv). But there is a difference in approach. In 2007, when time was mentioned, it was more about being able to do sport, whereas in 2016 the excerpts touched on the teenagers' whole lives. Schoolwork, having a job, training/being on social media were mentioned more often.

Those dissatisfied with their leisure-time and practices described a gap between their own perceived needs and what everyday life and leisure-time should offer, both similar and different ways. The adolescents in 2007 described how sport took up time, but also that there was a selection going on:

> I got tired of the sports [football, hockey, badminton, tennis and gymnastics]; I felt it was no fun; I didn't want to be forced like that, a certain amount of time and go and train like that. (2007 B2 Pia)

> When you are 15–16 years old, it is too late to start again. They start to rank the players and take those who are good and are doing well. When you are young, it is a sport/game that everybody can play. (2007 B4 Tom)

The adolescents in 2016 describing a gap highlighted having no time, not being happy with their time or having nothing to do. There are also signs of competing fields interrupting and affecting their feeling of time for leisure. The groups of teens who claimed they had no time or nothing to do gave answers such as: 'I don't have much leisure-time' 'I'm not satisfied with my leisure-time activities' (2016 A2 Freddy); 'Sometimes, like this, I can't do anything [during my leisure-time]' (2016 B2 Mikael); 'I don't have time to have free time, not very happy with my leisure-time' (2016 A1 Elin). Even though 'time' is the same, still 24 hours in the day, the respondents in 2016 expressed the view that time was mostly something insufficient and that school and schoolwork were unpredictable. Adolescents like Freddy and Elin stated that they wanted more time. Others like Sven below said that they were going to stop doing activities due to schoolwork and the experienced lack of time. A negotiation is going on about what fields are of importance or open for a continued participation and positioning:

> So I'm playing football. I started this term. I thought it might be … I like playing football, have done it before … something I can do when I don't study. Though it's become like … it hasn't worked because school takes up all my time. So I'll have to stop now. (2016 A2 Sven)

Several of the respondents in both sets of empirical material said that if and when they had time and activities to do, they participated in sports or physical activities. Three structures and organising principles of leisure-time practices connected to sports and physical activities emerged in the material: club-organised, light communities and self-organised (see, for example, Borgers et al., 2016). The examples given of club-organised activities are similar: 'Floorball and football, and homework, trying to juggle all of it' (2016 C2 Lars); 'Handball, Monday, football, Tuesday and Thursday … and guitar on Wednesday' (2016 B1 Eva), 'I do boxing' (2007 B5 Claes).

Participation in activities run by light communities like fitness and dance centres was mentioned much more in the 2016 study, both by boys and girls (see also Thedin Jakobsson et al., 2018). Here the participation often took a looser (drop-in) form: 'Sometimes I go to the gym' (2016 B2 Liv). The different examples of light

communities had all a drop-in character with 'looser' structures, yet governed by social-cultural norms and values about, for example, specific training methods, body ideals: '[…] you work out to look good, be in shape.' (2007 B4 Hans).

The third leisure-time practice described was the self-organised or informal practices (see also Bäckström & Sand, 2019; Engström, 2008; Harris et al., 2017). The adolescents attracted to these kinds of leisure-time practices said that they decided when (time), where, with whom and how. These activities were, for example, jogging, skateboarding, snowboarding, spontaneously playing football or floorball with friends. Skateboarding and snowboarding were more common among boys both in 2007 and 2016.

The described structuring of leisure-time practices can be understood as ways of positioning oneself as a social agent with certain dispositions and symbolic capital in different social rooms in the field of sport and physical training**.** The establishment of light communities over the years with more open boundaries has caught the interest and taste of the adolescents interviewed in 2016. This is a place to be, and it fits with the 'lack of time' discourse. Still, certain dispositions are needed to experience this feeling of fitting in (Engström, 2008; Norberg, 2020; Vollmer et al., 2019).

Flexibility

Almost all of the adolescents in the 2007 and 2016 studies participated in club sport at one time or another during their childhood and teenage years; some for a short time, others still participated (Thedin Jakobsson et al., 2012, 2018). This reflects sports participation in many of the Nordic countries (Engström, 2008; Norberg, 2020; Skille, 2005). Some of the teenagers seem to have acquired a taste for sport, so to say, and stay on. However, many children just participate for a short time. At the age of 15, many adolescents are in between or moving towards new social spaces (Bauman, 2001). The adolescents in the studies gave examples of how this stress to 'move on' had been constrained by a situation that gave them reasons to act. This is described in both sets of empirical material in similar ways but with different emphases. We recognise from existing literature several of the reasons for leaving (Coakley & Pike, 2014; Frydendahl Nielsen et al., 2018; Pilgaard, 2012, 2013): not having the time, not having fun, or no team available. In both studies, the focus group interviewees in the less populated areas more often mentioned a lack of team-mates as a reason for leaving. The lack of same-aged boys or girls challenged the adolescents' expectations and understandings of sports practice: 'You lose interest because you have to practice with girls since there are not enough boys who want to play' (2007 D2 Karl), or 'There're not so many young people in our village, and there're no girls at all who want to play handball' (2016 D2 Lisa). Organised sport, or the sports clubs, have not succeeded with finding new forms of sport practices, and breaking the gender order, mixing girls and boys.

The discourse of flexibility appears to be more emphasised in the 2016 material. Valter for instance states: 'I do Thai boxing once a week, but it doesn't always work out because … hmm … it is on Tuesdays, and if it had been at weekends, it would have been easier' (2016 A1 Valter). In 2007, it was less about flexibility and more

about the possibility of returning to a sport: '/… like football, you can't take a break and come back later. You will not be allowed back on the team' (2007 D1 Stina).

It seems as if flexibility is almost a precondition in 2016 when reasoning about leisure-time practices. Here the growing commercial field of digital leisure-time activities emerges as a contrast to organised club sport. The structure of this is experienced as offering accessible, flexible and social activities. James, interviewed as part of the 2016 study, describes how computer gaming gives him opportunities and represents an inherent perfect match between time, challenge and social interaction in comparison to the structure and management of more traditional leisure-time activities: 'There're other demands … for example, if you get tired of a [computer] game, then you can just change games … or level' (2016 C2 James).

The online activities allow the participants to move in and out of different communities as well as choose the level, setting and co-player. You invest your time and skills according to self-selected levels; you control when, where, with whom and why. James experienced online activities like gaming as a self-organised practice, empowering, supporting well-being and free from the constraints of positioning oneself physically. Furthermore, they were free from limits of time, place and space. Although computer and TV games were around in 2007, it was not at all as common in society as in 2016. Even if gaming and social media have their distinction values, traditional class/gender are more absent as a symbolic capital. One can be a follower of similar influencers and use different social media sites and play different social media games regardless of class and socio-economic capital

Culture of learning and development

Insufficient time, a lack of team-mates or geographical circumstances were, for example, reasons given by interviewees in 2007 and 2016 for not continuing their sport practices, resulting in their taking a new direction. But there were also other accompanying discourses influencing the need to move on, one being the discourse of *learning and development*: leisure-time practices should help learning and development. The 2016 interviews stress the relationship between time spent and development (in some way). This emerged as a strong discourse for participation. In the 2007 study, the desire for learning and developing is characterised by improving, to become, for instance, a better football player or dancer: 'It is a good team, and we all develop and get better; the training is of high quality' (2007 B1 Eve). Here it is about practising hard to keep your place in the team. We see a shift from the collective to the individual. Johan says, for example:

> It's nice to know how you're developing, for example comparing to how well you did a year ago. If you see that you've really improved, you'll be satisfied. You've done something good, and you feel good about yourself. (2016 B1 Johan)

The culture of learning and development is not always expressed in the focus group interviews as part of an investment, a social ambition, but it can be analysed in such ways. If they lacked a sense of *illusio*, this was interpreted as a reason to leave a social space as they had no personal interest or investment: there must be something to play for. The risk of 'getting stuck', i.e. not being able to get a return on the invested time, is used repeatedly to explain the need to move on. Bourdieu (2000)

states that as soon as certain modes of thinking are generated in a particular social context and the agent lacks a sense of possibility, this triggers negotiations, conflicts of interests, interactions that shape and reshape habitus and structures. To escape a sense of no illusio, the agent can question an experienced doxa, thus giving reasons to invest in something new or different (Bourdieu, 2000).

Risking getting stuck is also illustrated by excerpts like 'It's easy to get tired if you do the same thing all the time' [referring to club sport training] (2016 D1 Alex). Similar comments about sport were made in 2007: 'It is boring doing the same thing the whole time' (2007 A1 Ada); 'You have to do more than you can; you have to try and go beyond your capabilities. Otherwise you get stuck; you get tired and you quit' (2007 A2 Filip). This trigger of moving on can be understood in the light of organised club sport as a social-cultural space where doing sport is quite predictable, but also in relation to the age group studied: 'It was different when you were younger. Then, when you were just a kid, you did what you were told (or supposed) to do' (2016 B1 Adam). The adolescents move and act here and now and over time. Per says:

> Yes, I think there were fewer choices when you were younger. Then the parents maybe just said, 'Nah, try this … and this'. Because you didn't really know what you were interested in. Now I think you know what you like; then you can choose. (2016 A2 Per)

Per pays attention to his interest, what to choose, his own positioning and responsibility for his choices. Kim focuses on experienced skills investment that can pay off, otherwise it becomes of less value and interest: 'If you only practice once a week, you don't learn that much' (2016 B). Achieving the feeling of future development, illusio, and to take responsibility for this emerges as a strong discourse in 2016. It is about self-development, the use and value of leisure-time, but also about the immediate fit between habitus and field. It should be of value, meaningful, but it is difficult to say what this 'meaningfulness' consists of, and it is not as simple as just doing it (see, for example, Thedin Jakobsson, 2014). Let us turn to a summarising discussion of the key findings.

Discussion

This comparative study of the focus group interviews conducted in 2007 and 2016 (almost 10 years apart) is limited in size and research design. Therefore, no general conclusions can be drawn. However, the comparative approach provides aspects of understanding how young people view and reason about leisure-time practices and everyday life in relation to a changing recreational landscape. Our reading of their feelings, thoughts and judgements are related to surrounding objective structures and back again.

Several similarities of taste can be observed between the 2007 and 2016 focus group interviews, but differences can also be found in the findings. It appears that almost 10 years later, several of the Swedish adolescents' taste for club sports is still there. However, external factors such as the changed landscape, with an increased commercial market with light communities for fitness training, have affected the regular leisure-time practices of the adolescents interviewed (see Borgers et al., 2016; Thedin Jakobsson, 2014). A first key finding is how the taste for new organisational

structures like light communities and self-organised practices interrelate with external factors. The light communities offer values and activities in line with the adolescents' dispositions in terms of views on the investment in, or purpose of, leisure-time, namely being with friends, belonging and developing (Harris et al., 2017; Thomas, 2015; Thomson, 2007). The adolescents describe this choice as a 'rational choice', 'the right thing', at least among those who are in the position to make a choice. Some, but not all, are able to participate in both types of practices in parallel as long as time and structure permit and the agent's habitus, capital and positions converge. This dual participation can be seen as part of a relational mechanisms and negotiations with a surrounding social environment. It requires a certain habitus and a social, cultural and economic disposition, which is often out of the adolescents' control (Bourdieu, 1990; Tolonen, 2013).

Another key finding is the difference in the experiencing of time. This difference can be linked to aspects of school performance caused by a shift in political school discourse. In 2007, the Swedish Parliament passed legislation introducing an earlier assessment of knowledge, with grades from Year Six instead of Year Eight, accompanied by stricter knowledge requirements and the measuring thereof. All the interviewed adolescents in 2016, regardless of gender, the geographical location of the school, mentioned the importance of school success. This was not highlighted in 2007 material.

An aspect of this key finding is the tension between experienced time and flexibility. The development of a digitalised leisure-time landscape with accessible technological solutions has affected the boundaries of the overall field of recreation influencing its structures (Eklund & Roman, 2019). In 2007, smartphones had not yet become 'a part of our bodies', although TV and computer games and social websites were around. In the current digital leisure-time landscape, activities are offered in a plentiful and accessible open form. Time is still the same, only 24 hours in a day, but the options have increased and changed over time, and adolescents have to prioritise. Other values such as academic success and the investing in well-being are competing with each other, suggesting a tension between time and flexibility.

A difference to be noted between the two empirical materials is the taste for flexibility. The need for flexibility as experienced by the 2016 adolescents can be seen in relation to both the light communities and the digital recreational landscape. Flexibility seems inherent in the digital landscape in relation to other more traditional leisure activities. Here the adolescents can enter and exit different virtual communities (if not all) and choose players, friends, a team or a social community. The values at stake and the dispositions needed vary and can quickly change. In contrast, there is club sport, perceived as inflexible and strongly questioned by groups of the 2016 adolescents.

A third key finding is the different focus on *learning and development*. In 2016, leisure-time emerged as part of an individual investment and the adolescents are eager to take responsibility for this. They value different choices regarding what is at stake in different and similar fields, like performances in school, sport or other activities. On the one hand, they express a desire for team spirit, belonging and sharing values with others. On the other hand, they search for their own way of achieving self-

development and well-being, and want to influence the 'how'. They take for granted that they can decide their leisure-time activities. Similar ways of reasoning are evident in Hedenborg & Glaser's study (2013) of young people's experiences of organised sport and expectations of future sports environments. This independent way of reasoning is also found in a study of girls' leaving their floorball teams, not seeking any support from parents/guardians or coaches during the leaving process (Eliasson & Johansson, 2014). These strategies can, however, as Tolonen (2013) points out, be challenged by strong, powerful structures (see also Bauman, 2001; Illeris et al., 2009; Thomson, 2007).

Adolescents are participating in a variety of learning environments at the same time as part of everyday life. This participation involves thinking, feeling and doing. And this has consequences when learning is seen as a relational and embodied practice of belonging. According to the findings of the study by Karp et al. (2014), the initiatives introduced to promote organised sport in Sweden have had an inbuilt inertia and lacked new measures, expressed as 'qualitative leaps', for how sport could or should be organised. In this comparative study of adolescents as social agents, their own valuing determines whether there is a culture of possible learning and development. It does not primarily seem to be club sport itself but, in Bourdieuian terms, the interrelated dimensions of the structure of organised sport and the values at stake. Here the values of a field are set against the doxa. Belonging affects both the individual's habitus in practice and the relations embedded in negotiations of power in everyday practice: what is in it for me? (Thomas, 2015; Thomson, 2007) In the 2016 study, the adolescents criticised existing organised sport practices for inflexibility and a lack of possibilities of learning and development. Furthermore, the importance of belonging emerged in several additional ways. For example, one can be part of a club sport team and communities on-line, which may not be in conflict provided that learning and development are experienced. Moreover, belonging has to be understood in relation to the changing recreational landscape that occurred over time, resulting in an ever-growing variety of recreational activities and ways of belonging, with partly new and other structures and values at stake that shape and reshape habitus (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

To sum up

This comparative cross-sectional, longitudinal study shows that the values of club sport and the way it is organised are being challenged and face intense competition. Though, the 'unnoticed power of structure' is not solely responsible for the actions taken; culture, and more specifically digital youth culture, seems to play a significant role in relation to structure (see also Frydendahl Nielsen et al., 2018). A conclusion drawn from the focus group interviews with almost 10 years apart, indicate that new structures of light and self-organised sport communities, a changed school discourse, and a digital leisure-time landscape challenges not only young people's taste for sport and ways of navigation, but also future policies and initiatives for organised club sport and the entire community of leisure-time practices.

Note

1. The Swedish Sports Confederation (RF) is the country's largest popular and non-profit movement with around 22,000 sports clubs. RF is an independent non-government organisation and relies on government funding (Bergsgard & Norberg, 2010).

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