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What is valued in *friluftsliv* within PE teacher education?

- Swedish PE teacher educators' thoughts about *friluftsliv* analysed through the perspective of Pierre Bourdieu.

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Abstract

The value assigned to *friluftsliv* (activities similar to outdoor education) in Physical Education Teacher Education (PETE) and in the PE syllabus in Sweden does not seem to result in the implementation of *friluftsliv* in the practice of teaching in Swedish schools. This study investigates how the identified values of *friluftsliv*, expressed in interviews with 17 PE teacher educators in Sweden, reflect struggles for legitimate and privileged knowledge in PETE. The exploration of *friluftsliv* within PETE reveals positions that appear to be an effect of the dominating logic of sport within Swedish PETE and the limited influence of the academic field. The educational consequences of the identified values are analysed and discussed from a socio-cultural perspective.

Keywords

Friluftsliv, sport, physical education teacher education, field, symbolic capital,

Introduction

In Physical Education Teacher Education (PETE) in Sweden, a considerable amount of time is assigned to *friluftsliv*, the Scandinavian concept signifying outdoor life and activities. At some institutions *friluftsliv* is even a special profile (see e.g., 1. <https://portal.student.ltu.se>). Although international research has emphasised the disjunction between school syllabi in Physical Education (PE) and the educational content in PETE (Kirk & MacDonald, 2001; MacDonald *et al.*, 2002; Tinning, 2004), this does not seem to be the case with *friluftsliv* in Sweden, which is one of few compulsory elements in the PE syllabus in compulsory school and upper secondary school (2. www3.skolverket.se; 3. www3.skolverket.se). However, studies show that *friluftsliv* is not in fact a common component of PE teaching in Swedish schools and is often replaced by sports (Al-Abdi, 1984; Backman, 2004; Skolverket, 2005). The dominant position of *friluftsliv* within Swedish PETE would therefore seem ambiguous. This observation, along with the fact that there are few national regulations for PE teacher education courses (4. www.hsv.se), gave the impetus for this exploration of *friluftsliv* within Swedish PETE.

Research claims that privileged knowledge in PETE is based on the differing traditions of science and sport (Annerstedt, 1991; Tinning & Glasby, 2002; Tinning, 1991; Tinning, 2004; MacDonald *et al.* 2002). In my aim to analyse values expressed in the concept of *friluftsliv* I intend to explore here the relationships between *friluftsliv* and sport within Swedish PETE. Since the definition of *friluftsliv*, and its similarities as outdoor education and outdoor recreation, is based on its distinction from sports (Bunting, 1989; Cousineau, 1989; Friluftgruppen, 1999; Tordsson, 2002), the exploration of the values of *friluftsliv* can contribute to a further understanding of how the influence of sport within PETE is constituted. It may also contribute to explaining the discrepancy between privileged knowledge in higher education and implemented teaching in schools.

Drawing on theories of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, I attempt to explore pedagogic problems using a socio-cultural approach. The empirical information consists of interviews with 17 PE teacher educators teaching *friluftsliv* at eight different higher education departments in Sweden. The

PE teacher educators participating in this study play a very important role, given that their ideas about *friluftsliv* may leave a powerful imprint on their students' future teaching. They can therefore be seen as conveyers of the values of *friluftsliv*.

The concept of friluftsliv

Friluftsliv is a Scandinavian concept similar to *outdoor recreation* and *outdoor education* (Faarlund, 1994; Repp, 1996b; Sandell, 1991). It has sometimes been translated as *outdoor life* (Repp, 1996a; Faarlund, 1974), but the number of English publications using the concept *friluftsliv* and thereby referring to its specific relation to Scandinavian countryside, history and culture, are increasing (see e.g., Breivik, 1989; Duenkel & Pratt, 2001; Henderson, 1997; Sandell, 2001). Norway has come to have the preferential right of interpretation, probably due to the extent and the history of research in *friluftsliv* in that country. An official definition was stated by the Norwegian government more than three decades ago:

Friluftsliv entails living and engaging in physical activity in the open air during leisure time in order to achieve a change of setting and to gain experiences of our natural surroundings (St.meld. 1972, my translation)

Despite the validity of this definition, different researchers and organizations have loudly proclaimed a variety of distinguishing features in *friluftsliv*, thus resulting in some dissonance concerning its value and meaning. The distinctions have mainly concerned where, how and with what purposes *friluftsliv* should be practised (Dahle, 2002; Faarlund, 1978; Tordsson, 1993, p. 32; 5. www.frilufts.se), a matter also discussed in the definition of outdoor education and outdoor recreation (Cousineau, 1989; Priest, 1986; PCOAO, 1986). The development of *friluftsliv* in Sweden has similarities to that in Norway, although not with the same high degree of autonomy towards sport (Schantz, 2004, p. 38-45, 112; Nilsson, 2004). In 1969, a governmental report in Sweden (SOU 1969) defined both sport and *friluftsliv* as “physical activity performed with the purpose of gaining

exercise and recreation or achieving results in competitions” (Lindroth 1995, p. 11). This resulted in strong reactions from several *friluftsliv* organizations not wanting to be associated with competition. Eventually the Swedish government adopted the Norwegian definition (Friluftgruppen 1999, p. 22) and the level of discussion concerning the values of *friluftsliv* in Sweden has increased (Backman, 2005; Sandell, 2001; Sandell, 2003; Öhman 1999, p. 6). To illustrate the difference between *friluftsliv* and outdoor recreation, Henderson (2001) argues that *friluftsliv* is “outdoor recreation with its heart within the land and linked to a tradition of being and learning with the land.”

Exploring *friluftsliv* within PETE using the concepts of Bourdieu

To expose the debates and the values existing among *friluftsliv* educators within PETE, I find Bourdieu’s concept *social field* to be of significant use. Bourdieu’s definition of *social field* is the following:

...a field may be defined as a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions. These positions are objectively defined (...) by the present and potential situation in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relation to other positions. (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 97)

Broady’s (1990) short but vigorous interpretation of the concept of social field has also been of great importance for me in this paper. He claims a social field to exist when “a limited group of people or institutions struggle for something common to them” (p. 270, my translation). Bourdieu (1978) discusses sport as *a field of competition*, a space where supply and demand meet, and in which agents have specific interests tied to their social positions in the field. Several researchers have explored the field of sport (Jarvie & Maguire, 1994, p. 183-210; Munk, 1999; Vaugrand, 2001) and there have also been attempts to discuss *friluftsliv* (Richardsson, 1994) and PETE (Brown, 2005) as social fields.

Apart from identifying the struggles, or debates, among PE teacher educators teaching *friluftsliv*, my purpose is also to reveal the most dominant and valued positions in the field. To describe what is recognized as valuable in a social field, Bourdieu uses the concept of *symbolic capital*. Although referring to the field as an economic market where goods are produced and consumed (1990, p. 112-121; 1993, p. 30-40; 2000, p. 10), Bourdieu's primary interest is not in material or economic capital but in other forms of capital through which people gain confidence and respect in certain social contexts.

Symbolic capital is this denied capital, recognized as legitimate... perhaps the only form of accumulation when economic capital is not recognized (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 118).

One type of symbolic capital, and one of Bourdieu's most well-known concepts, is *cultural capital*. By this he means the ability of expressing oneself in the spoken and written language, familiarity with art and literature and different types of education. While cultural capital deals with conditions of dominance in society in general, symbolic capital among, for example, a group of mountain-climbers may well be knowledge about the climate in the Alps. What appears as symbolic capital among PE teacher educators teaching *friluftsliv* is therefore not directly transferable to another context. Bourdieu emphasises the dependence of symbolic capital on context:

A capital does not exist and function except in relation to a field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 101).

Shilling (1993) and Brown (2005) mention *physical capital* which they believe is expressed in PE and in PETE. They suggest that the valuation of the appearance and the movement of the body may constitute a physical capital which can be transformed into other forms of capital when the pupils or students enter a field of education. Since PE and PETE involves debates concerning legitimate knowledge and the influence of sport (Annerstedt, 1991; Kirk & MacDonald, 2001; MacDonald et al., 2002;

Tinning & Glasby, 2002; Tinning, 1991; Tinning, 2004) and have previously been explored using Bourdieu's concepts (Brown, 2005; Ekberg, 2005), I find social field and symbolic capital useful concepts in exploring struggles among *friluftsliv*-educators in PETE. The aim is not to determine the existence of a social field or a certain symbolic capital, but rather to explore what the use of the concepts as analytical tools can contribute in terms of understanding the values in *friluftsliv* and the relation between sport and *friluftsliv* within PETE.

***Friluftsliv* in a Swedish school context**

In Sweden, as well as in several other countries, *friluftsliv* and outdoor activities are expressed in the syllabus for PE (3. www3.skolverket.se; Bunting, 1989; Cousineau, 1989; Davies, 1992; Lynch, 2002; Williams, 1994). In earlier PE syllabi in Sweden, activities like skating, skiing, and hiking were specified, but after the last curriculum reform in 1994, where the change from stipulation of content into stipulation of goals is most clearly expressed, different outdoor activities are merely described as *friluftsliv*. Swedish PE teachers are today given the responsibility for choosing the content and methods aimed to reach the goals stated in the national syllabus. For example, after the fifth year in school, pupils should have attained a "basic knowledge of outdoor life [*friluftsliv*]..." (3. www3.skolverket.se). Along with this, the number of days assigned to *friluftsliv* in the Swedish school have changed from 10-12 stipulated days in the 1950's, into a voluntary element today (Backman, 2004, p. 178). However, there are significant variations in the interpretation of the syllabus in Swedish PE (Larsson, 2004) and the teaching of *friluftsliv* does not seem to contain the values expressed in the government's definition (Friluftgruppen 1999, p. 22) but has instead more similarities with traditional sport (Al-Abdi, 1984; Backman, 2004; Skolverket, 2005). In England, Canada and some US states, the teaching of outdoor education and outdoor recreation is also the PE teachers' responsibility and it has been questioned whether the PE teacher is the most suitable teacher for this task, based on the focus on sport and physical skills in PE with not as much

emphasis on holistic education (Bunting, 1989; Cousineau, 1989; Williams, 1994; Davies, 1992).

***Friluftsliv* and the debates and values in PETE**

The valuation of *friluftsliv* within Swedish PE is also reflected in PETE. In a comparative study of the occurrence of *friluftsliv* at PETE institutions, Schantz and Silvander (2004) found that the extent of *friluftsliv* corresponds to 7,5-15 ECTS (European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System) of the examined 90 ECTS in PETE programmes. Several other outdoor-related topics, such as outdoor adventure and nature tourism, were also detected, which made the occurrence of *friluftsliv* difficult to assess (p. 31-36). Apart from this report, there is a lack of research concerning *friluftsliv* within Swedish PETE. However, the influence of sport within PETE has been described by Annerstedt (1991) as a conflict between the interests of educating coaches for the Swedish sport movement on the one hand, and, on the other, satisfying the demand for well-educated PE teachers (p. 123). His study also highlights former PE teacher student's criticism of their education as divorced from reality, in lack of adaptation to school conditions and as focused on developing physical skills (ibid, p. 241-245). Studies of conditions in Australia, New Zealand and England indicate the existence of debates concerning values in PETE and claim that privileged knowledge is more of a technical and instrumental character, influenced by the traditions of science and sport, than due to changes in curriculum and society in general and to other forms of physical activity (Kirk & MacDonald, 2001; MacDonald et al., 2002; Tinning & Glasby, 2002; Tinning, 1991; Tinning, 2004). The aim of this paper is to investigate how the debate concerning values in *friluftsliv* is reflected in the struggles within PETE in Sweden. More specifically the questions being asked are, firstly: What specific values in the *friluftsliv* practised within PETE do Swedish PE teacher educators publicly discuss? and secondly: What is the relationship between *friluftsliv* and sport within PETE according to Swedish PE teacher educators? Based on the answers given to these questions I also discuss some pedagogic consequences.

Method

The choice of qualitative interviews

In the thematizing process described by Kvale (1996) as one of the interview stages, he emphasizes the importance of clarifying the *what* and *why* questions before choosing the method (p. 94-98). Based on my purpose to develop a deeper understanding of what Patton (1980) describes as the non-observable, inner perspectives, i.e., PE teacher educator's thoughts about the values of *friluftsliv* within PETE, I have found qualitative interviews to be a suitable method (p. 196-197). Therefore it has been of importance for the respondents to talk openly about their experiences and for me to ask follow-up questions (Creswell, 2002, p. 54 and p.145-146). My understanding of and interest in the object of study has been developed through studies of literature as well as through teaching PE teacher students in *friluftsliv*.

Sample selection

The sample consists of 17 PE teacher educators (12 men and five women) working at eight higher education departments in Sweden. From the 16 PETE departments in Sweden, the sample was selected on two criteria: 1) The department should offer courses in PE up to at least 90 ECTS, i.e. 1.5 years of full-time study. 2) From the departments that fulfilled the first criterion, the ones with the longest history of educating PE teachers were chosen. The departments then chose their own participants, but two criteria were asked for: 1) The respondents were mainly to be engaged in teaching *friluftsliv*. 2) Based on the fact that research emphasises *friluftsliv* and outdoor recreation/education as a male hegemony (see e.g., Humberstone, 2000; Pedersen, 2003), the participation of one male and one female respondent was required from each department. There were thus two respondents from each department except for one with three respondents. The sample of departments as well as of respondents corresponds to what Creswell (2002, p. 194) and Cohen *et al.* (2000, p. 103-104) describe as purposeful or purposive sampling.

Collection of data

The interviews were carried out during four weeks in May 2004 in an isolated room at each department. The interviews lasted between 60 and 90 minutes, and were carried out as a private conversation with one exception, where the respondents asked to be interviewed as a pair. After approval, all the interviews were recorded on tape. An interview guide was used as support, and the questions can be described as semi-standardized and semi-structured. The purpose was to combine the exploration of a number of subject areas with a certain amount of freedom in the succession and the extent of the questions (Patton, 1980, p. 197-205). All of the interviews have been carried out and analysed in accordance with ethical guidelines concerning informed approval, confidentiality, consequences and the role of the researcher (Kvale, 1996, p. 109-123). The names in the study are pseudonyms and since the interviews were carried out in Swedish, the quotes presented are translated by the author.

Transcription and analysis

The interviews were all transcribed word for word within two months from the dates they took place. Apart from the themes discussed in this article, the interviews consisted of other question areas, such as the respondent's background, *friluftsliv* as a part of PE and PETE and assessment of knowledge in *friluftsliv*. In my analyses, I have searched for patterns that recur in my conversations with the PE teacher educators. The themes and concepts used to formulate, analyse and discuss the questions in this article have thus appeared in the analyses of the respondents' statements and were not used as specific questions (Kvale, 1996, p. 176-209; Patton, 1980, p. 295-306).

The respondents' position

To understand from what position the respondents' statements are made, it is important to understand what fields they are agents in. Firstly, the PE teacher educators can be seen as agents within *the academic field*, and therefore they have to relate to the specific structure and the capital that exists within this field. Secondly, based on the proved influence of sport, PETE in Sweden can be considered a part of *the field of sport*, i.e., as an academic subfield within the field of sport. PETE appears at the juncture of

the academic field and the field of sport and can therefore be understood as a subfield to both these fields. However, my respondents are not PE teacher educators in general but more or less specialized in teaching *friluftsliv*. Therefore, to know whether they regard themselves as agents in the academic field, within the field of sport or perhaps in a possible field of *friluftsliv*, my aim is to explore the relation between sport and *friluftsliv* within PETE, using Bourdieu's field theory.

The debates about values in *friluftsliv* within Swedish PETE

Experience of nature vs. competition

The respondents expressed a fairly homogeneous view of what they considered valuable in *friluftsliv*. Most of them suggested that *experience of nature* is, or should be, the legitimate way of defining the essence of *friluftsliv*.

... to me, *friluftsliv* is very much a question of *experiencing nature* without any pressure, where you can take part on your own terms.
(Eva)

However, it was also suggested that the value of the *experience of nature* could vary with context. Maria expressed the difficulty of arguing for *the experience of nature* compared to what is traditionally considered knowledge of more importance.

...I mean, the students want to go out and achieve; they get frustrated by talk of experiences! Somehow they have as their frame of reference the effective use of time and the importance of learning something that can be considered useful. (Maria)

Most of the respondents were of the opinion that *friluftsliv* should not be characterised by *competition* and physical achievements that can put pressure on the performers. However, not all of them were convinced of the necessity of separating *competition* from *friluftsliv*.

There can be elements of *competition* included, but it shouldn't be the main purpose of the activity. (Per)

The difficulty of keeping *competition* at a distance was also stressed. It was described as sneaking up on you whether you want it or not, difficult to control and making people invent new activities that used to be performed in a different way.

Well, unfortunately, many of the activities will eventually lead to *competition*. If you start by going on skiing tours to mountain tops, then it suddenly becomes ski alpinism... (Staffan)

Apart from some exceptions, the general idea among the respondents was that *competition* should be the logic of sport. Several PE teacher educators argued that sport and *friluftsliv* are fundamentally different in the sense that the meaning of the practice is different. Tordsson (2002) describes *experience of nature* and *competition* as different rationalities. He argues that *competition* is characterised by objectivity and external regulations, while *experience of nature* is based on subjectivity and an inner sense of meaning (p. 61-66). *The experience of nature* as the essence of *friluftsliv* is also expressed in the official definition in Sweden and Norway (St.meld. 1972; Friluftgruppen, 1999, p. 22).

The talk of *experience of nature* in *friluftsliv* seems ambiguous from the students' perspective, in the sense that it is emphasised as a primary value but seems difficult to legitimatise as important knowledge. I will return to what the possible consequences of this ambiguity may be.

The ordinary vs. the exclusive

The interviews also revolved around whether *friluftsliv* is public property, available to everyone or something to be practised by a privileged few. Among other things, the PE teacher educators had different attitudes toward the importance of physical activity in *friluftsliv*. Some of them suggested that physical exertion can be an important element while others emphasised that the achievements could also be of a more tranquil nature.

Of course there are physical demands in *friluftsliv*! If you are paddling there is physical activity and you are achieving... if you are going on a tour in the mountains that is also an achievement... (Richard)

I think fly-fishing is *friluftsliv* but I don't consider it physical activity. Physical activity is not a necessity in *friluftsliv*. (Fredrik)

Different opinions emerged concerning where *friluftsliv* is to be carried out. Several respondents claimed that *friluftsliv* should take place in unspoiled nature without any trace of civilization and that this kind of environment is an important element for *friluftsliv* to be experienced as "real", especially in a context of education.

...from an educational perspective, the choice of environment where the activities take place is important to create interest. (Staffan)

...it's not as difficult to practise *friluftsliv* in a schoolyard as it is far away. (Mats)

It was also claimed that *friluftsliv* can take place in an urban environment and that this was especially suitable when teaching *friluftsliv* in school. What is to be regarded as nature was in this instance suggested to be based upon individual experience.

Actually, I think it is more about the individual experience and that *friluftsliv* can be experienced even in a park in town. (Lennart)

The respondents' statements on *friluftsliv* include both wide and general descriptions, as well as more limited and specific. I have called these themes *ordinary* and *exclusive friluftsliv*. *Ordinary friluftsliv* is characterised by being easily accessible, for example, that it is enough just to be outdoors (PCOAO 1986), and it can also be expressed by not demanding any special qualities in order to be practised. In relation to this, *exclusive friluftsliv* is something for a privileged few. It is performed in a special and perhaps somewhat inaccessible kind of countryside (Tordsson,

1993, p. 32) and demands special qualities from the participants. In *exclusive friluftsliv*, it is also possible to make *distinctions* in relation to *ordinary friluftsliv* (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 226-252). My impression was that *exclusive friluftsliv* seemed to be especially valuable within PETE while *ordinary friluftsliv* was expressed as the form possible to implement within a school context. The educational consequences drawn from this disparity will be further discussed later.

The genuine vs. the new

What I have called *exclusive friluftsliv* can also be interpreted as something genuine and original. Characteristic of *genuine friluftsliv* is a simple and rather Spartan life close to nature without too many modern and technical aids. This is illustrated by Anders' description of the peacefulness during the skiing tours in the mountains and by the expectation of clean-living and silence during a canoe excursion.

About 10-15 years ago we only had hiking and skiing tours in the mountains in the PETE, but after some time downhill skiing became popular. Then you could be out in the wilderness for a week and when you arrived in Are [famous downhill skiing resort in Sweden] with speakers on the slopes and all the commercialism... you almost wanted to go back to the mountains because it is such collision of cultures! (Anders)

There was also an example of non-*friluftsliv* when a group from Denmark had a party the whole night on the other side [of the lake]. (Anders)

By *genuine friluftsliv* I refer to what have also been described as the Nordic, Scandinavian or Norwegian tradition of *friluftsliv*; an unaffected, original and pure way of living and an adaptation to the living landscape. It can also be expressed as an alternative lifestyle to modern society and civilization (Breivik, 1989; Dahle, 1994; Faarlund 1974, p. 63-64; Henderson, 1997). The respondents also suggested that several modern occurrences could be difficult to define. Many activities traditionally associated with *friluftsliv* have been more or less "sportified" and it was

emphasised that sometimes the focus is more on the activity than on nature. Several respondents had doubts as to whether *Adventure Racing* (AR, a competitive form of adventurous *friluftsliv*) could qualify as *friluftsliv*.

...AR is more of a competition based on physical achievement. It's possible that they enjoy nature during their training but the point of the practice is the competition and that's more like a classic sport. (Staffan)

You might just as well have that AR-competition in a warehouse somewhere... (Lennart)

The influence of major processes in society such as commercialization, technicalization and medialization may also have resulted in what I have called *new friluftsliv*, a development studied by Sandell (2000) and Dearden & Andreassen (1987). *New friluftsliv* may also be seen as a consequence of attempts to separate sport and *friluftsliv*, leaving a *grey zone* (Backman, 2005). In Bourdieu's analyses of the cultural field in France, the new and innovative appeared as opposite positions to the old and obsolete (2000, p. 192). *The new* and *the genuine* in this study could therefore be seen as general expressions appearing in analyses of other fields. My impression was that the *genuine friluftsliv* was more valuable than the *new*.

The theoretical vs. the practical

Since the respondents are teacher educators, the conversations also came to deal with what is considered important knowledge. The tradition and character of PE in Sweden have contributed to a dichotomization of *theoretical* and *practical knowledge* (Larsson, 2002; Larsson & Redelius, 2004), a division that was confirmed in my interviews.

...I see myself as a practitioner and I like the contact with the students. I am a teaching person so to speak... (Viktor)

When speaking of knowledge in *friluftsliv*, the importance of controlling the technique and the body skills in the performance of activities was emphasized. A general description was that if you lack the physical skills to

perform, you will not be able to focus your attention on the nature surrounding you. The respondents argued that the *experience of nature* presupposes physical and motor skills, regardless of the activity's demands on physical activity.

The better your skills in skiing or paddling are, the richer the experience! (Maria)

Several of the respondents highlighted technique and physical skills as an important part of the assessment of knowledge in *friluftsliv*. The legitimization of *the practical friluftsliv* in PETE is illustrated by Emma:

There's a lot of tradition in it... we spend a lot of time at it and the demands are rather high, yes. (Emma)

The importance of assimilating knowledge through literature and being able to reflect, analyse and discuss *friluftsliv* as a social, cultural and educational phenomenon was also mentioned. This theme I have described as *theoretical friluftsliv*. Several of the respondents suggested that *theoretical friluftsliv* is an important part of the student's knowledge of *friluftsliv*, but *practical friluftsliv* seemed to be given priority.

...I'm not convinced about science in *friluftsliv*... I believe in a lot of experience and not too much of theory. (Fredrik)

It appears as if *the theoretical* and *the practical* is a logic used for structuring the knowledge in *friluftsliv* within PETE. While *theoretical knowledge* is recognized as valuable in the academic field in general (Gustavsson, 2004), it appears as if *practical knowledge*, described by Shilling (1993) and Brown (2005) as physical capital, is especially valuable in PETE.

During the analysis of the interviews, some specific themes have recurred as opposite standpoints. Using the concepts of Bourdieu, these discovered themes could correspond to *positions* in a field, resting upon the agents' social positions, and to a struggle of forces within the *friluftsliv* practised

within PETE. Thus it would seem as if the values expressed by the PE teacher educators teaching *friluftsliv* within PETE are: *experience of nature*, *exclusive friluftsliv*, *genuine friluftsliv* and *practical friluftsliv*. These recognized values can then be interpreted as symbolic capital when exploring *friluftsliv* within PETE as a social field.

The relation between *friluftsliv* and sport

Several of the respondents exposed an awareness that their statements about *friluftsliv* would also mean taking a position of force and tension. This was expressed by their thoughtfulness during the interviews. It was suggested that the personal view of *friluftsliv* was not the same as the educational view or representative of all the colleagues.

Do you want my personal or our educational opinion of *friluftsliv*?
(Maria)

Shall we discuss what I think or what we think? (Emma)

This reserved attitude can be seen as an awareness that their statements will mean taking part in a struggle where the legitimate definition and practice of *friluftsliv* within PETE is at stake (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 324; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 94-104; Bourdieu, 1993, p. 38-46). Bourdieu explains how this struggle is expressed in the field of sport:

... the field of sporting practices is the site of struggles in which what is at stake is the monopolistic capacity to impose the legitimate definition of sporting practice... (1978, p. 826).

The relevance of comparing *friluftsliv* with sport is based on the fact that the respondents' talk of *friluftsliv* in PETE was, to a great extent, developed in relation to sports.

Well, the pure methodology in downhill skiing, snowboard and telemark, to me that is less *friluftsliv* and more... methodology in sport in some way. (Henrik)

Tordsson discusses how *friluftsliv* and sport are separated and constituted by different rationalities (2002, p. 61-66), or from a socio-cultural perspective, by different logics. The PE teacher educators' high valuation of the *experience of nature* was often stated by also expressing that *competition*, i.e., the logic of sports, should not be the logic of *friluftsliv*, sometimes in a normative approach.

You don't compete in *friluftsliv*, that's what I tell the students!
(Anders)

The respondents' use of sport as a reference to describe the identity of *friluftsliv* indicates that sport has a dominating position in Swedish PETE. This has also proven to be the case when trying to introduce other forms of educational content in PETE (MacDonald *et al.*, 2002). From this exploration, I suggest that *friluftsliv* within PETE can be considered a subfield (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 30-31) within PETE in Sweden and that some of the investigated positions are an effect of the superior logic of sport within PETE.

Conclusions and educational challenges

One important insight this study leads to is that the PE teacher educators are agents in different fields and that they therefore have to relate to the different forms of capital that are valid in these fields. An exploration of *friluftsliv* within PETE reveals positions that appear as an effect of crossing between the academic field and the field of sport. Competition, *new friluftsliv* and *practical friluftsliv* can be seen as expressions of sport within PETE while *theoretical friluftsliv* is an expression of the academic field. According to Bourdieu, the development of different ways of practising *friluftsliv* generates new meanings and definitions to the original practice.

... the appearance of a new sport or a new way of practising an already established sport causes a restructuring of the space of sporting practices and a more or less complete redefinition of the meaning attached to the various practices (Bourdieu, 1978, p. 833).

Similar to the studies of Tinning and Glasby (2002) and MacDonald *et al.* (2002), this study of the Swedish conditions shows that the logic of sport seems to be the dominating logic of PETE. The logic of *friluftsliv*, i.e., experience of nature, is a subordinate but unique position that is recognized to have a high value among the PE teacher educators teaching *friluftsliv*. The power-balance between sport and *friluftsliv* within Swedish PETE is not necessarily to be considered a constant condition. *Friluftsliv* within PETE in Norway seems, through tradition and accumulation of symbolic capital, to have developed a higher level of autonomy in relation to sport than in Sweden (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 320; Schantz, 2004, p. 38-45, 112; Nilsson, 2004).

The results of the interviews also contain a number educational challenges I would now like to consider:

- The PE teacher educators' valuation of the experience of nature within the *friluftsliv* practised in PETE corresponds to a logic and rationality not directly transferable to other fields. This becomes obvious when experience of nature is to be implemented within the academic field. In striving for academic adjustment, among other things in forms of knowledge possible to examine, experience of nature is transformed into theoretical knowledge and, above all, into practical knowledge. One question of educational value is how the students understand the experience of nature stressed in the government definition (Friluftsguppen, 1999, p. 22) when they are examined in forms of knowledge existing within the academic field and also how the teaching that integrates these different forms of capital is constituted.

- The PE teacher educators also emphasise *ordinary friluftsliv* as the type possible for the students to accomplish in their work as PE teachers. In spite of this, *exclusive friluftsliv* was claimed to be important in order to get the

students to experience *friluftsliv* “for real”. If *exclusive friluftsliv* constitutes the students’ frame of reference, the question is how it is transformed into *ordinary friluftsliv* after PETE and how the students deal with this transformation in their professional practice as PE teachers. Annerstedt’s study (1991), emphasising former student’s critique of the lack of school adaptation and focus on physical skills in PETE, still seems to be relevant (p. 241-245).

- Statements describing the values that *should* characterise *friluftsliv* instead of the values *friluftsliv may be* characterised by reveal an expression of normativity. The question is to what extent the students get to develop a critical attitude to different ways of practising *friluftsliv* or if they are taught the “one and only truth”. This problem has also been highlighted by Tinning (1991) who claims that PETE promotes *performance pedagogy* rather than *critical pedagogy*.

To summarize the conclusions of this study, one can say that what is valued in *friluftsliv* within PETE depends on in what context and from what position it is explored. It appears as if on the one hand the struggles consist of making a distinction in relation to the superior field of sport (but not as clearly in relation to the academic field) and on the other hand between the explored positions in *friluftsliv* within PETE. It may well be that the values of *friluftsliv* within Swedish PETE, in that specific field, are not recognized as valuable in the contexts where the PE teacher students will do their future teaching. Bourdieu describes the relation between field and symbolic capital:

...the specific logic of the field determines those which are valid in this market, which are pertinent and active in the game in question, and which, in the relationship with this field, function as specific capital (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 113).

These conditions could be applicable not only in relation to *friluftsliv*, but also in relation to other parts of PETE and teacher education.

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