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To acquire a taste for *friluftsliv* – a part of becoming a PE teacher?

- **Swedish Physical Education teacher educators' thoughts about their students' preferences for *friluftsliv***

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Abstract

Teacher students' own biographies and early experiences of teaching have proven to have a major significance for their future teaching, compared to perspectives and content in teacher education. This is also the case for Physical Education (PE) teacher students, whose preferences for physical activity are often constituted by their experiences of sport. Based on the values assigned to *friluftsliv* (or its anglicised equivalents, "outdoor recreation" or "outdoor education") in Swedish Physical Education Teacher Education (PETE), the disparity between the taste of Swedish PE teacher educators' and that of their students' for *friluftsliv* is analysed. The lack of teaching in *friluftsliv* in Swedish schools seems to be an example of that PE teaching is mainly based on PE teachers' taste for physical practices, rather than on the PE curriculum. In this article the potential to change this condition by developing the teaching in *friluftsliv* at Swedish PETE is discussed.

Keywords

Friluftsliv, School, Physical Education Teacher Student, Physical Education Teacher Education, Habitus, Taste.

Introduction

Teacher students' own biography and schooling, in combination with the experiences from actual teaching, have been shown to have a more significant impact on their future teaching than the perspectives and content they meet during their teacher education (Henswold 2003, p. 150-151; Lortie, 1975, p. 79-81). In Sweden this would seem to be the case especially when the subject matter is Physical Education (PE) and Physical Education Teacher Education (PETE). This is indicated in reports from The Swedish National Agency of Education (SNAE 2005, p. 152-162) and in research on Swedish PE teachers and PE teacher students (Annerstedt 1991, p. 146-152). Based on the emphasis on outdoor recreation in the Swedish PE syllabus (expressed as *friluftsliv* or outdoor life in SNAE 2000a) and its rare occurrence in the Swedish school context (Al-Abdi 1984; Backman 2004a; SNAE 2005; Svenning 2001), this article focuses on the Swedish PE teacher students' preferences for physical practises and discusses its implications for education in the area of outdoor recreation within PETE.

Outdoor recreation is assigned a significant value in Swedish PETE and at some teacher education departments it is expressed as a specific profile (Backman, 2008). To investigate how PE teacher educators work with their teaching in outdoor recreation, an interview study with 17 PE teacher educators, teaching outdoor recreation at eight different PETE departments in Sweden, has been carried out. Inspired by the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu and his concepts of habitus (1990 p. 54-56) and taste (1984 p. 230-232), the intention is to analyse the PE teacher educators' view of their own and of their students' relationship to outdoor recreation and to discuss the educational consequences that may be a result of these views. More specifically, the study is focused on the PE teacher educators' ideas of to what extent experiences during childhood, growth and education may affect preferences for specific physical practises and if they believe these practises will influence the PE teacher students' future teaching, especially regarding teaching in outdoor recreation.

In the Scandinavian context, outdoor recreation is referred to as *friluftsliv*, a concept which has been said to have no exact English translation (Faarlund

1994; Sandell 1991a). Therefore researchers, mainly Norwegian ones, have used the concept of *friluftsliv* even in English texts, referring to its specific relation to the Scandinavian tradition, culture, and landscape (Breivik 1989; Dahle 2001; Henderson 1997; Repp 1996; Sandell 1991b). Based on this research, I will use the Scandinavian concept in this article. A further description of how *friluftsliv* can be expressed in a PE context will be given later in the text.

The illumination of PE teacher educators' views of their students' relationship to *friluftsliv*, and their views of PETE's potential to influence this relationship, might be of educational relevance even to teaching content in PETE other than *friluftsliv*. Drawing attention to these questions can contribute to a discussion of how PETE is to relate to the students' diversified background and needs and to what extent PE teacher students' preferences for physical practices can be developed within PETE.

***Friluftsliv* in Swedish schools and PETE**

Compulsory school and upper secondary school

The development of educational policy in the Swedish school shows that the earlier management by rules during the 90s has generally speaking been replaced by management by objectives. This process, parallel to movement from centralization to decentralization, also characterises the curricula for the compulsory school and the upper secondary school in Sweden (SNAE 2006). PE teachers in Sweden today therefore have considerable freedom to design their teaching by choosing the content and methods best suited to attaining the objectives stated in the national syllabus.

Friluftsliv has always been considered an important part of PE in the Swedish school and both authorities and researchers emphasise *friluftsliv* as a part of Swedish tradition and culture (Friluftsgruppen 1999; Sandell & Sörlin 2000). Some of the more common activities taking place within *friluftsliv* in Swedish PE are skiing, skating and hiking (Backman 2004a). In earlier school syllabi for PE these activities were specified, but today they are merely described as *friluftsliv*. Another phenomenon of considerable importance for the practice of *friluftsliv* in Sweden is The

Right of Public Access, a non-regulating law allowing the public general access to the countryside with very few restrictions (Sandell 2000) thus giving considerable freedom to practice outdoor activities. The idea that spending time outdoors is a part of a healthy lifestyle that can develop peoples' environmental awareness is closely-related to The Right of Public Access. This idea has probably been of great significance for the emphasis on *friluftsliv* in the National Agency's description of Swedish PE, where *friluftsliv* is translated as outdoor life.

The subject is linked to well-established cultural traditions existing in Sweden concerning the enjoyment of nature. Through outdoor activities and experiencing forests and nature, pupils gain awareness, knowledge and experiences, which can stimulate a continuing interest in outdoor life (*friluftsliv*), nature and environmental issues. The subject also helps to stimulate involvement in the importance of protecting and safeguarding nature and environment (SNAE 2000b).

Friluftsliv is one of few elements that are actually specified both in the characteristics and in the PE objectives for compulsory school and the significance of *friluftsliv* is also emphasised in the PE syllabus for upper secondary school (SNAE 2000c).

Friluftsliv thus seems to be accorded considerable importance in the official documents governing PE in schools, but to what extent is it actually implemented in teaching? Studies show that the teaching content in what is described as *friluftsliv* is in fact more similar to sport activities. Several researchers regard this as an expression of an inadequate discussion of the meaning of *friluftsliv* (Backman 2004a; SNAE 2005; Svenning 2001). In Norway, research in the area is far more widespread than in Sweden, particularly concerning historical and cultural aspects of *friluftsliv*, but also in questions concerning school and education (Repp 1993; Schantz & Silvander 2004, p. 74-83). From an international perspective it is mainly the dissemination and educational possibilities of outdoor education and adventure education that have been discussed (see e.g. Brown 2006; Bunting 1989; Davies 1992; Williams 1994).

Friluftsliv within PETE

During the last 15 years, PETE in Sweden has become very popular and there has been a dramatic increase in the number of educational institutions offering teacher education programmes in the area. In the beginning of the 1990s, PETE was only possible to study at two institutions of higher education in Sweden, compared to 16 institutions today (Meckbach, Wedman & Wahlgren 2006). Higher education in Sweden is governed by legislation followed up by The Swedish National Agency for Higher Education (SNAHE). The Higher Education Act and the Higher Education Ordinance regulate higher education on a national level (SNAHE 2006). These documents state which subject areas and how many ECTS (European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System) an educational programme should contain. However, the actual distribution of a certain subject area is only regulated in the syllabus of the educational programme at the local department of higher education. These documents are generally designed by the local teacher educators and whether a course in PETE should contain seven or 15 ECTS of *friluftsliv* is for the local PE teacher educator to decide, as long as the overall national and local objectives are fulfilled.

Schantz & Silvander stress the difficulty of drawing any comprehensive conclusions about *friluftsliv* at the different PETE institutions in Sweden, given the great variations between them in both content and methods. Their estimation of the average amount of *friluftsliv* at each institution, is seven ECTS, in addition to which there are single subject courses that make up the equivalent of a further seven ECTS. The authors also establish the problem of separating *friluftsliv* from similar content such as adventurous sport activities, outdoor education, nature tourism, natural and cultural heritage understanding, etc. (2004, p. 33-36). In a comparison of different Scandinavian departments, Nilsson emphasizes historical, cultural and local traditions as being significant for the formulation and practice of *friluftsliv*. He also stresses Norway as the Scandinavian country with the most highly developed academic education in *friluftsliv* with the strongest autonomy towards sports (2004, p. 55-59).

To summarize, *friluftsliv* can be said to have a prominent position in the PE syllabus in the Swedish school, and also to be a significant element in PETE. However, the actual implementation of *friluftsliv* within PE in the school context seems to be limited.

To acquire a taste

Although my interest is in *friluftsliv* rather than sport, Bourdieu calls attention to one of my key questions in his article Sport and Social Class: "...how do people acquire the 'taste' for sport, and for one sport rather than another" (Bourdieu 1978, p. 820), Bourdieu asks. Besides having to consider the supply of 'products' offered in a field, the body is of great significance in explaining how taste is acquired. To explain how individual experiences can be incorporated and thereby produce practises which are experienced as logical and rational, Bourdieu uses the concept of habitus. (Bourdieu 1977 p. 78-87; Bourdieu 1990 p. 52-65). The difficulty of neglecting habitus is expressed by the Swedish educationalist and expert in Bourdieu's writings, Donald Broady, who describes it as "engraved in body and mind" (Broady 1990, p. 228). It is important to emphasise that habitus must be seen as a malleable system of dispositions and that the process of changing this regulating system is dynamic but slow. From Bourdieu's perspective you learn to enjoy *friluftsliv*, "unless one chooses to suppose that there exists a natural need (...) for this or that form of exertion" (Bourdieu 1978, p. 820). An appreciation of the archipelago or the mountains is not a disposition that certain people are born with. Instead, it becomes a part of habitus after an individual has repeatedly spent time in a specific type of countryside while being told of its beauty.

Along with habitus, two other concepts from Bourdieu, social field and symbolic capital, are dependent on each other and hard to discuss separately. Bourdieu describes this relationship as: [(habitus)(capital)] + field = practice (1984 p. 101). He suggests that habitus is to be seen as an embodied capital whose value determines positions among individuals. However, one's habitus is not always valid as a capital; this is determined first on the market, i.e., in the meeting with the field. In Bourdieu's terminology habitus is expressed in the taste which is also described as a

system of classifications generating practices and thereby maintaining differences between people. In “Distinction”, Bourdieu shows how different tastes correlate to different social classes and forms of capital in what he mentions as the space of social positions (ibid, p. 128-129). Taste does not only need to be developed through experiences from childhood but, according to Bourdieu, the recognition of a situation or an environment, developed through continuous meetings, is important for the possibility of a future exposure for the same situation. Bourdieu refers to this condition as the logic of recognition (ibid, p. 1-7). By this, he argues that it is not so much a matter of “choosing” the practice of *friluftsliv*, as it is developing a taste, a process in which the individual is often unaware of what is included and excluded in his/her options (ibid, p. 232).

In this article, habitus and taste are two significant concepts in describing Swedish PE teacher educators’ views of what can distinguish their own and their students’ relationship to *friluftsliv*, how this relationship can be developed and under what conditions it can be changed. The analytic questions are: 1. How is a taste for *friluftsliv* acquired? 2. How do the Swedish PE teacher educators describe their students’ taste for physical practices?, and 3. What educational tools within PETE have the potential to strengthen the teaching of *friluftsliv* in Swedish schools?

Method

The choice of qualitative interviews

In the thematizing process described by Kvale as one of the interview stages, he emphasises the importance of clarifying the what- and why-questions before choosing the method (1996 p. 94-98). Based on my purpose to develop a deeper understanding of what Patton describes as the non-observable, inner perspectives, I have found qualitative interviews to be a suitable method (1980, 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 the basis of 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 research suggesting *friluftsliv* and outdoor recreation/education to be 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 department 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 *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).

To acquire a taste for *friluftsliv*

Most of the PE teacher educators interviewed expressed that their own relationship to *friluftsliv* had been developed during childhood when spending time outdoors, participating in activities with their parents. This, they said, made *friluftsliv* feel natural to them and they were convinced that their growth and their parents' practice of *friluftsliv* had been of great importance for their values and lifestyle today.

... I was born on a blanket in the forest and my whole life has been characterised by spending time outdoors in different ways. During the time in compulsory school and upper secondary school I was also a member of the Field Biologists which has deepened my interest for nature and environmental issues... (Viktor)

...well, I have spent a lot of time doing *friluftsliv*, mainly with my family during growth. Often we picked mushrooms or followed my father as he went hunting (...) I have developed a natural interest for the forest and the environment. (Lena)

The sense of close relationship to nature expressed by Viktor and Lena, can be interpreted as experiences of nature having been incorporated and thereby a part of the process of shaping their habitus. Bourdieu describes this self-evident attitude towards social behaviour as an expression of habitus manifesting itself in taste. Some people or groups of people do not

have to make an effort to express a specific taste or style but instead they have an unconscious sense for what behaviour is suitable in a specific situation (1984, p. 226-256). It was also suggested that the nature excursions during childhood were not always done voluntarily. Some emphasise that they were placed there by their parents and that the excursions were sometimes done with reluctance.

... my parents thought it would be appropriate for me to join the scouts. (Eva)

Back then I used to think that I was worn out in the forest by my mum and dad. (Cecilia)

It appears that the respondents are aware that even the strenuous parts made an impression on them and contributed to their recognition of situations and environments. The continuous encounters with nature seem to have developed a system of bodily dispositions making the respondents appreciate their experiences of nature today, many years later. Thereby, the PE teacher educators have incorporated what Bourdieu would describe as the logic of recognition for *friluftsliv* (ibid, p. 1-7). A few of the respondents also described their growth as more characterised by sport and that their taste for *friluftsliv* was developed later in life.

I have always been into ordinary sports (...) I guess I started with *friluftsliv* when I was about 18 years old (...) my background in sports was not that strong so I had no problems with committing more to *friluftsliv*. I thought it gave me so much more... more of experiences and also socially than I got through practicing sports. Personally, I must say that I have moved from a rather instrumental relation to physical activity to more of what I think should be significant for *friluftsliv*; an experience of the present. (Anders)

Engström emphasises that even though habitus is most receptive during childhood, it should not be interpreted as totally predetermined for the individual lifestyle, but instead as a malleable and slow-changing system of dispositions (1999, p. 43-45). A distinguishing feature for all the

respondents is that they seem to have a close relationship to *friluftsliv* and for most of them the experiences from spending time in nature appear to have left the deepest traces during their childhood.

The PE teacher educators' habitus

The exploration of how a taste for *friluftsliv* is acquired also raises questions of who the respondents are. To explain the meaning of habitus in relation to the development of lifestyles, Bourdieu has studied peoples' living conditions in terms of their economical and cultural capital (1984, p. 128-129). In attempts to transform these methods to Swedish society, the socio-economical division employed by Statistics Sweden (SCB, 1989) has been used to classify the respondents' social background, a classification considered an indicator of habitus (see e.g. Bjurström 1993 and Engström 1999). Based on the few interviews in my sample, my intention is not to make quantitative analyses but rather to say something about the respondents' socio-cultural background.

Supplementary information about occupation and education from the respondents' parents was collected in the autumn of 2005 and the spring of 2006 from 15 of the original sample of 17 respondents. Given the variation in age among the respondents (between 30 and 65 years of age), it is difficult to make comparisons regarding their parents' occupation and education. However, nine of the respondents had fathers with an academic education, four of the fathers had a higher education corresponding to upper secondary school and two had vocational training. The equivalent figures among the mothers of the respondents were eight, five, and two. According to SEI-classification (SCB, 1989), 10 of the fathers of the respondents can be categorized as lower or upper middle-class and five of the fathers of the respondents as working-class. The corresponding figures among the mothers of the respondents were nine and six. There are only four of the respondents where neither of their parents had studied at a university or can be found in lower or upper middle-class.

Despite the difficulties surrounding this comparison, it can be established that the majority of the respondents have grown up in a middle-class

environment where one or both of the parents have studied at a university. This social stratification of the taste for *friluftsliv* and outdoor activities is shown in Bourdieu's own studies (1984, p. 128-129 & p. 217), in Swedish studies inspired by Bourdieu (Arnegård 2006; Backman 2004b; Engström 1999) and also in international research within the field (Chick & Hood 1996; Lee & Scott 2001; Manning 1999, p. 46-47).

According to Bourdieu, the relationship to the body distinguishes how the working classes practice sport from the way of the middle classes. He emphasises that the working classes tend to express an instrumental relationship to the body, compared to the middle classes' tendency to treat the body as an end in itself (1978, p. 838). To sum up, the PE teacher educators' close relationship to *friluftsliv* must not only be understood as the result of a learning process but also as an expression of the logic characterising the practices of certain social groups.

PE teacher students' taste for physical practices

Several of the PE teacher educators had ideas about the students' knowledge, or lack of knowledge, in *friluftsliv* and the causes for this. It was suggested that the youth of today have not grown up with the same relationship to nature as they themselves. One common opinion among the respondents was that most PE teacher students have been socialized into a tradition and culture characterised by sport rather than *friluftsliv*.

Most students have many experiences from sport in their baggage when they come here, (to the PETE institution, my note) many of them are footballplayers or goes to gym. (Marcus)

...they (the students, my note) neither have the ideological thoughts nor the practical knowledge about how to use a compass or a map for example. For many it can be difficult just to set up a tent or a spirit stove. When I came here, (to the PETE institution, my note) I thought it would be much better. (Anders)

Several studies confirm the influence of the culture of sport in PE and PETE (Lundvall & Meckbach 2004, p. 72-73) and argue that the PE teacher students' preferences for sport and the logic of competition will influence their socialization into becoming a PE teacher (Annerstedt 1991, p. 146-152; Green 2000, p. 179-207; Ekberg 2005, p. 8). Does the expression of the PE teacher students' familiarity with sport rather than *friluftsliv* imply that the students' social background is different from the respondents in this study? Based on results from Lövgren (2001) and Meckbach, Wedman and Wahlgrens (2006), suggesting that most PE teacher students in Sweden are brought up in middleclass families, it seems reasonable to assume that the PE teachers' taste for sport rather than *friluftsliv* is not so much due their social background as to other causes.

The real enthusiast

What, then, characterizes the PE teacher student or the PE teacher who is able to make teaching *friluftsliv* in youth school a reality? The most frequent description was the real enthusiast, a person filled with energy enough to create experiences of nature for his/her pupils. The real enthusiast's heart and soul is deeply affected by *friluftsliv* and by a strong, inner conviction of its importance.

...the real enthusiasts are very important, the ones that burn for *friluftsliv*. (Krister)

Well, the most important thing is that they express a positive attitude and a joy in being outside. You must show with your whole living being that you like what you do. (Fredrik)

Another dimension in the description of the real enthusiast was a person driven by the belief that anything is possible if you really want it. The PE teacher who teaches *friluftsliv* is expected to be tough, persistent and determined to accomplish things.

...we have just finished a single subject course in *friluftsliv* for teachers and it is fantastic to hear what they do with their pupils. It's obvious that there are possibilities if there's a will and a commitment. (Emma)

It takes a lot of commitment to start breaking patterns and accomplish changes in school... (Per)

The description of the real enthusiast is also possible to interpret as the respondents' own preferences for *friluftsliv*. Even though other factors, such as material and environmental conditions, are also important for teaching *friluftsliv*, it seems that for PE teachers, to acquire a taste for a specific practice is of great significance for teaching the same practice. This also seems to be the logic upon which teaching in Swedish PETE generally is based.

The educational tools

The lack of teaching hours was emphasized as the most limiting factor in the aim to develop the PE teacher students' relationship to *friluftsliv*. It was also stressed that for the students to become really interested and inspired, it is important for them to practice *friluftsliv* on their own.

This type of teaching takes time and that is probably why it becomes a problem. You can not just go out and guide people around (...) it is the actual experience that takes a lot of time. (Lennart)

If a PE teacher is going on a tour in the mountains with a group, it's not enough to have done it once or twice during PETE. They (the PE teacher students, my note) must go out and have their own experiences and some of them do, but far from all of them... (Marcus)

There is an awareness of that many students' lack the experiences of *friluftsliv* that the respondents themselves have incorporated. Brown describes the relationship between the individual habitus and the demands

of the field of PE as a changeable process where the habitus finally adjusts (2005, p. 14-15). This adjustment can be interpreted as a gradual removal of unknown elements in PE for the benefit of more familiar practices that are known to work. All of the interviewed PE teacher educators emphasise their efforts to try and combine the practice of *friluftsliv* with reading and writing about *friluftsliv* from cultural, historical, social and educational perspectives.

...it is about connecting the literature to the teaching practice.
(Richard)

...one part is the seminars, but then they (the students, my note) also work with the literature when they prepare themselves for the hike.(...) and after the hike they will also write an reflective assignment in which they have to relate to the literature. But the main task is to write a didactic memo where the questions how, what and why are to be discussed from an educational perspective.
(Maria)

Although not expressed in the interviews, the combination of practice and theory could be interpreted as an educational tool to meet the significant spread in the students' experiences of *friluftsliv*. However, this combination can also be interpreted as an adjustment to the academic field. What was not mentioned by the respondents as a part of the teaching was making the students aware of the factors contributing to the development of their taste. Occasionally, the respondents claimed to meet and identify PE teacher students with the potential to become real enthusiasts for *friluftsliv*, but the main impression was that experiences of nature and *friluftsliv* are not included in the students' habitus and will therefore not form a part of their PE teaching. To sum up, it appears as if the system of dispositions for body movement, brought into PETE, is said to be so strongly engraved into the bodies of the students, that PETE's potential to change these dispositions is in fact fairly limited.

When a student comes to PETE, the education can't influence the student as much as the experiences brought into the education. If he

or she is into sports it can be easy to fall back into the practice and culture they have grown up with. Surely, they think the things they do in PETE have been interesting but... it is easier to deal with the things you are familiar with. (Per)

...neither the students nor the pupils are empty sheets when arrive at the university or the school. They have lots of experiences which have made a strong influence on them and it can sometimes be very difficult to reach them with a message. (Cecilia)

Based on the questions asked, I will now try to summarize some conclusions and educational challenges.

Conclusions and educational challenges

Based on the limited implementation of *friluftsliv* in Swedish schools, this article questions whether the teaching of *friluftsliv* within PETE is able to change the students' taste generating the logic of sport as taken for granted. It seems as if the teaching in PETE is based on the assumption that all the PE teacher students have the capacity and the will to develop an interest in, knowledge of and a commitment to *friluftsliv* and thereby become the real enthusiasts the respondents say is necessary for implementing *friluftsliv* in the youth school. As I have mentioned, knowledge of the importance of social, cultural and economical conditions for the development of a taste, do not seem to be a teaching content in *friluftsliv* within PETE. If one is to believe Bourdieu's socio-cultural theories, the awareness of how one's living conditions contribute to a specific taste, is a condition for being able to change that taste or develop a new one. If one aim with the teaching in PETE is to develop the students taste for some specific physical practices, it might be that the teaching has to include more of critical reflection about the conditions for taste development.

There are great similarities between the way the respondents describe their own relationship to *friluftsliv* and the description of the real enthusiast who can make teaching in *friluftsliv* a reality. One interpretation of this is that the respondents, consciously or unconsciously, are trying to transfer their

own preferences for *friluftsliv* to their students. Despite this aim, it is obvious that the respondents and the majority of the PE teacher students have different habitus concerning *friluftsliv*. According to Bourdieu's equation [(habitus)(capital)] + field = practice (1984, p. 101), this will result in different practices.

To summarize the conclusions, this study indicates that a taste for *friluftsliv* is acquired through continuous experience of nature, preferably during childhood and growth, rather than from a few occasions in PETE. Based on studies emphasising the difficulty of making an impact during teacher education (Hensvold, 2003; Lortie, 1975), and the already significant amount of *friluftsliv* in Swedish PETE courses, it is doubtful whether more of the same will have an impact on the students' habitus. If the aim is to strengthen some specific physical practices in the school subject PE, the mission in PETE cannot only be to develop the students' taste for these practices. Instead it must be emphasised more clearly that for the professional Swedish PE teacher, the teaching in *friluftsliv* is an obligation to fulfil regardless of his/her own relationship to this practice. This examination of the position of taste development within Swedish PETE can be a contribution to the discussion of what it means to be a professional PE teacher.

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