

# bodily democracy

towards a philosophy of sport for all

Henning Eichberg



# Bodily Democracy

Towards a Philosophy of Sport for All

Henning Eichberg



First published 2010  
by Routledge  
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, OX14 4RN

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada  
by Routledge  
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

*Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business*

First issued in paperback 2011

© 2010 Taylor & Francis

Typeset in Frutiger by Value Chain, India

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

*British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data*

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN13: 978-0-415-55933-1 (hbk)

ISBN13: 978-0-415-50945-5 (pbk)

# Bodily Democracy

Sport has gained increasing importance for welfare society. In this process, however, the term of 'sport' has become less and less clear. Larger parts of what nowadays is called 'sport for all' are non-competitive and derived from traditions of gymnastics, dance, festivity, games, outdoor activities, and physical training rather than from classical modern elite sports. This requires new philosophical approaches, as the philosophy of sport, so far, has been dominated by topics of elite sports.

Based on Scandinavian experiences, the book presents studies about festivities of sport, outdoor activities, song and movement, and play and game. The engagement of elderly people challenges sports. Games get political significance in international cooperation, for peace culture and as means against poverty (in Africa). The empirical studies result in philosophical analyses on the recognition of folk practice in education and on relations between identity and recognition.

The study of 'sport for all' opens up for new ways of phenomenological knowledge, moving bottom-up from sport to the philosophy of 'the individual', of event, of nature, and of human energy. Popular sports give inspiration to a philosophy of practice as well as to a phenomenological understanding of 'the people', of civil society and the 'demos' of democracy – as folk in movement.

This book was previously published as two special issues of *Sport, Ethics and Philosophy*.

**Henning Eichberg** is Associate Professor at the Faculty of Health Studies, University of Southern Denmark.

## **Ethics and Sport**

Series editors

Mike McNamee

*University of Wales Swansea*

Jim Parry

*University of Leeds*

Heather Reid

*Morningside College*

The Ethics and Sport series aims to encourage critical reflection on the practice of sport, and to stimulate professional evaluation and development. Each volume explores new work relating to philosophical ethics and the social and cultural study of ethical issues. Each is different in scope, appeal, focus and treatment but a balance is sought between local and international focus, perennial and contemporary issues, level of audience, teaching and research application, and variety of practical concerns.

Also available in this series:

### **Ethics and Sport**

*Edited by Mike McNamee and Jim Parry*

### **Values in Sport**

Elitism, nationalism, gender equality and the scientific manufacture of winners

*Edited by Torbjörn Tännsjö and Claudio Tamburrini*

### **Spoilsports**

Understanding and preventing sexual exploitation in sport

*Celia Brackenridge*

### **Fair Play in Sport**

A moral norm system

*Sigmund Loland*

### **Sport, Rules and Values**

Philosophical investigations into the nature of sport

*Graham McFee*

### **Sport, Professionalism and Pain**

Ethnographies of injury and risk

*David Howe*

### **Genetically Modified Athletes**

Biomedical ethics, gene doping and sport

*Andy Miah*

### **Human Rights in Youth Sport**

A critical review of children's rights in competitive sports

*Paulo David*

### **Genetic Technology and Sport**

Ethical questions

*Edited by Claudio Tamburrini and Torbjörn Tännsjö*

### **Pain and Injury in Sport**

Social and ethical analysis

*Edited by Sigmund Loland, Berit Skirstad and Ivan Waddington*

### **Ethics, Money and Sport**

This sporting Mammon

*Adrian Walsh and Richard Giulianotti*

### **Ethics, Dis/Ability and Sports**

*Edited by Ejgil Jespersen and Michael McNamee*

### **The Ethics of Doping and Anti-Doping**

Redeeming the Soul of Sport?

*Verner Møller*

### **The Ethics of Sport Medicine**

*Edited by Claudio Tamburrini and Torbjörn Tännsjö*

### **Bodily Democracy**

Towards a Philosophy of Sport for All  
*Henning Eichberg*

### **Ethics, Knowledge and Truth in Sports Research**

An Epistemology of Sport  
*Graham McFee*

# CONTENTS

Series Editors' Introduction <i>Mike McNamee, Jim Parry and Heather Reid</i>	1
1. From body culture to philosophy: thinking bottom-up – an introduction	2
<b>Part I: From networks of movement culture to conflicting social philosophies</b>	
2. Sport and popular movements: towards a philosophy of moving people <i>Co-authored by Sigmund Loland</i>	8
3. People's Academies and sport: towards a philosophy of bodily education	26
4. Sport and the workplace: company sport between corporation and co-operation	45
5. Fitness on the market: forget 'the single individual'!	58
<b>Part II: From popular practice to the phenomenology of body cultures</b>	
6. Outdoor activities and landscaping: understanding natures in the plural	80
7. Sport as festivity: towards a phenomenology of the event	102
8. Song and movement: phenomenology of human 'energy'	124
9. Traditional games as new games: towards an educational philosophy of play <i>Co-authored by Kit Nørgaard</i>	140
10. Sport and laughter: phenomenology of the imperfect human being	161
11. Pull and tug: towards a philosophy of the playing 'you'	180
12. Sports in the life cycle: diversity in and of ageing	200
<b>Part III: From international practice to people-to-people dimensions</b>	
13. Inter-ethnic football in the Balkans: reconciliation and diversity <i>Co-authored by Anders Levinsen</i>	221
14. Sport cooperation between Denmark and Tanzania: development and recognition	235

**Part IV: From bodily practice to living democracy**

15.	Body, soma – and nothing else? Diversity of body semantics	257
16.	Sport and ethics: between public, civil and private logics	283
17.	Education through sport: towards recognition of popular practice <i>Co-authored by Ejgil Jespersen</i>	301
18.	Bodily democracy: towards a philosophy of sport for all	316
	<i>Index</i>	337

# SERIES EDITORS' INTRODUCTION

Mike McNamee, Jim Parry and Heather Reid

This book on the historical phenomenology of play arose from two special issues of *Sport, Ethics and Philosophy*. It is a novel contribution to both the philosophy of sport generally and ethics of sports in particular. Notwithstanding the difficulties of articulating the boundaries of philosophical schools of thought, it is reasonable to assert that phenomenological work in sport is not dominant in *Sport, Ethics and Philosophy* or the *Journal of the Philosophy of Sport*. There are many and varied reasons why this may be the case. One of them is surely the fact that the founding scholars of the Philosophy of Sport came from the analytic tradition which dominated 20th century Anglo-American philosophy. Another reason may well be that the leading scholars in the field over its relatively short life have also tended to work in that tradition, and the courses they taught, the graduate students they supervised, the Editorial Boards they have served on, are naturally thus inclined. It is also a contingent (but not irrelevant) fact that the leading scholars have tended to come from economically advanced countries of the West where that tradition was dominant.

When the European Philosophy of Sport Association (which grew out of the British Philosophy of Sport Association) was formally constituted in Aarhus in 2008, against this trend, the majority of its newly-formed Executive was schooled in Continental Philosophy. One of the prerogatives of Editorship is to be enabled to help foster philosophical fashion in our field. In the selection of special issues invited hitherto, two relatively new areas of philosophical scholarship were explored: sports medicine and adapted physical activity, both of which have appeared in this "Ethics and Sports" book series. The present monograph represents a double-edged challenge to readers. For while the majority of English-speaking philosophers of sport may be unfamiliar with authors as diverse as Bachelard, Grundtvig, Lefebvre, and Sloterdijk, they will certainly (I assert) be unfamiliar with playful activities of the Inuit Eskimos such as 'asspull' and 'mouth-pull', the like of which is discussed here. Moreover, the articulation of related forms of playful human expression will certainly challenge readers to reflect upon the extent to which these activities share family resemblances with the activities that more typically form the fare of the philosophy of sport. Clearly, some essentialists among our numbers will question whether a journal whose title includes the referent 'sport' has stepped beyond its stated remit. Those of a Wittgensteinian persuasion, imbued with an appreciation of conceptual vagueness, are more likely to accept and welcome discussion of the family resemblances between these activities and the more traditional sports. And both (I hope) will agree that this historical and politically-inclined philosophical exploration of activities that may be thought of as conceptual cousins to mainstream sports may be worthwhile not only in and of itself, but also as a means to re-energize analytical explorations thereof.



# 1. FROM BODY CULTURE TO PHILOSOPHY: THINKING BOTTOM-UP – AN INTRODUCTION

Once upon a time, there was a professor of philosophy who warned his auditorium against starting as students of philosophy here and now. 'If you really want to do philosophy, don't enter this field at the beginning of your studies!' With this serious advice, Albert Menne opened his philosophical lectures at the University of Hamburg, in the mid-1960s:

If you begin by philosophy, you'll tread into a dead-end road, which is the history of philosophy, and you lose your way in an endless labyrinth of systems and meanings. This will hinder you in meeting real philosophy. If you really want to arrive in philosophy, start by empirical studies of one or other type, no matter what. After this, you will have questions and will thus be prepared for philosophy.

As a newly started student, I did not follow his irritating advice at that time. I enjoyed hearing Menne, a philosopher of formal logic, teaching the clearness of Schopenhauer, pouring scorn on the system-building of Hegel, demonstrating the complex enigmas of Russell and Whitehead ... And yet, there was deeper wisdom in his 'rejection'. This is what I learned when focusing my studies on the history of technology, later on turning to sociology and anthropology, and including some psychological and pedagogical studies, most of this in the fields of sport and body culture. After all that, I returned to philosophy, again. The present book will show some of this passage.

## **Sport for All: The Other Sport**

Let us start with the empirical field of sport. Sport has gained increasing importance for welfare society, both for the general understanding of the 'good life' and for specific political measures.

In the process of welfare-building, however, the term 'sport' has become less and less clear. The limits of 'sport' with respect to other forms of movement, fitness activities and physical training have become blurred. Larger parts of what nowadays is called 'sport for all' are non-competitive and are derived from traditions of gymnastics, dance, festivity, outdoor activities, rambling and games, rather than from classical modern sports. At the same time, the world of 'sport' has become more divided. This is especially the case between the great show of elite achievements on one side, health sports on the other and popular sports, play and games as a third. From this, there arise philosophical questions as to what sport means for human bodily and social life.

The philosophy of sport has, however, kept a strange distance from this complex empirical reality. Sport philosophy remained to a large extent captured by the ideas of competitive elite sport. This corresponded to a certain picture of sport in the media, but not to the manifold reality of sporting activities in contemporary civil society. The question of human excellence, of elite performance, of the extraordinary achievement that fascinated those working in the philosophy of sport, is one thing; sport as common people's practice is another. On closer observation, the broad body culture in later modern welfare societies offers up surprising material for a phenomenology of sport. A philosophy of 'sport for all' can at the same time enable the observer to reflect deeper on the complex relations between philosophy and practice more generally.

The turn from sport of the few to body cultural practice of the popular masses can thus help the philosophy of sport to overcome its traditionally narrow focus on the mythology of achievement and the normative moral philosophy of fairness. There is much more material for philosophy in sports.

A condition for this opening up is the acceptance that sport is not 'one'. Sport for all, broad sport or people's sport – both in old play and games and in modern welfare society – is also more than merely the basis of the pyramid on which modern competitive sport has been constructed. It requires quite another type of philosophy.

### **Body Culture: An Inductive Approach to Philosophy**

Philosophical method has a rich tradition of moving high in the celestial altitude of abstractions, linked down to phenomena now and then, and this mainly by the history of the 'great philosophers'. That is what Albert Menne tried to warn against. In a similar way, the traditional philosophy of sport felt at home in Pierre de Coubertin's Olympic idealism, drawing lines top-down to 'Olympic education', fairness, the critique of doping and so on.

The studies presented here show another way. They proceed bottom-up from empirical cultural studies of human action.<sup>1</sup> Through the phenomena of human practice – movement in nature, play and games, training, song, laughter and so on – one meets contradictions. Contradictions in human practice require dialectical methods of analysis, which are here – in order to avoid dichotomous constructions – turned towards trialectical ways of attention. From phenomena and contradictions, the enquiry steps further to the philosophy of patterns in human life.

The primacy of bodily practice connects the following studies with the materialistic tradition of philosophy, especially with the critical theory of Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno. The approach is also related to the body-first anthropology of phenomenology, especially Maurice Merleau-Ponty. The power-critical perspective of Michel Foucault is nearby. The focus on inter-bodily relations connects the studies with Martin Buber's dialogical principle: primacy of relation and meeting.

But as I already said, the way to these philosophies does not come top-down, but passes through phenomenological experience.

### **Who Are 'All' the People? Another Philosophy of Democracy**

On the way from the phenomenology of sport for all towards philosophy, the question arises who these 'all' of 'sport for all' are. 'All' the people of sport for all are not

'all' in a quantitative sense. It will never be possible to unite the quantitative 'all' of a given population in sport. And the intention in itself would have terrifying, totalitarian traits.

Sport for all has, instead, to be thought into the context of a philosophy of democracy. If democracy is understood as a set of cultivated relations to otherness, i.e. as a culture of difference (in German, *Streitkultur*), the question arises how the people of democracy, demos, are related to the people of popular sport and civil society.<sup>2</sup>

This way of asking who the 'all' of 'sport for all' refers to challenges certain mainstream theories of democracy, which take their starting point in institutions and ideas. How people think ideas and how they organise themselves is a sort of superstructure. What people do is the basis of their social life.

Also here, a bottom-up approach is necessary. Democratic life is based on how people play together, learn from each other, sing together, laugh (not at least at authorities), hold festivity, move in green nature and so on.

Democracy is not non-bodily as some authors have theorised it. They have set speech, language, word, ideas and institutions in the centre.<sup>3</sup> In Nordic understanding, democracy is related to self-determination, recognition and togetherness; culture of conflict and the relation to 'the other' is a criterion. All this has bodily dimensions. Here, philosophy of the body meets philosophy of democracy.

### **From Phenomena to Philosophy**

Thus there is also some knowledge, which should *not* be expected from this volume: Neither is it about how to organise sport in a democratic way (though telling about the associational principle, the cooperative working place and the critique of exclusivity as represented by the Olympic committee and its oligarchy may give some hints). Nor does it try to explicate which sport(s) would be more or less useful for living democracy. Nor does it propagate healthy sport, fair sport or some other normative concept, which should be imposed upon the people.

Instead, I try to develop a bottom-up mode from empirical body culture to philosophy. Part I moves from networks of movement culture to conflicting social philosophies. Sport in connection with popular movements points towards a philosophy of moving people. The special Danish case of sport in People's Academies leads towards a philosophy of experiential bodily education. Sport in the workplace raises questions about corporation and cooperation. And the offer of fitness in the market makes us reflect critically about 'individualisation'.

Part II of the volume draws lines from popular practice to the philosophical dimensions of body culture. Outdoor activities help to understand natures in plural. Sport for all is not only disciplinary work: it is festivity and leads towards a phenomenology of the event. There is a connection between song and movement that gives inspiration to a phenomenology of human 'energy'. Games raise questions of an educational philosophy of play. Sport and games create different situations of laughter, which makes us reflect upon a phenomenology of the imperfect human being. Games of pull and tug deliver a case for a philosophy of the playing you. And life-cycle sports confront us with the diversity of ageing.

Part III presents two cases from international sport exchange. Inter-ethnic football in the Balkans tells about how sport can work on traumatic experiences—on reconciliation and diversity. And Danish-African cooperation expounds some problems of how to understand 'development' and the 'functions' of Sport.

Part IV builds some bridges from the bodily practice of sport for all to living democracy. Dualistic terminologies as 'soma' versus 'body' call the diversity of body semantics to our attention. When asking for the ethics of sport, we meet more and other than 'fairness', and we land between public, civil and private logics. Educational aspects of sport for all point towards the recognition of non-formal popular practice. And finally, some lines are drawn towards a philosophy of sport for all, which contributes to inter-humanism and bodily democracy – and which reflects itself critically as a differential phenomenology.

The empirical material presented is mostly taken from Scandinavian experiences, especially from Denmark. This challenges the mainstream of international research. Body research in general is, so far, very one-sidedly Anglo-Saxon, with some input from French and German sources. Scandinavia has normally remained beyond widespread attention and recognition, though the Nordic region delivers special and living contributions to this field. The hope is that this imbalance can be revised. The Nordic nations are well known for their stable democracies, their welfare systems and their broad sport activity. If there is any relation between these structural elements, a closer study could gain, for instance, a deeper understanding of the movement aspect of sport and body. The significance of movement is mostly underrated in mainstream research where the body is understood as a more or less static unit, mostly viewed under medical, sexual and gender aspects. A focus on the moving body is, however, necessary if philosophy is to bridge across to democracy. Democratic life cannot be described without social movements, and these are linked to emotional and bodily movements. The specific Nordic tradition of sport having developed in the form of popular movements or in connection with social movements – though differing from country to country – may contribute to this understanding.

The Danish and Nordic topics in this collection are described in the context of international studies, which will be published in two further volumes, both in Danish. The one concerns relations of the body-cultural basis: *Movement Cultures – Body Anthropological Studies* (Eichberg 2010), including studies about Libya, Indonesia, Greenland, Brittany, Afro-America and Latin America. The other focuses on relations in the political superstructure: *Comparative Sports Policy – National and International* (Eichberg and Ibsen 2010), including studies about Denmark, Norway, Scotland and the European Union.

### **A Guide to the Volume and Some Thanks**

The chapters of this volume have distinct origins. They can be read for themselves, as rather autonomous intellectual enquiries. Therefore there will be some overlaps where the same phenomenon or figure of thought can appear in different chapters, though seen from different perspectives. Taken together, the chapters make up a patchwork of multidimensional interpretations, trying to approach bodily democracy on different paths.

The studies are based on three decades of work and debate inside *IdrætsForsk*, the Danish Institute of Sport Research at the People's Academy of Sports in Gerlev. This grassroots institute, which was funded by the Ministry of Culture, launched since the late 1970s the first social studies of people's sports in Denmark and developed the concept of body culture. I thank my colleagues from those controversial, and from time to time provocative and anarchistic, discussions, Claus Bøje, Bjarne Ibsen, Ejgil Jespersen, Ove Korsgaard, Bo Vestergård Madsen, Jørn Møller, Søren Riiskjær, and Kaya Roessler. Some of

the chapters have a background in an international project which was funded by the European Commission (Eichberg, Kosiewicz and Obodyński 2007). For this cooperation, I thank the members of the international research network around the International Academy of Sport for All (IASFA) and especially Mogens Kirkeby from the International Sport and Culture Association (ISCA), Nancy Midol (Nice), Herbert Hartmann (Frankfurt/Main), Grant Jarvie (Stirling), Jerzy Kosiewicz (Warsaw) and Tomaž Pavlin (Ljubljana). Furthermore John Bale (Keele), Jean-Jacques Barreau (Rennes), Susan Brownell (St Louis), Allen Guttmann (Amherst), John Hoberman (Austin), Harald Kleinschmidt (Tsukuba), Satoshi Shimizu (Tsukuba) and Esa Sironen (Jyväskylä) have during many years enlarged my understanding of body culture as a basis for sports studies; warm thanks to them, as well as to my colleagues at the Institute of Sports Science and Clinical Biomechanics at the University of Southern Denmark.

Special thanks go to my co-authors, Sigmund Loland (chapter 2), Kit Nørgaard (chapter 9), Anders Levinsen (chapter 13) and Ejgil Jespersen (chapter 17). Mike McNamee (Swansea) has put great effort into correcting my language and commented on the contents in general – warm thanks to him and for integrating this volume into the philosophy of sport!

For the right to reproduce illustrations in chapter 11, I thank the Government of the Northwest Territories (Canada) Atuakkiorfik publishers (Greenland), Jørn Møller and Gerlev Center of Play and Movement Culture (Denmark).

Finally, I thank all those who have published and edited previous versions of the following chapters and have allowed me to re-use the texts: publishing house Afra (Frankfurt/Main) and Knut Dietrich (for the book *Körpersprache*); publishing house Arko Sports (Nieuwegein, Netherlands, for the book *Education through Sport*); *Finlands Idrottshistoriska Förenings årsbok* (Helsinki) and Esa Sironen; *European Journal for Sport and Society* (European Association for the Sociology of Sport); *Grundtvig-Studier* (Copenhagen: Grundtvig-Selskabet) and Kim Arne Pedersen; *Idö – Ruch dla Kultury/ Movement for Culture* (Wojciech J. Cynarski, University of Rzeszów, Poland); the internet portal *Idrottsforum* (Malmö, Sweden); Institut Culturel de Bretagne, Confédération FALSAB, and Guy Jaouen (for the book *Jeux traditionnels*); *International Journal of Eastern Sports & Physical Education* (Jong-Young Lee, University of Suwon, Korea); International Sport and Culture Association; Kazunori Matsumura (University of Tsukuba, Japan, for the volume *Outdoor Education and Revitalization in Mountainous Area in Japan*); Odense University Press (Odense, Denmark), Jørn Hansen and Niels Kayser Nielsen (for the book *Sports, Body and Health*); *Physical Culture and Sport – Studies and Research* (Jozef Pilsudski University of Physical Education, Warsaw); the internet portal *Play the Game* (Denmark) and Jens Sejer Andersen (for the book *Society's Watchdog – or Showbiz Pet?*); edition Prolog (Kassel, Germany) and Klaus Moegling (for the book *Integrative Bewegungslehre*); publishing house Routledge (London), Anthony Bateman and John Bale (for the book *Sporting Sounds*); *Sport in Society* (Routledge, London); *Sport Science Review* (Human Kinetics, Champaign, IL); *Studies in Physical Culture and Tourism* (Wojciech Liponski, University of Poznań, Poland); University of Jyväskylä (Finland) and Hannu Itkonen (for the book *The Changing of Public, Civic and Private Sectors in Sport Culture*); University of Perpignan (France) and Alastair Duncan (Stirling) (for the book *Le rire européen*); and publishing house Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego (University of Rzeszów, Poland, for the book *Sport for All as Form of Education*).

## NOTES

1. In this respect, the present volume was preceded by the studies of Eichberg 1998.
2. At this point, the volume continues observations from Eichberg 2004.
3. Korsgaard 1999, referring to Claude Lefort.

## REFERENCES

- EICHBERG, H. 1998. *Body cultures. Essays on sport, space and identity*. London and New York: Routledge.
- . 2004. *The people of democracy. Understanding self-determination on the basis of body and movement*. Århus: Klim.
- . 2010. *Bevægelseskulturer. Kropsantropologiske studier*. In preparation.
- EICHBERG, H., J. KOSIEWICZ and K. OBODYŃSKY, eds. 2007. *Sport for all as a form of education*. Rzeszów: University of Rzeszów. (Orig. pub. as report, 2004: *Education through sport: Towards an international academy of sport for all*. Copenhagen: International Academy of Sport for All).
- EICHBERG, H. and B. IBSEN. 2010. *Komparativ idrætspolitik – national og international*. In preparation.
- KORSGAARD, O. 1999. Demokrati uden krop. In *Demokrati og kropslighed*, edited by H. Eichberg, F. Bygballe and S. Møller. Gerlev: Bavnbanke: 38–45.

## PART I: FROM NETWORKS OF MOVEMENT CULTURE TO CONFLICTING SOCIAL PHILOSOPHIES

### 2. SPORT AND POPULAR MOVEMENTS: TOWARDS A PHILOSOPHY OF MOVING PEOPLE<sup>1</sup>

Co-authored by Sigmund Loland

#### Levels of Human Movement

Sport is represented and organised by 'sports movements'. This is a very common understanding in the Nordic countries. That the 'sports movement' is the given societal form of sports seems uncontroversial and may claim some general truth. But when seen in international comparison, the Nordic pattern has distinctive elements. British sport, though regarded as the 'mother' of modern sports, has for a long time existed on the basis of clubs, but these have never really constituted a 'movement'.<sup>2</sup>

From this observation more fundamental questions may arise: What is a 'social movement'? Why it is called 'movement'. And how is sport – and especially Nordic sport – related to this social phenomenon?

The term 'movement' covers three very different human dimensions: bodily, emotional and social movement. In the first dimension, people move in concrete bodily activities such as sports and dance, games and meditation, outdoor activities and festivals. To understand bodily movement, one needs a theory of body-practice. As this type of knowledge casts light on the culture of inter-bodily practical situations and relations, we may call it praxeology.<sup>3</sup>

In the second dimension, people are moved by feelings, affects and humour. Emotions (i.e. e-motions), motives and motivations demonstrate that there is *emotional movement* – fascination and euphoria, anger and fear, pain and laughter. This is what the psychology of social interactions and social relations is about. By a psychology of belonging, togetherness and difference, identity is revealed.

In the third dimension, people unite in *social movements*. They meet in associations and peer groups, informal networks and formal organisations – and in movements, which are generally understood to be more dynamic, more oriented towards change, conflict and practical democracy. This is what the sociology of popular life and democracy is interested in. What one discovers here is civil society.

The three dimensions are interconnected – but how? There are rich studies existing in the specific fields, but they need to be completed by a new type of comparative knowledge and philosophy. It seems not to be accidental that different languages use the

same term for these different dimensions: movement – *bevægelse* (Danish), *bevegelse* (Norwegian), *rörelse* (Swedish), *Bewegung* (German), *mouvement* (French), *movimiento* (Spanish) and *movimento* (Italian).

This chapter will sketch some key characteristics of Nordic sports within all three dimensions, moving analytically from social *via* emotional to bodily movement. In a concluding section we will speculate about how to understand the different links and connections between the dimensions.

### **Social Movements, Welfare and Democracy in Nordic Countries**

Nordic sport is a historical result from popular movements, and it has been marked by links to other popular social or political movements. These movements and their contradictory configurations during historical change have sometimes had very different characters: 'red' versus 'white' in Norway and Finland, agricultural versus urban in Denmark, disciplining versus oppositional, nationalist versus international, middle-class versus workers. Though some of these movements disappeared again or lost their dynamic, they had a lasting influence on the structure of modern sports. Certain tensions developed between a popular movement culture at the grassroots level and competitive sport at the elite level. This has had consequences for sport in current Nordic welfare society. And the existence of these tensions will constitute a new political challenge as the Nordic welfare societies and their sport systems come to be more fully integrated into a European framework.

In a historical perspective, the enquiry into sport, social movements and welfare may contribute to the question of the *sonderweg* (the special path) of Nordic welfare (Frykman 1992; Nielsen 2005, 154–69; Brandt 2008). In northern Europe, some of the most marginal states, with an agrarian economy, acute food problems and massive emigration, were transformed into modern and successful nations in just under one generation. How could this happen – and how does popular sport help towards understanding?

### **Denmark: Rivalling Movements**

Danish sports originated from popular movements in different social milieux. Modern Danish sport culture involved, from its very beginning in the nineteenth century, a complex mix of three elements – rural farmers' culture, urban bourgeois culture and workers' culture. During the twentieth century, this initial profile was supplemented by and received further nuances from new reform movements, cultural radicalism, welfare culture and grassroots movements. All these milieux and social movements gave different, rival and sometimes contradictory impulses to the Danish practice and understanding of sports.

(i) Danish *farmers' culture* of the nineteenth century was based on landowners who developed a liberal-democratic self-conscience and social practice of their own – in contrast to the aristocratic ruling class on the one hand and the bourgeoisie in Copenhagen on the other. The farmers founded rural producers' cooperatives, people's academies (so-called *folk* high schools) and local assembly halls. Continuing some traits from the revivalist religious movements of the 1820s, the rural milieu with its spiritual, emotional and educational impulses became the cradle of a special type of gymnastics.



This was adopted from the Swedish-Lingian system in the 1880s and became the origin of Danish popular (*folkelig*) sports in voluntary associations. People's academies integrated the new movement activities into the construction of 'the whole human being', as it was expressed in Grundtvigian terms.<sup>4</sup> Gymnastics played a central and controversial role in the national-democratic policy of education around 1900, when the majority party, the farmers' 'Left', finally gained power (Korsgaard 1982; Eichberg 1996).

(ii) Another source of sports in Denmark was *bourgeois culture* in Copenhagen, and soon afterwards also in other towns. Following the English model, middle-class people – mostly men and only a few women and young people – met in socially exclusive clubs, taking over British patterns of achievement and competition. It can be questioned whether the local clubs with specialised activities at that time really should be regarded as a 'movement'. When a minor group of well-dressed men in 1896 founded Danmarks Idræts-Forbund, the Danish Sports Confederation (DIF), they were mostly interested in common rules of competition and in amateur rules, which excluded non-bourgeois people from sport. On the political level, they were 'non-political' with undertones from national liberalism and royalist conservatism. At first, this umbrella federation, represented by military officers, medical doctors, businessmen and lawyers, did not catch the interest of the majority of local clubs. But when sport in the early twentieth century became a mass movement, the DIF gradually developed more elements of a social 'movement' such as common symbols, rituals and a health-related ideology (Trangbæk *et al.* 1996, vol. 1, 63–86).

(iii) That sport became a mass movement owed much to *workers' culture*. A part of this milieu was connected with Social Democracy and its cultural initiatives – 'peoples' houses', socialist scouts, cultural associations and socialist 'people's academies'. Workers' sport in Denmark, however, failed to develop a lasting alternative to bourgeois competitive sport. Dansk Arbejder Idrætsforbund, the Danish Workers' Sport Association (DAI), lasted for only a few years (1931–7) as a separate body, before joining the sport federation DIF. As Social Democracy became increasingly hegemonic and reformist, it favoured corporative structures and sport for all instead of socialist sport. A special feature of workers' sport was the 'Festivals of Professions', mixing sports with carnival-like popular competitions (Hansen 1993).

(iv) After 1900, new *reform movements* supplemented the picture with youth movements, alternative and social health movements, and outdoor activities (*friluftsliv*). As an open-air movement, sport obtained a new profile and a new 'mass character'. Cultural radicalism between the two world wars connected functionalism and technological enthusiasm with jazz, boxing, expressive gymnastics and nudism, valuing sport as aesthetic events.

At the same time, urban Social Democratic administrations developed a *welfare system* – 'culture for the people'. In the name of consensus, the cultural struggle was downgraded, and a new type of welfare culture institutionalised the workers' movement. Welfare policy supported people's tourism (*Dansk Folkeferie*), laid out urban folk parks with sport facilities, opened the green natural environments of the countryside for outdoor activities and supported sport for all, especially municipal sport and company sport, in the spirit of health for all (*folkehygiejne*).

(v) After 1968, in reaction against certain authoritarian traits of welfare policy, an oppositional youth culture and new *grassroots movements* appeared, some of them with revolutionary gestures. A new relation to the body was developed: 'The private is political!' Side by side with new games, new forms of meditation and anti-authoritarian pedagogy,