

AKTYWNOŚĆ TURYSTYCZNA I TURYSTYKA KULTUROWA / TOURIST ACTIVITY AND CULTURAL TOURISM

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Outdoor activities, green education and landscaping¹ / Zajęcia na świeżym powietrzu, „zielona” edukacja i krajobrazy

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Outdoor sport and activities in green nature are an important part of popular sport. But the practices of 'green' activity are diverse. The article describes the historical background of Danish outdoor sports, changing through 200 years. This has resulted in different models of practice with different educational consequences: traditional 'outdoor life', activities of mastering, sports cross, adventure sport, green healthy motion. These models have different consequences for the planning of landscape and for the understanding of 'nature': nature as ecology, as landscape, as scene, as world of activities, as cultural creation. Nature is not one, but a cultural diversity.

War in nature, and peace with nature – two contrasting models

”There is a great portion of a Red Indian in every boy, the drift to experience nature. It is here that scouting enters, giving the boy a chance to experience all this, and by scouting sport to create a counter-weight against the urban culture, which is unnatural and hinders his natural development... By daily practice and in small details, there will develop a union with nature and a respect of nature, which is expressed by not destroying it wherever it is possible. Love to nature will always lead to protection of nature” [Ødum 1929: 452].

This is how Hilmar Ødum, later leader of the camping committee in the Danish Association for the Protection of Nature, in 1929 characterized the Red Indian as a role model for scouting. Another scout leader expressed at the same time a contrasting picture:

“For a soldier, there is no better time of the year than manoeuvre time... When the trees stand in the full colours of the autumn, when the wind blows through the top of the trees and covers the ground with yellow leaves, than the time of the recruit has passed, and the real soldier's life begins... I dare to say that all boys are born soldiers – that they in any case have the right warrior instincts... Fighting games are a sort of manoeuvres with boys” [Hartvig-Møller/Lembcke 1920: 20].

These were the words of Cay Lembcke, founder and leader of the Danish Scout Corps, in 1920. Like many early scout leaders, who came from a military profession, he regarded the soldier as the role model for the boy scout.

Soldier or Red Indian – around this contradiction the early outdoor youth movement of the Scouts was developed.

The *Boy Scout* movement was established by the British Lord Baden-Powell in 1907/08 and soon afterwards in a similar way introduced by Danish military officers, linked the experience of nature to its use of nature as a battle field. Typically, one arranged games of colonial soldiers against Indians or rebels and combined this with half-military rituals as parades, uniforms, hierar-

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chies of ranking etc. Life is a struggle for survival, this was the message; nature is the given framework and requires fitness; that is why outdoor life is a training for real life, i.e. for the fit and patriotic citizen [Springhall 1977].

The Scouting concept differed fundamentally from other outdoor movements which regarded 'green' life as a peaceful encounter with the creatures. Alternatively to bourgeois societal life, which was marked by individual competition and collective militarism, life in nature was seen as a way towards peace between the human beings – and peace with nature. This concept of nature had its roots in a deep cultural criticism and pointed towards alternative life forms in small, self-determined groups.

The concept of peace-with-nature found an explicit form in the *Woodcraft Indians*, a movement started by the artist Ernest Thompson Seton in America in 1902 [Seton 1912; Morris 1970; Springhall 1977]. Similar woodcraft movements followed in several other countries as England and Czechoslovakia between the wars. The German youth and wandering movement after 1900, the *Wandervögel* ("Migratory Birds" or "Travelling Birds"), developed similar practices. Later on, youth movements of the hippie generation – "make love, not war" – revived this pacifist approach [Zimmer 1984].

Colonial and anti-colonial imaginations were, thus, conflicting – war in nature and peace with the creatures. Nature as a field of action, fight and competition was different from nature as something to be experienced and protected. Nature was and is not one, but constructed by cultural processes and contradictions.

'Green sport' in historical change

Outdoor sport and activities in green nature are an important part of popular sport and movement culture. But, as the initial case shows, neither is the practice of 'green' activity just one, nor is the concept of nature unequivocal. The Danish term *natur- og friluftsliv* is difficult or even impossible to translate: life in nature and open air? outdoor life? outdoor sport? green sports? [Andkjær 2005; Troelsen 2001].

The same is true for other countries with their traditions of *Wanderbewegung* and *Natursport* (Germany), *Woodcraft* and *Volkswalk* (America), *Scouting* and *Outward Bound* (Britain), *Utmark* (Norway) etc. In consequence of this diversity, inside Sport for all and inside the popular education of sport different models of outdoor sports are overlapping and rivalling.

Some internal varieties of outdoor sports reveal when we look back into history. 'Green sports' have changed in a complex way through modernity. The history of outdoor practices can – in Denmark and in some other European countries – be characterized by three 'green waves' [Eichberg, Jespersen 1986].

Each of these green waves had its specific educational consequences. And nature has a history.

First wave: gymnastics, romanticism, revolution

The first green wave made its impact on culture between 1770 and 1820. People suddenly began to wander out into the green and natural landscape. And they started to climb mountains. Heath and mountainous areas, which human beings hitherto had regarded with distrust and had evaded, were now discovered as attractive landscapes and filled with a special sentimental value [Olwig 1984]. The change from the geometrical French garden to the English landscape garden expressed this new way of seeing and feeling by new architectural means.

At the same time, people began to practice gymnastics in green environments, leaving the halls of the noble exercises, which had been erected since centuries. The German *Turners* combined games in the green heath outside Berlin, wandering tours, and gymnastic outdoor competitions with oppositional speeches and provocative singing, with national democratic demonstrations and subversive, revolutionary activities. Similar forms were developed among the Slavic *Sokol* gymnasts and in the Danish *folkelig* cultural movement. For the purpose of outdoor activity, gymnastic grounds were established between trees, and one developed open-air games, whilst the halls of court tennis, fencing and vaulting, well-established in the urban landscape, were left empty and transformed to other use. Running, swimming and riding competitions were also parts of this first green wave.

As a sort of superstructure above this basis of bodily-practical innovations, romantic literature and painting produced new images and imaginations with strong emotional appeal. Romantic nature and its feelings were especially expressed in the songs of Hans Christian Andersen, Steen St. Blicher and N.F.S. Grundtvig. Only by this revolution of emotions, human beings became able to experience nature in the enthusiastic way, which 'the modern man', since that time, has regarded as normal or 'natural'.

It was not by accident that the human relation to nature changed just in the period of democratic revolution. The striving 'back to nature' and 'out to the green', 'to the free nature', had undertones of people's liberation.

Second wave: youth wandering, green sport, conservationism

New impulses between 1900 and 1930 created a second wave of green social activities. New types of youth groups began to organize themselves around the experience of and activities in green nature. Scouts and woodcraft folk, socialist workers' youth and patriotic youth associations wandered out into the green and practiced there their self-organized camping life, games and sports. By dancing between the trees, assembling around the camp-fire and singing new (and old) songs, a new generation expressed a neo-romantic relation to nature.

Danish youth and reform culture was placed between two influences. In Norway, a culture of mountain walking and skiing spread, which was understood as an element of Norwegian national identity. This happened in the context of cultural criticism, as it was expressed by Fridtjof Nansen and Knut Hamsun. As a 'common Nordic' reference and in spite of the difference of Danish and Norwegian landscapes, the Norwegian model had some important impact on the growing Danish outdoor sports. In Germany, youth and wandering movements like the German *Wandervögel* and socialist *Naturfreunde* developed a new green culture of movement. They, influenced, among others, the scouts and the workers' youth movement in Denmark.

It was this green context that brought the break-through of modern sport as a popular mass activity. English sports had hitherto been restricted to narrow, lodge-like circles of urban bourgeoisie and their demonstrative leisure. Now sport was redefined as outdoor games. Typically by ball games on the green grass, sport seized a new generation and spread into new social classes. Skiing, orienteering, bicycle sports and water sports were important parts of this second green wave.

Also gymnastics changed again in its relation to nature. After the first green wave, during the later nineteenth century, gymnasts had drawn back into closed, specialized halls – the Danish *gymnastik sal*, corresponding to the German *Turnhalle*. But after 1900, they pushed out into the green again.

Furthermore, new reform movements began to spread, propagating alternative ways in different fields of human life and everyday practice. Outdoor activities were combined with nudism, with 'natural' medicine and health care, 'natural' clothing and 'natural' nutrition, i.e. vegetarianism and abstinence from alcohol. *Frisksport*, 'fresh sport' became a Nordic name for these reform tendencies, spreading especially from Sweden [Johanson, Lindgren 1985]. The word *friluftsliv*, 'free air life', was launched in 1906 as a broad term, which included the whole spectrum from bathing and swimming, outdoor gymnastics, ball games and cycling to garden work and the reform of nutrition [Sadolin 1906]. Open-air swimming pools were established at the coasts, a citizen movement for playgrounds in urban quarters became active, and people's parks were established in the towns.

The arguments of this reform movement were often of scientific character, referring, for instance, to the light therapy of Niels R. Finsen, Danish medical doctor and Nobel-prize-winner. But there were also moral and half-religious undertones in this 'revival', expressed by I.P. Müller, Captain Jespersen and the Swedish Are Waerland. These and other 'apostles of nature' agitated for a 'natural life', purification, hardening and self-discipline against urbanisation, the mischief of industry and sitting bureaucratic work, and developed their specific alternative body practices. Some reform tendencies tended to sectarian radicalism. But the fundamental shift affected the whole population: Where the white skin had marked high status before, people strove now after getting bronze skin. It marked status now to be tanned by the sun.

The first Danish law of nature protection in 1917 and the new policy of *naturfredning* in general expressed the new awareness on the political level – and a readiness to conflict with private property for the sake of nature. In 1937, this was followed up by an enlarged law – on Social Democratic initiative – establishing the principle of free entrance to nature in Denmark. The Nordic *almansret* (every man's right) was developed towards a right of everybody to move freely along the rivers, at the coasts and in the forests [Eichberg 2000].

And again, the new bodily-practical movement out into the green happened synchronously with political unrest and democratic revolutions.

Third wave: consumption of nature, new games, eco-activism

From the 1960/70s onwards, practices and attitudes towards nature changed once again. The third green wave happened on the background of mass tourism, automobilism and mass sport. But in this case, the directions of change were much more differentiated and contradictory. Large bicycle competitions ("Zealand round") and urban marathons brought thousands of people into outdoor movement. Holiday camps on Danish outer islands (*ø-lejr*) transported some traits of hippie life to Denmark. Mountain biking, surfing and kite flying marked the way of conquering the outdoor space. Ecologists' grassroots activities spread side by side with commercial golf, jogging and new games side by side with high-tech extreme sports. People played 'new games' in the green, made 'green meditation' in the forests, with inspiration from Red Indian culture, and shot with paintball against each other... Life style invaded nature, and the result was a new diversification of outdoor consumption.

On the level of political reflection, the perspective shifted from the narrower concept of 'preservation' and 'protection' of nature towards a broader understanding of the relation between human being and nature. This was the beginning of a new type of environmental politics [Holten-Andersen 2000; Agger 2003]. Ecology appeared as the awareness of an all-embracing connection between culture and nature. One could now speak of an ecology of mind [Bateson 1972 and 1979]. Deep ecology – as formulated by the Norwegian philosopher Arne Naess (1976) – took the character of an alternative philosophy, with new-religious undertones. The green colour became political.

At the same time, however, the devastations have got new dynamics, too. The golfization of landscape has become a critical feature. And artificial constructions like an ersatz ski hill in the mostly snowless Denmark represented new impulses of colonization. Land art, the new way of using or marking landscape by fancy creation, which has developed since the 1960/70s, expresses some of these inner contradictions in aesthetic forms.

During the 1980/90s, several of the green movements seem to have lost some of their dynamics, but the contradictory tendencies continued. Danish schools experiment with 'nature days' and *udeskole*, outdoor school, which brings the children out into the forests once a week, following Norwegian inspirations [Dietrich 2002]. *Natur- og friluftsgårde*, farms of outdoor life, have become installed arranging courses, attracting tourists and giving advice for the use of nature. Consultants and advisors for outdoor sport have begun organizing themselves in *Dansk Forum for Natur- og Friluftsliv* (Danish Forum of Outdoor Life). Sports organizations have appointed consultants for 'green sport'. New job profiles for *naturvejledning* (nature counselling) have been developed, and one experiments with corresponding lines of education [Naturvejleder 2002]. People's academies (*folkehøjskoler*) have established 'green lines' of sport with a broad spectrum of activities, such as tours of fatigue, bike & hike, sea kayak, Telemark ski, snowboard, windsurfing and camping.

In the field of facilities, a green awareness has turned critically against the 'container architecture' of sport and favoured new initiatives towards – among others – playgrounds in towns as 'inner-town green' [Schytte 2004]. Also cycling obtained attention as part of 'nature in the city' [Troelsen 2004]. Planning and public funding have supported innovative constructions in the field of sports, but this has also made new contradictions visible. During wintertime, for instance, in the centres of Danish cities artificially cooled ice rinks were placed, and these became an attractive meeting place for the inhabitants [Bøje 1998]. In a country, which is lacking mountains and snow, a surrogate nature is produced by installations like artificial ice, artificial climbing rocks, white water rafting facilities and plastic ski hills.

The 'nature' of this third green wave was not any longer placed outside the urban world, but was found in the inner of the towns. By practical activities, the 'ecology of the city', far from being a contradiction in itself, became a new challenge. However, the broad public success of some of the artificial 'green sports for all' urges to take the challenge of 'nature' to our understanding – and to politics – seriously.

'Nature' is not a thing as such, but fundamentally related to human practice, human emotions and cultural understanding, which are changing through time. The concept of nature itself is not one, but historically differentiated – and a matter of conflict.

Green approaches in current popular sports

During the last two decades, different 'green' elements of Sport for all have become visible inside Danish popular sport (*folkelig idræt*). Especially three approaches towards 'nature sports' have been developed: sports cross, the political 'green agenda' of sports, and 'farms' for outdoor life.

Sports cross

Sports cross is an alternative to the system of competition in mainstream sport. Cross activities appeal to the pleasure of competition, too, but downgrade the importance of the result. It is the process, which matters. Sports cross combines different activities like running, climbing and kayak. This makes a sort of non-specialization by specialization possible – or vice versa: specialization in non-specialization – in contrast to the one-sidedness of competitive mainstream sports.

That multi-competitions can go across the traditional specializations, was not a new discovery, but had a longer tradition in the history of German *Turner* gymnastics. In Denmark however, sports cross is a new invention. It was developed through the last one or two decades on people's academies and entered from there into the program of popular sports (DGI).

Outdoor life and sports cross mix in a complex way elements of experience, motion and mastering. At a closer look indeed, the practice and pedagogy of outdoor life has never been one. Outdoor sport may be very different depending of whether one seeks adventure, healthy relaxation or a special form of perfection in nature. That is why different models can be distinguished, which may conflict inside outdoor sports.

Quest of event: People search for 'the wild nature' in order to experience the unique event, which gives a kick. Nature offers adventure. Mythological figures of this model are Tarzan in the jungle, the lonely rider in the prairies, and the Viking voyaging over the sea. Paintball plays on the warrior mythology. Bungee jump, switchback and other installations in adventure parks appeal to similar experiences, showing how 'event nature' can be arranged by artificial installations. Role games where young people meet in the forest in colourful disguise of Middle Ages or Fantasy, are a border phenomenon of the nature-event model, too.

Quest of motion: By jogging through the forest, by tour cycling, but also by golf as a new 'green' leisure sport, people search for regular bodily movement in green environment for the sake of health and wellness. Nature is a framework for 'good life'. A rich variety of movements for people's health have since the late nineteenth century contributed to this model by building 'people's parks' in the cities, swimming pools, nature playgrounds, holiday colonies and nature schools. The actual tendencies of green motion are a prolongation of this striving. They include often the whole family, in contrast to the strongly male bias of many nature sports.

Quest of mastering: By orienteering sport, kayak rowing, climbing, diving, and sports cross with their possibilities of competition, people can improve their abilities. They can train themselves systematically. They can develop intensity in a special field of activity and in a special environment. This is a way of mastering. Here one finds often 'the lonely man', the male bias being also visible in fishing and hunting.

The relation between these different models is not free of frictions. The history of outdoor life witnesses of many conflicts between the different ways of quest. For instance, inside rowing the alternative between long tour rowing and competitive sports rowing has been vividly debated. Also scout sports were split between different forms of practice, which on one hand referred to the 'soldier' as leitmotiv, and on the other hand to the 'Red Indian'. Military roots of disciplining

the body, hygienic ideas and bourgeois values of ‘good order’ were present in the model of Scouting, as it was launched by the British Lieutenant-General Lord Baden-Powell and in Denmark by the military officer (and later Fascist) Cay Lembcke. In contrast, the Woodcraft model of the American artist Ernest Thompson Seton represented the quest of experience and adventure. Young people met in self-organized alternative culture, searching spirituality and freedom in the green nature.

Environmental policies in sports

Side by side with the development of ‘green’ activities, a political-ecological ‘green agenda’ has become more and more influential in the world of Sport for all. An indicator of this strength, but also of changing agenda is the national festival of popular sports (*landsstævne*) [Eichberg/Madsen 2006, 87–91].

Environmental policies obtained a strong position in the festival of 1998 in Silkeborg. The explicit goal of the festival’s green program was

“to strengthen the environmental responsibility and to integrate the concern of ecology in all fields during and after the festival”.

The most visible measure of this policy was the ‘festival forest’. A festival of sports – also of popular sports or Sport for all – consumes energy. The participants of the festival should be aware of this consumption, and the festival organization wanted to compensate for it. This was tried by planting a forest area, which the popular sport (DGI) presented as a gift to the host town of the festival. The media were attentive of this action, underlining the significance of the ‘festival forest’ and contributing to the environmental debate about global warming-up and threatening energy problems.

Besides the question of energy consumption, the festival organization experimented with healthy ecological meal, recycling of materials, sale of wooden badges, assorting of garbage, environmentally harmless transportation in cooperation with the Danish Cyclist Union, presentation of sun energy installations and of ecologically harmless sports wear. In cooperation with the local bureau of energy and environment, information was distributed about the amelioration of the physical framework of the local sports associations.

At the national festival 2002 on the island of Bornholm, however, environmental-political efforts of this type were faded out. The *landsstævne* presented, however, another environmental ‘gift’ to the host town: the “Green Ring”. A marginal landscape near the festival stadium was planned and reconstructed for the purpose of outdoor life and green adventure. The Kaolin lakes of Bornholm’s capital Rønne, which had been a ‘garbage area’ from earlier industrial use, were now transformed into an attractive landscape for green movement culture [Seedorff 2002].

An experimental farm for outdoor sports

A special place in the development of outdoor life and outdoor education in Danish popular sports is the farm Karpenhøj. It is situated in the neighbourhood of DGI’s congress centre Fuglsø in a beautiful landscape of Eastern Jutland, the Mols hills. The former farm estate was taken over by DGI and transformed into a centre of *natur- og friluftsliv*, which began to offer courses of outdoor life in 1995 [Fisker 1999; DGI 2000].

Courses in outdoor life have developed as a main activity at Karpenhøj. In 2003, 332 courses were held, most of these arranged for schools, teacher colleges and other institutions (125), for DGI groups (89) and local associations (26), for private enterprises (28) and municipalities (18). The contents of the courses are flexible and arranged with regard to the special wishes of the users. They combine as different topics as nature counselling, team building, sports cross, climbing, Nordic mythology, play and game, culture and history, song and narration, sea kayak and canoe, bow and arrow, throwing axe, handicraft, garden and meal, mountain-bike, environmental and nature conservation work and landscape planning. The farm offers camping facilities for ‘primitive outdoor life’. Scouting traditions meet with sport and the Nordic tradition of *sløjd* (handicraft).

Some arrangements of Karpenhøj also invite tourists. Generally, the farm is open for visitors both from the congress centre Fuglsø and from the larger region.

A special feature of the Karpenhøj farm is the combination of movement culture and land art. Dispersed across over the terrain, one can find provoking installations of art as well as figures from the Nordic tradition. A local artist has carved wooden sculptures of Odin with his ravens and wolfs, the beautiful Freya and the dangerous Loki, the wise Mimir and Fenris wolf, the three Nornes, the smith dwarfs, the hammer of Thor, the Midgard worm and other figures from Nordic mythology. A labyrinth invites to wander into entanglement. The terrain is, thus, staged as a landscape of amazement and narration.

Another peculiarity is the combination of movement and education with planning. Karpenhøj staff members are involved in the planning of the landscape of Mols hills where a future national park is in preparation. The intention is to form landscape as a movement landscape – instead of production landscape (as it has been the mainstream so far) and instead of a museum of conservation (as it may be a more purist idea of ecology). The landscape planning is done in cooperation with local farmers and owners of summer houses, following the principle of self-organization.

The landscape planning of Karpenhøj is linked to education by some cooperation with schools, which involve their pupils in ‘landscaping’: You can make (plan, form, influence) your own landscape. Landscape is not just what ‘it is’, but it is what you make it to be.

On the practical level, the farm organizes huts of materials for educational use. These *økobasehus* are placed in areas of green nature and offer to schools and other users materials for practical use as well as special information about the local nature.

Karpenhøj has organized a network of researchers and *naturvejledere*, consultants of outdoor activities, who meet regularly on the farm in order to comment and advise on the development of activities and to discuss the more general philosophy of outdoor life.

With the background of this practice and theoretical discussions it was planned to open a sort of ‘green academy’ on Karpenhøj. Organized in the style of a people’s academy, this *højskole* of outdoor life it should bridge the gap between practical outdoor experiences and theoretical studies. These plans could not yet been realized.

What could be realized is international cooperation. Since 2003, international summer work-camps have brought young people to Karpenhøj. The camp is organized by *Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke*, the Danish organization for international cooperation. For one week, young people from different countries join the work on the farm, building land art sculptures, doing practical nature conservation work and experiencing Danish outdoor life.

The method of outdoor education as practiced at Karpenhøj is a sort of do-it-yourself, based on empirical trial-and-error by hand. It is not based of a given theory, though there are current attempts to connect the contradictory experiences with philosophical and pedagogical reflections. The Karpenhøj method of outdoor education with its opposition against any systematic ‘schemes’ has ‘anarchistic’ undertones.

Different models of ‘nature’

Both the history of outdoor sports and the current outdoor practices inside popular sports show that there is not only ‘one nature’. But different concepts and cultures of nature are competing and struggling with each other [Agger 2003; Pedersen/Viken 2003; for Germany: Grossklaus/Oldemeyer 1983, also Böhme 2002].

This diversity also became visible at the national festivals of popular sports, the *landsstævner*. The festivals of DGI may be regarded as an exposition window of the ideas of Sport for all and as an – whether intended or unintended – educational visualization of the relation between sport and nature. At a closer look, one could distinguish several different concepts of nature: nature as ecology, as landscape, as scene and as world of activities.

Nature as ecology

Nature entered the political agenda in the 1970/80s as a result of green popular movements which raised questions of ecology. This found resonance in people’s academies, clubs and organizations, in media and political parties. Polls showed that one third of the Danish population had ‘green’ orientations, while one third gave priority to ‘economical’ rationality and a further third remained neutral. The ecological impulses from the basis arrived at the top of the sports organizations (DGI and DIF), where they were translated to programs, jobs of ‘green’ consultants, conferences, funding and

publications. One result was the ‘green agenda’ of the aforementioned national festival in Silkeborg 1998 with its focus on energy consumption and the ‘*landsstævne* forest’.

This development made, however, the eco-political movement step by step dependent of expert knowledge, which had a natural science bias. A gap began to open between the biological calculations of experts and the practice and experience of the people, among those the people of popular sports. The awareness of ecology and the related social movement lost dynamics and had to face an anti-ecological backlash from the side of the extreme rightwing and the neo-liberals in the late 1990s. This made it possible that the ecological improvements, which had been achieved during one generation, could be abolished by the bourgeois government in the years after 2001.

This has weakened the ecological politics inside popular sport, too, and in the Bornholm festival 2002, indeed, the ecological program had disappeared. But the green approach showed to be broader than the eco-political (with its natural science bias).

Nature as landscape

A new character of ‘nature politics’ became visible by the ‘Green Ring’, which was placed – as mentioned above – at the outskirts of the festival town of Rønne around the ‘Kaolin lakes’ [Seedorff 2002]. Former loam-pits witnessed here of industrial use, the exploit of raw material for the manufacture of ceramics, which had been laid down during the 1970/80s. The festival organization now presented a new planning and shaping of the landscape, which consciously displayed the existing contrasts in this area, the contrasts of nature and culture, the contradictions of production, waste and leisure.

Three lakes of the area were transformed into a ‘landscape for use’ (*brugslandskap*) under different main themes: movement, wondering, information. The landscape around the northern lake offered facilities for bodily movement, play and game – with winding paths for running and rally, climbing trees, a labyrinth, a bridge for fighting, and a hut camp and playing hill for children. The lake in the middle was formed as landscape of wondering, where art and nature invited for aesthetical surprise. Here one could see dead trees in the water, works of land art, points of outlook and riding paths, side by side with the large festival stadium as a contrast. The southern lake offered information and experience, with adventure forest, eco garden, information tables, but also with possibilities for kayak and canoe.

All this was designed with the help of a group of planners and geographers from the Karpenhøj network. After the festival, the Green Ring was used by children’s institutions of the town of Rønne and gave birth to a new association, which unites different interests of local outdoor activities and holds ‘play and game days’ in the Green Ring.

The change from the ecological ‘festival forest’ from 1998 to the landscaping project from 2002 was, thus, a shift from biological ‘correctness’ towards a more social use of nature-culture. This is also obvious in other attempts of landscape planning in the open land – landscape for human movement [Præstholm 1996; Eichberg 2000].

Nature as scene

In other parts of the Sport for all festival, nature was used as a sort of scene for gymnastic and sportive performances. A former quarry was the scene of a work of land art, which DGI presented as another gift to the festival island Bornholm: A bridge designed by a sculptor in a post-modern style placed a sort of avant-garde aesthetics of rupture into the landscape of rocks.

Another occasion was the large opening night show of the festival, which was arranged around a lake in the ‘wild’ rocky districts of the island. Huge cliffs, rocky walls and the cries of the gulls were the background for the display of a body theatre, which combined gymnastic performance, budo fights, climbing in the rocks, canoe manœuvres and music.

Nature as world of activities

Again another relation to nature was practiced by the outdoor people of DGI themselves. Here, camping life in the green environment was the centre for a rich variety of activities like kayak and canoe, rock and tree climbing, overnight camping in the trees, rowing and wandering,

mountain bike and diving. In the tent camp, handicraft with wood, leather and iron could be worked. There were guided tours in the forests, and an artist carved sculptures with a motor-saw. Sports cross competitions attracted participants from DGI's track-and-field. Other groups involved across the borders of traditional sports disciplines were the children who joined the festival's 'Robinson' arrangements at the coast and in green nature. And the elderly people of Sports for all enjoyed walking tours in the forests.

As a world of activities, 'nature' is neither identical with ecological 'correctness', nor with the aesthetic scene. It is a rich variety of using the landscape, i.e. the nature of activity is not unequivocal in itself. As described above, the quest of event, the need of motion, and the striving for mastering constitute different vectors in this field of movement culture.

Nature as culture

From the experience of Danish *natur- og friluftsliv*, several points can be concluded.

Nature-culture: Outdoor life cannot be derived from one pre-existing concept of 'nature' whether this is defined in the terms of natural science or not. It is a cultural creation, an eco-culture. The Nordic word *natur- og friluftsliv* is untranslatable between the languages. Translations like German *Natursport* or English 'outdoor activities' are problematical. Though having 'Norwegian' undertones in Denmark – with references to Norwegian authors as Fridtjof Nansen, Arne Næss, Gunnar Breivik og Niels Faarlund – Danish *friluftsliv* is different from the Norwegian *utmark* practice and follows its own traditions and changes [Faarlund 1992, Friluftsliv 2000/01, Utmark 2000ff, Tordsson 2003].

Also inside a given culture, there are cultural contradictions in nature and in outdoor sports. The initial case of scouting 'militarism' and woodcraft peace movement is typical for some tendencies of the twentieth century. Another inner-cultural division is that nature is gendered. This is on one hand true for the practices in nature, where – as Norwegian research has shown – female collecting (fruits) in nature and male sporting in nature have given the Nordic outdoor life different gender undertones [Pedersen 1999]. It is, on the other hand, also true for the concept of nature itself. The literary Nature (with large N) has since the period of Romanticism had a female undertone, which was often confronted with Culture or Technology as having 'male' character. This underground mythology of modernity is, however, subjected to changes.

Natures: The culture of nature consists of cultures in plural. That is why also the term of 'nature' cannot be understood in singular, but only as natures in plural. Their multiplicity is a result of historical processes, which have produced different practices, as shown by the 'three green waves' of modernity. Natures are diverse depending of national differentiations – the Danish way, the Norwegian *utmark*, the New Zealand model... Also inside the single national culture of Sport for all, one finds contradictory elements like bodily movement, aesthetic outlook and ecological conscience – or adventure, motion, and mastering.

Scientific and humanistic nature: During the last decades, there have occurred some important changes inside the 'green' section of popular sports. First an ecological model of 'correct' behaviour in nature had its break-through, during the 1970s. Here one argued with biological knowledge. On the level of practice, this was paralleled by the so-called 'primitive outdoor life', conservationist outdoor life 'without leaving traces'. Later on, a shift of paradigm has produced a broader concept of *natur- og friluftsliv*, where different activities like swimming, climbing, riding, track-and-field, wandering, jogging, water sports, shooting, and traditional games – which had been specialized in other sections of sport – are combined 'across'. Where outdoor people (mostly men) formerly had been striving for the one 'correct' (or 'Nordic') way of behaving in nature, one now moves in a panorama of activities. This is often combined with play of children, family activities, and sport of elderly people.

Outdoor sports, thus, have shifted identity, again. Its way was from defined contents (Nature with large N) towards a relation (nature-culture). The shift can be described as going from correctness to possibility. From the biological knowledge of the scientific expert, the change may go to popular and humanistic experimentation.

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Słowa kluczowe: natura, planowanie krajobrazowe, eko-sporty, „zielone” sporty, harcerstwo-skauting, Dania

STRESZCZENIE

Sport na świeżym powietrzu i zajęcia na łonie natury są ważną częścią popularnego sportu. Jednak praktykowanie „zielonych” zajęć jest zróżnicowane. Niniejszy artykuł opisuje tło historyczne duńskich sportów na świeżym powietrzu, które zmieniły się w ciągu 200 lat. W wyniku tych zmian powstały różne modele praktykowania mające różne konsekwencje edukacyjne: tradycyjne „życie na świeżym powietrzu”, zajęcia doskonalące, sporty „przygodowe”, zdrowy ruch na świeżym powietrzu. Modele te mają różne konsekwencje w kwestii planowania krajobrazowego oraz rozumienia „natury”: natura jako ekologia, jako krajobraz, jako scena, jako świat różnorodnej aktywności, jako twór kulturowy. Natura nie jest jedna, ale stała się kulturową różnorodnością.