History of Education

Journal of the History of Education Society

ISSN: 0046-760X (Print) 1464-5130 (Online) Journal homepage: www.tandfonline.com/journals/thed20

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To cite this article: Marjo Nieminen (08 May 2026): The Ethos of Sport – Physical Culture in a Finnish Sports Organisation and Physical Education in Schools in the 1950s, History of Education, DOI: 10.1080/0046760X.2026.2660740

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/0046760X.2026.2660740

Published online: 08 May 2026.

HISTORY OF EDUCATION
https://doi.org/10.1080/0046760X.2026.2660740

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

The Ethos of Sport – Physical Culture in a Finnish Sports Organisation and Physical Education in Schools in the 1950s

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ABSTRACT

This article focuses on the physical culture of the 1950s and it draws on the documents of a Finnish sports organisation and the curricula of physical education in schools to examine, first, what kind of physical culture was constituted inside the national frames of Finnish society and what aims it served in the 1950s. Additionally, it explores how the multi-layered emotional regimes and ethos of sport were constituted in the physical culture of the 1950s. The analysis of primary source materials reveals three major findings. First, there was a notable emphasis not only on corporeality but on moral values in PE and sport. Second, the aims of PE and sport were targeted towards equality, encompassing gender, age and upper middle-class status. Third, PE and sport offered symbolic elements and spaces where emotional regimes were both experienced and constituted.

ARTICLE HISTORY
Received 9 August 2024
Accepted 11 April 2026

KEYWORDS
History of education; history of gender; history of physical education; history of body

Introduction

The article focuses on the physical culture of the 1950s, which was reflected in the sports documents of the largest and oldest Finnish sports organisation of that time (Suomen Voimistelu ja Urheiluliitto, SVUL, the Finnish Gymnastics and Sports Federation) and physical education (PE) curricula in schools.[1] The visual and written documents represented the ideas and discourses of dominant actors in this field and offer multiple perspectives on physical culture. The article examines, first, what kind of physical culture was constituted inside the national frames of Finnish society by the sports organisation and curricula, and what aims it served, and, second, how the multi-layered emotional regimes and the ethos of sport were constituted in the 1950s. This article contributes to the research field of corporeality, especially the less-explored domains of social and gender equality as well as the often-neglected aspects of emotions in the history of PE and sport. Concentrating on one sport organisation, on the one hand, deepens the focus, on the other hand, excludes other sports organisations, such as the second largest federation, leftist and openly political Työväen Urheiluliitto (TUL, the Finnish Workers' Sports Federation), and the Swedish-speaking sports organisation Finlands Svenska Centralidrottsförbund (CIF).[2] The political and linguistic fragmentation of the

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sports organisation field, which emerged in the 1910s, continued to affect the 1950s.[3] SVUL, the Finnish Gymnastics and Sports Federation was chosen as the case for this article because it increased its members significantly during the 1950s, being the largest sports organisation of that time.

Spanning a significant portion of the first half of the twentieth century, PE intersected with the sporting phenomenon, gradually incorporating sports disciplines and being influenced by specific values inherent to sport.[4] This article concentrates on the physical culture of the 1950s, offering a perspective on a dynamic phase in which the enthusiasm generated by the 1952 Olympics in Helsinki intersected with societal changes characterised by a change in values and facilities for sport and PE. On the one hand, the societal modernisation process, which included considerations of equality with regard to gender and class, had significant implications for physical culture. On the other hand, physical culture was part of the societal modernisation process and one vehicle for it.

A Glance at the History of Physical Education and Sport

It appears that the three-stage dynamic has been a consistent element in the institutionalisation of PE across Europe, although the chronological boundaries might only partially align depending on national specificities or particular socio-political contexts. In a first phase, which extends from the first decades of the nineteenth century to the first decades of the twentieth century, physical education benefitted from the rise of the school institution, and from a legitimacy transmitted by the military institution.[5] In certain European nations, the initial phase of the Europeanisation of physical education and its transnational dissemination commenced during the 1850s. This early process was marked by the spread of the Swedish Ling gymnastics system, which first gained traction among neighbouring Scandinavian countries before extending its influence to Germany, England and France. By the close of the nineteenth century, countries such as Spain, Italy and Greece had integrated the Ling system into their national curricula, thereby institutionalising regular physical education instruction within their school systems.[6]

From the late nineteenth century onward, school-based physical education across Europe has been predominantly shaped by two influential paradigms: the Swedish Ling gymnastics system and the British model centred on games and sports. These frameworks, alongside nationally adapted interpretations of physical education, have played a central role in shaping pedagogical practices. The emergence of the Olympic Games movement in the 1890s further catalysed the international diffusion of sport-based physical education, reinforcing its prominence across national borders.[7]

Moreover, studies have explored PE and sport, spanning broad perspectives from nationalism to imperialism. It was considered an imperative for developing and modern nations to conceptualise a distinct PE system that reflected an idealised, often romanticised and homogenised corporate body (nation). For instance, in Australia, sport and PE contributed not only in shaping students into healthy citizens but to the social, cultural and civic construction of the nation.[8] In the British context, Peter C. McIntosh examines the initiatives undertaken to introduce physical education along with games and sports to a broader English audience during the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century.[9] In addition to McIntosh's works, J. A. Mangan's influential studies highlight that specific sports played a key role in shaping masculinity, emphasising

physical fitness, moral courage and sacrifice. This ideology was propagated by boys educated in public schools. The focus was on elite education and the concept of the masculine archetype.[10] Moreover, in muscular Christianity, religious values were combined with sport and physical development and it emphasised the moral value of sport, seeing it as a means to promote both physical and mental growth and moral development.[11] In the nineteenth century, muscular Christianity served as guiding frameworks for standardised PE as a tool for character building.[12] Grégory Quin highlights the class-based nature of physical exercise in moulding the British male body during the first half of the twentieth century and notes that emotions were elicited through body discipline.[13]

Research suggests that while sport played an important role in constructing masculinity and male identities, as regarding women, sport was also seen to be pivotal to securing the future of the nation, and PE and gymnastics were employed for laying foundations for motherhood.[14] What is more, for women, sport served as a means of self-fulfilment or realisation.[15] For instance, sport functioned as a counter-reaction to the Victorian worldview in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century England, while simultaneously contributing to women's physical emancipation and their inclusion in society.[16] Nevertheless, David Kirk's research highlights the historical context of female physical education leaders who, despite their initial success in prior decades, lost influence in Britain after the Second World War. This change allowed male leadership to dominate the curriculum, often neglecting the needs and interests of girls and young women.[17] On the other hand, in the United States, women PE educators played a significant role in expanding opportunities for women's physical activity in the early twentieth century. Their work was closely linked to gender differences and issues of equality, reflecting broader social and cultural changes.[18]

As highlighted in previous research, sport might function as an ideological instrument, reflecting and reinforcing diverse political and social structures.[19] For instance, according to Roland Naul, pre-military training involving gymnastics and sport physically and mentally prepared young German males to serve the nation, particularly during the pre-war periods. Furthermore, national gymnastics and sports associations were subject to political and ideological guidance.[20] Physical education assumed flagrant characteristics in Nazi Germany and during Stalin's era in the Soviet Union, where it was entirely subordinated to serve ideological purposes.[21] In colonial contexts, physical education was emphasised by the civilising mission and was later employed in citizenship education.[22]

In the United States, the early twentieth century witnessed physical education programmes that were heavily influenced by military and medical perspectives, prioritising physical fitness and discipline. However, as societal views on education evolved, particularly in the aftermath of the Second World War, there emerged a growing recognition of the significance of recreational and leisure activities. This period marked the onset of a more inclusive approach to physical education, incorporating a broader range of activities and acknowledging the role of sport and PE in fostering social interaction and personal development.[23]

In the broader context of society and societal changes, sport and PE shifted from a more state-centred approach to governing in the early part of the twentieth century, to a more collectivistic approach in the mid-part of the century. In 1920s Sweden, for

instance, citizens were mainly seen as in service of the needs of the nation, and sport was, particularly in schools, an effective tool of the state. This perspective changed in the 1950s and 1960s, as citizens and sport were redefined within a welfare-oriented state project that prioritised voluntary participation and inclusive opportunities.[24]

The Perspectives of the Article: Body, Equality and Emotional Regimes

Physical culture is intertwined with the significance of corporeality, and the concept of the body has attained a prominent place in both social sciences and the history of education.[25] Previous research emphasises that the sophistication of the body has played a pivotal role in transforming sport and sport has now been accepted as a part of the general cultivation of society.[26] Industrialisation, compulsory mass elementary education and nationalism strengthened the connection between body movement, public health, pedagogical principles and cultural ideas in the nineteenth century, with the public dimension of the body gaining paramount importance in the first half of the twentieth century.[27] As Mona Gleason reminds us, the concept of "transformation" in educational histories centred around the body and mind: the training and shaping of the body were aimed at producing a change in an individual's mindset.[28] In this public dimension of the body, the aim of PE was to create healthy workers and strong citizens.[29] Kate Rousmaniere and Noah Sobe suggest that the body also serves as a site for opportunity and creativity.[30] Frederik Herman and Michèle Hofmann underscore the interactions of "body-mind-scapes" with other spheres of influence (e.g. economic, social, political, medical and scientific spheres), resulting in specific cultural and educational discourses and practices.[31] Thus, physical culture and PE are influenced by wider discourses and have international connotations; however, they are often perceived as serving specific national interests.[32] Exploring this issue, this article contributes to and expands the research landscape by considering the concept of the body in relation to changes in society.

The 1950s represent a transitional period in European physical education, during which the post-Second World War socio-political reconstruction and the ideals of modernising societies collectively reshaped the aims, content and pedagogical foundations of physical education.[33] European physical education in the 1950s gradually separated from the militaristic corporeal culture of the early twentieth century. The rapid institutionalisation of sport and the expansion of popular culture likewise exerted a significant influence on physical education.[34] In Western Europe, physical education was emphasised as a means of promoting democratic citizenship and individual well-being.[35]

Finnish physical education in the 1950s also evolved at the intersection of post-war societal reconstruction, the expanding welfare state and enduring national traditions of corporeal culture. Physical education had by this time become institutionalised within the educational system, shaped both by the legacy of gymnastics and the distinctively Finnish sporting culture, which was closely intertwined with national identity.[36] The 1950s were perceived as a period of ascendancy in Finnish competitive sport: the legacy of Paavo Nurmi, Olympic success and a vigorous civil society supportive of sport all reverberated within physical education. Unlike in many other European countries, Finnish physical education was guided to a considerable

extent by Nordic social-political thinking and by a conception, stemming from the legacy of war, of physical fitness as a civic duty.[37] Exceptionally rapid structural transformation of society towards a modern Nordic welfare state was reflected in physical education, rendering Finland a particularly compelling subject of study. Moreover, public health emerged as an increasingly significant political objective, and contemporary health discourses underscored the importance of physical activity as a counterbalance to modern modes of living. Physical education thus stood at a historical juncture where nationalist corporeal traditions intersected with the emerging health paradigms of the modern welfare state and the rising prominence of sporting culture.[38]

Furthermore, Kellie Burns, Helen Proctor and Heather Weaver note that sport and PE in schools conveyed lessons about body discipline and care that upheld classed and gendered citizenship values.[39] This article employs equality as an analytical tool, contributing to this research strand by exploring social and gender equality embedded in the sports documents of schools and a sports organisation. Despite a relatively rich historiography of gender-related sport, there is limited research focusing on the question of equality for both genders. Using the case of Finland, this article investigates this interesting question. Previous studies highlight varying aims and moral values regarding gender and social class in sport in the early decades of the twentieth century, raising the question of whether these persisted in the 1950s or if the established order was challenged. For example, in the 1950s, physical education was still gendered in many European countries. Girls' physical education was centred on aesthetic, lightened and disciplined forms of gymnastics, whereas boys were directed towards physical strength, competition and athletic performance. These practices reflected broader societal gender norms.[40] The Nordic welfare-state paradigm encompasses a commitment to social and gender equality. It is therefore particularly compelling to examine how these principles became manifest in Finnish physical education during the 1950s.

The third perspective of this article focuses on the emotional regimes outlined in the documents related to sport and PE. Simonetta Polenghi, András Németh and Tomas Kaspar note that the perspective of feelings and emotions offers an interesting standpoint for understanding the connection between the body and mind, and education and cultural influences.[41] Tuomas Tepora states that the history of emotions and feelings concerns embodied experiences as well as the meanings and changes associated with human experiences. Emotions play a role in constituting and transmitting experiences, memories and identities within socially constructed communities. Scholars studying emotions often explore the code of expression and experience of emotions, referred to as emotional regimes.[42] Tepora draws on William Reddy's concept of "emotional regimes" and Barbara Rosenwein's concept of "emotional communities," noting their interchangeability in practice.[43] In the context of a nation state, emotional regimes and emotional communities bear resemblance to Benedict Anderson's "imagined communities" in the sense that they offer a feeling of being part of events and communities, that is, they give a sense of belonging.[44] Minna Harjula and Heikki Kokko employ the concept of the "scene of experience" as a tool for analysing situations where experiences emerge in specific moments, spaces and places.[45] Regarding the nation state and physical culture in the 1950s, the scenes of experiences were shaped within societal structures; PE in elementary and secondary schools, as well as voluntary-based sports federations,

provided frameworks for these scenes of experiences.[46] The layers of experience encompass a social reservoir of experiences carrying certain common meanings at a given time, institutionalised in the socio-material environment as practices and concepts.[47]

The Source Materials and Methods of Analysis

The source materials of this article encompassed both written and visual archived sports documents from a Finnish sports organisation (Suomen Voimistelu ja Urheiluliitto, SVUL, the Finnish Gymnastics and Sports Federation) and school curricula from the 1950s, thus representing the ideas and discourses of dominant actors in the field of PE and sport. First, the analysis focuses on archived written sports documents and utilises a collection of speeches published by SVUL in 1950.[48] The compilation featured speeches by SVUL leaders, offering a perspective on the PE plans by SVUL. These speeches articulated the focuses, aims and interests of the prominent sports organisation. Second, the education section of SVUL had a specific programme named after its motto, "*Reipas, rehti, ryhdikäs*" (*Active, honest, upright*), aimed at increasing interest in sport and engaging people in the activities of the federation. The programme comprised civic festivities, and the analysis incorporated a booklet published in 1951 that detailed the plan, orders and guidelines for these events. The booklet provided insights into the reasons behind the events and included three speeches: a welcoming speech, a keynote speech and closing words.[49] The sources concerning the sports programme unveiled the ideological and practical objectives of SVUL, offering multi-layered perspectives on the activities of the prominent sports organisation.

In addition to these sports documents by SVUL, the analysis covered PE curricula for the state's secondary schools for boys and girls (the curricula given in 1947) and the committee report on the curriculum of elementary schools given in 1952.[50] These documents provided perspectives on the aims and contents of PE in national school contexts, enabling comparisons between schools and a sports organisation. The analysis focused on specific issues raised in the examined documents, employing a close reading of source documents[51] to identify connections with the research topic. A researcher must try to capture the meanings of texts during the analysis process. The emphasis of the analysis was not only on the topics and issues raised but also the detailed descriptions provided in the documents.[52]

Second, the analysis also included the short documentary film titled "*Reipas, rehti, ryhdikäs*" (*Active, Honest, Upright*) which was produced in 1953.[53] Prior research notes that visual sources, such as documentary films, can facilitate an understanding of the past by offering multiple perspectives and possibilities for interpretation.[54] During the 1950s, films served as tools not only for the government and schools but also for other agents in society to convey modernity and strengthen community and national identity.[55] The temporal and contextual dimensions play a crucial role in explaining the reasons behind the creation of the short film, the specific choice of topics and the utilisation of particular representations. According to Paul Warmington, Angelo Van Gorp and Ian Grosvenor, the technologies of production and distribution and the conventions of a genre affect the visual and oral narratives of films.[56] Jari Sedergren and Ilkka Kippola point out that after the Second World War, modernism dominated the approach to Finnish

documentary filmmaking. The gaze of the films projected a prosperous, advanced, better and happier world on the horizon. The short films visualised faith in the progress which prevailed in Finnish society in the 1950s and reflected the material hopes and way of life defined by modernisation.[57]

Reipas, rehti, ryhdikäs was produced by Suomi-Filmi Oy (The Finnish Film Company), the largest short film producer in Finland after the Second World War, and was commissioned by SVUL, one of the leading Finnish sports federations of that time.[58] The documentary film was named after the motto of the federation and considered as embodying its objectives for educational initiatives.[59] The film belongs to the genre of documentary films concentrating on sport and PE, aiming to promote public health and youth education.[60] This genre also included films depicting the 1952 Olympic Games in Helsinki, which supplement the source materials of this article.[61] Lynn Fendler highlights the multiple contexts in which images function, serving as representations, agents and symbols.[62] The analyses included all three of them. First, the film *Reipas, rehti, ryhdikäs* can be seen as a representation of the past, contributing to the grand narrative of PE and sport. Second, as a tool promoting the aims of the athletic federation, the film acted as an agent for national PE. Third, the film incorporated symbols that constituted facets of the emotional regimes surrounding PE and sport in the 1950s. The analyses of the film contained the cinematic characteristics of the film, including both a silent viewing of the film and production of a complete transcript of the film's voice-over. The visual representations were accompanied by the editorial voice-over which emphasised the visual narrative, giving the viewers explanations and guidelines for making interpretations.[63] In the 1950s, it was the custom to add the voice-over and incidental music in the studio after the filming was completed.[64]

Together these visual and written documents covered the important sources of the national key stakeholders of PE and sport and capture the ideas and discourses promoted by them. During the analysis, attention was given to perspectives related to the body, gender and questions of equality. Moreover, adopting William Reddy's concept of emotional regimes, the analysis aimed to explore expressions of emotions and feelings, such as joy, happiness and excitement, utilising both visual and written source materials. Symbolic elements depicted in the sources were also considered, acknowledging Tuomas Tepora's insight that collective symbols can be not only symbols but also physical and internalised emotional objects. In accordance with Tepora's observation that emotions are often expressed non-verbally,[65] the analysis of visual sources complemented the examination of written sources. The analysis involved multiple readings, contextualising the documents against the historical backdrop of Finnish sport and PE and juxtaposing with historical macro-level events within society. Considering William Reddy's distinction between "emotional standards and ideals" and emotions in practice, this article primarily emphasises the former due to the limited opportunity provided by the source materials to delve into the practical level of emotions.[66] Additionally, Reddy's concepts of strict and loose regimes were employed to distinguish between the two contexts presented in the source materials of this article: the contexts of schools represented stricter regimes, whereas a voluntary-based sports organisation opened up scenes to more versatile contexts.[67] The next section provides a more detailed exploration of the national

context to which this article is attached, offering historical and temporal insights to contextualise the results.

The Historical Context and Finnish Sport and PE in the 1950s

In early nineteenth-century Finland, then an autonomous grand duchy under Russian rule, physical culture was shaped by gentry practices such as military exercise, spa traditions, fencing, hunting and horse riding, with Central European and Russian influences disseminated through manorial culture.[68] The introduction of gymnastics in the 1830s marked the emergence of modern physical culture, centred on health and enjoyment.[69] Mid-century political, economic and educational reforms facilitated increased Western influence, especially via Sweden, St Petersburg and Vyborg, bringing Swedish–German gymnastics and English competitive sport into schools and newly founded clubs.[70] In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Fennoman and Liberal movements employed sport for political aims, while traditional peasant bodily practices faded as broader social groups joined sports, youth and temperance associations.[71] The evolution of physical education thus reflects the wider social and spatial expansion of bourgeois culture.[72] During the first half of the twentieth century, Finnish society underwent other major changes as industrialisation, urbanisation and modernisation gained ground in agrarian society, accelerating especially after the Second World War. Women's position in the labour market had strengthened in the early twentieth century and by the 1950s nearly 40 per cent of the working population were women. As the structures of society rapidly changed, the emphasis on sports policy also reformed, raising fitness exercise of citizens alongside sport as a societal issue.[73]

Hannu Itkonen underscores the pivotal role and significance of voluntary-based sports clubs and federations together with municipalities in the organisation of Finnish physical culture, a role that has persisted over time.[74] In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Finnish sport and movement life exhibited three distinct patterns of identification: the identity of integration (aligned with gymnastics' discipline and fitness), the identity of production (linked to competition and results) and the popular identity, fostering a dialogical encounter between festivity and play. The gymnastics movement, male and female elite gymnastics as well as the popular gymnastics, had the same goals: discipline and fitness, for the nation. Nationalism was rooted in sport and in the earlier forms of physical culture, as put forward by the nationalist sports elite.[75] Furthermore, competitive and top-level sport gained considerable prominence in Finnish society due to their strong connection with the birth of the nation and the early recognition of the young nation-state.[76]

The physical culture of the 1950s can be placed chronologically within the age of hobby-competition culture, prevalent from the 1930s to the 1960s in Finland.[77] After the Second World War, the state and municipalities invested in sport and physical training infrastructure, resulting in an increase in sports facilities such as swimming pools, sports halls and playing fields.[78] In addition, the state began channelling profits from the Finnish government-owned betting agency into competitive sport and sports federations, which significantly strengthened their finances.[79] The enduring infrastructure and built environment provided by the Finnish state system were essential for the flourishing of national sports organisations and the sports culture within civil society.[80]

Besides sports federations, the groundwork for physical culture was laid in PE in schools. In the early twentieth century, the first level of the Finnish education system was based on a so-called two-tier system comprising elementary and lower secondary (grammar) schools. At age 11, after four years of elementary school, children would either continue with elementary school or move on, after passing the entrance exam, to lower secondary (grammar) school. Lower secondary (five or six years long) and upper secondary school (three years long) were academically oriented providing after the graduation an opportunity to university studies. In the 1940s and 1950s, because of a heightened motivation to educate their children, more and more working-class parents sent their offspring to secondary school (grammar school). In that time, about 30 per cent of all secondary-school students were working-class children. Although agriculture still was the principal means of livelihood in the 1940s, the pressure of social mobility increased and shifted away from agriculture, with prestigious secondary education emerging as the principal pathway to non-agrarian occupations. In the 1950s, the baby boomers brought with them not only in terms of numbers but also in relative terms more children from social strata whose parents lacked secondary (grammar) school education.[81]

In the context of the Nordic countries, Henrik Meinander notes that boys' PE in secondary schools from 1880 to 1940 aimed to prepare them for bourgeois manhood, emphasising moral and hygienic considerations. PE was considered an effective means to strengthen one's character, with the rationale behind physiological exercises rooted in medical facts.[82] This same underlying theme can be found in the narrative surrounding Finnish girls' secondary schools, reflecting the middle-class girlhood culture of the 1950s.[83]

The regulations of the National Board of Education mandated that elementary school pupils receive a minimum of two weekly hours of physical training in the 1950s whereas secondary schools (lower and upper) were to provide 3–4 hours of PE per school week.[84] When comparing different subjects in lyceums, 28–36 hours were devoted to mathematics per week, whereas 27–31 hours per week were dedicated to PE.[85] Until the 1970s, PE garnered more attention in secondary education than in elementary education, mainly because the former belonged to the central cultural institutions of the middle class. The middle class possessed economic and cultural capital and wielded influence in shaping secondary education towards its objectives. Consequently, until the 1950s, the state invested more in developing secondary education, manifesting in better training facilities for secondary schools at both rural and urban levels. Additionally, PE in secondary schools was taught by qualified PE teachers.[86]

This article extends previous knowledge resulting from three significant issues. First, there was an emphasis on the representation of corporeality and moral values in both sports documents and curricula. Second, particular attention was paid to matters of equality, especially concerning gender, age and social class. The third issue focused on the emotional regimes established in PE and sport in the 1950s. In the next three sections, the results of the analysis are presented in detail.

Corporeality and Moral Values in PE and Sport in the 1950s

In the 1950s, Suomen Voimistelu ja Urheiluliitto (SVUL, established in 1906), the Finnish Gymnastics and Sports Federation, was the biggest and oldest national athletics federation, boasting a membership of over 320,000 at the decade's onset.[87] The rapid increase in membership after the Second World War continued in the 1950s, culminating in over 405,000 members by the end of the decade.[88] After the Second World War, the sport policy of SVUL transformed, paying more attention to sport and sport-related hobbies for all citizens. Furthermore, the bygone war and its casualties changed the attitudes towards human bodies, comprehending the vulnerability of bodies and appreciating life.

The sports policy documents of SVUL positioned physical education (PE) as a vehicle for both physical well-being and moral formation.[89] The 1952 elementary school curriculum report echoed this stance, promoting voluntary training despite limited facilities to support pupils' physical and mental health.[90] These aims aligned with national health ideals shaped since the 1930s by the vision of a "healthy and strong nation."[91] PE thus contributed to the holistic development of socially responsible citizens,[92] with physical well-being understood as both bodily competence and participation in broader national health efforts.[93] The popularity of sport and Finland's Olympic successes since the 1920s increased popularity of sport-related hobbies and further reinforced physical culture stressing a healthy and strong body.[94] This emphasis was not only a Finnish phenomenon but an international one. For instance, during the interwar period in France, physical fitness and sportiness were seen as specifically masculine virtues and as technologies of self-management, which were regarded as essential for the people's own good as well as the good of the nation.[95]

The moral dimensions of PE were central to the sports community's ethos, articulated through fair play, solidarity, respect for rules and aesthetic sensibilities, with honesty, chivalry and sportsmanship emphasised as key educational goals.[96] Post-war priorities reinforced youth solidarity and communal responsibility, encouraging young people to internalise norms that rejected bullying and supported social cohesion. In the aftermath of the Second World War, these values were seen as essential for rebuilding society and preventing future conflict. Sport thus complemented broader civic education by cultivating shared moral standards and citizenship. The body served as a medium for shaping individuals as social beings, with children seen as especially suited to developing initiative, vigilance and moral integrity.[97] The cultivation of the corporeal (individual) body and the embodied moral values and civic virtues were a part of the cultivation of the corporate (nation) body.

The approach of SVUL to adult PE was similarly grounded in the promotion of healthy lifestyles and regular physical activity. This was framed within the context of Finland's transition from an agrarian to an industrial society with rapid structural societal changes. As physical demands at work declined, exercise was presented as necessary for preserving vitality, preventing premature ageing and supporting national health objectives.[98] As with children, physical training was seen as a vehicle for cultivating moral virtues, regularity, honesty, self-control and fostering character development.[99] Equally important were the psychological benefits of voluntary exercise. Physical activity was portrayed as a counterbalance to modern work life, offering mental renewal and

promoting holistic well-being that bridged the divide between mind and body. The modernisation of society was regarded as placing new demands upon recreational activities.[100]

Moreover, the relationship with nature played a formative role in shaping citizens' broader relationship with physical activity. Municipal sports facility construction developed differently in densely populated urban and municipal areas compared with rural communities, where public investment in such infrastructure began considerably later than in the cities. The surrounding natural environment, its forests and lakes, served as a primary setting for physical activity, especially for those living in sparsely populated areas of Finland. Active engagement in nature was indeed one of the aims of physical education for citizens of both rural regions and urban settlements. In winter, cross-country skiing was a popular pastime, while in summer activities such as berry picking, mushroom foraging, fishing and hunting offered opportunities for sustained outdoor exercise. From this perspective, although society underwent modernisation, Finnish forms of physical exercise retained their agrarian roots for a considerable time.[101]

Despite the internationally atypical Finnish nature relationship in physical education, similarities could also be found in it. Across Europe, the 1950s marked a transitional phase in PE, shaped by both long-standing gymnastic traditions and the wider post-war reconstruction of societies. More broadly, the decade saw the emergence of "new sport movement," which brought competitive sport, physical fitness and public-health concerns more firmly into the curriculum across multiple national contexts. This shift signalled a move away from rigid nineteenth-century gymnastic models towards a modernised conception of PE aligned with societal reconstruction, citizenship training and the promotion of lifelong physical activity.[102]

Towards Equality: Gender, Age and Middle-class Dynamics

The implementation of new curricula for secondary education in 1947 marked a pivotal moment in the institutionalisation of physical education (PE) in post-war Finland. These curricula, introduced for both boys and girls, delineated PE into three distinct components: gymnastics, sport and health education.[103] Despite a modest reduction in weekly PE hours following the Second World War, the subject retained a prominent role throughout the 1950s. PE, encompassing physical training and health education, was widely regarded as essential for all youth, irrespective of gender, although subtle distinctions persisted between the curricula for boys and girls. While both curricula shared core elements, such as gymnastics and sport, the expectations placed on girls were comparatively less rigorous.[104]

By mid-century, perceptions of girls' participation in sport had evolved from the restrictive views prevalent in the early twentieth century. For instance, women actively participated in sport and physical training within their dedicated gymnastics and sports clubs, as well as in mixed sports clubs, during the 1950s.[105] District-level statistics of SVUL, however, revealed an uneven gender distribution in the sport clubs, with nearly double the number of men and boys compared with women and girls.[106] Remnants of negative opinions regarding female competitiveness endured also. Historically, competitive sport was perceived as incompatible with femininity and biological propriety, shaped by prevailing moral and

gender norms.[107] Institutional resistance also played a role; the Women's Gymnastics Federation, for instance, opposed competitive sport for women, fearing it would undermine the primacy of gymnastics. In response, Finnish female athletes established a central committee for women's sport within the SVUL in 1948, partly in anticipation of the Helsinki Olympic Games in 1952.[108] In general, by the 1950s, the circumstances had eased off; for instance, since 1946, both genders had participated in inter-school competitions, and efforts were made to enhance the visibility and value of girls' sports. The National Board of Education mandated that gymnastics teachers report detailed results of girls' athletic achievements, signalling a change towards greater society support for both genders. Although these reforms improved women's status, the absence of women still prevailed in the central administration of SVUL and women's leadership positions remained in the roles of their own sport federations.[109] Moreover, despite the inclusion of women in the narrative, a subtle gender bias persisted, with men a little more frequently depicted as active participants in sport.[110] For instance, the visual narrative of the documentary film depicted not only athletic and competitive men but men in leading positions within the sports federation, while women were narrated to do secretarial duties.[111] Nevertheless, the endeavours in PE can be understood as precursors to the modernisation and gradual equalisation of the latter part of the twentieth century.[112]

Beyond youth, sports policy documents extended their focus to adults, promoting health-enhancing physical activity across all social strata. Notably, these documents emphasised egalitarianism, advocating fitness not merely for the elite but for the broader population. The message included both white-collar and blue-collar workers and the emphasis was on keeping and increasing the capability of the workforce. Middle-class values surrounding health and exercise were thus extended to encompass all social classes.[113] Sport was conceptualised as a space of social equality, where individuals from different backgrounds could interact and pursue shared goals.[114] The emphasis of equality is noteworthy in the context of Finnish society in the 1950s where the clear-cut, class-based division of 10-year-old children in the selective school system, the thinness of the upper classes and the divisions of sports clubs along social class, political orientation and language lines still prevailed. The emphasis could be understood reflecting the bygone war which united society, and the societal modernisation process with the future prospects.

Moreover, physical training was portrayed as universally appropriate, regardless of age or gender. For instance, the imagery of the analysed documentary film was intended to appeal to as many viewers as possible and the message attempted to channel ordinary people's interest in sport and outdoor exercise. The film employed two key strategies to engage viewers: first, they highlighted the accessibility of physical activity through slogans such as "Up, out and running," supported by imagery of outdoor pursuits such as hiking;[115] second, the narrative of the film focused on famous, influential people of sport, whose endorsement lent credibility and appeal to the message. Popular events included traditional individual sports such as athletics and cross-country skiing, which resonated with the sporting culture of the 1950s.[116]

Emotional Regimes in PE and Sport in the 1950s

Regarding Reddy's emotional regimes, the source material offers diverse perspectives at the individual, social and national levels, and they were deeply intertwined with the pedagogical ideology underpinning Finnish physical education (PE). In the documents, PE was not merely a set of physical practices but a vehicle for shaping emotional dispositions aligned with broader educational aims of schools and society. The narrative embedded in sports-related documents mirrored post-war PE objectives for primary and secondary school pupils, which prioritised the promotion of physical and mental health, the enhancement of work capacity and the development of balanced, resilient citizens. Moreover, PE provided opportunity to positive emotions.[117] These objectives reveal the dual nature of PE as both a physiological and moral project, where emotional regulation served as a pedagogical tool for fostering socially desirable traits. While the management of feelings within the school context echoed Reddy's notion of strict emotional regimes, PE simultaneously offered greater scope for emotional expression than most other school subjects, positioning it as a unique domain for cultivating affective and social competencies.[118]

The experiences of adults engaging in health-oriented physical training were similarly connected to emotions. Visual and oral narratives framed fitness training as a source of positive feelings such as joy and stimulation, delight, enthusiasm and cheerfulness. These representations, accompanied by imagery of smiling faces and triumphant sporting moments with the sense of honour, reinforced the idea that physical activity was emotionally rewarding.[119] Emotional regimes were thus evident in dual roles: as spectators and as practitioners of physical training,[120] reflecting an ideology that valued communal participation and shared emotional experiences as integral to social cohesion.[121]

The emphasis on outdoor exercise and engagement with nature further illustrates emotional experiences and the ideological dimension of PE. Nature was presented not merely as a backdrop for physical activity but as a pedagogical resource, fostering positive emotional experiences such as joy and happiness.[122] Similarly, sports events and civic festivities were framed as emotionally charged communal rituals that reinforced national identity and collective values. These occasions served as performative spaces where pedagogical ideology intersected with emotional regimes, promoting loyalty, unity and civic responsibility through shared affective experiences.[123] A notable example was the civic festivity organised by SVUL in 1947, 1948 and 1951, which attracted tens of thousands of participants across hundreds of municipalities. Its programme combined sporting events with speeches promoting PE, thereby intertwining physical activity with ideological messaging.[124]

District, national and international competitions were depicted as symbolic arenas where emotional and ideological narratives converged.[125] Children and young people were portrayed as emotionally engaged spectators of competitive sports, thereby connecting them to the grand narrative of Finnish sport. For instance, the voiceover described that children and young people experience the memories of major sports events over and over again in their own competitions in schools.[126] Successful athletes were presented as objects of admiration, particularly among schoolboys, reinforcing ideals of aspiration and emulation.[127] National

flags flying, cheering crowds and famous sports stadiums were depicted as symbolic elements and spaces where and of which emotional regimes happened and were constituted. The narrative of the documents celebrated Finland's sporting reputation and the global recognition achieved by its athletes, framing these successes as sources of national pride and emotional unity which reinforced collective identity.[128] The narrative entwined national symbolic rhetoric with imagery, providing an introduction and laying the foundation for the message of sport of PE.[129] This reflects Anderson's notion of the nation as an "imagined community," where shared symbols and rituals, such as sport, create affective bonds among citizens.[130]

This grand narrative of sport functioned as a mechanism for consolidating national cohesion and spirit. It foregrounded the emotional intensity of competition and the celebratory atmosphere of victory, presenting these experiences as moments of collective identification.[131] Such sentiments reached their zenith during major events like the Helsinki Olympic Games, where the ideals of physical training and sport were elevated to a national and international stage. The narrative extends to the general public through sports news in newspapers and news films, documenting the eventful occasions of major competitions. In these instances, the national narrative expanded internationally, where the values of sport and emotions evoked by sport were commonly and mutually shared.[132]

Besides the grand narrative of sport, in the aftermath of the Second World War (the Winter War, the Continuation War and the Lapland War), Finland was left with a substantial population of war invalids, necessitating the construction of an extensive rehabilitation system. Alongside physiotherapy and medical rehabilitation, physical activity emerged as a central instrument for restoring functional capacity. As early as the 1940s and 1950s, the Finnish War Invalids' Association (*Sotainvalidien Veljesliitto*) organised a variety of sporting events and competitions, which may be regarded as early institutional forms of Finnish disability sport. By the 1950s, Finnish disability sport was undergoing a period of transition: it was shifting from rehabilitative exercise organised by individual actors towards autonomous sporting practices that would later become linked to the international Paralympic movement.[133]

A notable feature of the analysed sources was the absence of negative emotional reactions. The narratives were saturated with positive affect, hope, pride, solidarity and optimism, while omitting expressions of fatigue, resistance or ambivalence that might have accompanied the physical and moral demands imposed by PE and sport. This silence was significant: it suggested that the emotional regime constructed through these discourses was not only prescriptive but also selective, privileging emotions that reinforced national cohesion and marginalising those that could undermine the ideal of a unified, healthy and morally upright citizenry. The lack of negative affect might reflect the normative expectations of the time, where dissent or discomfort was incompatible with the post-war project of reconstruction and collective resilience. Consequently, the emotional regime of Finnish physical culture in the 1950s appeared as a carefully curated affective order, one that sought to elevate sport and PE beyond the realm of mundane experience, positioning them as vehicles for moral renewal and national progress.[134]

Conclusion: Training the Body and Mind – The Ethos of Sport and PE in the 1950s

The visual and written sources examined in the article articulate the prevailing ideas and discourses endorsed by two dominant actors within the field of physical education (PE) and sport during the 1950s: the sports organisation SVUL and the school system. First, after the war, the sports policy of SVUL framed the body as both individual and collective, a locus for both physical and moral development and civic virtues. The experience of war and its casualties fostered awareness of bodily fragility and renewed appreciation for life. Cultivating the corporeal body was understood as essential to cultivating the corporate body of the nation.

Second, within the ethos of sport and PE, the principles of equality were championed, encompassing both gender and social equality. Women and men across all social strata were invited to join sports associations, with participation encouraged across all age groups, from juniors to adults and seniors. Notably, the emphasis on equality sought to transcend distinctions of gender, age or social status, while simultaneously positioning bourgeois upper middle-classness as an aspirational ideal for all members of society.[135] The health-oriented physical training of adults and seniors, an issue less prominent in earlier decades, received considerable attention. Moreover, the virtues of masculinities and femininities covered in sport and PE held both similarities and disparities. While documents neutrally addressed the issue of gender, visual narratives occasionally privileged masculinity, devoting greater attention to boys and men. Despite the persistence of slight gender segregation in school curricula, for instance, in the allocation of sports activities, the overarching principle of gender equality was embraced in the documents, thereby contributing to the broader advancement of women's status within sport and PE.[136] The grand values of sport and PE were acknowledged as pertinent to both women and men. In accordance with previous research, the separate gendered spheres set boundaries for sporting women. Nevertheless, issues could be found (e.g. the shared values of sport) in which the traditional order was challenged.[137] Embodied experiences were understood to transcend gender, interweaving physical and mental memories.

The grand narrative of PE and sport emphasised their significant contributions to both physical and mental health, aligning closely with national health policy.[138] Consequently, PE and sport were envisaged as integral to the construction of a robust and healthy nation. Within this framework, physical training assumed the status of a moral imperative: "the desire to build this country that we have been entrusted with, to raise its young people in the right spirit of the sport and to maintain the fitness of its all citizens."[139] During the 1950s, the sports organisation (SVUL) and the school system strongly steered PE and sport towards shared objectives. Although physical culture promoted cohesion, its reach seldom extended to sparsely populated rural regions, particularly in northern Finland.

From a theoretical perspective, these discourses can be understood through the lens of emotional regimes theory,[140] which conceptualises emotions as historically contingent and socially regulated. Emotional regimes operate as normative frameworks that prescribe appropriate emotional expressions and experiences within specific cultural and institutional contexts. In the case of Finland in the 1950s, the ethos of PE and sport functioned as a mechanism for producing and sustaining an emotional regime centred on

national solidarity, optimism and moral fortitude. Emotions were not merely incidental to physical culture; rather, they were systematically cultivated through practices, narratives and institutional directives. The ethos of sport and PE played a pivotal role in shaping emotional regimes, evident in both spectator sport and the individual and social dimensions of physical training. Within the narratives, emotions were intricately interwoven with everyday practices, which held significant importance in the physical training landscape of the 1950s. Research indicates that in the era after the Second World War, there was a notable change in physical culture, as the traditional exercise generation (born between 1923 and 1949) gave way to the emergence of the keep-fit exercise generation (those born in the 1950s).[141] This generational transition further illustrates the dynamic nature of emotional regimes, as new forms of physical activity introduced alternative affective dispositions, such as individualised well-being and leisure-oriented enjoyment, alongside older ideals of discipline and duty. The ethos of sport and PE in the 1950s might thus be interpreted as a catalyst for these transformative and societal changes. Collective emotional regimes reinforced national cohesion and spirit, fostering interpersonal connections among those engaged in sport and sporting events. The narratives embedded within sports documents underscored a sense of national solidarity, articulating aspirations for peace and hope for a brighter future. Laden with positive emotions, sport and PE transcended mundane experiences, elevating emotional regimes and consolidating shared cohesion among participants. In this sense, the ethos of PE and sport in the 1950s could be interpreted not only as a physical and moral project but also as an emotional one, an institutionalised effort to shape the affective fabric of society in accordance with national ideals.

The emotional regimes embedded in Finnish physical education were not isolated phenomena but part of a wider European pedagogical ideology that continued to emerge in the aftermath of the Second World War. Across the continent, educational systems sought to reconstruct societies by promoting physical vitality, moral resilience and civic responsibility, values perceived as essential for democratic stability and national recovery.[142] Finnish PE aligned these aspirations by framing sport and physical training as instruments for cultivating disciplined, healthy and socially integrated citizens. At the same time, new forms of physical activity brought with them alternative affective qualities such as individual well-being and leisure-oriented enjoyment. The national narrative expanded internationally when the values of sport and emotions evoked by sport were shared for instance in the international sports occasions, like the Olympic Games. By integrating emotional regimes into physical education, Finland participated in a transnational educational project aimed at shaping citizens who were not only physically competent but emotionally attuned to the collective ideals of modern democratic societies.

Notes

1. The concept of physical culture refers to the understanding that physical culture is a significant and broad sub-area of society and that the forms and meanings of sport and physical training change alongside other changes in society. Physical culture includes both top-level and competitive sport and other forms of physical training, such as leisure-time sport, recreational sport and health sport – essentially,

all non-competitive physical training targeted at all ages. Organisations which arrange physical activity and sport can also be included in physical culture.

The historical development of physical culture is marked by significant transformations influenced by various socio-cultural factors. Initially, the concept of "physical culture" emerged in the first half of the nineteenth century, reflecting a growing awareness of the importance of physical education as a necessary condition for human progress across biological, psychological and sociological dimensions. This period saw physical education evolve as an activity that was shaped by historical conditions and societal needs, with individuals engaging in physical activities both voluntarily and involuntarily, often with specific purposes in mind.

The institutionalisation of physical education in national educational systems during the late nineteenth century further solidified the role of physical culture in society, as it was increasingly recognised as a vital component of educational curricula. (Itkonen, *Sport and Civil Society*, 7, 11; Itkonen and Laine, "Suuntana liikunnan käsitteet ja käytännöt," 7–12.)

2. Työväen Urheiluliitto (TUL, the Finnish Workers' Sports Federation) established in 1919, had around 230,000 members in 1950 and a decade after, 250,000. The number of the members in Finlands Svenska Centralidrottsförbund (CIF, founded in 1912), was 30,000 in 1945 and 60,000 in 1960. (Vasara, "Sinisen verryttelypuvun voittokulku," 330–4.)
3. Laine, "Sport for the Nation," 1618–36.
4. Quin and Westberg, "'La fabrique des corps nationaux ou la fabrique nationale des corps?'" 9–25.
5. See e.g. Brühwiler, Horlacher, Quin and Westberg, eds. *La fabrique des corps nationaux*; Tröhler and Westberg, "The Body Between the Protestant Souls and Nascent Nation-States," 1–12; Skillen, "'A Sound System of Physical Training'," 403–18; Vangrunderbeek and Delheye, "A Match Between University Professors and School Inspectors?" 338–55; and Naul and Scheuer, *Research on Physical Education and School Sport in Europe*, 22–6.
6. Tröhler and Westberg, "The Body Between the Protestant Souls and Nascent Nation-States," 1–12; and Naul and Scheuer, *Research on Physical Education and School Sport in Europe*, 22–6.
7. McIntosh, *Physical Education in England Since 1800*; and Naul and Scheuer, *Research on Physical Education and School Sport in Europe*, 22–6.
8. Wrench, "Framing Citizenship," 455–67.
9. McIntosh, *Physical Education in England Since 1800*.
10. Mangan, *The Games Ethic and Imperialism*. See e.g. Crawford, ed. *Serious Sport: J. A. Mangan's Contribution to the History of Sport.*
11. Freeman, "Sport, Health and the Body in the History of Education," 709–10.
12. O'Neill and Sandgren, "Education and Elites," 677; and Dishon, "Games of character."
13. Quin, "British Bodies Between Extraversion and Conservatism," 109–20.
14. Chisholm, "Gymnastics and the Reconstitution of Republican Motherhood"; Goellner, Votre and Pinheiro, "Strong Mothers make Strong Children." See also Burns, Proctor and Weaver, "Modern Schooling and the Curriculum of the Body," 579–80.
15. E.g. Special Issue *International Journal of the History of Spor*t, 29, no. 2 (2012). See also Special Issue *International Journal of the History of Spor*t, 35, no. 6 (2018).
16. McCrone, *Sport and the Physical Emancipation of English Women, 1870–1914.*
17. Kirk, *Defining Physical Education*, 115–20.
18. Verbrugge, *Active Bodies*; English, Separate Spheres and Separate Roles, 350–65.
19. Hoberman, *Sport and Political Ideology*, passim.
20. Naul, "History of sport and physical education in Germany, 1800–1945," 15–27.
21. Keys, "The Body as a Political Space," 395–413.
22. See e.g. Nicolas, "Physical Education in the Colonial Gold Coast," 1–16.
23. Clevenger and Jette, "From 'Cultivators of the Soil' to 'Citizen-soldiers'," 958–70; Verbrugge, *Active Bodies.*

24. Itkonen, *Sport and Civil Society*, passim; Zacheus, *Luonnonmukaisesta arkiliikunnasta liikunnan eriytymiseen*, 213–16; and Österlind and Wright, "If Sport's the Solution then What's the Problem?," 987–8.
25. See e.g. Itkonen, *Sport and Civil Society*, 11–17; Rousmaniere and Sobe, "Education and the Body," 1–3; Gleason, "Metaphor, Materiality, and Method," 4–19; and Polenghi, Németh and Kasper, "Body and Education," 7–23.
26. Itkonen, *Sport and Civil Society*, 12.
27. Polenghi, Németh and Kasper, "Body and Education," 7–23.
28. Gleason, "Metaphor, Materiality, and Method," 16.
29. Polenghi, Németh and Kasper, "Body and Education," 15.
30. Rousmaniere and Sobe, "Education and the Body: Introduction," 1–3.
31. Herman and Hofmann, "Bodies and Minds in Education," 443–51.
32. Freeman, "Sport, Health and the Body in the History of Education," 709–11.
33. Polenghi, Németh and Kasper, "Body and Education," 7–23.
34. Mangan, The Games Ethic and Imperialism; Kirk, *Defining Physical Education*, passim; Quin, "British Bodies Between Extraversion and Conservatism," 109–20.
35. Hoberman, *Sport and Political Ideology*, passim; and Naul and Scheuer, *Research on Physical Education and School Sport in Europe*, 25–27.
36. E.g. Vasara, "Sinisen verryttelypuvun voittokulku," 329–47; and Itkonen, *Sport and Civil Society, passim.*
37. Meinander, "Koululiikunta etsii paikkaansa," 282–301; and Vasara, "Sinisen verryttelypuvun voittokulku," 329–47.
38. E.g. Giulianotti, Itkonen, Nevala and Salmikangas, "Sport and Civil Society in the Nordic Region," 540–54.
39. Burns, Proctor and Weaver, "Modern Schooling and the Curriculum of the Body," 569–89.
40. E.g. Kirk, *Defining Physical Education*, passim; Polenghi, Németh and Kasper, "Body and Education," 7–23; and Tolvhed, "The Sports Woman as a Cultural Challenge," 302–17. See also Verbrugge, *Active Bodies*.
41. Polenghi, Németh and Kasper, "Body and Education," 7–23. See also Rousmaniere and Sobe, "Education and the Body," 1–3; and Herman and Hofmann, "Bodies and Minds in Education," 443–51.
42. Tepora, "Kuinka tunnehistoriaa tutkitaan?"
43. Ibid.; Reddy, "Historical Research on the Self and Emotions," 302–15; and Reddy, *Navigation of Feeling*. See also Plamper and Tribe, *The History of Emotion*, 70.
44. Eiranen, "Emotion and Nationalism," 407–22.
45. Harjula and Kokko, "The Scene of Experience."
46. See also e.g. Itkonen, *Sport and Civil Society*.
47. See Harjula, "Terveyspalveluiden historia," 192–223.
48. *SVUL:n puhekokoelma*.
49. *Reipas, rehti, ryhdikäs III 1951*.
50. *Valtion oppikoulujen liikuntakasvatusohjelma I; Valtion oppikoulujen liikuntakasvatusohjelma II; Kansakoulun opetussuunnitelmakomitean mietintö II* 1952:3.
51. Pöysä, "Lähiluku vaeltavana käsitteenä ja tieteidenvälisenä metodina," 331–60; Tepora, Danielsbacka, and Hannikainen, "Johdanto."
52. Ibid. See also Brummett, *Techniques of Close Reading*.
53. *Reipas, rehti, ryhdikäs*.
54. Warmington, van Gorp and Grosvenor, "Education in Motion," 457–72.
55. Sedergren and Kippola, *Dokumentin utopiat*, 11–16, 278–82, 285–6.
56. See e.g. Fendler, "Apertures of Documentation," 751–62; and Warmington, Van Gorp, and Grosvenor, "Education in Motion," 457–72.
57. Sedergren and Kippola, *Dokumentin utopiat*, 21.
58. Ibid, 28.
59. Halila and Sirmeikkö, *Suomen voimistelu- ja urheiluliitto SVUL 1900–1960*, 628–29, 37.
60. Sedergren and Kippola, *Dokumentin utopiat*, 286.

61. Short film *Olympia katsaus 1* [Olympic Report 1] 1952 (Elonet database. The Finnish filmography. The National Audiovisual Institute. Elonet.finna.fi/Record/kavi.elonet_elokuva_164471); news film *Finlandia katsaus* [Finlandia Survey No. 195], 1953 (Elonet database. The Finnish filmography. The National Audiovisual Institute. Elonet.finna.fi/Record/kavi.elonet_elokuva_134230); documentary film *Maailmat kohtaavat* [Where the Worlds Meet], 1952 (Elonet database. The Finnish filmography. The National Audiovisual Institute. Elonet.finna.fi/Record/kavi.elonet_elokuva_122715); documentary film *Kultaa ja kunniaa* [Gold and Glory], 1953 (Elonet database. The Finnish filmography. The National Audiovisual Institute. Elonet.finna.fi/Record/kavi.elonet_elokuva_122720).
62. Fendler, "Apertures of Documentation," 751–62.
63. See e.g. Dussel and Priem, "The Visual in Histories of Education: A Reappraisal," 641–9; Fendler, "Apertures of Documentation," 751–62.
64. Sedergren and Kippola, *Dokumentin utopiat*, 14.
65. Tepora, "Kuinka tunnehistoriaa tutkitaan?"
66. Reddy, "Historical Research on the Self and Emotions."
67. See Reddy, *Navigation of Feeling*, 125–6. Strict regimes provide strong emotional management tools at the expense of allowing greater scope for self-exploration and navigation. Loose regimes enable for navigation and allow different management tools to be shaped locally and individually.
68. Heikkinen, "Promenadeja ja terveyskylpyjä," 43–61; and Laine, "Urheilu valtaa mielet," 101–3.
69. Heikkinen, "Voimistelun läpimurto," 65–79.
70. Kärkkäinen, "Kisailusta urheiluksi," 155–8.
71. Ibid.
72. Meinander, "Warpaile y-lös, kyykkyyn a-las," 99.
73. SVT 1959, 36–38; Ilmanen, "Liikuntapalveluiden muutos 1800-luvun lopulta 2000-luvulle," 21–31.
74. Itkonen, "Kansalaistoimintojen kaudet ja muuttuvat käytännöt," 39–58. See also Laine, "Sport for the Nation," 1618–36.
75. Laine, "Sport for the Nation," 1631–2.
76. Itkonen, *Sport and Civil Society*, 14.
77. Itkonen, "Kansalaistoimintojen kaudet ja muuttuvat käytännöt," 51–2.
78. Ilmanen, "Liikuntapalveluiden muutos 1800-luvun lopulta 2000-luvulle," 19–37. In Finland, as in Europe generally, the change in sports services followed a pattern from natural environments to built sports facilities and venues. See also Hannikainen, "Sport in London's Public Green Spaces in the Inter-war Years," 331–64.
79. Vasara, "Järjestöt järjestävät, julkinen valta rahoittaa," 317–27.
80. Giulianotti, Itkonen, Nevala and Salmikangas, "Sport and Civil Society in the Nordic Region," 540–54.
81. SVT 1959, 36–38; and Kiuasmaa, *Oppikoulu 1880–1980*, 346–7, 401–2.
82. Meinander, *Towards a Bourgeois Manhood.*
83. Nieminen, "Regulated and Liberated Bodies of Schoolgirls in a Finnish Short Film from the 1950s," 96–113.
84. Meinander, "Koululiikunta etsii paikkaansa," 282–301; Kiuasmaa, *Oppikoulu 1880–1980*, 367, 637–9.
85. These numbers represent the total weekly periods over the entire duration of grammar school and lyceum, which spans eight or nine years. Kiuasmaa, *Oppikoulu 1880–1980*, 367, 637–9.
86. Meinander, "Koululiikunta etsii paikkaansa," 282–301.
87. Vasara, "Sinisen verryttelypuvun voittokulku," 329–47. SVUL and TUL were disbanded in the 1990s, when a new umbrella federation was established.
88. Halila and Sirmeikkö, *Suomen voimistelu- ja urheiluliitto SVUL 1900–1960*, 549. In 1939, SVUL (the Finnish Gymnastics and Sports Federation) had just over 110,000 members. The number of members is somewhat unreliable because of

organisational, technical reasons and the uncertainty of statistics. Nevertheless, this allows for drawing conclusions about the development trends. (Vasara, "Sinisen verryttelypuvun voittokulku," 329.)

89. Tynell, "Nuorisourheilun merkitys ja päämäärä," 42–4; *Reipas rehti, ryhdikäs III 1951;* and *Reipas, rehti, ryhdikäs.*
90. *Kansakoulun opetussuunnitelmakomitean mietintö II* 1952:3; Halila, *Suomen kansakoululaitoksen historia 4*, 190–5.
91. Halila, *Suomen kansakoululaitoksen historia 4*, 190–5.
92. Tynell, "Nuorisourheilun merkitys ja päämäärä," 42–4; *Reipas rehti, ryhdikäs III 1951;* and *Reipas, rehti, ryhdikäs.*
93. Ibid. On the aims of national health work, see e.g. Harjula, "Terveyspalveluiden historia," 192–223; Jauho and Helén, "Citizenship by Vitality."
94. Halila, *Suomen kansakoululaitoksen historia* 4, 191.
95. Tumblety, *Remaking the Male Body*, 99–105. On the British context, see e.g. Quin, "British Bodies Between Extraversion and Conservatism," 109–20.
96. *Reipas, rehti, ryhdikäs*; Tynell, "Nuorisourheilun merkitys ja päämäärä," 42–4.
97. Ibid.; *Valtion oppikoulujen liikuntakasvatusohjelma I; Valtion oppikoulujen liikuntakasvatusohjelma II.*
98. *Reipas rehti, ryhdikäs III 1951*; Vepsäläinen, "Urheilu harrastajansa terveyden ja elinkunnon kohottajana," 29–32; *Reipas, rehti, ryhdikäs.*
99. *Reipas rehti, ryhdikäs III 1951*, 20–21.
100. Vepsäläinen, "Urheilu harrastajansa terveyden ja elinkunnon kohottajana," 29–32. See also *Reipas, rehti, ryhdikäs.*
101. Vepsäläinen, "Urheilu harrastajansa terveyden ja elinkunnon kohottajana," 29–32; *Reipas, rehti, ryhdikäs.* See also Ilmanen, "Liikuntapalveluiden muutos 1800-luvun lopulta 2000-luvulle," 19–37.
102. E.g. Naul and Scheuer, *Research on Physical Education and School Sport in Europe*, 25–27; Kirk, *Defining Physical Education*, passim.
103. *Valtion oppikoulujen liikuntakasvatusohjelma I; Valtion oppikoulujen liikuntakasvatusohjelma II.*
104. *Valtion oppikoulujen liikuntakasvatusohjelma I; Valtion oppikoulujen liikuntakasvatusohjelma II.* See also Kiuasmaa, *Oppikoulu 1880–1980*, 367, 637–9.
105. Halila and Sirmeikkö, *Suomen voimistelu- ja urheiluliitto SVUL 1900–1960.*
106. *SVUL:n Varsinais-Suomen piiri 1906–1956 sekä toimintakertomus 1955*, Appendix Table.
107. Meinander, "Koululiikunta etsii paikkaansa," 282–301.
108. Laine, "How to cross Borders," 222.
109. *Valtion oppikoulujen liikuntakasvatusohjelma I; Valtion oppikoulujen liikuntakasvatusohjelma II*; Meinander, "Koululiikunta etsii paikkaansa," 282–301.
110. *Reipas, rehti, ryhdikäs.* See also Vepsäläinen, "Urheilu harrastajansa terveyden ja elinkunnon kohottajana," 29–32; and Salonen, "Urheilun merkitys yhteiskunnallisena tekijänä," 33–6.
111. *Reipas, rehti, ryhdikäs.*
112. See e.g. Berg, *Ryhmärajoja ja hierarkioita*, passim.
113. *Reipas rehti, ryhdikäs III 1951;* Vepsäläinen, "Urheilu harrastajansa terveyden ja elinkunnon kohottajana," 29–32; *Reipas, rehti, ryhdikäs.*
114. *Reipas rehti, ryhdikäs III 1951;* Vepsäläinen, "Urheilu harrastajansa terveyden ja elinkunnon kohottajana," 29–32; *Reipas, rehti, ryhdikäs*; Salonen, "Urheilun merkitys yhteiskunnallisena tekijänä," 33–6; and Tynell, "Nuorisourheilun merkitys ja päämäärä," 42–4.
115. The meaning of the slogan "Ylös, ulos ja lenkille" is "Get up, go out and go for a walk or for a run," and it was repeatedly used in public narratives concerning health-enhancing physical activity.
116. See Zacheus, *Luonnonmukaisesta arkiliikunnasta liikunnan eriytymiseen*, 213–16.

117. *Reipas rehti, ryhdikäs III 1951; Reipas, rehti, ryhdikäs*; Halila, *Suomen kansakoululaitoksen historia 4*, 19; *Valtion oppikoulujen liikuntakasvatusohjelma I; Valtion oppikoulujen liikuntakasvatusohjelma II*.
118. *Valtion oppikoulujen liikuntakasvatusohjelma I; Valtion oppikoulujen liikuntakasvatusohjelma II*.
119. *Reipas, rehti, ryhdikäs*; *Reipas, rehti, ryhdikäs III 1951*, 17–21; Tynell, "Nuorisourheilun merkitys ja päämäärä," 42–4; Vepsäläinen, "Urheilu harrastajansa terveyden ja elinkunnon kohottajana," 29–32; and Salonen, "Urheilun merkitys yhteiskunnallisena tekijänä," 33–6.
120. Ibid.
121. Vepsäläinen, "Urheilu harrastajansa terveyden ja elinkunnon kohottajana," 29–32.
122. *Reipas, rehti, ryhdikäs*.
123. *Reipas, rehti, ryhdikäs; Reipas rehti, ryhdikäs III 1951,* 17–21; Tynell, "Nuorisourheilun merkitys ja päämäärä," 42–4; Vepsäläinen, "Urheilu harrastajansa terveyden ja elinkunnon kohottajana," 29–32; and Salonen, "Urheilun merkitys yhteiskunnallisena tekijänä," 33–6.
124. *Reipas, rehti, ryhdikäs III 1951,* 2–30.
125. *Reipas, rehti, ryhdikäs*; Tynell, "Nuorisourheilun merkitys ja päämäärä," 42–4; Vepsäläinen, "Urheilu harrastajansa terveyden ja elinkunnon kohottajana," 29–32; and Salonen, "Urheilun merkitys yhteiskunnallisena tekijänä," 33–6. In the 1950s, the major sporting events for elementary school pupils were also arranged by Kansakoulun Liikuntakasvatusliitto [The Association for PE in Elementary Schools].
126. *Reipas, rehti, ryhdikäs*.
127. Halila, *Suomen kansakoululaitoksen historia 4*, 191.
128. *Reipas, rehti, ryhdikäs*.
129. Ibid. Tuomas Tepora points out that collective symbols, like flags, and images of people put on a pedestal by society, in many cases, were not only symbols but the physical objects of emotions incorporated in people's minds. (Tepora, "Kuinka tunnehistoriaa tutkitaan?")
130. Eiranen, "Emotion and Nationalism," 417–18.
131. *Reipas, rehti, ryhdikäs*.
132. *Reipas, rehti, ryhdikäs*; *Reipas, rehti, ryhdikäs III 1951*, 3; Salonen, "Urheilun merkitys yhteiskunnallisena tekijänä," 33–6. See also e.g. Short film *Olympia katsaus 1* [Olympic Report 1], 1952; news film *Finlandia katsaus* [Finlandia Survey No. 195], 1953; documentary film *Maailmat kohtaavat* [Where the Worlds Meet], 1952; documentary film *Kultaa ja kunniaa* [Gold and Glory], 1953.
133. Vasara, "Liikunta sirpaloituu," passim.
134. *Reipas, rehti, ryhdikäs*; *Reipas, rehti, ryhdikäs III 1951;* Tynell, "Nuorisourheilun merkitys ja päämäärä," 42–4; Vepsäläinen, "Urheilu harrastajansa terveyden ja elinkunnon kohottajana," 29–32; and Salonen, "Urheilun merkitys yhteiskunnallisena tekijänä," 33–6.
135. On transformation, see e.g. Gleason, "Metaphor, Materiality, and Method," 16. On secondary education, see e.g. Meinander, *Towards a Bourgeois Manhood*; Nieminen, "Regulated and Liberated Bodies of Schoolgirls in a Finnish Short Film from the 1950s."
136. See e.g. Burns, Proctor, and Weaver, "Modern Schooling and the Curriculum of the Body," 569–89.
137. See also Tolvhed, "The Sports Woman as a Cultural Challenge," 302–17.
138. See e.g. Itkonen, *Sport and Civil Society*.
139. *Reipas, rehti, ryhdikäs*.
140. See Reddy, *Navigation of Feeling*.
141. Zacheus, *Luonnonmukaisesta arkiliikunnasta liikunnan eriytymiseen*, 259–74.
142. Kirk, *Defining Physical Education*; Quin, "British Bodies Between Extraversion and Conservatism," Tumblety, *Remaking the Male Body*; Larson, "Physical, Health and Recreation Education in Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland"; and Österlind and Wright, "If Sport's the Solution then What's the Problem?" 987–8.

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

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