# Loughborough University

**Sport Policy, Citizenship and the Social Integration
of Immigrants in Denmark**

By

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# Abstract

Since 2010 Denmark has seen a significant increase in immigration and the topic has become a significant political issue linked to the rise of far-right political parties that advocate not only a more restrictive immigration policy but also the assimilation strategy for those migrants currently resident in the country. The aim of this thesis is to analyze the development of sport policies in two Danish cities in relation to migration since 2010. The research analyses changes in national level policy and in the policies of Copenhagen and Aarhus, in which three sports projects are examined to explore the impact on policy of the interaction between national, municipal and sports club policy actors. Data were collected through a combination of semi-structured interviews with municipal civil servants, administrative and coaching staff of sports clubs and a review of material derived from official municipal and sports club documents and media reports. The data were subject to thematic content analysis. The theoretical foundation for the data collection and analysis was provided by the advocacy coalition framework and the multiple streams framework. Moreover, macro-level theories with neo-corporatism and neo-pluralism were particularly significant. Neo-corporatism was significant because of its connection with associationalism which remains strong at the local level, whereas neo-pluralism was dominant at the national level.

The main findings of the research were: a) sport was identified in both cities as an important vehicle for the inclusion of recent migrants into the communal associationalist life and their introduction to the Danish societal values and norms; b) municipalities were granted by central government considerable autonomy in interpreting their responsibilities and collaborated closely with sports clubs in the design and delivery of sports programmes related to immigrants; c) two competing advocacy coalitions were identified, one favouring inclusion through assimilation and the other integration through multiculturalism; d) the assimilationist coalition was composed of by centre-right and far-right political parties and where they controlled the municipal sport department it was the sports clubs that pursued an integration/ multicultural policy; e) in both cities the most conflicting issue was gender

segregated swimming; and f) in both cities Get2Sport Project was a significant link between the local sports clubs and the Danish Sport Confederation (DIF).

Keywords: migration, social integration strategies, Danish sport policy, sport clubs, associationalism, Get2Sport, Social Partnerships.

# Chapter 1 Introduction

## 1.1 Aims of the research

In this thesis I will analyze sport programmes developed and implemented in Denmark designed to strengthen the bonds between society and people with a different social, national and religious background. The increased prevalence of policies and projects concerned with the engagement of immigrants reflects the increased importance of the state in identifying mechanisms that maintain social cohesion and confront the danger of marginalization. The prominence of sport in social inclusion policies resonates with the long-standing commitment of most governing bodies of sport to the principle of 'Sport for All'. Projects and activities on physical education and sport give the opportunity to migrants to develop their athletic skills and embrace particular values of the host country and sport, such as democracy, equality, responsibility, fair play and collaboration. For this research project, the aim is to analyze the development of sport-related community projects in two Danish cities, designed to address issues of integration of recently arrived migrants. In order to achieve this aim the following objectives have been identified: a) to identify and analyze the role of local sport clubs/ associations in shaping policy and participation opportunities; b) to identify and analyze the influence of local and national political parties and national level sport organizations in determining policy; and c) to evaluate the influence of corporatism and local level associationalism on the design and delivery of local sport programmes.

In exploring this research question and associated objectives, the norms and beliefs, socio-economic and political changes, sporting and cultural traditions of Denmark will be analyzed along with the pattern of institutional arrangements. The nature of the Danish sport system in which, over the years, the voluntary sports associations have functioned as vehicles for the formation of democratic citizens, as promoters of health and as means for the construction of national and cultural unity will be a central focus for analysis (Thing & Ottesen, 2010).The sporting organizations' approaches to immigrants and the policies for their equal treatment designed by the

governing bodies of sport and non-governmental organizations will be examined.

## 1.2 The political significance of immigration in Denmark

Denmark has gone further than most countries in introducing strict integration regulations. Danish debates on naturalization remain highly politicized, tied to issues of deservingness, cultural assimilation, security, and ideas about citizenship as something sacred (Borevi et al., 2017:7).To gain permanent residence status in Denmark, new arrivals must have participated in the mandatory introduction programme and also obtained a pass mark on a language test, plus have a total residence period in Denmark of seven years. As regards naturalization to Danish citizenship, the residence requirement is nine years and applicants must declare their allegiance and loyalty to the Danish nation; they must not have received social benefits for more than one of the preceding five years and they must pass tests on language and on Danish culture and history. Regarding integration requirements for family members to gain admission to the country, Denmark has further introduced a number of restrictive reforms, including an age limit of twenty-four years for marriages with third-country nationals and a required bank deposit (of approximately €7,400) before family reunification is possible (Borevi, 2017).

The Danish immigration and integration policy framework is viewed as restrictive with responsibility placed on immigrants to adopt the norms of the host society. According to Hellström and Hervik (2014), this policy is a result of nativism, the concept of the welfare universalist state that prioritizes the preservation of its native citizens' interests and protection from a totally free labour market. The public debate has been dominated by the right-wing bloc with a discourse composed of deservingness, dismissal of multiculturalism, and veneration of Danish national (civic) culture as the foundation of the Danish welfare state and democracy (Jensen et al.,2017: 609). The anti-immigration rhetoric revolved around three themes; foreign infiltration that was threatening Danish culture and ethnic identity, rising criminality and abuse of the Danish welfare system (Bergmann, 2017).

At the national level welfare chauvinism is of one of two types. The first type is based on neoliberal principles which include differentiated rights for immigrants based on their contribution to economy/society and an emphasis on duties rather than rights. The other type is mainly articulated by the centre-left parties and advocates the protection of national workers that consequently reduces solidarity (Jørgensen & Thomsen, 2016). Furthermore, Danish migration policy has been affected not only by the rise of the Danish People's Party, but also by the rise of xenophobic or discriminatory tendencies in the media (Hellström & Hervik, 2014:454-5; Bergmann, 2017).

In Denmark, the issue of immigrant integration has been highly politicized and has been important for the outcome of elections. Denmark was among the first European countries to develop and implement an Integration Act (1998) and to concentrate the coordination of integration policies in one ministry, collecting competences from the various ministries and agencies which had previously been dealing with integration policies (Jørgensen, 2014).

The contemporary political agenda on immigration deals with significant issues such as border control, provision of social benefits to refugees, access to the labour market, provision of education in democratic citizenship, confrontation of the 'parallel societies' and preservation of the Danish traditional values. The latter, according to Mette Frederiksen, president of the Social Democrats, has a primary role in the integration of migrants: 'Integration is not just about language and work. It is at least as much about values and cultural barriers. We have that society long believed that those who came to learn the language and got a job, would share our values too' (Social Demokratiet, 2018a). Although the Danish political parties from the left to the right of the political spectrum have diversified views on immigration, there is a general shift to the right. The essential integration/ immigration policy positions of the major Danish political parties are summarized bellow in table 1.1

**Table 1.1 Positions of the major Danish political parties towards immigration/integration**

| Party | Ideology | Seats in 2018 | Immigration/integration policy traits |
|---|---|---|---|
| Social Democracy | Centre-Left | 46 | Work, duties and tasks (taking language lessons, sending job applications etc) corresponding for 37 hours for migrants to get social benefits/activation in the labour market, limitation of the percentage of migrant pupils, support for mixed schools & mixed community, more support for people returning to their countries of origin, funding of day care centres and schools in socially vulnerable areas preservation of Danish values, confrontation of parallel societies, eject criminal immigrants |
| Socialist People's Party | Left | 7 | Reform of the entire refugee system based on the UN's quota system, priority for asylum given to the weakest refugees, respect of the migrant children's rights, equal access to education, abolition of the cash benefit ceiling, better access for women of non-western background in crisis shelters |
| Alternativet | Left | 10 | Compliance with the Refugee Convention, the Children's Convention and the Human Rights Convention, foundation of residents' academies in the 31 'ghetto' areas to provide a two-year education in democratic citizenship, legal certainty, access of refugees to medical and school system, Design of frameworks for network meetings between asylum seekers, refugees and Danish citizens |
| Red-Green Alliance (Enhedslisten) | Left | 14 | Equal participation of migrants in the Danish society, legal certainty, increase of the number of refugees distributed to Denmark, revision of the extremely tight national rules for family reunification and permanent residence, increase of social benefits to refugees |
| Social Liberal Party (Radikale Venstre) | Centre | 8 | Abolition of the jewelry law and a 3 year wait for family reunification for war refugees, tripartite collaboration among civil society, municipalities and businesses in integration programmes. Focus on integration efforts at the local level. Activation of refugees at the asylum centres/ Training of the refugees in order to obtain the necessary skills for accessing the labour market, collaboration |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | with EU in border policy. Abolition of the integration service - together with the cash assistance ceiling and the 225-hour rule. |
| Conservative People's Party | Centre-Right | 6 | Establishment of local police stations and support voluntary associations, amendment of UN Refugee Convention/ selection of the refugees in the UN camps, limit of 5,000 quota refugees per year, mandatory for migrants to learn history, culture and language |
| Liberal Party (Venstre) | Centre-Right | 34 | Non participation of Denmark in a mandatory EU refugee quota, asylum and immigration system, integration through participation in the labour market, job reform with a ceiling on cash benefits and tax cuts for people with low income, initiation of a new integration programme, decentralization in policy making, reduction of asylum seekers, tightening of EU border controls |
| Liberal Alliance | Centre-Right | 13 | The right for asylum seeking is for a limited number of quota refugees annually, priority given to qualified migrants, mandatory self-funding and self-insurance in the first years before getting the right for social benefits, fair treatment for children and spouses |
| Danish People's Party | Right | 37 | Tightening of border controls, return of the refugees to their homelands, expulsion of immigrants who commit a crime, prohibition of burqa and nihab, reservation of the Danish values, education of the legal immigrants and activation through participation in the labour market, confrontation of the parallel societies |

**Sources: Alternativet (2018); Dansk Folkeparti (2018a); Dansk Folkeparti (2018b); Det Konservative Folkeparti (2018); Det Radikale Venstre (2018), Enhedslisten (2018); Knuth (2015); Liberal Alliance (2018); Petersen (2015); Rasmussen (2015); Socialdemokratiet (2018a), Socialdemokratiet (2018b); SF (2018); Støjberg (2015); The Danish Parliament (2018)**

Immigration was the core topic of the debate among Danish parties in the 2015 national elections, where Social Democrats, Liberals and the Danish People's Party (DPP) presented a diversity of approaches with the Social Democrats, being more positive and the right wing party DPP being the more

skeptical about the benefits and impact of immigration (Kirk, 2015). The DPP, for example, is demanding stricter regulation of the country's borders and a harder policy line towards asylum seekers (Crouch & Eriksen, 2015).

According to Ulf Hedetoft, Dean of the Department of Humanities at the University of Copenhagen, 'the Danish public is in general not supportive of inward migration and hasn't been for years' (Interview, 2017). However, Katrine Syppli Kohl, postdoctoral researcher at the Institute of Advanced Migration Studies, University of Copenhagen, indicates a division of public opinion toward migration: 'The public opinion on inward migration is divided and the Ministry of Immigration and Integration is the least popular' (Interview, 2017). Some citizens and politicians with conservative views on immigration issues have pushed for stricter legislation aiming to limit immigration to Denmark and support social policies that promote rapid social integration of new immigrants into Danish culture. The opposing side argues that these policies force assimilation upon newly arrived third country nationals in terms of required language and culture courses and restrictive housing policies (Stokes-DuPass, 2015:7). Moreover, two additional factors have played an important role in shaping restrictive Danish policies. The first was that according to calculations non-Western immigrants are costly for the welfare state (Holtug, 2013; Bergmann, 2017). The second factor was the growing Danish discontent with what have been viewed as too lenient policies (Holtug, 2013).

The trend in immigration to Denmark between 1980 and 2017 has been one of steady increase particularly since 2000. Though the number of refugees has reduced in recent years, the numbers of students and skilled workers coming into Denmark is increasing (Interview with Stephanie Piontek, senior civil servant at the Ministry of Immigration and Integration, 2017). Table 1.2 shows the increase in migrants and descendants' numbers.

**Table 1.2 Immigrants' and Descendants' percentages as part of the population in the period 1980-2018**

| Groups | 1980 | 1990 | 2000 | 2010 | 2018 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Immigrants | 2,6% | 3,5% | 5,6% | 7,5% | 10,2% |
| Descendants | 0,4% | 0,7% | 1,5% | 2,3% | 3,1% |

| Total | 3,0% | 4,2% | 7,1% | 9,8% | 13,3% |
|-------|------|------|------|------|-------|

**Source: Ministry of Immigration and Integration (2017&2018)**

The policy of the Danish government has been to decentralize responsibility for immigrant integration to the municipalities. Efforts have been made by the municipalities of Copenhagen and Aarhus to 'mainstream integration' which refers to an effort to reach immigrants through selected social programmes and policies. The main policy areas are education, employment and anti-discrimination. The reasons that mainstreaming is considered to be best implemented at the local level rests on the fact that municipalities implement most welfare policies and have to face the practical problems deriving from different approaches (Jørgensen, 2014).

In 2018 the Danish government introduced a new strategic plan for migration and took three major initiatives: 1) direct action in response to illegal migration, e.g. obstructing the business model of the human traffickers, 2) fighting root causes of illegal migration, e.g. through job creation; and 3) promoting conditions that make it possible to return rejected asylum seekers. In 2017, the government launched new readmission initiatives and allocated DKK 50 million for use in relevant developing countries to which Denmark seeks to return failed asylum seekers. A new increased grant of DKK 75 million is included in the Finance Bill for 2018 for migration management and cooperation on return initiatives (Regeringen, 2018a: 6).

Despite the plans of the government, there are still unsolved problems and barriers, according to Katrine Syppli Kohl. The main problems in Denmark are that the state hasn't been very successful in the integration of migrants in the labour market compared to other OECD countries. The main barriers are the difficulty in acquiring language skills and a lack of a network in many areas to get a job as newcomers. Another problem is the Islamophobic tensions evident in the media and legislation. For Ulf Hedetoft , 'the main problem is twofold: partly the attitude of Danes that only a fully assimilated foreigner is a good foreigner; partly the attitude of many immigrants that they want at all cost to hold on to their original culture and religion. This dual problem ensures the intractability of the challenge. This is predominantly an issue for the national government and their loyal media, and the local, street-level

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bureaucracy is left with the problems and the ominous consequences' (Interview, 2017).

Danish citizenship was acquired by 15,000 persons in 2016, more than triple the figure in 2015. The main countries of former nationality were Iraq, Afghanistan, Somalia and Turkey. This sharp increase may be partly the result of the amendment of Nationality Act (in force in September 2015) which facilitated the acquisition of Danish citizenship, including by allowing foreign citizens to retain their previous nationality (OECD, 2017).The number of asylum seekers has decreased from 21,316 in 2015 to 6,266 in 2016 and 3,500 in 2017 largely as a result of the more restrictive policies of the centre-right government. As of 31 May 2018, there were 1,307 asylum seekers. Policy changes relating to social security include most notably a new integration benefit (integrationsydelse), introduced in September 2015 and replacing social assistance (at a lower level), for persons who have not been in the country at least seven out of the last eight years. For other persons, a benefit ceiling (kontanthjælpsloft) reduces social assistance if total benefits (social assistance plus housing and child allowances) exceed a certain amount, and there is now a new work requirement (beskæftigelseskrav) (Kvist, 2018).In mid 2017 the requirements for obtaining a permanent residence permit (without have pre-existing strong ties to Denmark) were tightened (Ministry of Immigration and Integration, 2017).

The Danish population is composed of 86,7% people with Danish origin, 8,5% immigrants and descendants of non-Western origin and 4,8% immigrants and descendants of Western origin (1 January 2018) (Ministry of Immigration and Integration, 2018). Tables 1.3 and 1.4 show the human geography of migration in Denmark in 2018.

**Table 1.3 Immigrants and Descendants by major countries of origin on 1 January 2018**

| Countries | Immigrants | Descendants | Total | Percentage |
|-----------|-----------|-------------|-------|------------|
| Turkey | 32,924 | 30,428 | 63,352 | 8,2% |
| Poland | 40,601 | 6,299 | 46,900 | 6,1% |
| Syria | 35,441 | 5,537 | 40,978 | 5,3% |
| Germany | 29,804 | 3,612 | 33,416 | 4,3% |
| Iraq | 21,627 | 10,867 | 32,494 | 4,2% |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Romania | 26,299 | 2,958 | 29,257 | 3,8% |
| Lebanon | 12,818 | 13,948 | 26,766 | 3,5% |
| Pakistan | 14,220 | 11,024 | 25,244 | 3,3% |

**Source: Ministry of Immigration and Integration (2018)**

**Table 1.4 The municipalities with the most immigrants and descendants**

| Municipalities | Number of Migrants | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| Copenhagen | 152,425 | 20% |
| Aarhus | 57,013 | 7% |
| Odense | 32,971 | 4% |
| Aalborg | 23,213 | 3% |
| Frederiksberg | 19,626 | 3% |
| Gladsaxe | 14,544 | 2% |

**Source: Ministry of Immigration and Integration (2018)**

**1.3 Sport and Integration in the Scandinavian Context**

The Nordic sports and civil society model is characterized by large, national and voluntary sports organizations and a significant state involvement in sports. The Nordic sporting model has a range of significant virtues. First, sport was concieved as an important social good or even as a human right. Second, Nordic societies have been the pioneeers of mass sport. Third, women have a significant role in Nordic sport and civil societies throughout ages, especially in regard to political rights, education and employment. Finally, a fourth trend is that the civil society challenged the emergence of commercial interests and neoliberal policies within Nordic sport. While the social democracy and inclusion are prioritized within the Nordic sport model in reality the position of sport, politics and society is inevitably more complicated and challenging.Though there are bright examples of ethnic minority athletes such as Henrik Larsson and Zlatan Ibrahimovic in Swedish football gaining national and international recognition, the Nordic countries are challenged by institutionalized and daily racism in sport. In addition, more challenges emerge in the sports participation and integration of recent incoming migrants, particularly refugees to Denmark, Sweden, and Norway (Giulianotti et al., 2019).

In Sweden, integration through sport is underlined by the Swedish Sports Confederation's [RF] policy programme, Idrotten Vill (2005): 'Everyone is welcome to take part in club sports at their own level, without reference to nationality, ethnic origin, religion, age, gender, sexual orientation, physical and mental disabilities'. Since club sports are seen as proper venues for the integration of ethnic children and youth into Swedish society the Swedish government allocates fund for special projects – Handslaget (handshake) and Idrottslyftet (lifting sports) – to increase the participation of children and youth in club sports with an immigrant background (Fahlén & Stenling,2016). According to Ekholm and Lindström Sol (2019:7), 'Local associations are positioned as a bridge between society and families/children. Consequently, municipal administration needs to form a bridge between civil society and community actors. In this way, the political rationality of social inclusion guides outreach from municipal government to civil society, to families and children (or the other way around: children and families)'.

Local governments in Sweden are pressing the sports movement to raise recruitment from hard-to-reach and at-risk target groups and to strengthen its contribution to the delivery of public health, social integration and civic education. This is an evident in the last two decades in which local governments have attempted to much higher degree to push voluntary associations through conditioned funding. (Fahlén & Stenling,2016). Moreover the school is also another environment in which social integration takes place. Immigrant boys' participation in sport is higher than that of immigrant girls and, in fact, Muslim women are at least involved into sport activities (Hertting & Karlefors, 2016).Today, public and governing agencies on both national and local levels increasingly conceive of sport as a part of welfare provision and programmes are initiated using sport as a means of achieving a range of welfare objectives (Ekholm, 2018; Ekholm & Dahlstedt, 2017).

The Norwegian model for sport draws on three interdependent ideas: sport for all is the aime of governmental sport policy; attaining this goal is a governmental responsibility; the aim is fulfilled by a division of labour between the public and the voluntary sector (Skille, 2009). In Norway, the use of sport as an integrating tool in immigration policy has held a high position in the agenda of the Norwegian government since 1996 when the participation of

immigrants in sport became an official goal (White Paper No. 17, 1996-1997). (Walseth, 2008).Moreover, The Sport City Programme was initiated by the delivery of the former White Paper on sport (Ministry of Cultural Affairs, 1991,1992) and followed up in the latter (Ministry of Cultural Affairs, 1999-2000). Based on a belief in the realization of social objectives through sport, the SCP aimed to prevent youth from marginalization (crime, drug abuse etc.) and to achive social integration (Skille, 2009). In Norway, voluntary clubs are responsible for all competitive sports activities, which take place during leisure time. Most sports clubs are locally based clubs which are members of a sports federation which in turn is a member of the Norwegian Olympic Committee and Confederation of Sports (NIF), the umbrella sport organization. NIF receives state funding with regard to sport and integration projects.Sports clubs have had the opportunity to apply for special NIF funding for the recruitment of young immigrants (Walseth, 2008). NIF's policy vision is the creation and sustainability of an open and inclusive sports movement. In fact, NIF supports the idea that 'participation in voluntary organizations enables people to learn democratic processes and sport is an arena of social integration. NIF has adopted and reinforced the government belief – or the western discourse more generally – that sport can be utilized in order to solve the increasing health problems related to physical inactivity' (Skille & Säfvenbom, 2011: 292).

From their side, the local sport clubs have a specific role in the development of youngsters into full citizens and local areas into sustainable communities (Skille, 2015). In the case of immigrant women, the Norwegian sport clubs functioned as a free area where they could escape from the house routine and could pursue their own interests instead of following their parents' desires (Walseth, 2006).

In ideological terms, the state supports voluntary associations in order to promote such values as democracy, participation, trust, social capital and belonging, learning, and diversity. The same approach is applied to immigrant associations, which are seen by the state as 'important democratic actors that direct political and cultural impulses from the population to decision makers and public government', and as important partners in dialogue and cooperation (Predelli, 2008). Migrant sport organizations' aims focus on

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youth recruitment, mental health, prevention of marginalization, enabling young boys to identify as 'Norwegian Muslims', thereby emphasising the importance of being both Muslims and being well integrated into Norwegian society (Walseth, 2016). Finally, Norwegian municipalities function as integration bearers though youth activities that included sport and were addressed to newly arrived refugees (Berg, 2018). The Danish sports model to be analysed below has many of the features of the Swedish and the Norwegian models and one of the basic aims is the social integration of disadvantaged groups such as immigrants.

## 1.4 The Danish contemporary welfare state and sport

Sport governance in Denmark (and generally in Scandinavia) is related to polycentricism of the norms and values in sport and to parallel norm systems in society and concentrate on the relation of sport to: a) the development of normative structures in the political-legal system; b) the importance of normative structures of the market; and c) the creation and preservation of normative and social structures in civil society (Carlsson et al., 2011: 306). The main traits of the welfare state which will enable us to understand the Danish sport system are the following: a) a large public sector ; b) a universal and egalitarian welfare framework that applies to the whole of the population and schemes on the basis of rights linked to citizenship; c) close collaboration between the various sectors of society with a strong voluntary sector; d) relatively high political consensus concerning the core principles of the welfare model; and e) a strong commitment to decentralization (Ibsen & Jørgensen, 2004). In addition, the sports model under the Danish welfare state gives emphasis to its social dimension. Therefore, policies regarding integration, youth, health, leisure, education, political education and economy are linked to sport (Heinemann, 2005). So, the welfare state acts as a 'magnet' to immigrants who find opportunities for self-improvement, entrance to the labour market and the receipt of social benefits.

Whereas the state remains a significant policy maker, clubs, NGOs and the voluntary associations are also major stakeholders not only in the development of sport in Denmark, but also in achieving social integration. The

first important trait of the Danish sports policy is the low level of central control by the government as a result of the cultural and social traits of the Danish society and liberal principles. The state is largely content to trust voluntary action undertaken by sports clubs. Economic responsibility is divided between the government and the municipalities while public support is not only welcome but also legally regulated (Bergsgard & Norberg, 2010). Most Danish sport organizations are dependent on the contribution of volunteers and the dependence upon member efforts plays a significant role in social integration because it is argued that the feeling of joint responsibility can make people collaborate (Østerlund & Seippel, 2013). The relationship between the Danish sport governing bodies and the Danish state is one of mutual dependency. Whilst the governing bodies of sport are dependent on the state in order to obtain funding for their activities, the Danish state is dependent on the umbrella sport governing bodies to implement policy (Persson, 2008: 38). NGOs and voluntary clubs organize street games and grassroots sport, and encourage their members to integrate through sports. Moreover, according to Ibsen and Seippel (2010), they favor participation and integration instead of competition and winning.

The Nordic model of social democracy favors the path of social integration through the active participation in the social institutions and citizenship which, it is argued, overcomes the barriers of race, ethnicity and religion (Brandal et al., 2013). According to Ketscher (2007), in Denmark and in other Nordic societies activation policies in accordance with democratic principles permit the integration of the individual into the labour market, whereas passive social assistance would lead to the creation of sub-groups and to marginalization. Mogens Kirkeby, President of ISCA, an international civil society sports organization based in Copenhagen that follows the social democratic model of sport, stresses the role of sports organizations in addressing societal challenges. He states that 'If you take the health question, intercultural dialogue or social integration, for example, national programs and resources are good support, but the real action and change takes place by meeting individual citizens in different settings. Overall political challenges and solutions can therefore reach civil society and citizens through these organizations' (Euroactiv, 2008).

According to Katrine Borg Albertsen, researcher in migration policy, 'Sport is good means for solving problems of immigrant groups and comes as the Danish way of wanting to give the people the feeling of being a 'part of something' (community spirit). It is mainly in the integrating projects that sports are very predominant. Designing projects that are directed to people who are keeping with their own circles and they haven't learned the language and haven't joined the labour market and for children and youth of people who don't join the labour market and are not able to support their schooling too much because they don't speak the language. A typical vulnerable first and second generation of immigrants, third generation as well' (Interview, 2017).

Some political parties would argue that social integration is the responsibility of the voluntary associations and should follow a bottom up approach at the local level. An alternative political view is top down approach with central government developing strategies (Interview with Stephanie Piontek, 2017). As Stephanie Piontek, civil servant at the Ministry of Integration and Immigration, states 'Now we [Denmark] are somewhere in the middle…In Denmark the general policy is that social integration through sport is a great idea but it is best to be handled locally because of the differences in areas, population structure and resources and it is up to the local level to decide how to implement this policy. Many people believe that it has more possibilities to be sustainable if it is developed locally and it is based on voluntary work' (Interview, 2017). In fact, Ulf Hedetoft, professor at the University of Copenhagen, underlines the importance of policies designed by the local government: 'Municipal measures are often more open towards immigrants than national legislation, because physical proximity to immigrants in Denmark implies greater levels of understanding for the concrete human beings and their plight and history' (Interview, 2017).

Most parties support integration strategies through sport, but for different reasons. Some because sport keeps youngsters away from trouble and gang membership, others because they support integrationist measures to some extent, and yet others because they see this area as a potential way to find a pool of talent that can be used for the national elite purpose (Interview with Ulf Hedetoft, 2017).

Social integration through sport is a crucial issue on the agenda of the Danish National Olympic Committee (DIF), which has designed a EU strategic plan in which inclusion policies have a significant position in the agenda with the aim to promote volunteering and active citizenship through sport (DIF, 2015a). At the same mode is the joint DIF-DGI strategic plan '25-50-75': By 2025, at least 75% of Danes will be practicing sports - and at least 50% of Danes practicing sports in a sports club. The plan aims to achieve inclusion through participation in sports clubs and sports halls open to all citizens independently form their age, sex, education, and ethnic background (DIF & DGI, 2014). It is the intersection of long established Danish cultural values (particularly regarding citizenship, volunteering and the role of local sport organizations) and the recent and current political divisions that provide the context for this study of sport, immigration and integration.

## 1.5 Structure of the thesis

The structure of the remainder of the thesis is as follows. Chapter 2 provides the theoretical basis for the research, focusing on the setting of the governmental agenda and the development of governmental strategies towards policy delivery. The chapter has the following structure: the first section deals with the conceptualization of power and the second section examines the macro- level theories such as neo-corporatism and neo-pluralism, where the primary emphasis is given to analysing the assumptions on the distribution of power in society and the role of the state. The third section includes a review of meso-level theories such as multiple streams framework and advocacy coalition framework. The review of macro-level theories is justified since the meso-level frameworks, which will be the primary analytical tools in this research, incorporate macro-level assumptions about the distribution of power and the role of the state as both a policy actor and as a venue for policy-making. Finally, there is a section on citizenship theories in the Scandinavian context which opens the discussion for the existence of two opposing views and coalitions.

Chapter 3 explores policy changes in immigration and sport in the period 1970-2018 in order to understand the contemporary context of the Danish social policy and implementation of sport based integration policies for immigrants. The chapter provides an analysis of the role of the ministries involved in integration policy along with the decline in corporatism and the rise of new public management.

Chapter 4 explains and justifies the adoption of the particular research strategy for the study. The structure for the chapter is as follows: first, there is a discussion of the series of ontological and epistemological positions that can be adopted in social science research. Second, there is an exposition of the ontological and epistemological assumptions that underpin this study and have implications for the study's methodology. The final sections of this chapter explain the general methodology and the use of particular research methods, along with an exposition of their strengths and weaknesses and the potential of these methods to address the research questions.

Chapter 5 analyses the organisational and political structure of sport in Denmark with emphasis on the role of local government in policy design and implementation. First, the national sport strategy is analysed in terms of political debate, policy aims and objectives at both grassroots level and elite levels. Then, the division of responsibility between the national government and the municipalities regarding the provision of social services particularly culture and leisure will be analysed, underlying the role of associationalism as the guiding political theory and the participation of voluntary associations in policy implementation. The third part is an analysis of Danish local level sport policy aims and objectives along with the role of the municipalities and their partnerships with sport clubs, sport federations and voluntary groups. The final part will focus on evaluating macro-level and middle-range theories and stressing the importance of associationalism and policy community theory.

The two empirical chapters (six and seven) analyze the development of sport policy as part of the migrant integration policy in Aarhus and Copenhagen. The analysis covers the funding/distribution of resources, the bilateral relations between a) the local government and the sports clubs and b) the sports clubs and non-sport voluntary associations. The first part of each

chapter analyses the socio-economic profile of the two municipalities, the organizational structure and the distribution of functions within the local administration and the role of sport in citizens' daily life. The second part explores the policy aims and objectives of the sport and leisure department and identifies its main partners in policy-making and programme delivery. The third part examines local sports-related integration projects that involve immigrants. The final part analyses three specific sport projects linked to the social integration of immigrants: a) in Aarhus: Kvindesvømning in Gellerup, AGF Football club and ACFC; and b) in Copenhagen: Hovedstadens Swimming Club, Nørrebro Taekwondo Club and Brønshøj Football Club in Copenhagen.

The last chapter (eight) provides a discussion of the research questions and is structured as follows: The decline of neo-corporatism and the shift to the right, the comparison of the two city case studies, the strength of associationalism, as the main macro-level theory that dominates Danish sport policy, The role of sport as the main integrative tool in area-based initiatives which constitute a government means towards the confrontation of the socially disadvantaged areas. Moreover, the opposing belief system of policy actors and the conflicting coalitions are discussed. Furthermore, there is a discussion on the similarities of the Danish case to the broader Scandinavian sport policy framework in relation to the integration of immigrants. Furthermore there is a section on the evaluation of the two policy frameworks and particularly of the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) and the Multiple Streams Framework (MSF). Finally, there is a section on reflections on the research process with focus on the main challenges faced during the research process are presented.

# Chapter 2 Theoretical Review

## 2.1 Aim of the chapter

The purpose of this chapter is to provide the theoretical basis for the research.The chapter is divided in the following sections: the first section deals with the conceptualization of power and the second section examines the macro- level theories, in particular neo-corporatism and neo-pluralism, where the primary focus will be on analysing the assumptions on the distribution of power in society and the role of the state.

  The third section reviews selected meso-level theories: multiple streams framework and advocacy coalition framework. The justification for reviewing macro-level theories is that the meso-level frameworks, which will be the primary analytical tools in this research, incorporate macro-level assumptions about the distribution of power and the role of the state as both a policy actor and as an arena/venue for policy-making. Finally, the fourth section reviews citizenship theories in the Scandinavian context that highlight the existence of two conflicting policy approaches towards integration.

## 2.2 Power

  Any discussion of policy involves addressing the issue of power. The focus for this research-the interconnection between sport policy and migrants-raises a series of questions about the nature of power, the capacity to exercise power and the consequences of power and relative powerlessness. Power in its general conceptualization is 'the production of causal effects' and social power is 'an agent's intentional use of causal powers to affect the conduct of other agents' (Scott, 2008:29). Two conceptions of power have been dominant in contemporary Western political thought. The first-conceptualisation is of power as a quantitative phenomenon. Power is conceived as a generalized capacity to act. According to Hindess (1996: 2), 'People employ power in their dealings with things and in their dealings with each other. In the latter case, this conception of power implies that the wishes of those with more power will normally prevail over the wishes of those with

less'. Similarly, Weber associated power with the opportunity for the individual's or a group's realization of their own will against the resistance of others, underlining the unequal relation between those who use power to achieve their own aims and those who are subjected to its effects. In this case, power functions as a tool of domination (Hindess, 1996). According to the second conceptualization, power is not just a mere capacity to act but is also an acknowledgement of the right to act, with both capacity and right relying on the consent those over whom power is exercised (Hindess, 1996).

The concept of power, according to Robert Gilpin (1981), is 'one of the most troublesome in the field of international relations', a comment that also applies at the domestic political level. Steven Lukes (2005a) suggested two reasons for both the trouble and the controversy. The first is that the concept of power is primitive in the specific sense that its meaning cannot be elucidated by reference to other notions whose meaning is less controversial than its own. In particular, although the concept of power is intimately linked to the notion of 'interests', how 'interests' are to be understood is certainly no less controversial than how 'power' is to be understood. The second reason is that the concept of power is essentially contested (Lukes, 2005a & Cox et al., 1985).

Hanna Arendt's definition of power is based on the notion of collectivism. Indeed, she stated that power corresponds to the ability of the individual not only to act but also to act in concert'. According to Arendt (1970), as Lukes quotes 'Power is never the property of an individual; it belongs to a group and remains in existence only so long as the group keeps together…. The moment the group, from which the power originated to begin with, disappears; his power also vanishes' (Lukes, 2005b: 32).

Max Weber (1978: 926) defined power as the "chance of a man or a number of men to realize their own will in a social action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action". Weber's definition of power underlined that power is a 'relational phenomenon that cannot be grasped without identifying a social relationship' which will be dominated by a shared system of values. Moreover, according to Weber, power is identified with the position of someone who is placed in relation to others and therefore power is seen as both capability and effect. Finally, Weber supported the view that

power incorporates both cooperation and resistance towards one's will. (Berenskoetter, 2007).

According to Lukes, power is a three-dimensional concept. In the first dimension power is openly observable in the actions taken by individuals or groups who present and fight for their interests in relation to a certain topic (Lukes, 2005b & Kesting, 2005). The conflict is overt and the subjective interests of participants in a political process are clear and observable. Hence, actors behave strategically. In its second dimension power cannot only be accounted for by observing the actions taken by individuals and groups but also by actions not taken by them. Power is apparent not only in an open conflict but also through agenda setting and the suppression of certain topics within political processes. Potential and covert conflicts do exist. These covert conflicts, however, are potentially observable and might be transformed into open conflicts. Power in the third dimension infiltrates all political processes and the agenda because both are socially and culturally framed (Lukes, 2005b & Kesting, 2005).

Bachrach and Baratz defined the second dimension of power in the following terms: 'A devotes his energies to creating or reinforcing social and political values and institutional practices that limit the scope of the political process to public consideration only of those issues that are comparatively innocuous to A' (Bachrach & Baratz, 1962: 948).

Steven Lukes suggested that there was a third dimension of power according to which the power as a system guarantees the dominance of its values and beliefs (Parsons, 1995). The third dimension of power is the knowledge which actors use to determine their behaviour based on the internalised constraints of social order. Lukes (2005b) realized that the third dimension of power does not match well with an exercise view of power. Therefore, in place of the exercise definition of power, he opts for a dispositional definition, whereby power is defined by capacity and abilities. Moreover, Hayward and Lukes (2008: 7) commenting on the importance of agents in the exercise of power stated:

> 'Agents can have power that they never exercise, and they can have
>    power the effects of which they do not intend. What is more, these

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effects may result from inaction, or failure to act. The central reason for insisting on this broad view of agency…is that we can and often do hold agents responsible for consequences they neither intend nor positively intervene to bring about'.

Michel Foucault was especially concerned to explore the question of 'where power lies' and approached political power by exploring three issues: a) the mentalities, activities and processes which sustain social relations and institutions; b) the emphasis on the ways in which individuals are constructed and normalized by the regimes of power; c) the contingent accidental processes by which various configurations of power have affected the world (Bevir, 1999). Foucault criticizes models in which power is located in the core of the State or the administrative and executive governing bodies of the nation-state. The State's grand strategies are based on the cooperation of a network of local and individualized power methods and their participant actors and the State is 'merely a particular, and ultimately precarious, configurations of multiple power relations' (O' Farrell, 2005:100). Therefore, power is for Foucault a relation between individuals and groups and exists only when it is exercised and not a property or a 'capacity' of the State (O'Farrell, 2005:99).

Similar to Lukes' third dimension, Foucault's conceptualization of power extends the concept beyond the view of the power as the explicit exercise of A's will against the opposition of B. According to Foucault power is not the basic form of physical force or intimidation but a two-fold dimension: first power as potential (power to) second, power as exercised (power over) (Hardy, 2015). For Foucault power is generated by social relations and the discussion on power was linked to a discussion on social relations at particular times (Hardy, 2015).

Foucault put forward the notion of productive power, underlining the 'forces constituting identities through discourses of normality (Berenskoetter, 2007:10). Through concepts such as disciplinary power and governmentality, he focused on the mechanisms by which expert knowledge is (re)produced (the power-knowledge nexus). Foucault and Lukes both see power dynamics in terms of shifting intensity and its oppressive/dominating effect, leaving open

when or to what extent, the process of shaping interests and identities had a supportive effect (Berenskoetter, 2007 & O'Farrell, 2005).

Although Foucault offers considerable insight into the dynamics and manifestation of power. It is also Lukes' discussion of power that will be particularly valuable in this study. Lukes links power to interests, discusses the contestedness of power and suppression of certain topics within political processes. For example, better social benefits for vulnerable social groups may be affected by the intensity of lobbying of political parties which will affect the governmental agenda. While the Danish political parties have the power to vote for a law or vote against a law that concerns, for example, the opening of more educational opportunities organizations supportive of immigrants have the potential to influence the governmental agenda by lobbying for social reforms and amendments of legislation concerning health, participation in the labour market, education, social security that will enable them to access citizenship. However, there are likely to be other lobby groups that will challenge any discussion of moving resources away from existing programs. Contestedness between government and interest groups is a feature of contemporary Danish politics as both sets of organizations seek to achieve their policy objectives. With reference to Luke's third dimension of power policy debates in Denmark generally take place within a long-established political culture of consensus, compromise and associationalism. Associationalism in relationship to corporatism is discussed more fully in Chapter 5.

Arendt's theory, that power is never the property of the individual but relies on collectivism, is also very useful for this thesis since interests of immigrants cannot easily be represented or promoted successfully by individual efforts but need to be expressed collectively through the formation of pressure groups that will push for policy changes in the field of social security and social integration.

Finally, Foucault's conception of governmentality and biopower as aspects of power are crucial in understanding the importance of the government's responsibility to protect the citizen's rights to heath. In this case, the Danish government has the task to provide welfare policies linked to the protection of immigrants' health through sports activities. Moreover, social relations are

also important in this study since political decisions are affected by the relations of political parties with social groups based not only on ideology but also on the socio-economic factors. For instance, in Denmark the increase of immigration flows and the rise of terrorism has led to a rise of the far right and the reinforcement of anti-immigration laws and has made local Danes more sceptical about the integration of ethnic minorities into a western society. This scepticism contrasts with long established social democratic/social liberal character of the state and the egalitarian spirit of the Danish society which should open the door for strategies for the equal access of immigrants in education, the labour market and sport.

The combination of aspects of power expressed by Lukes and Foucault will provide a valuable framework for the understanding the complexity of political actions of the government/political parties and the interest groups which seek to influence policy under changing socio-economic conditions. Finally, in analysing the policy process for controversial issues such as the treatment of migrants a combination of Lukes' three dimensions of power and the theorizing by Foucault is necessary as the capacity to control the policy agenda and the mobilisation of bias are arguably of crucial importance in influencing policy outputs.

## 2.3 Macro-Level Theories

The conceptualization and analysis of power by social scientists takes place in different ways: as a structural potential process of behavioural and tactical influence and as the successful outcome of influence. At the macro-level power is frequently conceptualized as the structure that provides the opportunities and limits within which actors' strategic behaviour and strategic relationships function (Molm, 1990). By the use of macro-level theories, social researchers focus on sources and foundations of power (Houlihan et al., 2009). Marxist approaches, feminist theory, systems theory, critical theory and rational choice are all examples of macro theories the analysis of which 'sensitise the researcher to particular relationships and processes in the making and implementation of sport policy' and to the sources and deployment of power in the policy process (Houlihan et al., 2009:3). In this

thesis, the macro-level theories to be examined are neo-corporatism and neo-pluralism. The justification for the selection of these two macro-level theories is that: a) they explicitly address the relationship between the state and civic organizations; b) they deal explicitly with the concept of power; c) they have been widely used in the analysis of public policy; d) they provide a range of contrasting analytical frameworks; and e) they provide the underpinning assumptions for many meso-level analytical frameworks.

## 2.3.1 Neo-Corporatism

Neo-corporatism arose as an alternative theoretical response to Soviet Marxism and liberal capitalism in the post-World War II period. Some states proceeded to establish corporatist collaborations with labour organizations to achieve a consensus on designing anti-inflationary economic strategies, giving birth to neo-corporatism which relies on collective bargaining agreements concerning economic affairs (Bevir, 2010). Cawson (quoted by Basile, 2013: 94) defines neo-corporatism as 'a specific socio-political process in which organizations representing monopolistic functional interests…. engage in political exchange with state agencies over policy outputs which involves those organizations in a role that combines interest representation and policy implementation through delegated self-enforcement'.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s neo-corporatism gained more prominence, 'schools' of neo-corporatist thought emerge: the English school which saw neo-corporatism as primarily an economic system which opposed market liberalism and was characterized by managerial bureaucratization and state intervention; and the Scandinavian school which used the term "free corporatism" to underline the intense collaboration between the state and organized interests during World War II. Finally, there was an approach, expressed by scholars such as Colin Crouch (1977), that focused on changes in industrial relations by the increasing government intervention in the determination of wages (Lembruch, 1982).

Neo-corporatism while seen as a concept linked to social democracy, also received a considerable impetus from Christian Democracy. The social democrats' rationale regarding the societal role of trade unions was

compatible with the neo-corporatist thought while Catholic social thought which combined support for the medieval guild system with an attempt to harmonize it within a modern industrial society, accepted neo-corporatist ideas and influenced a number of European right-wing parties (Schmitter, 1985).

Liberal corporatism, a term introduced by Lembruch, is a more recent refinement of corporatist ideology and is considered by researchers such as Jordan (as noted by Williamson, 1985) as simply a variant of pluralism. Lembruch defined liberal corporatism as (quoted by Martin, 1983: 87), 'that form of corporatism which remains embedded in a system of liberal constitutional democracy, comprising institutional rules such as the freedom of association'. From his side, Schmitter (quoted by Martin,1983: 88) describes liberal corporatism as 'an attractive alternative to the pluralist model, suggesting not only a different institutional configuration in the relationship between specialized interest associations and the political process, but also a different way of conceptualizing the role and importance of the state'. Interests groups (and especially trade unions) are at the core of neo-corporatism and exercise restraint in pursuing their goals in return for their official recognition and privileges (Olson, 1986). Interest groups in neo-corporatism are defined by Olson (1986:177) as 'large, singular, hierarchic and monopolic organizations covering broad functional areas', a definition which is easily applicable to Danish sport organizations.

Neo-corporatism shares with other forms of corporatism the following characteristics: a) the state's function is to establish and maintain a particular economic and social order. Such economic and social orders moreover are not compatible with a free market or managed market economy. So, the state is concerned to directly regulate and influence the behaviour of individual actors in the economy such that their behaviour is compatible with the goals of economic and social order; b) dominance of the corporatist state in the economic and social sphere and the limitation placed upon liberal democratic institutions in authoritative decision making, although it was accepted that these institutions could play a significant role outside the social - economic sphere; c) in circumstances where direct state control over resources of the productive process does not pertain, there is a need for the creation of such

control; d) the ascribing, prescriptively or descriptively, of an 'intermediary' function to representative organizations. Under corporatism, producers organizations cease to be voluntary representative bodies and acquire a substantial role as a regulatory agency on behalf of the state (Williamson, 1985). Many of these characteristics, especially the first and fourth, find ample illustration in relation to the use of sport by governments to achieve/maintain social stability.

Schmitter made a distinction between state corporatism and societal corporatism. The later emerged due to the expansion of the role of public policy into areas of welfare and the rationalization of decision making within the state whose role was the association and subordination of classes and status groups. Societal corporatism underlined the role of corporatism within the liberal democratic system (Williamson, 1989). Lembruch viewed liberal corporatism as entailing the participation of organized interests in public policy making and the key feature was the high level of cooperation, which was the result of interdependence of interest groups within the capitalist system which necessitated bargaining (Williamson, 1989).

Neo-corporatism will be a useful analytical framework in the study of immigrants in Denmark, since it presents the interactive relations of the state with organized sport and welfare interests, which act as agents of state social policy, in a social democratic country and focuses attention on the participation of public and private actors in the shaping of the political agenda. Besides, in neo-corporatism participation in these groups is voluntary and this framework is useful to show the impact of voluntary movement in the policy making process. Moreover, it can reflect aspects of the Danish sports system in which state institutions such as the National Olympic Committee & Sports Confederation remain the main actors in sport but there are also private organizations related to disability, company sport, workers sport that contest for influence.

### 2.3.2 Neo-Pluralism

Neo-pluralism was a theory born as a response to the critics of pluralism and which stressed the implications of systemic forces for agency and the

disconnection of the social actors from the structural context (Hicks & Lechner, 2005). Neo-pluralists recognized the need to revise classical pluralism in the light of, for example, elite, Marxist and New Right theories (Heywood, 1997:88) and in the light of the weaknesses in classical pluralism identified in empirical research. The three basic themes of neo-pluralist thought are: a) an attempt to take into consideration modernizing trends such as the rise of post-industrial and post-capitalist society; b) capitalism, though a preferable economic system in relation to socialism, free market economic doctrines are usually conceived as outdated; and c) Western democracies are seen as 'deformed polyarchies', in which major corporations exercise unequal influence (Heywood, 1997).

Neo-pluralism has several common features with pluralism: a) policymaking is a process that takes place through time and includes a wide range of decisions; b) the influence of interests takes place in a primary policy venue and its related network; c) policy changes involve competing groups; d) political ideologies, parties and elections limit interest group involvement and often are more significant than organized interests in orientating policy (Godwin et al., 2012). However, neo-pluralism is distinguished from 1970s pluralism because it considers a wider range of influences and interests in society and emphasises values and interests. It is concerned with moral communities and social institutions rather than just trade unions and collective bargaining. Finally, according to Ackers, 'Neo-pluralism attempts to re-introduce the issue of ethics into the social sciences, both as a guiding light and, by comprehending the state and civil society, as a network of normative institutions and rule-making processes' and 'provides an opportunity to deepen and broaden this approach as part of the ethical constitution of society' (Ackers, 2002: 16). Lindblom makes a distinction between grand and secondary issues which mark neo-pluralism. 'Grand issues are closed to the general public and concerned the basic business' interests while secondary issues are those where there is pluralism and debate' such as welfare and sport (Smith, 1990:317).

Neo-pluralists have adopted a more critical view of the state. Theorists such as Dahl, Lindblom and Galbraith have come to accept that modern industrialized states are more complex and less responsive to public

pressures than classical pluralism suggested. Neo-pluralists have indicated that business enjoys a privileged position in relation to the government which other groups could not match (Heywood,1997). In the views of both Dahl and Lindblom, interest groups cannot be treated as equal and the state could not be neutral towards all interests due to the strong influence of businesses (Held, 1987). Furthermore, neo-pluralists appreciate that the government has the resources to shape the behaviour of groups. For instance, it could give privileged access in the decision-making process to some groups and/or enable some groups to lobby more effectively (Baggott, 1995), an observation which is particularly relevant to the present study.

There are several basic advantages of neo-pluralism as a theory. First, it distinguished between high and routine politics. While high politics normally involve nonincremental policy changes and modifications in who participates in a specific network, routine politics follow the incremental path in policy making. Second, it includes a range of variables as tools to explain the reasons for a specific policy outcome and the reasons that make a specific group important in terms of its influence in the political process. Third, the multiple decisions that occur during the political process stress the complexity of policy making and fourth, this complexity of policymaking contributes to the understanding of the importance of interest group influence in policymaking (Godwin et al., 2012).

The neo-pluralist state is a relatively autonomous actor (composed of various departments) that looks after its sectional interests. This situation exists because of the unequal distribution of socio-economic power which creates positive conditions for some groups in their political options while limiting others. In the case of immigrants in Denmark, it will be interesting to examine the degree of political influence of these groups through their organizations and the attachment of the state to the free market logic. Neo-pluralism, according to Lindblom (1977), refers to 'the privileged position of business'. The Danish case will be a good example since policies for the social integration of immigrants are often linked to the labour market and the activation of vulnerable social groups. The recognition of a more traditional pluralist world of actors was co-opted into mainstream governance approaches. Transnational organizations for the immigrants' rights as well as

transnational corporations were seen as systemically relevant actors in the international migration agenda. In the Denmark, neo-pluralism appears in the form of the changing relationship between interest groups and the government which is a result of the 'push and pull' factors in the period 1980-2005. Push factors refer to the environmental changes that affect actors, whereas pull factors refer to changes that drive actors in new directions because of the opening of new promising political venues. The decline of corporatism (push factor) and the revival of the parliament (pull factor) led to the decline of the corporatist policy preparation committees that represented interest groups, professional expertise and the civil service. In the first case, the loss of access to the formal corporatist bodies has led to an increase in neo-pluralist lobbying. In the second case, interest groups have had to focus on strengthening their relations with political actors rather than civil servants (Rommetvedt et al., 2012). In the case of sport, neo-pluralist features are evident in the existence of various interest groups and voluntary organizations that compete for policy influence in connection with issues of social integration through sport by approaching political parties and promoting their own policy suggestions according to their own interests and beliefs. Though state corporations and civil servants will not lose entirely their role as the major policy makers, interest groups have an upgraded role in Denmark's sports system.

## 2.4 Meso-Level Theories

Policy analysis frameworks are valuable tools that examine debates about structure and agency, the relationship between the state and civil society and either implicitly or explicitly incorporate assumptions about the distribution of power in society and the role of the state derived from macro-level theories. The meso-level frameworks' selection is a result of four criteria: a) the capacity to explain both stability and change; b) the capacity to illuminate various aspects of the policy process such as agenda setting; c) applicability across a variety of policy areas; and d) a medium term (5-10 years) historical analysis of policy change (Houlihan, 2005). Sabatier (2007) also identifies useful criteria for the selection of policy analysis frameworks. Particularly,

each framework must meet the criteria of a scientific theory by having clear and internally consistent concepts, function as a subject of contemporary conceptual development and/or empirical testing, be a positive theory that aims to explain various aspects of the policy process and finally, must address a broad range of important factors such as conflicting values and interests, information, flows, institutional arrangements and variation in socio-economic environment. Sabatier (1999) identifies 11 potential frameworks, with multiple streams and advocacy coalition, identified as the two frameworks which most successfully fulfilled the criteria identified above.

## 2.4.1 Multiple Streams Framework (MSF)

Kingdon (1995) sought to explain how and why issues move to a position of prominence on the political agenda of the U.S. government. The multiple-streams framework is composed of three separate activity streams that a government has to deal with: problems. recognized by policy makers; policies that provide solutions to the problems in a range of policy communities; and politics which concern events and phenomena such as national elections, NGO/ interest group politics, legislative turnover, and the national mood. Because the streams are independent of one another, change within one stream can take place whether or not there has been change in the other streams (McLendon, 2003).

According to Kingdon (1995), an issue attracts the serious attention of policy makers only when the three separate streams of activity become coupled with a decision opportunity. Coupling may occur when "windows of opportunity" open, allowing policy entrepreneurs a brief moment in time to push their pet problems or their pet solutions. However, because there is only "loose-coupling" among the streams, there is much variability in the ways in which particular problems, solutions, and political conditions become linked with one another. According to McLendon (2003:177) 'What emerges on the national policy agenda, therefore, may be viewed as a function of the metaphorical mix of trash floating within the streams of the governmental garbage can at the precise point in time at which a policy entrepreneur successfully marries the separate flows of activity´.

Kingdon (1995) emphasized the role that policy entrepreneurs play in linking problems, policy ideas, and politics to draw attention to issues which later on will be included in the government agenda. According to Kingdon, policy entrepreneurs have to be effective in presenting problems and solutions within the venue of relevant actors who can take part in the debate on the particular issue. 'Often, a good sense of timing is critical; that is, the ability to perceive and take advantage of windows of opportunity' (Mintrom & Norman, 2009: 655). Problems and policies are for the most part unrelated, but when they couple especially when a problem is recognized and there is an available solution, and the political conditions enable change, the policy window opens, causing policy change (Kingdon,1995).

When policymakers find initial success they continue to search the more favourable venues. On the other hand, when their ideas are rejected, they will often abandon their effort. In this way, we need to assume that strategic actors will try to predict in advance the single most favourable image or venue for their policies. Successful efforts to shift image and venue may often be the result of evolutionary, rather than rational search (Baumgartner & Jones,1991: 1048).

Policy entrepreneurs, are the most important actors in the MSF since they develop policy alternatives and couple them with problems. The policy entrepreneur works to present a ready package of problems and solutions to policy makers at the right time. If the policy entrepreneur is successful, the problem enters the political agenda. If the policymakers reject the package, the policy entrepreneur might try to sell the same package at a later period or at a different venue, or attempt to couple the policy with a different problem (Knaggård,2015).

Another important actor in the MSF is the problem broker who frames conditions as public problems and works to make policy makers accept these frames. Problem brokers thus define conditions as problems. One aspect is especially important in this definition: framing a condition as a public problem is done with the purpose of making policy makers accept it and, in the end, do something about it. Problem brokering is thereby a strategic act. A range of actors could play the role of problem broker, from those inside government to

those on the outside. One advantage of seeing the problem broker as a role that can be enacted is that the focus is placed on what actors do rather than on who these actors are. In the academic literature, a number of concepts are used when trying to capture what the problem broker does. All these concepts have merits, but for different reasons work less well in the context of the MSF. 'Epistemic communities' (Haas, 1992) and 'advocacy coalitions' (e.g., Jenkins-Smith et al., 2014) are two of these. Both of these concepts refer to groups of actors who share beliefs about a problem and its solution (Crow, 2010).

The difference between problem broker and policy entrepreneur is fine. In some cases problem definition and coupling will, in fact, be conducted by the same actor. In other cases there will be a major division of labour between actors defining problems and those coupling these with policies. It is therefore important to point out that the separation between problem and policy streams is analytical. Thus, one actor can be active in both streams without calling the independence of the streams into question as the separation is about tasks and not primarily who performs these tasks (Knaggård, 2015).

Another important dimension is the close link between the problem and the political image, which is a 'mixture of empirical information and emotive appeals' (True et al., 2007). Political image is a concept of particular reference to this study where, for example, migrants might be seen as a group in need of welfare support, as an economic asset or as an economic burden. Political images are also important in policy decision-making process since they can be used by dominant political elites, who could also keep alternative images of important policy decisions (Baumgartner & Jones, 1991).

In the case of social integration of vulnerable groups such as immigrants in Denmark, this framework could be very useful in providing a clear distinction between problem, policy and politics. The problem is actually a combination of problems such the marginalization and unemployment for immigrants. Policies that could be adopted to confront the mentioned problems and include educational programs for immigrants and refugees with emphasis on Danish language and history and the improvement of social skills through sports projects. In the political stream, one would expect to see the involvement of a wide range of actors from the public and private sphere, from political parties

to interests groups that advocate the interests of immigrants. For instance, in the case of immigrants, a change in the regulation for the participation of more foreign athletes in the Danish professional sports may lead to the increase in participation of immigrants in the Danish sporting environment. MSF might be useful because: 1) It draws attention to the importance of public opinion in relation to the issue and also to the impact of changes in public opinion; 2) helps examine the complex pattern of problems and the competition to define the problem e.g. regarding immigration-problems of education and welfare (housing, health), integration, multi-culturalism, immigrant numbers; and 3) the interconnection of policy responses e.g. using sport as a tool for integration and health.

## 2.4.2 Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF)

The ACF was developed by Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith in the late 1980s in response to what they saw as essentially three limitations in the policy process literature. The first limitation was their interpretation of the stages heuristic as an inadequate causal theory of the policy process. The second was in response to a decade-long debate about the strengths and weaknesses of top-down and bottom-up approaches to implementation research and the need for system-based theories of policymaking. The third was the apparent lack of theory and research on the role of scientific and technical information in the policy process (Mintrom & Norman, 2009).

The ACF is based on three principles: a) a macro-level assumption that the most policymaking occurs among specialists within a policy sub-system but that their behaviour is affected by factors in the broader political and socio-economic system; b) a micro-level model that is drawn heavily from social psychology; and c) a meso-level conviction that the best way to deal with the multiplicity of actors in a sub-system is to aggregate them into 'advocacy coalitions'. In turn, these foundations affect the dependent variables such as beliefs and policy change through policy oriented learning and external perturbations (Sabatier & Weible, 2007).

The ACF emphasizes the study of long term policy change (a decade or more), the importance of the hierarchy of beliefs and the significance of the

ideology/belief systems of policy makers. The centrality of the concept of the policy sub-system or policy community, a feature in common with the multiple streams framework, incorporates the concept of competing coalitions within the same policy subsystem (Houlihan, 2005). Moreover, the concept of the policy broker which is close to that of policy entrepreneur is also one that has a particular resonance in the area of sports policy, where the level of organizational complexity alone suggests the scope for such a role (Houlihan, 2005). The set of policy participants includes not only the traditional actors such as legislators, agency officials and interest group leaders but also researchers and judicial officials engaged in the specific policy area. These actors that come from different coalitions confront the same information from very different points of view leading to distrust. The existence of a set of pre-existing beliefs is the obstacle to a common understanding and treatment of information (Sabatier & Weible, 2007).

Sabatier and Weible (2007), taking into consideration the stability in the beliefs of policy participants, make a distinction between mature policy subsystems and nascent policy subsystems. The former have two main features: a) a long established set of participants who consider themselves to be a semi-autonomous community aiming to influence public policy in that sub-system; and b) agencies, interest groups and research institutions that are composed of sub-units that have specialized in the particular topic for a long period.

The ACF's causal logic and resulting hypotheses build from a set of assumptions: (i) a central role of scientific and technical information in policy processes; (ii) a time perspective of 10 years or more to understand policy change; (iii) policy sub-systems as the primary unit of analysis; (iv) a broad set of sub-system actors that not only include more than the traditional 'iron triangle members but also officials from all levels of government, consultants, scientists, and members of the media; and (v) a perspective that policies and programs are best thought of as translations of beliefs (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1999: 118–20).

Among the assumptions, the ACF explicitly identifies beliefs as the causal driver for political behaviour. Subsequently, considerable time has been spent in the framework articulating and revising a three-tiered model of a belief

system for its actors. At the most significant level lie deep core beliefs, which are the broadest and most stable and normative (Weible et al., 2009). Ontological assumptions regarding human nature and fundamental human values such as equality and liberty are among those beliefs that sub-systems deal with (True et al., 2007). Other examples include liberal and conservative beliefs, and relative concern for the welfare of present and future generations. In the middle of the belief system hierarchy is policy core beliefs, which are of moderate scope and span the substantive and geographic breadth of a policy subsystem. The subsystem specificity of policy core beliefs makes them ideal for forming coalitions and coordinating activities among members. Policy core beliefs are resistant to change but are more likely to adjust in response to verification and refutation from new experiences and information than deep core beliefs. At the shallowest level of the belief system are secondary beliefs. Compared to policy core beliefs, secondary beliefs are more substantively and geographically narrow in scope, and more empirically based. The ACF predicts that secondary beliefs, compared to deep core and policy core beliefs, are the most likely to change over time (Weible et al., 2009, Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1999). The secondary aspects of a coalition's belief system represent a set of beliefs about the seriousness of the problem, specific policy preferences, and policy design strategies. Coalitions adopt strategies for altering governmental behaviour that reflect their belief systems, whereas "policy brokers" mediate the conflicting strategies in an effort to reduce conflict within the subsystem. The end results of this interaction are governmental programs (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1999: 120-122).

Coalition participants seek to ensure the maintenance and evolution of policy in particular areas, such as environmental management, welfare education, and public health. Policy entrepreneurship is not treated explicitly within the framework. However, there is considerable room for compatibility between explanations of policy change grounded in the advocacy coalition framework and those grounded in a focus on policy entrepreneurship (Mintrom & Norman, 2009).

According to Mintrom and Vergari (1996), there is a link between formation and maintenance of advocacy coalitions and the efforts of policy entrepreneurs. They emphasise that policy entrepreneurs co-define problems

in ways that maximize opportunities for bringing on board coalition partners. A key feature of the ACF is its focus 'on the policy process as a whole' (Green & Houlihan, 2005: 14), where the aim is to analyse policy change on the basis of three sets of processes. The main process is that of the policy sub-system, where competing coalitions try to influence the decisions to be made by government authorities. A sub-system refers to a set of actors from the public and the private sector who are concerned with the same policy problem, '. . . and who regularly seek to influence public policy in that domain' (Sabatier, 1998: 99). A coalition may comprise elected, employed and voluntary officials from the public and the private/voluntary sector, as well as journalists, researchers and others. The other processes involved in the ACF are external to, or rather surrounding (parts of) the society of/for, the subsystem. These are, first, constraining (for the sub-system's actors) and stable parameters such as social structure and constitutive rules. Second, and more variable, are the events comprising socio-economic conditions and technology, changes in governing coalitions for example after elections, public opinion, and decisions made in other sub-systems that might influence the sub-system under investigation. Important in the ACF, is the dialectic interplay between the external factors, between the external factors and the subsystem, and between the coalitions within the subsystem (Sabatier,1998; Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1999).

According to John (2003: 490), one particular virtue of the ACF is that 'it leaves behind the idea that policy sectors are composed of integrated networks; instead, they are a political terrain through which different coalitions fight it out, which is far closer to contemporary reality'. Houlihan indicates that the ACF 'has a broader focus than many of its rivals and has the potential to illuminate aspects of the policy process beyond a preoccupation with agenda setting' (Houlihan, 2005: 174). Moreover, Houlihan (2005: 174) advocates the significance of ACF in sports policy, characterizing ACF as 'a valuable starting point for the development of analytical frameworks capable of illuminating the sport policy area'.

The ACF has considerable potential for this study. The longer temporal focus of the ACF will enable the analysis of the development of policy and the way in which policy has been affected by a range of socio-economic

phenomena in Denmark such as the economic crises in the 1970s and the 2000s, the increase of unemployment, the increase of immigration flows, the elections that often led to significant changes in the ideological orientation of the government, and the shift from corporatism to new public management that led to the marketization of the economy. Moreover, there is a focus on sub-systems and policy communities. In the field of social integration, the Danish municipalities play a significant role in the implementation of policies through educational and sporting programs, but the policy design is actually a more complex issue, since other actors such as immigrant organizations in collaboration with NGOs may support their own strategies which may contradict those that the state advocates. Conflict between coalitions related to migration could be mediated by policy brokers such as the Danish Immigration Service. Therefore, the Danish political environment offers the ground for intense lobbying, competition and interaction between policy communities. Moreover, sub-systems actors include the indirect -but of equal importance- participation of international organizations. The UN and its relevant Charter on Migration had affected the Danish national policy since the Danish State had to harmonize with the international rules in human rights issues. Finally, public policy is strongly affected by the social-democratic ideology that focuses on social integration strategies based on equalitarianism and social justice. However, coalitions may confront serious obstacles as the form of the market and its aim to promote elite sport and professionalism and the liberal government scheme could give a secondary focus on amateur sports and sports for people with special needs.

## 2.5 Citizenship Theories in the Scandinavian Context

Citizenship in the Scandinavian context is linked to the active participation in community life and the contribution to the welfare state through the fulfilment of duties. Marshall gives a definition of citizenship, emphasizing social inclusion and membership: 'Citizenship is a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community. All who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status is endowed' (Marshall, 1964: 84).

Marshall's theory is an object of discussion in terms of its relevance to the Scandinavian countries, where citizenship as medborgerskab means membership in society, equal sharing of welfare state goods and being 'one of us'. It also includes older connotations of responsibility, maturity and contribution to social and political life and has to be distinguished from statsborgerskab that refers to legal nationality (Mouritsen, 2013). Consequently, civic integration in Denmark, (also in Sweden and Norway) is 'about inculcating the importance, indeed the moral requirement, of work, productivity and economic contribution to the welfare state. It is also about developing an egalitarian, autonomy enhancing way of life, particularly in relation to gender relations and ideals of the good work life' (Bech et al., 2017: 18).

There are three distinct citizenship models, according to Stephen Castles's (1995, cited by Borevi, 2010) typology, that suit the Danish (and broader Scandinavian) context: a) differentialist model; b) assimilationist model, and c) a multicultural model. The first is exemplified by the former German guest worker policies, denies migrants and their descendants' access to the political community or makes it extremely difficult for them to be naturalized. The second and third models both provide easy access to formal citizenship but represent diametrically different approaches to cultural diversity (Borevi, 2010: 20-21). While the assimilationist model insists on the adoption of a set of general rules, the multicultural model advocates the granting of group rights for cultural minorities. Hence, the assimilation model corresponds to the argument that access to civic rights and duties is enough for guaranteeing integration. The multicultural model is linked to the reasoning that some sort of 'public recognition' of the citizens' ethnic and cultural identities is a precondition for successful integration, in addition to individual access to rights and duties (Borevi, 2010). Both the assimilationist and the multicultural model are highly relevant to the study of social integration of immigrants through sports in Denmark due to the formation of two opposing advocacy coalitions.

## 2.6 Conclusion

Two analytical policy frameworks, the Advocacy Coalition Framework and the Multiple Streams Framework seem to be the most suitable and could function as valuable tools through the research process. In the first case, ACF clearly demonstrates the relationship between structure and agency. The framework is significantly based on the idea that people engage in politics to translate their beliefs, rather than their simple material interests, into action. Therefore in the Danish case, immigrants apart from being the passive recipients of the social benefits given by the state are also attempting to assert their human rights and particularly their right to equal participation in the society. Consequently, it is plausible to suggest at this stage of the research process that at its heart is a system in which coalitions of actors with different belief systems interact and compete to dominate policy subsystems in which a various actors from both public and private level, from both government and non governmental organizations are involved. ACF is not only an approach to the study of contemporary public policy but also a set of ideas about how we should conduct scientific inquiry. Besides, the ACF emphasizes deep core beliefs, which mirror an actor's personal philosophy. An example is the ranking of values such as equality, national identity, freedom and security; and policy core beliefs, which refer to "fundamental policy positions." Denmark is a country which has had longstanding debates about the appropriate balance between government and market and the acceptable distribution of power across levels of government, both of which are very important features in this study. Moreover secondary aspects, which refer to the funding, delivery and implementation of policy goals are also relevant to this study as Denmark is a social democratic country whose policy areas involve the intervention of several policy actors who are divided into coalitions, and policy subsystems. Besides, there is a need for a framework that examines policy change from a period for at least 10 years which is very important for a possible comparative study of policies and ACF meets these criteria.

The use of MSF in the case of social integration of vulnerable groups such as immigrants in Denmark, will provide a clear analytical distinction between

problem, policy and politics. The concepts of policy broker and policy window are important for the understanding of policy change and the interaction of the public and non-public sector when a new policy opportunity comes up, and study the whole policy process, from the time that the problem is discovered until its possible solution. Moreover, the distinction between problem, policy and politics will be helpful in terms of finding common trends in policy issues related to immigrants. Moreover, in the MSF major change is more likely when policy entrepreneurs successfully mix policies with problems or, in the ideal case, unite the three streams. The analysis of interconnection of problems will be valuable in this study since although immigrants could receive a similar policy response from treatment by the government in terms of integration policies. Policy windows, or 'windows of opportunity' could open the way for a major policy change and could change the policy map in relation to the focus group of this study. Participants are independent of processes and classified by Kingdon according to two primary criteria: participants inside and outside of government, and visible versus hidden actors. visible participants, are the participants who receive significant public attention and hidden participants that mostly have a secondary role in policy design. Participants interact in the context of three process streams of problems, policies, and politics. The problems stream is concerned with how and why certain problems gain the attention of those in government. In a multi-polar political system, such as the Danish, this trait of the MSF will be useful in exploring the importance of each one of them and the diversity in beliefs and interests.

Some important features of the advocacy coalition framework (ACF) and multiple streams framework (MSF) will be combined in a mixed middle range theory which is going to be used for this thesis. The ACF feature of stable parameters and external factors are both important and the use of the framework to show policy stability and change as well. Moreover, the degree of consensus is equally important for basic policy change. However, other features of ACF such as the existence of at least two competing coalitions and the lack of shared values, which, on the contrary, characterise both policy communities and associationalism (which will be analysed on chapter 5) indicate the need to include both frameworks into the study in a combined

version which will apply to the Danish sport policy and migration policy as well.

The macro-level theories that will be useful for this research are neo-corporatism and neo-pluralism in part because both of them are linked to the political history of Denmark. Neo-corporatism in Denmark has been characterized by the model of industrial relations whose core is a bipartite and relatively centralized system of collective bargaining between strong social partners and a consensus principle in which legislation linked to the labour market cannot pass without the agreement of social partners. Moreover, there were also tripartite activities which combined ad hoc involvement of social partners in relation to new legislation in individual policy areas and their involvement in permanent tripartite bodies. Furthermore, in 1990 there were attempts to form tripartite structures and reach social pact-like agreements (Mailand, 2006). Policy areas included pensions, continuous training and parental leave, vocational education, unemployment insurance and immigrant integration (Mailand, 2005 & 2006).

Though Denmark is an example of social corporatism, neo-corporatist arrangements were put under strong pressure through Europeanization of public policies, party polarization, mediatization, revalorization of the parliament, pluralization of interest representation and the opening of new political agendas (Varone et al., 2015). Two basic trends of the neo-corporatist transformations in the 20th century, were: a) the privileged access of interest groups to extra-parliamentary committees whose task was to prepare public policies; and b) the participation of interest groups in administrative consultations (Varone et al., 2015).

Denmark has now moved in a neo-pluralist direction with the increase of interest groups' number, the formation of partnerships and the shift towards neo-liberalism under the form of new public management. In sport the establishment of several sport associations and sports voluntary organizations and a competition between the elite and grassroots sport can be identified. In social democratic states like Denmark, voluntary/ non-profit organizations work in areas where responsibilities for solving tasks lie within the public sector and where public providers dominate. Non-profit providers are funded by public money and are subject to different types of regulation and

requirements. This functional framework includes overall legal rules and contracts between municipalities and non-profit providers (Thøgersen, 2015).

The voluntary sector became more significant with the Danish Local Government Reform of 2007 which decreased the number of the municipalities. The voluntary associations had a more intensive and formalized collaboration with the local government (Levinsen et al., 2012). Moreover, voluntary sport clubs are seen as important partners in confronting social issues such as promoting the social integration of immigrants and encouraging their citizenship process, confronting homophobia, improving social cohesion in neighbourhoods and designing activation policies for the elderly. Therefore, at the core of their ideology is 'sport as a social good' (Waardenburg, 2016). In fact, according to Østerlund and Seippel (2013: 396), sports voluntary organizations 'bring people together though common activities within an organizational framework, where horizontal social relations predominate, and where strategic power relations are more evident than in most other areas of everyday life'.

# Chapter 3 Policy Context

## 3.1 Aims of the chapter

The aim of this chapter is to explore policy changes in immigration and sport in specific periods between 1970-2018 in order to understand the contemporary context of the Danish social policy and implementation of sport based integration policies for immigrants. The aim of periodization is to interpret historical time through the classification of events and/or processes in terms of their internal similarities and external differences in order to distinguish continuing periods of relative invariance and the transitions between them (Jessop,2003). Moreover, periodization adopts a 'strategic-relational approach', which emphasizes the reciprocal dialectic of structure and agency. Periodization is a concept that underpins historical research, though its utility in sports studies (Holt & Mason 2000; Holt 1990; Tranter 1998) was based on the descriptive method, aligning periods to key dates and events, rather than a more analytical approach which associates periods with meanings and beliefs.

Bentley (1996) argues that the identification of coherent periods of history depends on past decisions about the issues and the processes that affected human societies and requires a set of criteria that enable historians to recognize patterns of continuity and change. In order to understand policy changes in social integration through sport, it is first important to indicate these large structural changes, such as changes of government, the foundation of new governmental bodies and the role of the local authorities and NGOs in policy design and implementation. Katznelson (2003) suggests that periodization must be accompanied by emphasis on agency and that a precise process of periodization should contain both the 'origins' and 'character' of policy change.For this thesis, periodization is significant in order to allow for the precise selection of case studies such as that of social integration policy of immigrants in Denmark through sport.

In the case of sport, Ibsen (2006a) suggests that periodization is based on the degree of political involvement. Specifically, he divides the Danish sport history into three periods: the first from the mid-nineteenth century until the

middle of the twentieth century during which there was low political involvement into sport; the second period from 1945 until around 1970 in which two basic laws (The Pools and Lottery Act and the Leisure Time Act) for the subsidy of sport in Denmark were enacted; and the third period, from the beginning of the 1970s until the contemporary era during which organized sport pressed the political system for more involvement in sports issues (Ibsen, 2006a). However, for this research project, it is suggested that periodization of sport policy in Denmark should be determined by broad political conditions linked particularly to patterns of immigration, employment and the economic cycle rather than the degree of general political involvement in sport. Consequently four discrete periods have been identified: 1970-1982, 1983-1992, 1993-2000 and 2001-2018. However, there is one broad trend that covers all four periods and which has implications for policy in each period namely the decline of corporatism and the increasing prominence of new public management.

## 3.2 The decline of the Danish corporatism and the rise of the New Public Management

According to Schmitter (1974: 93-94) "Corporatism can be defined as a system of interest representation in which the constituent units are organized into a limited number of singular, compulsory, non competitive, hierarchically ordered and functionally differentiated categories, recognized or licensed (if not created) by the state and granted a deliberate representational monopoly within their respective categories in exchange for observing certain controls on their selection of leaders and articulation of demands and supports."

From the end of the 1970s the corporatist welfare state has been in decline and neo-liberalism has gained in dominance, changing the discourse on welfare. The increasing dominance of economic and political liberalism is clearly evident in the public sector modernization program of the Danish conservative-liberal government in the 1980s when privatization and user fees entered the political agenda. Since then a number of new forms of regulation were introduced in the 1990s in the context of discussions of new public management (NPM) which gives a stronger emphasis to the market and the

new forms of management including steering through contracts and economic incentives (Juul, 2012).

From the 1970s until the 2000s corporatist institutions in Denmark were gradually restructured partly in response to some serious economic problems and persistent government deficits and public debt. However, part of the problem lay in the weaknesses in the corporatist policy design process. Trade unions faced difficulties in adapting to changing macroeconomic conditions, while governments became the leading player in the policy making to respond to hard economic conditions (Woldendorp, 2011). In addition to increasingly severe economic problems, the corporatist model was also challenged by a series of substantial social issues - one of which was immigration (Kaspersen & Schmidt-Hansen, 2006).

Denmark has a century-old tradition of relatively strong corporatist structures, primarily established within labour market policy and within a number of industrial policy areas. Throughout the twentieth century, the model became common in areas such as education policy and even environmental policy. Danish corporatism reached its peak in the mid-1970s, which ensured that strong and privileged interest organizations were integrated into the preparation and administration of public policy (Christiansen & Togeby, 2006).

Over the past 30 years, however, Danish corporatism has undergone major changes. First, the way organizations are involved in legislative preparation prior to presentation to the Folketing has changed significantly. The Danish tradition of preparing decisions in corporatist commissions and councils now only plays a minor role. As mentioned above, it has become more common to keep the organisations at arm's length when legislation is being prepared in the ministries. It should be emphasized, however, that corporatism has primarily lost ground in connection with the preparation of legislation, not in the administration of legislation. Second, the path of interest organizations to influence has changed. The organisations had few contacts with the Danish Parliament (Folketing) in 1976, and they did not regard them as particularly valuable. Today they have far more contacts with the political parties in the Folketing and with MPs than was the case in the mid-1970s. This reflects the assessment that the Folketing plays a larger role in the legislative process

than was formerly the case and is now an important focus for lobbying (Christiansen & Togeby, 2006).

The oil crisis of 1973 had serious effects on the rationale of the public administration of the Western countries and there was a strong need to save money. Apart from the economic dimension there was a social dimension leading to public sector reforms prompted by a value change in which public duty and individual responsibility were replaced by individual self-realization and rights. The Western countries response to these challenges was the embrace of NPM and the shift of focus to a more competitive public sector with increased social responsibility and closer connection to citizenship in terms of offering value for money, choice flexibility and transparency (Löffler,2003 ; Christensen & Lægreid,2001).

NPM offered radical reforms of the public sector mainly via privatization, restructuring and reducing central civil services, introducing competition through internal markets, contracting public services to the private sector, and improving efficiency through performance auditing and measurement (Minogue, 1998).

Over the last 30 years, Denmark has steadily embraced NPM concepts such as performance based management, market mechanisms, customer orientation e-government. Public organizations in Denmark have a long experience of the modernization of the public sector (Greve, 2006). Despite changes in the government, modernization initiatives were introduced regularly from the 1980s to the 2000s, addressing NPM issues. There were three major initiatives by different governments in different periods: The first initiative was 'The Modernization Programme' launched by the Conservative government in 1983 which was designed to achieve greater decentralization and delegation of responsibility and decision making competence, marketization, better customer orientation and deregulation, concentration on management and employee development and use of the new technology which incorporated e-government. Along with the programme, a budgetary reform took place, introducing spending ceilings for government departments. The second initiative took place under the social democratic government in 1993 with a modernization programme called 'A New Look at the Public Sector', which focused on performance-based management, quality systems,

employee involvement and citizen surveys. In 2001 the newly elected Conservative-Liberal government launched the third initiative, modernization programme 'Citizens at the Wheel', which was not completed by the previous Conservative-Liberal government in 1992. The main elements of the programme were marketization and consumer orientation along with a revision of deregulation. Moreover, an accountancy reform initiative took place in order to provide comparison with private sector companies (Greve, 2006).

The restructuring of public policy in Denmark has taken place within the frame of four distinctive features of the governmental tradition. First, governance combines markets, the public sector and civic associations. The non-public sector in Denmark is a combination of market, community and voluntary organizations or associations that receive public subsidies and are subject to regulation control (Jensen, 1998). Second, Denmark has a weak tradition of public ownership covering only infrastructure /public utilities. Third, despite the increased criticism of the public sector, there is high public support for the Danish welfare system (Jensen, 1998). The fourth feature is the changes of government. In Denmark, changes of government are frequent but rarely radical. In 1998, the government worked within the overall idiom of public sector reform, keeping the framework of reform launched earlier by the Conservative coalition (Jensen, 1998).

In 2004, the Danish government launched the programme 'Something for Something' that addressed all government departments and included economic (neo-liberal) incentives and contract ideological moral arguments. The programme aimed at restoring the so-called welfare contract between the welfare state and the citizens (Juul, 2012).

## 3.3 Social Policy Characteristics in Denmark in the period 1970-2018

Immigration policy and sports policy in Denmark have both been affected by significant socio-economic changes, especially the economic crises throughout the period 1970-2018. From 1950s until 1980s economic policy focused on full employment in all Nordic states. Full employment was achieved by implementing Keynesian economic principles: active demand management continuous public sector growth and incomes policy organized through centralized wage bargaining (Kiander, 2005). However, inflationary

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pressures were the consequence of rapid growth and full employment. During a 6 year period from the end of the 1980s to the beginning of the 1990s all Nordic states faced severe economic crises. Denmark avoided complete depression, but still had to confront low growth and an increase in unemployment (Kiander, 2005).

In 1982, the Conservatives coalition had to confront a serious economic crisis. The economic problems were linked to unemployment, deficits in the balance of payments and deficits in the public budget. The policy focus on improving the ability to compete in international markets and the means of achieving this improvement was through wage restraint and the reduction of public expenditure (Høgelund,2003).

However, significant changes to the Danish labour market were apparent between 1994 and 1998, the employed citizens' rate had increased by 7% and the unemployment rate had decreased from 12.9% to 6.5%. These changes have been credited to welfare reforms which aimed to improve the functioning of the labour market (Jensen, 1999).By the end of the 1990s Denmark had high living standards, high employment levels and low rates of unemployment (Kiander, 2005).

The development of the Danish welfare state and the rise of international migration in the 2000s pushed social problems and human rights issues higher up the governmental agenda of both national and local levels (Jørgensen & Thomsen, 2013; Green-Pedersen & Krogstrup, 2008). The increase in immigration contributed to the rise of the far right in Denmark and the shift in public opinion towards anti-immigration policies (Østergaard-Nielsen, 2003). Problems in the early 2000s were exacerbated by the economic crisis of 2008 and the resultant increase in unemployment (Jørgensen & Thomsen, 2013).

Immigration in Denmark and in the other Scandinavian countries could be divided, according to Brochmann and Hagelund (2012), in the following periods in terms of the agenda priorities on immigration and integration policies: 1970-1980, formation of immigration policy. Establishment of immigration regulations and the laying of the foundation for an active integration policy; 1980-2000 institutions and principles established especially for labour immigration were tested against increased immigration of refugees

and asylum seekers which in turn led to further institutional reforms; 1990-2010 revision, there was a growing awareness that the integration project for immigrants had been unsuccessful, opening the way for a reinterpretation of the multicultural project of the welfare state. In Denmark the introduction of selective labour immigration policies indicated a shift to the right of the political spectrum (Brochmann & Hagelund, 2012)

Hedetoft (2006:6), referring to Danish integration process, states that 'the Danish model of integration mixes ethnic and civic-republican virtues on the assumption that the integration process can only accept difference and deviation from the traditionally practiced notion of equality to a limited extent'. Moreover, Nannestad (2004) refers to the concept of 'ethnicization' of the welfare state which would place ethnicity as an important factor in social policies and will become a possible strategy that will strengthen incentives in the cooperative framework between the minorities and the native Danes.

### 3.3.1 1970-1982: Denmark within the European Community sphere: The first challenges in immigration and sport

### 3.3.1.1 Immigration

From 1960 то 1974 Denmark allowed companies to hire a significant number of workers from Turkey, Yugoslavia and Pakistan to confront labour market shortages (OECD Economic Surveys, 2003). At the end of 1960s unemployment rates were low and immigrant workers were employed in largely unskilled jobs (Pedersen & Smith, 2001). Up to the mid 1970s the Danish labour market was characterized by full employment. However, the economic crisis of the early to mid 1970s ended the period of full employment and also the period of labour immigration (Pedersen & Smith, 2001).

1960s and 1970s were the decades in which the first immigrant associations were established in Denmark and since then many more have been established (Mouritsen & Jensen, 2014 & Hedetoft, 2006). From the mid 1960s the distinction between native and foreign workers became more significant as a political issue and elements of the Danish press criticized negatively the acceptance of foreign workers. In 1970 the parliament debated

whether the foreigners should be characterized as guest workers or foreign workers.

From the late 1950s to 1973 the welfare state expanded and the newly arrived workers arrived in Denmark with high expectation of equality, universal social rights and a highly unionized labour force. The main political debate was around practical problems such as how the universal welfare state could deal with language barriers, discrimination on labour and housing markets, the need for leisure time activities (Jønsson, 2013). In spite of some administrative changes and attempts to confront problems, Denmark did not have a genuine immigration policy but ad hoc solutions to guest worker's social problems (Jønsson, 2013).

When Denmark entered the European Community in 1973 it became possible for citizens from other Member States to settle and work in Denmark and obtain access to social rights (Hedetoft, 2006). Denmark, following the path of other European Countries, introduced a ban on labour market immigration for non EEA nationals in 1973. Despite the stop on labour immigration from other countries, immigration continued at a steady but low level in the 1970s mainly through the way of family reunification. As a result, the immigrant flow remained low in comparison to other European OECD countries with immigrants accounting for less than 3% of the total population until the mid 1980s (Liebig, 2007).

The main outcome of the immigration framework of the 1970s was that cultural differences became the basis for policy making and when combined the economic crisis led to political developments such as the formation of an anti-immigration party, the Progress Party (Jørgensen & Thomsen, 2013). In 1973 the Danish People's Party (DPP) had an unexpected electoral success, gaining 15,9% of the votes (Moore, 2010). The success of the DPP in 1973 added momentum to an agenda that was emerging focused on social problems such as hostility between natives and migrants, housing problems and discrimination towards foreign workers which were increasingly explained by differences in behavior and language. The solution proposed by Danish government was to limit the inflow of new immigrants (Jørgensen & Thomsen, 2013). By the late 1970s there was a clear tension between a very liberal left,

which adopted a position of formal equality wanted to be able to assess each application and decide whether to approve it or not (Lex et al., 2007).

Immigration continued to increase during the 1960s and the issue of integration and also of immigration controls remained high on the political agenda nationally and in the larger cities and towns. At the national level the debate culminated in January 1970 in the introduction of new conditions for immigration followed by the decision to stop issuing new residence and labour permits which developed into a quota system later replaced by a prohibition on new immigration at the end of 1973 (Jørgensen & Thomsen, 2013)

### 3.3.1.2 Sport

The development of the welfare state had a great impact on the relationship between the sports movement and the state (Ibsen & Jørgensen, 2002). In the 1960s the dominant political value summarized in the 1961 social democratic manifesto was that the welfare of the individual should be paramount and that 'the community' had a duty to come to the aid of everybody whose existence was threatened by insecurity and need. The related educational belief  that sport in the form of gymnastics had an intrinsic value had also been superseded by the belief that all sports were good and therefore sport was a particularly valuable means towards positive social objectives (Ibsen & Jørgensen, 2002). Within the social democratic welfare state both leisure time and the situation of young people were politicized. The Idrættens Fællesrad (IF), the Joint Sport Council, was established in 1967 as a link between the sports leagues, the Danish Sport Confederation (DIF), the Danish Gymnastics and Youth Associations (DDGU) and Danish Shooting, Gymnastics and Sports Associations (DDSG&I).(Danish Sport Confederation, 2015). At the same time, a committee of representatives of the sports movement and the Ministry that deals with sport was set up. Through these joint bodies the different leagues had the opportunity to discuss and coordinate their demands on the public institutions. So, the state acquired in a quasi-corporatist form legally recognized bodies in which issues of common interest could be discussed (Norberg,1997).

The Leisure Time Act (Fritidsloven) of 1968 was the first attempt by politicians to introduce legislation that addressed youth and sport clubs and linked sport and welfare policy (Andersen & Ronglan, 2012). In 1968 the Leisure Time Act marked a turning point in the relations between sport and the public sector at the local level. The act enabled the formation of different subsidy arrangements and during the 1970s local sports clubs received an increasing part of their total income from the state arrangements. Substantial capital investment by local government increased the number of sport halls and swimming pools (Riiksjær & Nielsen,1987). Financial support from municipalities was given to voluntary associations based on the constitution. The Leisure Time Act supported not only sports and evening education but all civic associations (Kaspersen & Ottesen, 2001). Although the local sport clubs gained financial support, the central state was less inclined to intervene directly in leisure –time sport (Ibsen, 2006a).

In 1972 Denmark signed the 'Sport for All' Charter drawn up by the Council of Europe, and also adopted a new leisure time act passed in 1974 which greatly increased public support for sport and leisure activities. In 1974, the Danish Parliament published its first report about sport and the public sector's role in sport (Ibsen & Jørgensen, 2004). The most significant change was the establishment of different forms of corporative arrangements between the sports movement and the state (Norberg, 1997). In 1975, the European 'Sport for All' Charter was ratified by Denmark and reflected the extent to which social inclusion through sport had become a crucial topic in the Danish governmental agenda (Hartmann-Tews, 2006). Public expenditure on clubs and facilities had increased and in 1979 the amount of DKK 1,3 billion was spent and the investment in facilities amounted to about 35% of the total subsidies (Riiskjær & Nielsen, 1987).

In the late 1970s and into 1980s there was a shift towards a decentralization of the public sector and, despite the spread of neo- liberal principles, the establishment of a number of large state experimental and development programmes.The common trait with the previous decade was the involvement of actors such as the local authorities and voluntary associations and sporting non governmental organizations (Ibsen & Jørgensen, 2002).

### 3.3.2 1983-1992: The further Politicization of Immigration and Sport

### 3.3.2.1 Immigration

Throughout the 1980s the number of 'guest workers' (as immigrants were referred to the 1980s) in Denmark had increased through family reunification leading to increased political criticism which pointed to the economic burden of immigration according to which immigrants were perceived to have exploited the welfare state because the level of unemployment among immigrants became considerably higher than among native Danes (Mouritsen & Jensen, 2014). A key turning point in the politicization of migration came in 1983 when a broad majority in parliament, with the exception of the radical right wing Progress Party, passed a new more liberal immigration law. The opportunities for family unification were strengthened, asylum seekers achieved more rights, and the expulsion of foreigners became more difficult. At the same time as the new law was implemented an increasing number of refugees from the Middle East started to arrive in Denmark. This sparked a public debate where politicians from both the Conservatives and Liberals parties supported the new critical immigration policy introduced by the Minister of Justice which included a revision of the law which tightened the conditions for asylum in Denmark. The debate in the mid 80s showed that politicians from both the Liberals and the Conservatives wanted their parties to change direction towards tighter immigration controls and an integration policy that was more demanding for immigrants (Green-Pedersen & Odmalm, 2008).

In the 1980s the asylum seekers and refugees were the main immigrant category in contrast to the labour workers of the previous decade. In fact, the number of asylum seekers rose from 800 in 1983 to 9,300 in 1986 during a decade in which unemployment rates were over 9% and the voters concern over migration was continuously increasing (from 4% in 1987 to 25% in 1998) (Moore, 2010). The terms gastearbejdere (guest worker) and fremmedarbejdere (foreign worker) revealed social attitudes of exclusion.

Following efforts of immigrant rights groups, the term invandrer (immigrant) was adopted but only by governmental agencies. According to Moore (2010: 361), 'this "othering" which adds a level of stigmatization to the non natives, seemed to establish itself in the Danish consciousness rather quickly and came to envelop all types of perceived immigrants, even carrying over to third generation Danish-born 'immigrants'

In 1983, the first Danish national integration policies were introduced, according to which the state was responsible for regulating integration policies, which were mainly implemented by the counties with the aim of promoting equality between immigrants/refugees and native Danes. However, the aim did not entail the formation of any specific institutions. This changed later on in the 1980s and 1990s with the Danish Refugee Council offering integration courses and the municipalities being obliged to upgrade their strategies for immigrant's integration (Beauzamy & Feron, 2012).

During the 1980s Denmark comprehensively reformed its immigration framework in ways which improved the legal situation of immigrants. Inter alia, a legal right to family unification was introduced that covered not only spouses and children but also parents if these were above 60 years old, although the applicant had to guarantee parent's economic support. The 1983 Aliens Act also improved the legal situation of de facto refugees, who according to the Danish law are the people who are not required to return to their origin countries (Liebig, 2007).

Until the mid 1980s integration measures were provided on a rather ad hoc basis and almost exclusively oriented towards refugees. The underlying principle of integration was that once a refugee had become resident he/she should have the same rights and obligations as the locals. Until 1999 integration activities were almost exclusively carried out by the Danish Refugee Council (DRC) and focused on refugees (Liebig, 2007).

In Denmark a dispersal policy has operated since 1986 following the rapid increases in refugee numbers and immigrants were distributed among the 13 Danish counties (Damm & Rosholm, 2005). In 1999, a stricter settlement policy came into force which aimed at promoting better integration of refugees by means of further geographic dispersal of refugees and an extended

introduction programme supplied by the municipality hosting the refugee (Law no. 474 passed the 1st of July 1998) (Damm, 2005).

### 3.3.2.2 Sport

The 1980s was notable for an increase in government concern with the poor performance of Denmark's elite athletes. In 1984, the Elite Sports Act was passed which regulated Team Denmark (TD), the state institution responsible for the development of Elite Sport (Ibsen et al., 2013). Furthermore, it started to engage in talent development and provided a set of technical, physical, medical, psychological and dietary support facilities. In the late 1970s three factors affected the need for the development of elite sport in Denmark : the complaints of the coach of the Danish national handball team, Leif Christian Mikkelsen about the poor financial and social conditions of its players compared to players in other countries ; the Danish Football Association's (DBU) decision to allow professionalism in the domestic league and the failure of the Danish Olympic Team in Munich Olympics in 1972 combined with the fear for a new failure in the Moscow Olympics of 1980 (Ibsen et al., 2013). In the late 1980s, TD begun to develop its administrative structures and relationships with sports federations and other stakeholders and distributed financial allocations to both federations and athletes. Furthermore, two new issues in its agenda were talent development and the provision of a wide range of support facilities (Storm et al.,2016).

The 1980s also saw policy developments in relation to community level sport. A memorandum published in 1986 by the Ministry of Culture recommended among other things: specific economic support for the development of activities for Sport for All; courses for coaches and leaders in sports clubs ; and the decentralization of sports facilities. The memorandum addressed to sports clubs to improve 'Sport for All' and according to Ibsen and Jørgensen, (2002: 302), 'to involve more people in sport and exercise and to appeal to the groups that are least active'.

In 1988, a new Act for Football Pools, Betting and Lottery was passed with the objective of increasing the subsidies to national sport organizations to develop Sport for All (Ibsen & Jørgensen, 2002). This act together with Elite

Sports Act of 1985, according to Ibsen and Jørgensen (2004:138), 'are more concerned with defining aims and frameworks than with specifying details and so it is left to the associations and organizations to decide for themselves how the money is to be spent'. In the 1980s the state also tried to stimulate new initiatives and activities in leisure and culture at community level, with the Ministry of Culture starting to spend small amounts of the public budget on vulnerable groups such as people with disabilities, the elderly and immigrants (Ibsen & Jørgensen, 2002).

In 1991, the Leisure Time Act of 1968 was replaced by the General Education Act (*Folkeoplysningsloven*). The main principles remained the same as those of the older act but public money for leisure-time education and activities was now left to the discretion of the municipalities and committees were set up from representatives of the local societies and associations that received funds (Ibsen & Ottesen, 2004). The support was given to clubs partly as a subsidy for the expenses regarding sports facilities and partly as a direct financial subsidy of the clubs activities. However, the local government was only obliged to support activities for members below the age of 25. In addition, it subsidized sport by building new facilities and giving them to sports clubs for free (Ibsen & Jørgensen, 2002).

Since 1991 sports clubs were represented in a committee with delegates from municipalities and clubs, which were obliged by legislation to manage a specific distribution of subsidies to leisure time and cultural associations. At the national level, a formal contact between sports clubs and the state take place through a liaison committee between the Ministry of Culture and a joint Sports Council, a cooperative body for sports organizations (Ibsen, 1999).

In 1990s, further changes took place with the merger of national organizations. The reason was the growth in sports and the fact that most organizations increasingly resembled each other. In fact, the activities and tournaments could be difficult to separate for the member organizations, if they were members of two or even three central organizations (Trangbæk, 2003). In 1992, DDSG &I (The Danish Rifle, Gymnastic and Sports Associations) and DDG &U (The Danish Gymnastics and Youth Associations) merged to become the Danish Gymnastics and Sports Associations (DGI)

(Trangbæk, 2003). According to Anderson (2008: 53), 'This decision perpetuated the dual organization of sport and sustained the organizations' political need to mark their differences'.

### 3.3.3 1993-2000: Changes in integration and immigration strategies based on the labour market framework

#### 3.3.3.1 Immigration

During the 1990s migration in Denmark was characterized by the large influx of people from Yugoslavia, later on also from Iraq, Afghanistan and Somalia (Alestalo et al., 2009 & Hedetoft, 2006). In the mid 1990s 16,000 refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina were given temporary residence and in the late 1990s to many Iraqi refugees. Moreover, in the spring of 1999, the Danish government evacuated 3.000 Kosovar Albanians, who had been displaced from Kosovo and from refugee detention camps in FYROM. By virtue of the law, these refugees were given temporary residence permits (Hedetoft, 2006). The proportion of foreigners increased 61% in the period of 1990-1999 constituting 4,9% of the total population (OECD, 2001).

Immigration became a political issue in Denmark in the early 1990s and more particularly following the change of government in 1993. From 1993, the Danish Conservatives and especially the Liberals started to change their policy positions quite dramatically with regard to both immigration and integration. The first sign of this came in 1994, during a debate on how to deal with Bosnian asylum-seekers. The Government supported by the left –wing parties wanted to allow the Bosnians to be granted refugee status, but the right-wing opposition proposed temporary residence permits which meant repatriation to Bosnia once the war was over. The Government was able to pass its proposal in Parliament, but the debate showed that the right wing parties had changed course and had abandoned the consensus around the immigration issue (Green-Pedersen & Odmalm, 2008).

In the early 1990s, the gap in employment between immigrants and native – born Danes was higher than in any other OECD country. Unemployment was about three times as high among the foreign-born as among the native born-together. As a consequence, a committee was set up in 1992 to investigate

immigrants' barriers to accessing employment and in 1994 a comprehensive Action Plan was implemented. According to the Action Plan measures were introduced to improve the recognition of foreign qualifications, provide language training and vocational education for immigrants. The goal of the Plan was the provision of equal conditions for refugees and other immigrant groups. Parallel to this, the counties became the responsible authority for the teaching of Danish to adult immigrants (Liebig, 2007).

Since the mid-1990s immigration has also been associated with the perceived dangers of a multicultural society and this is reflected in the focus on integration measures related to political and value integration, in particular the capacity for active citizenship in civil society and local communities and the emphasis on identification and loyalty. One consequence of this concern was the introduction of a tougher knowledge test to be taken during the application for full Danish citizenship (Mouritsen & Jensen, 2014). In 1996, the Danish Parliament passed an Act that provided financial support for free language training for children of immigrants before entering school although provision was at the discretion of the municipalities (OECD, 2007).

Since the mid-late 1990s immigration has been associated by centre-right parties with the perceived dangers of a multicultural society and this was reflected in the focus on integration measures (Mouritsen & Jensen, 2014). The Integration Act (Integrationsloven) was passed on 1 January 1999. There was consensus among all political parties on the necessity of legislation on integration with the exception of the far Right. The Act included two very controversial parts: first, restrictions to prevent refugees freely choosing their place of residence in Denmark; and second, unemployed refugees and immigrants would receive a lower social benefit than the unemployed Danes. The government under the pressure of NGOs changed the law equalizing the foreigners' so-called "introduction allowance" with the cash benefit given to the Danes (Doobay & Jørgensen, 2000).

The Integration Act opened the way for the equal participation of immigrants in the political, economic, work-related social, religious and cultural life of the society, and to induce economic self-reliance. But at the same time the aim is also to provide the individual immigrant with an understanding of the fundamental values and norms of the Danish society

(Mouritsen, 2014). The responsibility for refugees' integration was transferred from the Danish Refugee Council, which was an NGO with the responsibility for social work for refugees, to the municipalities (Brochmann & Hagelund, 2011; Petersen & Jønsson, 2012).

The Integration Act stipulated a three year period of mandatory placement of the refugees in municipalities where refugees could be immersed in ethnically Danish local communities, and required that they take a comprehensive course on Danish language and culture (Larsen, 2011). Participation was obligatory and the scope and content were determined by individual contracts, which aimed to integrated new arrivals either into employment or into further education, on the basis of an assessment of the immigrant's skills (Liebig, 2007). During their integration process, the refugees could receive 'introductory' benefits (introduktionsydelse), somewhat below the level of ordinary public social welfare benefits (Larsen, 2011). The latter was debated since the differentiation of certain rights to income aid based on nationality and immigrant status contradicted the values of the welfare state model (Brochmann & Hagelund, 2011). The core notion of the Integration Act is equality. According to Jensen et al, (2009: 5), 'To be equal in the Danish society is closely related to the perception of Denmark as a cultural homogenous country, and to the conceptions of social egalitarianism and universalism as constitutive elements of the Danish society'.

Dissatisfied with the emergence of enclaves of largely unemployed refugees living in council housing and managing on welfare benefits that had been produced in the pre-1999 policy, the government introduced in 1999 a policy of dispersing newly arrived refugees outside the urban municipalities to enable them to develop social relations with the local ethnically Danish population and thus give them a better opportunity for integration through the establishment of social networks (Larsen, 2011). Since 1999 the dispersal policy has been enforced by restricting benefit access to those immigrants who locate in the municipality to which they had been assigned (Liebig, 2007).

### 3.3.3.2 Sport

The active participation of the Danish population in various kinds of sports and exercise has been steadily increasing since the end of the 1980s, but organised competitive sports have not shared in this growth. On the contrary, the proportion of sports practitioners regularly participating in competitions and/or tournaments had fallen from 17% in 1987 to 14% in 1998. While there had been considerable growth in the practice of sport as such, the focus of interest has shifted away from participation in formalised competitions and tournaments towards more exercise-related activities (Larsen, 2002)

The major experimental sport promotion schemes established in the 1980s were replaced in the 1990s by more specific, delineated and earmarked development programs. The programmes concentrated on improving efforts in promoting sport and making public service more efficient. The strategy was spread to the local governing bodies, which were legally obliged to support experimental and development projects in sport, leisure and culture. According to the Leisure Act 5% of the local government funds had to be spent on sports clubs, evening schools, children's and youth associations. Besides, large voluntary associations organized experimental and development programmes either by imitating the public sector initiatives or by collaborating with the state (Ibsen & Jørgensen, 2002).

In 1994, the state founded the Danish Foundation for Culture and Sports Facilities in order to provide better facilities for sport and other cultural activities. The fund could offer solution to poor facilities by subsidizing new construction projects and renovating sport and cultural facilities (Ibsen & Jørgensen, 2002). Organizational changes took place in the 1990s. In DIF there was a discussion about the integration of a number of new special federations. According to Trangbæk (2003: 64), 'These integrations were usually fairly painless though not for Danish Worker Sport and the YMCA Sports Federation, which led to a long debate about ideology, in which DIF gave a more explicit formulation of the meaning of an ideologically, politically, and religiously neutral organization.' The specialized federations organized sport for all as well as elite sport and were generally divided into smaller regional federations (Trangbæk, 2003).

In 1999, the government published a Public Health Programme, whose purpose was to activate more Danes to exercise and included a suggestion to set up a 'Forum for Exercise' where the responsible Ministries (such as the Ministries of Culture and Health) and organizations would unify their forces in order to design policies aimed to educate the citizens about the benefits of physical activity (Ibsen & Jørgensen, 2002).

In the same year, the Ministry of Culture formed a 'Sport Policy Idea Programme' in order to develop the cultural dimension of sport and promote diversity, quality and freedom of expression in Danish sport and get more citizens involved in sporting activities according to their interests and abilities. The program supported activities that encouraged children and youth to participate in the democratic process in the sports sector, develop new paths of collaboration between the public sector and the voluntary associations, activate vulnerable groups such as the immigrants, disabled people, elderly to engage in sports and promote initiatives that develop networks and local communities in relation to sport (Ibsen & Jørgensen, 2002).

In the late 1990s the Ministry of Culture, the Municipality of Copenhagen and DGI-City, an initiative of DGI, stressed the need for greater sporting opportunities for urban children in local neighbourhoods. Their agreement was accompanied by a public health report showing a decline in physical fitness among pupils and by a study showing that pupils in Copenhagen where a high proportion of immigrants were beginning to settle had less access to sport facilities than children in other Danish cities (Anderson, 2008).

### 3.3.4 2001-2018: The tightening of integration policies under an international political and economic crisis

### 3.3.4.1 Immigration

By 2005, immigrants and their descendants accounted over 8% of Denmark's population. In 2006 Muslims from Turkey, Pakistan, Iran, Syria, Egypt and Lebanon numbered around 200.000 and accounted for nearly half of all immigrants from the 'Third World' countries, constituting 4% of Denmark's population (Kemp, 2008). However, the numbers of family

reunifications had decreased from 13,000 to 5,000 due to the political pressures by the Danish People's Party (DPP) (Kemp, 2008).The DPP power was increased in the parliamentary elections of 2004 and 2007 and the far right party gained more than 15% of the votes (Ahedo, 2010). In 2007 Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen underscoring the importance of controlled immigration, stated: 'Labour shortage costs prosperity and welfare. Private companies lose orders and production. The public institutions are not able to deliver the service we require. Controlled immigration would secure that those who arrive have the right qualifications and are able to support themselves. Denmark needs foreign labour-the right way' (Jørgensen, 2011).

The main goal of Denmark's immigration policy in the 2000s was to change the composition of the immigrant population through closer management of the migration system. For instance, policies sought to maker it more difficult to obtain family reunification and asylum, but easier to enter as a labour migrant or student (Jørgensen, 2014). A second goal was the promotion of self-sufficiency making labour market participation both the vehicle and the final stage of integration. The third, was that the new policy aimed to encourage immigrants to manage their own integration through a range of initiatives and sanctions in the form of an integration contract (Jørgensen, 2014).

The polarized debate about immigration which emerged at the end of the 1990s continued into the 2000s particularly after the 11 September 2001 terrorist attack in the United States with regard to Muslims in Denmark and generally in Europe (Østergaard-Nielsen, 2003). The debate about the influx of foreign workers became more crucial in 2004 when ten European countries entered the EU. From May 2004-May 2009 more than 52,500 Danish work permits were given to Eastern European workers, mainly to work in low skill positions in construction, agriculture and domestic services (Jørgensen & Thomsen, 2013).

Denmark's established position on the idea of multiculturalism affected immigration policy. Leading Danish politicians from different parties stressed that Denmark is not and does not intend to be a multicultural society, positive discrimination was never conceived as a solution to integration problems; deliberate representation of ethnic groups in political life was rejected; mother-tongue instruction was discouraged and cultural diversity was considered  an

un-Danish characteristic (Hedetoft, 2006). According to Agustin (2012), in the political debate two types of immigrants were recognized: the ones who come to Denmark to work and contribute to the Danish society and the refugees who are interested in family reunification. 'This dominant discursive categorization makes it seem unlikely that integration is taking place through inclusion into labour market. Instead, immigrants and in particular refugees are perceived as a challenge for the welfare system' (Agustin 2012:86).

In the 2000s the trade unions continued to have a central role in the debates on guest workers is closely related to the structure of the Danish labour market. Their position was that the conditions of work and salary levels of national workers should be protected. Their arguments displayed a certain political framing of the Eastern European workers as a potential threat that would undermine the Danish wage and labour conditions (Agustin, 2012).

The 2000s was marked by the rise of the Danish People's Party whose success was a result of the fear of the creation of a multicultural society, The Danish election of 2001 was characterized by racist tendencies in party campaigns. The DPP with the slogan 'Denmark for the Danes' and the Liberal Party had an election poster 'Time for a Change'. Even the Social Democrats were internally divided into humanists and restrictionists in terms of their stance on immigration issues. The Danish People's Party gain 12% (from 7% in 1998 elections) and the quarter of the votes came from the Social Democrats while 10-12% of the votes came from the Socialist People's Party (Østergaard-Nielsen, 2003). When Liberals and Conservatives took power in 2001 they depended on DPP who had great influence over the government on immigration (Mouritsen & Jensen, 2014).

The politicization of the issue, which was the major reason for the conservative/liberal victory, was obvious: The rules of family unification were tightened significantly and became tougher than in other European countries. Family unification before the age of 24 became virtually impossible. Regarding integration, the central idea had been that labour market participation was the best solution. In terms of policy tools, the focus had been on securing economic incentives for immigrants to take a job which corresponded with the more general transformations of the labour market policy. However, the Danish system provided fairly generous social

assistance in which the actual net gain from working, compared to receiving social benefits, could sometimes be quite limited. A central measure was the introduction of a special low level social assistance for non-EU migrants which was intended to serve as an incentive for immigrants to accept low-paid jobs (Green-Pedersen & Odmalm, 2008).

In January 2002, the new Liberal-Conservative government that came into power in 2001, adopted a 'new aliens policy'. This policy was based on the following three fundamental principles: Denmark's international obligations were to be respected; the number of immigrants was to be limited and the requirement that immigrants be self-supporting was to be strengthened (Ersbøll & Gravesen, 2010).

The Integration Act has since been amended several times. In 2006 it was amended on the basis of an integration agreement which the government had entered in 2005 with the Danish People's Party and the Social Democrats. The basic idea was that foreigners should meet the same expectations and requirements as other citizens and that they and their descendants should have the same fair opportunities as others. According to the 2006-amendments it was established that a foreigner's 'integration contract' lasts until he or she has acquired a permanent residence permit (Section 19(8)). Furthermore, it became a requirement that foreigners must sign and thereby recognise the values stated in a 'Declaration on integration and active citizenship' in order to indicate that the society expects foreigners to make an effort to integrate as participating and contributing citizens, equal to other citizens (Ersbøll & Gravesen, 2010).

The latest amendment of the Integration Act was adopted in Parliament on 25 May 2010.The aim of this amendment was to adjust the Act to a changed migration path. The number of foreigners who have immigrated to Denmark for the purposes of employment and study has more than tripled since 2001, while the numbers of refugees and those seeking family reunification have fallen to below one third of the 2001-level. On 1 August 2010 the scope of the Integration Act was extended to include labour migrants and their families plus EU migrants (Ersbøll & Gravesen, 2010). From August 2010, two objectives were added to the Integration Act. One stated that newly arrived immigrants should be aware of the fact that permanent residence permit required

successful integration and the other focused on the responsibility of each foreigner to integrate into the Danish society (Jensen et al., 2009).

In the 2000s actions were taken by the Ministry of Children and Education contributing to the immigration policy framework. Immigrant integration was related to learning Danish as a second language in order to enable the pupil to complete primary and secondary education and there was a strong focus on this issue from early childhood the completion of secondary school (Jørgensen, 2014).

By the year 2000, a significant number of immigrant-impacted municipalities conducted pupil redistribution experiments. In 2005, the Danish Ministry of Education allowed municipalities to assign children with low Danish language knowledge to local schools outside their own district. The municipalities of Alberstlund and Aarhus followed this directive. Aarhus, expanded its program for immigrant integration into education and labour market and embraced a combination of hard and soft policies (Ahedo,2010). The creation of the Ministry of Integration moved the focus towards helping newly arrived immigrants into jobs quickly through simplification of job training, improved efficiency of Danish language training, better utilization of the qualifications of newly arrived immigrants and making integration a common issue (Møller-Hansen, 2012).

Several public projects/initiatives with the purpose of promoting volunteering among ethnic minorities took place in the early 2000s under the aegis of public authorities in order to facilitate the participation of refugees and immigrants in Danish associations. In these projects all actors of the local community are involves: citizens, local institutions, business, church networks and the associations. Three examples of projects were Project Counseling-Municipality, Culture and Leisure (Copenhagen), Leisure Shop (Aarhus) and Project F (Aalborg). Besides, other projects related to the employment of ethnic minorities took place (Hjære & Koch-Nielsen, 2003). Moreover, 'Venner Viser Vej', a project designed by Red Cross, was founded in 2016 with the aim to assist, in partnership with the municipalities and voluntary organizations, refugees who need a volunteer friend or family when they receive a residence permit and settle in a municipality until 2018 (Rode Kors, 2016).

From the early 2000s to 2018 there were a series of changes to the law and initiatives which generally make the award of citizenship more restrictive while at the same time trying to ensure more effective integration of migrants, especially into the labour market. Table 3.1 lists the main initiatives/laws on integration and their key elements.

**Table 3.1 Main Initiatives/laws on integration and their key elements**

| YEAR | LAW/INITIATIVE | POLICY |
|---|---|---|
| 2002 | The government White Paper, "On the Path toward a New Integration Policy' | Assist immigrants integrate with native Danes and employment was regarded as the pathway to successful integration |
| 2002 | The Integration Package for Immigrants | Introduction to working life and the acquisition of Danish language skills though the workplace |
| 2003 | Action Plan | Further equal treatment and diversity and combat racism |
| 2004 | Anti-ghetto-ization program | (1) Municipal councils have the power to refuse housing to welfare recipients in precarious zones, (2) Creation of steering committees comprised of representatives of all social actors to oversee diverse projects. (3) Special initiatives for the prevention of crime and the promotion of school tutoring and voluntary actions. |
| 2004 | Danish Citizenship Act | a) Minimum 9 years of status with a permanent resident permit. b)pass a Danish language test and a citizenship exam on the knowledge of Danish culture and history c) a document of proof for their financial independence in the course of the past four to five years d) a declaration of obedience to the Danish constitution |
| 2005 | A 'New Chance for Everyone' | Make welfare benefits less attractive than employment and introduction of a series of anti-discrimination measures |
| 2006 | Dublin Convention ratified | Asylum seekers can only apply in one country and where the member states have the right to return an asylum seeker to another EU country from which he/she has entered in question |
| 2008 | Establishment of the bilingual task force | Initiative under the guidance of the Education Support Authority of the Ministry of Children and Education Offer consultation to schools in language instruction |
| 2010 | Action Plan | Disseminating information campaigns and developing methods to monitor discrimination in the population |

| 2013-2015 | Amendments to the Aliens Act | a) 2013-A time-limited residence permit obtained on the basis of marriage would be revoked if the couple divorces b) 2014-A foreign national spouse would retain his/her residence permit if his/her spouse or partner who is a resident in Denmark dies c) 2015-Introduction of a new temporary subsidiary protection statues for refugees who have the right to asylum due a general situation in their country |
|---|---|---|
| 2016 | Immigration Law on confiscation of asylum seekers' items | Items of "special sentimental value" such as "wedding/engagement rings, family portraits, decorations and medals" are exempted but "watches, mobile phones and computers" can be confiscated. Asylum seekers who arrive with more than 10,000 DKK in cash "will have to [use] the surplus above 10,000 DKK to pay for their stay". Refugees have to wait three year until they can apply for reunification with their families |
| 2017 | Immigration Law on selection of refugees | The government refuses to take UN quota refugees. The number of refugees selected by the country is going to be decided by the Ministry of Immigration and Integration |
| 2018 | Law Banning Burqa and Niqab | Violators will have to pay a fine of 1,000 DKK and the repeat offenders' fine will be up to 10,000 DKK |

**Sources: AFP/The Local, 2018; Agerholm, 2016; Damon & Hume, 2016, Jensen et al., 2011; Jørgensen, 2014; Kallas & Kaldur, 2007, Kingsley, 2016; Liebig, 2007; Pedersen & Smith, 2001; Roseveare & Jorgensen, 2004; Staff & Agencies, 2018; Tawat, 2011; UN Human Rights Council, 2016**

These legal changes and initiatives reflected changes in public opinion and changes in the balance of power between the major political parties. Most recently, in October 2018, the Danish political parties signed an agreement for the funding of strategies designed for immigration and integration for the period 2019-2021 of DKK 130,6 million with the focus on increasing of the number of employed migrant women, central repatriation coordinators and counseling in the municipalities, support of the Red Cross project 'Venner Viser Vej; the support of social partnerships between the municipalities and the civil society actors; and the combat of extremism and radicalization (Regeringen, 2018b).

### 3.3.4.2 Sport

During this period the primary focus of the national government was on improving elite level performance although towards the end of the period attention was paid to community sport. From 2006 50% of funding goes to fewer than eight sports indicating an increased degree of prioritization as a result of the Team Denmark (TD) strategy in combination with the performance contract signed with the Ministry of Culture in 2006. There was a reduction of funding following the period 2001-2004 when 16 National Governing Bodies stopped receiving financial aid from TD and in the period 2005-2008 when others received more financial support than in the past. This continued in the preparation for the London Olympics in 2012 (De Bosscher et al., 2015).

2001 was a crucial year for sport since the programme of the centre -right government included sport for the first time due to a concern that the potential for Danish Elite Sport to succeed at international level needed to be enhanced. TD would work more closely with the voluntary organizations to promote an ethically, and socially responsible development of elite sport that provided athletes with the best possible conditions (Ibsen et al., 2013). In 2001, the Danish Ministry of Culture initiated an evaluation of TD in connection with a revision of the Elite Sport Act, according to which TD had a positive impact on the establishment of a well-functioning elite sport system. However, there were concerns about the system due to the significant municipal involvement and the absence of commercial sponsorship revenue in Danish elite sport. That led to some minor revisions of the Elite Sport Act focusing on the fields identified as concerns, and a stronger political focus on output and the retaining of the public financial resources to TD on the same level in the near future (Storm et al., 2016).

Three year later, the Danish government set up a committee to present proposals to revise the Elite Sports Act. The topics discussed in the revision were the impact of intensified commercialization, the differentiation /financial balance between popular and elite sports, the investments in sports facilities by the municipalities and, finally, the evaluation of financing pathways in elite

sports, including relations with other sport sections (Danish Government, 2003). Moreover, the 2004 Elite Sports Act amendment introduced partnerships between Team Denmark and municipalities. The municipalities had the responsibility of setting up elite sport institutions and organizing the proper conditions for the development of elite sport at the local level, assisting athletes to find flexible training and jobs and provided financial aid to talented athletes for training and competition purposes. Finally, a number of sport schools were established and its differentiation from ordinary schools was the existence of more sports lessons in the curriculum (Ibsen et al., 2013).

In addition to policy development related to sport, the Danish Olympic Committee (DIF) has been working hard since 2005 to strengthen the volunteer's efforts for running sports clubs in the most vulnerable residential areas in Denmark with the project' DIF Get2sport '. Get2sport is designed to ensure that people in the most vulnerable residential areas who have the desire, capabilities and resources to be volunteer leaders and coaches for the area's children and youth including young girls and women (Get2Sport, 2017). A total of 24 million DKK is earmarked in the period 2018-2021 for this initiative (Regeringen, 2017). 70% of Get2Sport activities concern football but also involve boxing, tae-kwon-do, swimming and volleyball. Most of the people that participate in Get2Sport are Syrians, Iraqi, Lebanese, Palestinians, Turks and Somali (Interview with Preben Astrup, 2016). Despite the general success, Poul Broberg, director of DIF Public Affairs, indicated that problems of Get2Sport were focused on human resources. 'We still lack leaders, coaches, volunteers with different ethnic backgrounds. The next step with the government is to get more ethnic minority and volunteers hired as coaches. Recruitment has grown but it is still not reflecting how the population is looking although it is getting better with women with another ethnic background in terms of organizing activities, recruiting volunteers and coaches' (Interview with Poul Broberg, 2017).

On 1 January 2007 after a new national reform, the number of municipalities was reduced from 275 to 98. According to the reform, the municipalities were now to take responsibility for the protection and the promotion of health, where it used to be in the hands of the previous regional districts (Støckel et al, 2010). According to Støckel et al. (2010: 631), 'the new demands appear

to be an overwhelming task for the newly merged municipalities. However, most sports organizations and education institutions see this reform as an opportunity to develop new markets and partnerships that focus on the prevention of health problems.'

In the period since 2000 DIF and DGI showed a great interest in promoting sport and youth programmes and engaging in public health prevention programmes. The two organizations participated in or initiated a number of projects that aimed to organize sport activities for socially isolated or inactive children, and develop public-voluntary collaborations within new organizational structures (Støckel et al.,2010).Furthermore, they contributed to the funding of several long-term partnership projects between sport clubs, city councils and schools and diverse day care institutions. Projects were intended to create the proper conditions for the improvement of physical activity at the local level by establishing stronger bonds between new partners, sports clubs and institutions (Støckel et al., 2010).

In the period 2004-2017 several initiatives organized by the government took place for the development of Elite Sport, Sport for All and School Sport with the aim of achieving international sporting successes and promoting public health. Table 3.2 demonstrates the main policies.

**Table 3.2 Government Initiatives for the development of Elite Sport, Sport for All and School Sport 2004-2017**

| YEAR | LAW/INITIATIVE | POLICY |
|------|----------------|--------|
| 2004 | Elite Sports Act Amendment | a) Introduction of Partnerships between Team Denmark and the municipalities b) The municipalities had the responsibility of setting up elite sport institutions and developing elite sport at the local level c) Changes in the organizational structure of Team Denmark d) Establishment of sport schools |
| 2007 | Act on the Promotion of Elite Sport | State support to Team Denmark and the elite sport |
| 2008 | Act on Football Pools, Lotteries and Betting Games | Distribution of funds from football pools, lotteries and betting games for cultural and humanitarian reasons |
| 2009 | Project "Put the school into motion" by Danish Sport School Association | Assistance of the teachers at the Danish primary and lower-secondary schools to incorporate movement and physical exercise as teaching methods, in order |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | | to improve the students' learning and health. |
| 2014 | Political Agreement on Sport | An inter-ministerial collaboration of the Ministries of Culture, Health and Prevention, Environment, Children Gender equality and Social Affairs, and Education. Focus on sport for all, with a special commitment to diversity in sports |
| 2014 | Political Agreement on the funding of Elite Sport | A three-year agreement of the Danish political parties for the funding of Elite Sport with 7 million DKK annually for the period 2015-16 and 8 million DKK for 2017 |
| 2014 | Revision of the Folkeskole Act | a) It became obligatory for the schools to offer an average of 45 minutes of physical activity per school week in primary and lower secondary education ; b) addition of extra PE lesson per school week in grade 1.; and c) An exit examination in PE when students reach grade 9 in the Danish education system |
| 2015 | Ministry of Environment Initiative | Promotion of physical activity as a tool of protecting public health. Implementation of the first outdoor recreation policy as a guideline for the development of physical activities and future collaboration in issues related to outdoor activities |
| 2017 | Collaboration of Team Danmark with Danish Business Schools | A three-year experimental scheme to provide students with the country's vocational training and offered greater flexibility to students to combine sport with an education. |
| 2017 | Campaign 'Games for the Line' | Campaign of Team Denmark together with the Danish Sports Federation, Anti-Doping Denmark, Center For Ludomani and a number of federations focused on problematic gaming behaviour within, among other things, Danish competition sports. |

**Sources: Evald & Halgreen, 2011; Ibsen et al., 2013; Ministry of Culture, 2014; Team Danmark, 2017; World Health Organization, 2015**

In 2018 the Ministry of Culture announced four new governmental sports initiatives: a) Inclusion in local communities through sport targeted at the socially vulnerable who have the lowest sports participation in Denmark.

Therefore, the Government will support efforts to include socially vulnerable target groups in sports communities (DKK 7.3 million); b)"Exercise and community on prescription" c) Esport; d) School network: Collection of good examples of collaborations between elementary schools and sports associations (Ministry of Culture, 2018a & 2018b)

Finally, DKK 6 million annually between 2018-2021 was allocated to Get2Sport Project which is present in 16 municipalities in 23 vulnerable residential areas and involving 33 associations (Ministry of Culture, 2018b).

The funding of social integration sport projects in Denmark is tightly related to support for volunteering and the emphasis on strengthening communities (Agergaard, 2011). The focus on integration policies and programmes within the civic sector has moved sport into a political focus as the useful arena for integration, which can take place through sports tournaments, events and club activities that are aligned with Danish major cultural norms and values (Agergaard, 2018a: 79-80). Specific political funds and programmes set up in Denmark to help migrants and descendants assimilate key values and norms of the Danish society through sports (Agergaard, 2018a:83). In the first decade of the 2000s the government funds were specific, limited and goal oriented with emphasis on disadvantaged children and the integration of the young 'New' Danes in the 'sporting and associationalist life' (Agergaard, 2018b). Table D1 in the Appendix D demonstrates a more analytical picture of state funding on integration through sports in 2010-2018 based on a study by Pilgaard (2018).
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## 3.4 Conclusion

Time periods in Danish immigration and sport policy have been characterized by a series of major political and economic developments which significantly affected policy such as economic recession, unemployment and the rise of xenophobia. The common characteristic of all periods is a strong political debate focused on immigration with clear tension between the support for immigration for economic reasons and concern with the impact on national identity and values. In most cases the far right tended to be the electoral winner as the result of the gradual increase in anti-immigration

sentiment among the public due to the perceived dangers of a multicultural society. While the principal anti-immigration rationale was during times of economic recession based on unemployment, it was later on based on the threat for the Danish values and 'Danishness' in general. Moreover, there is a controversy in the treatment of the immigration flows. The accession to the European Community in 1973 opened the labour opportunities for many EC citizens in Denmark, but the Danes regarded the increased immigration flows as threat for the national workers and this sentiment was increased with the coming of refugees from the Middle East. However, in response to the rapid growth of xenophobia, the state proceeded to design integration strategies linked to the labour market needs introducing a distinction between qualified immigrants who could integrate into the Danish society and the unskilled who were considered less easily integrated. The gradual politicization of migration led to the tightening of immigration laws and the criteria for the residence permission for refugees and immigrants. The ratification of the European Charter in Sport in the same period led to the increase of state interest in the promotion of public health which resulted in an increase of the subsidies for the development of facilities, the organization of events at the grassroots level, and sport and youth programs. Another important development was the decentralization of both migration and sport policy, which provided the municipalities with a central role in responding to the political and social challenges of increased migration. As a result of the dispersal of immigrants to municipalities all over the country local government became responsible not only for the implementation of policies designed by the state but also for the development of local integration strategies which relied on the support of local associations and interest groups. In sport, the local government took responsibility for the promotion of public health and the development for sport for all programs even in times when the national emphasis was moving from Sport for All to elite sport.

Although sport policy retained a consistent focus on grassroots sport in an effort to achieve active citizenship and promote social integration there were time periods when elite sport took priority due to the challenges of Olympic success and the gradual commercialization of sport as part of a shift to neo-liberalism and the market logic. In both migration and sport there were efforts

for the social integration of the participants in projects often organized by the local authorities. However, in the case of immigrants, policy design for integration is based on much stricter criteria and the immigrants have to pass through a series of tests in order to earn a place in the labour market. School was identified as an important vehicle for social integration of migrant pupils with sport seen as far the opportunity to expose young people to Danish culture and values.

The politicization of sport passes through several stages with the politicization in the 1960s and 1970s, with the foundation of sporting organizations under the aegis of the state being particularly significant. This stage was followed by the Europeanization of policy in the middle 1970s with the adoption of the European legislative framework for sport and later by the effort to give emphasis on both grassroots and elite sport through a range of legislative acts and initiatives supported and implemented by the municipal level with the dual mission of promoting public health and achieving social integration and achieving international sporting success. The contrast between politicization of migration and that of sport is that migration was perceived as problematic by the political parties and efforts for integration were designed according to the labour market needs with the aim of reducing the migrant population or controlling strictly migration, whereas policy objectives in Danish sport have focused on health and developing communities. Thereby sport became a positive means of integration, whereas in migration policy the tightening of laws and the strict set of criteria for residence and labour in Denmark showed that the path to social integration was much more difficult and was designed in a way of decreasing the number of immigrants. The contrasting patterns of development of migration and sport policy highlighted the potential for political tension when municipalities and national sport organizations began to see sport as a vehicle for the integration of migrants.

# Chapter 4 Methodology

## 4.1 Aim of the chapter

The purpose of this chapter is to explain and justify the research strategy adopted for the study. The aim of the study is to analyse the development of sport policies in Denmark in relation to migration since 2010, and the objectives are to review and evaluate two contemporary policy analysis frameworks, analyse the development of national sport policy initiatives concerning migrant groups, analyse sport policy initiatives concerning migrant groups in two cities in Denmark and finally, to analyse the role and significance of national and sub-national non-governmental sport organizations in the process of policy-making and implementation.

A suggested structure for the discussion of methodology is provided by Sparkes (1992:14) who argues that 'ontological assumptions give rise to epistemological assumptions which have methodological implications for the choices made regarding particular techniques of data collection, the interpretation of these findings and the eventual ways they are written about and presented'. Thus, the structure for the chapter is as follows: first, the series of ontological and epistemological positions that can be adopted in social science research are discussed. Then, follows an exposition of the ontological and epistemological assumptions that underpin this study and have implications for the study's methodology. The final sections of this chapter will examine the general methodology and the particular research methods used, along with the exposition of their strengths and weaknesses and the potential of these methods to respond the research questions.

## 4.2 Ontology – Epistemology

The foundations on which political scientists work are their ontological and epistemological stances, revealing their methodology and approach.To Marsh and Furlong (2002: 17) the stances a political scientist takes are vital to his research, as 'they shape the approach to theory and the methods' utilised; and they are grounded deeply in the researcher's beliefs about the world,

resulting in the effect that the positions taken on these issues cannot possibly be changed: 'They are like a skin not a sweater: they cannot be put on or taken off whenever the researcher sees fit'. Beck (1979) (quoted in Anderson & Bennett, 2003: 153) states, 'the purpose for social science is to understand the social reality as different people see it and to demonstrate how their views shape the action which they take within that reality'. Investigating ontological distinctions is a critical aspect of the research process since it assists the researcher in revealing how their perceptions of human nature impact on the approach they consciously adopt to reveal social truths (David & Sutton, 2004)

Ontology is the science or theory of being. It concerns the question of how the world is built: 'is there a 'real' world 'out there' that is independent of our knowledge of it?' (Marsh & Furlong, 2002: 18).Guba and Lincoln (1989:83) state that ontological assumptions are those that respond to the question 'what is there that can be known?' or 'what is the nature of reality?' The question from a political science perspective might be 'What is the nature of the social and political context we might acquire knowledge about?' (Hay, 2002: 61).

Ontology is the starting point which guides the development of a theoretical framework. Blaikie (cited in Grix, 2004 : 59) defined ontology as the study of 'claims and assumptions that are made about the nature of social reality, claims about what exists, what it looks like, what units make it up and how these units interact with each other.' Crotty (1998: 3) defined epistemology as 'the theory of knowledge embedded in the theoretical perspective and thereby in the methodology'. Epistemology is also 'concerned with providing a philosophical grounding for deciding what kinds of knowledge are possible and how we can ensure that they are both adequate and legitimate.' (Maynard, 1994:10) in Crotty, 1998, 8). According to Krauss (2005: 758-9),' Epistemology is intimately related to ontology and methodology; as ontology involves the philosophy of reality, epistemology addresses how we come to know that reality while methodology identifies the particular practices used to attain knowledge of it. One such epistemological stance is constructionism which is defined by Crotty (2003:42) as 'the view that all knowledge and therefore all meaningful reality as such is contingent upon human practices,

being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context.' Thus, meaning is not discovered, but constructed.

An epistemological position links with the ontological position to reflect the 'view of what we can know about the world and how we can know it' (Marsh & Furlong, 2002: 18-19). However at this point there are two significant positions: firstly, that is possible to acquire knowledge about the world unmediated and with no interference. This position implies that objectivity is possible, because everyone can observe things in the same way. The second position argues that, observation cannot be objective but always "affected by the social constructions of 'reality' (Marsch & Furlong, 2002). Together, ontological and epistemological assumptions make up a paradigm. The term paradigm, introduced by Thomas Kuhn (1962) refers to an overall theoretical research framework. Guba (1990: 17) argued that a paradigm is 'the net that contains the researcher's epistemological, ontological and methodological premises'. According to Denzin & Lincoln (2012), all research is interpretive and it is led by a set of beliefs and emotions about the understanding and the study of the world.

There are two opposite positions linked to ontology and epistemology that are mirrored in different research traditions and compose competing paradigms. Positivism adopts a foundationalist ontology and related epistemology. It originated from the empiricist tradition of natural science and regards social science as capable of the same possibilities that are rooted in the natural sciences. That is, it is possible to observe everything that happens and understand it without mediators, thereby denying any division between appearance and reality. As in natural science theory is used to generate hypotheses, which could be tested by direct observation. The deeper aim is to discover general laws and causal statements about social phenomena. This implies that objectivity is possible (Marsh & Furlong, 2002). Kolakowski (1972) argued that positivism encloses a four point doctrine: (a) the rule of phenomenalism, which states that there is only experience; all abstractions be they "matter" or "spirit" must be rejected; (b) the rule of nominalism, according to which that words, generalizations, abstractions, etc. are linguistic

phenomena and do not give new insight into the world; (c) the separation of facts from values; and (d) the unity of the scientific method.

The opposite position is relativism or interpretism, according to which no objective statement about the real world could be made because there is no real world but only a socially and discursively constructed world. At this point, the ontological position is clearly anti-foundationalist since the world is only socially constructed like social phenomena, which positivists claim to be able to examine by sheer observation. According to the interpretist argument this is impossible, because the existence of social phenomena are not independent of our interpretation and every observation concomitantly affects what we observe. Unlike positivists they look to understand social behaviour rather than explain it and focus on its meaning (Marsh & Furlong, 2002).

Positivists, whose focus is the revealing of underlying regularities, generally do not question social reality. Social structures are reified and are treated as objects independent of the social actors who are their creators. Interpretivists tend to reinforce the status quo, taking a non-judgemental stance, which assumes the equality of all groups and cultures (Murray & Ozanne, 1991 :134).

Interpretivism is a term that usually denotes an alternative to the positivist orthodoxy. It is based on the view that a strategy must be found that respects the differences between people and the objects of the natural sciences and thus the social scientist is required to seize the subjective meaning of social action (Bryman, 2012).Interpretists share a view that the subject matter of the social sciences —people and their institutions—is fundamentally different from that of the natural sciences. The study of the social world therefore requires a different logic of research procedure, one that reflects the distinctiveness of humans as against the natural order (Bryman, 2012).

Apart from positivism and interpretivism, there is a middle path: Realism which claims that a real world exists and that it is possible to make causal statements. However, "not all social phenomena, and the relationships between them, are directly observable. There are deep structures that cannot be observed and what can be observed may offer a false picture of those phenomena/structures and their effects" (Marsh & Furlong, 2002: 30). According to Hay (2002:166-7), 'agents are situated within a structured

context which presents an uneven distribution of opportunities and constraints on them. Actors influence the development of that context over time through the consequences of their actions'. Bhaskar (2008) refers to transcendental realism which he distinguishes from empirical realism. The former conceives the objects of knowledge as the structures that bear phenomena, and the production of knowledge takes places in the social activity of science, while for the latter that the objects of knowledge are phenomena.

The ontological position of this study has a fundamental difference from the positivist and interpretive paradigms in terms of asserting that social reality is constructed of both observable and unobservable phenomena. Observable elements may be the actions and behaviours of individuals and governing bodies/organizations (agencies) while, directly unobservable kinds are 'deep' structures such as ethnicity, gender and even class. The knowledge that can be produced from these observable and unobservable kinds is an epistemological matter. From these assumptions, it is notable that there is a complex relationship between structure and agency. Thus, it is necessary to elucidate the study's ontological position on the relationship between structure and agency.

This study takes a middle stance between the positivist and the interpretive epistemological approaches briefly mentioned above. While the actions of agents and some structures may be observable, other 'deep' structures may not be directly observable. Therefore, research from a critical realist point of view uses theory to recognize and interpret the influence of these unobservable structures (Marsh & Smith, 2001; Bryman, 2001; Harvey, 1990). For instance, in the case of the social integration of immigrants in Denmark through sport, the state either at the national level or at the local level is the main agent of a decentralized system, there are other agents such as NGOs and immigrant organizations that have their own contribution as pressure groups in policy implementation and lobbying and influence the policy outcome in an indirect but also productive way. Besides, structures such as the social-democratic model and the sports system based social-democratic foundations could be directly observed while other structures such as racial prejudice, nationalism or class prejudice are far less easy to observe, but equally significant in affecting policy.

## 4.3 Research Design

This section examines the particular research design to be adopted in this study. The aim and objectives presented at the beginning of this chapter require analysis that is both descriptive, of forms of collaboration between the public and the private non-profit sector in Denmark, or the national and the local government and role of each actor in social integration policies through sport, and explanatory, of how these forms affect policy processes and policy change. Case study research design is frequently used to study complex relationships between behaviours and their contexts (Stake, 1994), particularly where the boundaries between the context and behaviour are unclear (Yin, 2003). Moreover, case studies are valuable research tools to describe, explain and predict processes linked to phenomena related to individuals, groups and organizations (Woodside & Wilson, 2003).

The concept of a population is vital, because the population defines the set of entities from which the research sample is to be made (Eisenhardt, 1989). In addition, selection of an appropriate population 'controls extraneous variation and helps to define the limits for generalizing the findings' (Eisenhardt, 1989: 537). Gerring (2004: 352) underlines seven criteria for using case studies: (1) when inferences are descriptive rather than causal; (2) when propositional depth is prized over breadth and boundedness; (3) when (internal) case comparability is given precedence over (external) case representativeness ; (4) when insight into causal mechanisms is more important than insight into causal effects; (5) when the causal proposition at issue is invariant rather than probabilistic; (6) when the strategy of research is exploratory, rather than confirmatory; and (7) when useful variance is available for only a single unit or a small number of units. According to Yin (2003), a case study design should be considered when: (a) the focus of the study is to answer "how" and "why" questions; (b) the researcher cannot manipulate the behaviour of the actors in the study; (c) the researcher aims to cover contextual conditions because he/she believes they are related to the phenomenon being studied; or (d) the boundaries between the phenomenon and context are unclear. Finally, Seawright and Gerring (2008) indicate four considerations for case selection such as the application of case selection

processes to specific case studies, the clarification of the researcher's goals (descriptive or predictive), pragmatic, logistical issues, including the theoretical prominence of a case in the literature on a topic and the within-case characteristics of a case.

Gerring's third, fourth and sixth point are relevant for this study, together with all criteria of Yin, and Seawright and Gerring. Concerning Gerring's three points related to this study, the case studies of Aarhus and Copenhagen, will give the internal picture of the external case representativeness (of Denmark, as a country which incorporates these cases of social integration strategies mainly at the municipal level). Moreover, the aim of this study is to analyze the development of sport policies in relation to migration and not their success or impact on immigrants' lives. Finally, the social integration strategies will be explored to examine several important aspects regarding design and implementation such as funding, networking and constructing partnerships at the national and at the local level.

These elements may be significant for this study which aims to examine actions of government bodies both at the national and the local level, and the involvement of national sporting associations, sports clubs and NGOs in two Danish municipalities. Factors such as the degree of immigrants' participation in social integration projects and the degree of the civil society involvement in the implementation of policies in each case study will be also examined. Therefore, case studies are a particularly appropriate method for the study. Given the adoption of a case study method there is a range of research choices and issues to address.

The first of these issues is the selection of cases for the study. There are two major approaches regarding case study methodology, which are proposed by Stake (1994,1995) and Yin (2003). Both seek to ensure that the topic of interest is well explored, and that the essence of the phenomenon is revealed, but the methods that they each employ are quite different and are worthy of discussion. Moreover, both Stake (1995) and Yin (2003) base their approach to case study on a constructivist paradigm. Constructivists claim that truth is relative and that it is dependent on one's perspective. Another important concept in case studies are 'propositions' (suggested by Yin) and 'issues' (suggested by Stake) to guide data collection and analysis. According

to Stake (1995:17), 'issues are not simple and clean, but intricately wired to political, social, historical, and especially personal contexts. All these meanings are important in studying cases'.

Yin (2003) is an advocate of conducting multiple-case studies, if possible, as he argues that this will produce more convincing findings. In this study it is considered that examining three cases in each of the two municipalities, will fulfil the dual aim of allowing some cross-case analysis while containing the scope and size of the study. Multiple-case study design depends on either literal replication, where similar findings are predicted, or theoretical replication, where reasons for different findings are interpreted by theory (Yin, 2003). Due to the fact that in the period of case study selection, it was impossible to consider what type of collaboration between the levels of government in Denmark regarding social integration policies through sport may exist, theoretical replication was utilized to underpin the multiple-case design. Examining collaboration and interaction between different levels of government through the use of different theoretical concepts will lead to a stronger justification of differences between cases. Selection of particular cases depends on the type of case study to be conducted.

Stake (1994) advises that the selection of cases should be made to provide balance and variety rather than any particular representativeness. In this study the three cases finally chosen offered variety in geographical location, different Danish municipalities' allocations of funding and partnerships with NGOs and immigrant organizations and different socio-economic environments. In particular, each case is unique in the way local leisure and culture administration's strategies concerning social integration of immigrants were implemented. Thus, the study explores whether these differences had any effect on forms of policy implementation and collaboration of the involved actors as well as policy change.

Yin (2003) also identifies that within any one case there could be smaller, 'embedded' units of analysis (sport club cases). The embedded units have the advantage to 'enhance insights' into the whole case (Yin, 2003). In relation to this study, separate municipal projects concerning the integration of immigrants through sport represent embedded units within each of the two city cases. There is little in the literature on the selection of embedded units

and, in this study, the selection of municipal projects in two Danish cities will be dependent on practical issues of policy delivery and the degree of integration of each immigrant group. Yin (2003) indicates that analysis of embedded units should be integrated into each case separately before they contribute to cross-case analysis. This approach will be adopted for this study.

Beyond analysis of embedded units, there are other specific issues concerning data analysis within case studies. Similar to the point made more generally about qualitative research, analysis of data in case studies is important in assuring the validity of findings (Yin, 2003). Yin (2003) offers a variety of data analysis techniques or strategies that could be employed in case studies, for example pattern matching, time-series analysis and logic models. However, it is the technique of explanation building that is most appropriate for this study and its multiple-case design. Yin's (2003) description of explanation building involves a number of iterative steps which will be adapted for the particular nature of this study and especially the extended period of data collection. One benefit of adopting this iterative approach to data analysis is that it supports cross-case synthesis. The iterative steps for this study will be: (a) conduct initial analysis of early data from a single case using the theories and analytical frameworks adopted in the study; (b) use this analysis to provide insight into the concepts' use in the analysis of early data in the other cases; (c) revise initial understandings of the use of theoretical concepts; (d) conduct analysis of all data from a single case utilising these revised understandings; (e) conduct this revised analysis in the remaining two cases; and (f) a final reconsideration of all the data in light of the analysis from all three cases.

The importance of comparison across the two cities (Aarhus and Copenhagen) to the overall findings of the study justifies the use of a theoretical framework. In fact, Higgins (1981) indicates the importance of utilising theory in comparison processes and Houlihan (2005) stresses the significance of meso-level theories in public sector sport policy in the UK. Thus, in this study, the process of cross case analysis will be closely tied to the theory and analytical frameworks considered in chapter two.

Another crucial issue regarding case studies is the extent to which findings can be generalised. Both Stake (1994) and Bryman (2004) comment on the

regularity with which case studies are criticised for their lack of generalisability. The choice of cases in this study is not designed to be representative of all Danish municipalities. However, it is possible in case studies to generalise to the theoretical concepts underpinning the study and open the way for further use of the concepts (Stake, 1994).

Another important feature of case studies is the conceptual framework, which functions as 'an anchor for the study and is referred at the stage of data interpretation' (Baxter & Jack, 2008: 553). The framework would be completed as the study develops and the links between the proposed constructs will appear as data are analyzed. A final conceptual framework will include all the themes that emerged from data analysis (Baxter & Jack, 2008).

## 4.4 Methodology

In order to achieve the aim of the research, within the ontological and epistemological framework outlined, a range of methodological issues have to be addressed. First, this section addresses the kind of data that match to this study, and then methodological issues resulting from this choice are considered. The research objectives for the study emphasise the need to examine integration policies and their influence on policy outputs at the local level. According to the stated ontological and epistemological assumptions, this approach will function as a tool in terms of knowing individuals' perceptions of municipal social integration policies related to sport as well as uncovering the structural elements that may be unobservable to these participants. Qualitative research is a key tool to access these types of insights. Bryman (2004: 281) suggests that the main advantage of this research type is that it 'emphasises the importance of contextual understanding of social behaviour'. Moreover, Kleining (1982) advocates the self-sufficiency of qualitative methods in relation to quantitative methods, claiming that they can function very well without the later use of the second, whereas quantitative methods need qualitative methods for explaining the relations they find.

Utilising qualitative data will also be useful in understanding how welfare policy design and delivery, in the two biggest Danish municipalities, takes

place. Qualitative research will allow the study to 'acquire an in-depth understanding of the phenomena in question' (Denzin & Lincoln ,1994:2). In conclusion, it is argued that the collection of qualitative data will provide the study with the in-depth information required to describe and interpret the design and delivery of welfare policies related to sport. Having chosen a research approach based on the utilization of qualitative data, the methodological issues arising from this choice must be comprehended. These methodological issues are mainly related to questions of quality in conducting the research and presenting the findings. However, Bryman (2004) questions the applicability to qualitative research of traditionally quantitative terms of reliability and validity.

The use of various triangulation techniques is often suggested as a means to enhance the reliability of research methods (Janesick, 1995). Hammersley and Atkinson (1995: 231) describe triangulation as a method whereby "links between concepts and indicators are checked by recourse to other indicators".

Three methods of triangulation will be used in this study. Firstly, triangulation will be organised between individuals from various sections of the national and the local government, the national sporting federations, and the sport clubs. The nature of the study, being conducted concurrently with the investigation of social integration projects at the local level in Denmark and particularly with the examination of two city case studies such as the municipalities of Aarhus and Copenhagen. Moreover, data will be triangulated from different kinds of documents, such as national and local policy reports, media releases on social integration projects combined with semi-structured interviews. The rigorous application of these methods is also important in ensuring quality research (Patton, 2002). The understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of this study's particular research methods (in the following sections) will support their rigorous implementation. The questions of what values the researcher brings to the study and how the researcher may affect data collection are particularly relevant to qualitative research (Patton, 2002).

Researchers should be explicit about the values and biases that underpin their study. In the case of this study, alongside the ontological and epistemological assumptions described in this chapter, the values underlying

the theoretical concepts to be utilised in this study have been discussed in the theoretical review chapter. The nature of the study itself also has implications for the relationship among the levels of government, sports organisations and clubs and immigrant communities that are subjects in the research. As mentioned previously, the study will be conducted alongside the policy design and implementation of social integration policies in Denmark at the national and local levels. The majority of the data used in this study will be taken from public policy documents from the departments of ministries and municipalities whose tasks and responsibilities concern the issue of social integration of vulnerable social groups such as immigrants. This element has the potential to research policy initiatives at both levels of government and study the approaches of different sectors, the public and the not-for profit sector.

Finally, triangulation will be used for the theories that support the analysis of data. Patton (2002) advises that a number of theories be employed to analyse the data to ascertain if similar conclusions are reached. This is a strength of the broad-based theoretical approach of this study described in Chapter 3.

## 4.5 Research Methods

Following from the research design considerations, this section examines the specific research methods to be used in this study. Particularly, it refers to the significance of the use of interviews and documentary analysis in qualitative research and justifies their selection and explains the way that these methods will be utilised along with the particular advantages and disadvantages of their use.

### 4.5.1 Interviews

The aim of the social research interview is for the interviewer to extract from the interviewee a wide range of information: interviewees' own behaviour or that of others; attitudes; norms; beliefs; and values (Bryman, 2012). Bryman (2004: 321) suggests that interviews can help understand 'what the interviewee views as important in explaining and understanding events, patterns and forms of behaviour'. As such interviews will be one of the main

research methods for this study. The use of interviews also fits closely with the requirements of case study design (Yin, 2003) and will enable the collection of the rich data that case studies demand (Fielding & Thomas, 2001).

Interviews can be divided into categories. Interviews can be conducted either with one person or with a group of people, focus groups (Rowley, 2012). According to May (2011), the main interview types are structured, semi-structured, unstructured or focused, and finally, focus and group interviews. However, while these characterizations seem to distinguish one interview method from another, a research project could be a mixture of two or more interview types and methods (May, 2011). Regarding interview methods, the neopositivist view (studying facts) is more closely associated with structured interviews, the romanticist view (focusing on meaning) with unstructured interviews, and the localist view (social construction of situated accounts) with semi-structured interviews (Qu & Dumay, 2011).

In the case of structured interviews the answers expected are short, and the questions are posed in the same order with every interviewee (Bryman, 2001). Social researchers prefer using structured interviews because of its two advantages: 'a) reducing error due to variation in the asking of questions, and b) achieving greater accuracy in and ease of processing respondents' answers (Bryman, 2012: 210). However, semi-structured interviews have also significant advantages, utilizing techniques from both structured and unstructured types. Questions are normally specified, but the interviewer is freer to probe beyond the answers in a way which would seem prejudicial to the aims of standardization and comparability. The interviewer, who can seek both clarification and elaboration of the answers given, can then record qualitative information about the topic. This enables the interviewer to have more autonomy to probe beyond the answers leading to a dialogue with the interviewee (May, 2011). A semi-structured interview represents an opening up of the interview method to an understanding of how interviewees generate and deploy meaning in social life (May, 2011).

This study primarily utilised semi-structured interviews which, due to access constraints, were conducted both individually and in groups. The use of both group and individual interviews was a limitation of the study as comparability

was lessened as 'group and individual interviews may produce different perspectives on the same issues' (May, 1993: 94). However, this could also be conceived as a strength, utilising the different facets of interviewing in both settings. Semi-structured interviewing involves following a set topic guide for the interview but giving the interviewer the freedom to prompt and ask further questions as necessary to elicit additional information. Finally, while semi-structured interviews allow interviewees to answer more on their own terms than the standardized interview permits, they still provide a better framework for comparability than the focused or unstructured interview (May, 2011). Conducting semi-structure interviews requires the following six stages: (a) selecting the type of interview; (b) establishing ethical guidelines, (c) crafting the interview protocol; (d) conducting and recording the interview; (e) crafting the interview protocol; and (f) reporting the findings (Rabionet, 2011: 563). Finally, semi-structured interviews must have a degree of structure in their implementation. This is achieved by the construction of an interview programme so that, at least partly, all participants in the interviews will get some questions in common (Carruthers, 1990).

Group interviews can be conducted in the same way as semi-structured interviews. However, they have their own strengths and weaknesses beyond those of interviews conducted with individuals (Turner Kelly, 2003). McLafferty (2004) recognizes three advantages of group interviews: a) focus groups may give emphasis on consumers rather than professionals, with the consumer being conceived as the expert; b) they depend on dynamic interaction to provide information; and c) they can provide major insights into attitudes, beliefs and opinions. Finally, focus groups are useful for mirroring the social realities of a cultural group, through direct access to the language and concepts which structure participants' experiences (McLafferty, 2004). However, semi-structured interviews in groups has the disadvantage of providing less time for individuals to respond with their views and greater difficulty analysing subtle differences in individuals' views (Patton, 2002). Selecting those to be interviewed is also very important in being able to collect the required data and justify the findings of the study (Devine, 1995). This study employed a mixture of purposive and snowball sampling of

interviewees. Purposive sampling involves selecting interviewees who can provide data that corresponds to the research questions (Bryman, 2004).

In order to develop the credibility of the interpretation of interview data, Devine (1995) suggests that these interpretations should be discussed with another researcher as well as the interviewee themselves. An important aspect of the interview is the development of a close and harmonious relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee (Bryman, 2012 & 2016). Murphy and Dingwall (2001: 339) indicating the issue of ethics in social research, refer to "ethical theory", which is associated with four issues: a) non-maleficence - researchers should avoid harming participants; b) beneficence - research on human subjects should produce some positive and identifiable benefit rather than simply be carried out for its own sake; c) autonomy or self-determination - research participants' values and decisions should be respected; and d) justice - all people should be treated equally.This research involves human participants (local Danes and migrants administrators and coaches) based in the local community. These ethical considerations that must be attended to in order to proceed effectively throughout the research. But first the researcher should gain approval from the university that will examine a range of terms and conditions for ethical conduct, before accessing the study site, participants and funding and applying the research design and methods (Bryman, 2016; Creswell and Poth, 2017). For this study, ethical approval is provided by Loughborough University's Ethics Committee.

After the discussion on the importance of interviews in this study, a discussion on the conduct of interview will follow. The first issue is the criteria for the selection of the interviewees. The criteria for the selection of the interviewees is as follows: a) interviews should have at least medium term involvement in the policy area (3 years or longer) so that they have an understanding of the development of the policy; b) interviewees should also be in a sufficiently senior position in their organisations in order to have a strategic view of the policy area and their role in the organisation; and c) interviewees should hold positions which enable both a strategic and an operational view of policy. Specifically, interviewees are likely to belong to the following categories:

a) officers and consultants of the local governments of Aarhus and Copenhagen, from Sport and Leisure Department and Social Services Department since both departments deal with aspects of social integration in terms of funding, designing, and providing the overall organizational framework.

b) members of the board of NGOs related to social integration projects and sports clubs, which are subject to the integration efforts of the Danish sport system.

c) senior executives of the national sporting federations such as DIF, DGI and DBU, which are involved into sports integration projects such as Get2 Sport with the DIF being the leading actor.

d) a civil servant of the Ministry of Immigration and Integration involved in policy design and delivery of social integration policies.

The second issue deals with the schedule of the interview. A copy of an interview schedule is provided in Appendix B. For this study questions will be semi-structured and will take place in a form of individual or focus group meetings and they are going to be supported by the provision of supplementary documentary material each time. The interview can take place either face-to-face and will be sound recorded, or by e-mail. A sample of an interview transcript is provided in Appendix C.

Finally, the third issue will concern the agenda of the interview. The main topics of discussion will concern policy change, funding and networking with emphasis on inter-ministerial relations and the relations of the public and the not for profit sector as well. More specifically, the thematic sections of the interviews will concern the following aspects:

a) budget trends in social integration projects with emphasis on distribution of funding among sport federations and clubs; b) relationship between both levels of government in policy design and implementation of integration strategies; c) relationship of the municipalities with the not-for-profit sector and the sports clubs; d) the current agenda and its challenges in the design and implementation of social integration policies related to sport and migration.

The elaboration of the data derived from the interviews takes place with the use of thematic analysis. 'The importance of a theme is not necessarily dependent on quantifiable measures, but rather on whether it captures

something important in relation to the overall research question' (Vaismoradi et al, 2013: 403). Another characteristic of data analysis in thematic analysis is a thematic map, which is used to review themes and meet the aim of identifying coherent but distinctive themes, the visual presentation of themes, codes, and their relationships, involving a detailed account and description of each theme, their criteria, examples and counter examples (Vaismoradi et al, 2013).

Thematic Analysis is very flexible and it can be conducted in various ways. It can include three main continuous processes along which qualitative research approaches can be positioned: inductive versus deductive or theory-driven data coding and analysis, an experiential versus critical orientation to data, and an essentialist versus constructionist theoretical perspective. A series of choices must be made by the researcher regarding what form of thematic analysis he/she is using and to comprehend and explain the reason for using this particular form (Braun & Clarke, 2012).

An inductive approach to data coding and analysis is a bottom-up approach and is driven by what is in the data. This means that the codes and themes derive from the content of the data themselves—so that what is mapped by the researcher during analysis closely matches the content of the data. On the contrary, a deductive approach to data coding and analysis is a top-down approach, where the researcher brings to the data a series of concepts, ideas, or topics that they use to code and interpret the data. This means that the codes and themes derive more from concepts and ideas the researcher brings to the data. Both approaches are often used in a combination (Braun & Clarke, 2012).

Following Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006), the stages of the thematic analysis which will be used to interpret the data derived from the semi-structured interviews in this study are the following: 1) developing the code manual; 2) testing the reliability of the code. An essential step in the development of a useful framework for analysis is to determine the applicability of the code to the raw information; 3) summarizing data and identifying initial themes. This process involves reading, listening to, and summarizing the raw data. We used this technique as a first step when analyzing each transcript of the focus groups; 4) applying template of codes

and additional coding; 5) connecting the codes and identifying themes; and 6) corroborating and legitimating coded themes. The final stage illustrates the process of further clustering the themes that were previously identified from the coded text. These stages will be followed in this study too.

After the end of the transcription process, transcriptions will be carefully checked against the recordings to identify any errors done during the transcription, in an effort to increase the trustworthiness of the data (Stiles, 1993). An example of the transcription of interviews in this study is presented in Appendix A.

## 4.5.2 Documentary Analysis

Documentary analysis is a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents—both printed and electronic (computer-based and Internet-transmitted) material. Similarly to other analytical methods in qualitative research, documentary analysis requires that data be examined and interpreted in order to elicit meaning, gain understanding, and develop empirical knowledge (Bowen, 2009). Moreover, it requires the reader to 'locate, interpret and draw conclusions about the evidence presented' (Fitzgerald, 2007: 279). Documentary analysis is often used in combination with other qualitative research methods as a means of triangulation—'the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon' (Denzin, 1970: 291). The qualitative researcher is expected to draw upon multiple (at least two) sources of evidence; that is, to seek convergence and verification through the utilization of various data sources and methods (Bowen, 2009). McDonald (2001:194) describes documentary analysis as an 'invaluable part of most schemes of triangulation'. Cross-checking will be conducted between documents and interview transcripts. It is expected that documents will be collected before interviews. Accordingly, data from documents will be verified, supplemented and extended by that from interviews. In this case, the 'original fact under investigation remains the same, thereby enhancing the validity' (Grix, 2010: 137). By triangulating data, the researcher attempts to provide 'a confluence of evidence that breeds credibility' (Eisner, 1991: 110). Therefore, an important advantage of the documentary analysis is to enable the

researcher to test for the validity and credibility of the interpretations. That will enable him/her to develop a strong argument on these interpretations which will be based on policy trends (Fitzgerald, 2007). According to Patton (1990), triangulation helps the researcher guard against the accusation that a study's findings are simply an artifact of a single method, a single source, or a single investigator's bias. Document analysis was a complementary data collection procedure in support of theory building.

The data collection will require the utilization of a combination of data sources. Mason (2002) indicates that there are several categories of potential data sources: a) people (individuals, groups or collectivities); b) organizations, institutions and entities; c) texts (published and unpublished sources including virtual ones); d) settings and environments (material, visual/sensory and virtual); e) objects, artefacts, media products (material, visual/sensory and virtual); and f) events and happenings (material, visual/sensory and virtual). The value of categorizing data sources aims  to encourage the researcher to think creatively about which sources the researcher might utilize, and also to become engaged with the researcher's conception of them, the expectation from them, and the reason and the way to obtain them (or not) (Mason, 2002).

The method of data gathering is not separate from the research strategy but intimately connected in several ways as Miles and Huberman (cited in Batelaan, 1993: 207) argue: 'From the beginning of data collection, the qualitative analyst is beginning to decide what things mean, noting regularities, patterns, explanations, possible configurations, causal flows and propositions'.

By examining information collected through different methods, the researcher can corroborate findings across data sets and thus reduce the impact of potential biases that can exist in a single study (Bowen, 2009). However, the use of documents can also 'elucidate the social processes through which they were formed' (Scott, 1990: 37). May (1993: 139) makes a similar point describing documents as 'mediums through which social power is expressed'. Scott (1990) indicates four issues that need to be taken into consideration in the use of documentary analysis: (i) authenticity, (ii) credibility, (iii) representativeness and (iv) meaning. Authenticity is the easiest of these issues to address. In using documents, researchers should be clear

that the document is as originally produced and the author is who it is said to be (Scott, 1990). This is unlikely to be a problem for the official and relatively recent documents that will be considered in this study. Credibility considers the sincerity of authors in writing the document and the interests they were serving in writing it (Scott, 1990).

Analysing and interpreting the meaning of the documents is by far the most complex issue to be addressed. Three approaches to the analysis of qualitative data, according to Glaser (1965) are: (1) if the analyst wants to change qualitative data into plainly quantifiable form aiming to enable the provisional testing of an hypothesis, he codes the data and then analyzes it ; (2) if the analyst wishes only to generate theoretical ideas-new concepts and their properties, hypotheses and interrelated hypotheses-the analysis cannot follow the procedure of coding first and then analyzing the data, since the theories are redesigned and reintegrated by the researcher during the review of his material  and; 3) a combination, by an analytic procedure of constant comparison, of the explicit coding procedure of the first approach and the style of theory development of the second. The purpose of the constant comparative method of joint coding and analysis is to generate theory more systematically than allowed by the second approach by using the explicit coding and analytic procedures. In this study the second route will be followed.

According to Bowen (2009), documentary analysis has several advantages which include the following: *Efficiency*: Document analysis is less time-consuming and therefore more efficient than other research methods. It requires data selection, instead of data collection; A*vailability*: Many documents are publicly exhibited and are accessible and are not dependent on the authors' permission; *Cost-effectiveness*: Document analysis is less costly than other research methods and is often the method of choice when the collection of new data is not possible; *Lack of obtrusiveness and reactivity*: Documents are 'unobtrusive' and 'non-reactive'—which means that the research process does not have an impact on them. Therefore, document analysis counters the concerns related to reflexivity (or non reflexivity) inherent in other qualitative research methods; *Reflexivity*—which requires an awareness of the researcher's contribution to the construction of meanings

attached to social interactions and awareness of the possibility of the investigator's impact on the research—is usually not an issue in using documents for research purposes; *Stability*: Documents are stable. The investigator's presence does not alter what is being studied. Documents, then, are suitable for repeated reviews; *Exactness*: The inclusion of exact names, references, and details of events makes documents advantageous in the research process; and *Coverage*: Documents provide broad coverage in terms of time, events, and settings. Despite these many advantages, documentary analysis does have certain disadvantages such as: a) Insufficient detail: Documents are produced for a non-research purpose; they are created independent of the research framework. Consequently, they usually do not provide sufficient detail to answer a research question, b) low retrievability: Documentation is sometimes not retrievable, or retrievability is difficult; and c) biased selectivity: An incomplete collection of documents suggests 'biased selectivity' (Yin, 1994:. 80).

The selected documents will be official documents produced since 2010 by a ministry, a municipality, a national sports organisation or a sport club, that are linked to the policy areas related to this study. The document could vary from an official strategy document to a press release or an internet article by a newspaper which explains the role and activities of a specific department which is related to this study, such as the sport and leisure department or the employment and social services department. The topics of the articles will be related to local government sports policy, sports organizations strategic plan on integration, Danish social policies and immigrants in Denmark. The documents will be combined by data received by the interviews that will either verify the data or fill in some gaps that might appear from the interviews. Moreover, the documents will be divided into themes linked to social integration such as the role and the strategies of the municipality, the legislative policy framework designed by national government, the type of sport(s) used as an integrative tool, and finally documents that reveal the bilateral relations between : a) the national government and the national sporting organizations; b) the local government and the sports clubs throughout their cooperation in social integrative projects; and c) the sports clubs and immigrant organizations.

## 4.6 Translation of Documents

Language can be an obstacle to researcher success, especially if a researcher is not expert in the language of instruction. Translation is time-consuming and expensive, since it requires training and experience to become a competent translator. The cost of translation is a problem for some students who use data in a language in which they are not necessarily expert (Van Rensburg et al., 2012: 511). In order to reduce the cost of translation, lecturers and students often proceed to alternative solutions by using free web-based machine translation applications such as Google Translate (Van Rensburg et al., 2012: 511).

Google Translate, a free online machine translation (MT) supports 90 languages and has the potential to provide instrument translation (Guo, 2016). Franz Och, the computer scientist and chief architect behind Google Translate, maintains that, despite any hesitations about its quality, it is a development on previous MT tools (Van Rensburg et al., 2012: 516).

In a study on the accuracy of web-based MT systems, Aiken and Balan (2011) have examined the quality of translation products generated by Google Translate. They explored the accuracy of Google Translate through an assessment of a total of 2 550 language-pair combinations of 50 non-English text samples translated with Google Translate. Moreover, Aiken and Balan study highlighted a range of other studies that evaluated translation accuracy of various MT systems, some of which concluded that Google Translate was in fact the best (Van Rensburg et al., 2012: 517).

Tufts Educational Policy Committee conducted a pilot study evaluating Google Translate for data extraction from 88 articles published in 9 languages (French, German, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Hebrew, Chinese, Japanese and Korean). During a parallel evaluation of all extraction items, Portuguese and German articles had the best agreement between original and translated extractions, with high agreement between extractors among approximately 60 percent of the items, in comparison to 80 percent in English articles (Balk, et al., 2013a: 2). In this thesis the translation of data from Danish to English with the use of Google Translate could be characterized by a high degree of

accuracy since Danish belongs to the family of the North Germanic languages. Despite the risk of introducing errors, it is suggested that for many systematic reviews, it is worthwhile to include scientific non English language articles translate through Google Translate (Balk et al., 2013b: 5). In the cases of a non accurate translation, there is a necessity of performing sensitivity analyses regarding translated articles (Balk et al., 2013b: 5).

Google Translate has restrictions like other automatic translation tools. Since each language has its linguistic functions, Google Translate could provide better and more accurate translation outcomes in some languages than others. Besides, the translation process can be viewed from a wide range of perspectives such as stylistics, author's intention, diversity of languages, differences of corresponding cultures, problems of interpersonal communication, changes in literary fashion, distinct kinds of content (e.g. mathematical theory and lyric poetry), and the conditions in which translations are to be used, e.g. 'read in the tranquil setting of one's own living room, acted on the theatre stage, or blared from a loudspeaker to a restless mob' (Vidhayasai et al., 2015: 139). Moreover, Guo (2016) identifies three main challenges in the use of machine translation: the difficulty of translating an original survey instrument with lexical equivalency; the difficulty in translating sentences with many words and complex structure; and the lack of guarantee that it is the sentence in the translated language as readable as it is in the original language.

The two traditional translation approaches are "word vs. sense" or "literal vs. free" translation (Newmark, 1998 cited in Vidhayasai et al, 2015:140). Whereas a word-for-word translation aims to retain the meanings of original texts in the new language, its sense-for-sense version allows a translator's explanation of meanings. Therefore, these two translation theories will be utilized as an analysis framework because in order provide a better analysis of the errors done by a machine translation, such basic translation theories are necessary (Vidhayasai, et al., 2015:140). In the translation of documents from the Danish to English, both theories will be equally used.

In order to be confident with the accuracy of the translation of the essential documents used in this study, the key text quota has been checked by a native Danish speaker who is fluent in English.

**4.7 Conclusion**

The chapter has discussed a set of important issues regarding the research strategy and design together with methodological considerations regarding validity, reliability and triangulation and a code of ethics as well. First, it addressed the ontology-epistemology debate. Particularly, ontological assumptions provide the context for the epistemological assumptions made. Besides, these assumptions have a great impact on the study's methodology, the choice, design and implementation of research methods and the data analysis and the links between them. The key features of the ontological and epistemological position adopted for this study are linked to critical realism. According to this ontological position, social reality is a construction of both observable and unobservable features. 'Deep' unobservable and observable structures can have a great impact to the individual, collective and organisational action within this framework. In this chapter the assumptions made about this relationship between structure and agency were taken into serious consideration. The epistemological position concerns what there is to know about this social reality. It asserts that theory is a key concept in order to comprehend the complexities of social reality without rejecting the more interpretative view that individual's perceptions of social reality.

Furthermore, in order to gain a deep understanding of context and process, as indicated by the research objectives and the combination of ontological and epistemological assumptions, a set of qualitative methods was selected. The selected methods, semi-structured interviews and document analysis will be used in combination to achieve reliability through triangulation. Specifically, semi-structured interviews with a wide range of stakeholders, varying from coach and administrative staff of sport clubs, to senior civil servants and municipal consultants, senior executives of sport federations and members of NGOs linked to social integration projects.

Another important feature of this study, within the qualitative framework is the case study method is to be adopted. Case studies are an important tool for the study of both context and phenomena. Two municipality cases, Aarhus and Copenhagen, each of which includes the study of three embedded units (sport club cases) engaged in social integration projects and initiatives, have

been chosen to provide the context for the analysis of the design and implementation of social integration policies in sport. After exploring projects and initiatives of sport clubs in both cities, a comparison of the two city case studies will take place in the conclusion of the thesis. The use of semi-structured interviews and documentary analysis were combined in order provide a rich source of data. Regarding documentary analysis, the documents that were analysed were mainly municipal policy documents, sport federations strategy documents, sport clubs online news and press releases, media reviews (newspapers and magazines) on sport and social integration in Denmark.

# Chapter 5 Organizational and Political Structure of Sport in Denmark

## 5.1 Aim of the chapter

This chapter provides a foundation for the analysis of the role of the local government in policy design and delivery. First, the national sport strategy will be analysed in terms of political debate, policy aims and objectives at both grassroots level and elite level. Then, the division of responsibility between the national government and the municipalities regarding the provision of social services such as culture and leisure will be analysed, underlying the role of associationalism as the guiding political theory and the contribution of voluntary associations in policy implementation. The third part will be devoted to the analysis of Danish local level sport policy aims and objectives along with the role of the municipalities, their cooperation with sport clubs, sport federations and voluntary groups. Finally, the fourth part will focus on the evaluation of macro-level and middle-range theories discussed in chapter 4 and the significance of associationalism.

## 5.2 National Government Sport Strategy

In 2014 national government emphasis was on the sport economy and structure. The purpose of the assessment was to map the sport economy and structure in Denmark and to provide the foundation for decision-making regarding the future organization of sport in Denmark, in terms of the efficient use of state funds for sport. In May 2014, the Government (the Social Democrats and the Social Liberal Party), and the political parties reached an agreement, according to which they will support the two major sport confederations, DIF and DGI, whose aim is that more than 75% of the Danish population would practice sport by 2025 (Ministry of Culture, 2016a & DIF& DGI, 2014).

Moreover, in order to address other challenges in sport such as the fight against match-fixing, doping, attracting major sporting events to Denmark, the political parties decided that Sport Event Denmark should receive base funding and that Anti-Doping Denmark's base funding should increase from

2015.To reinforce elite sport, talent development under the auspices of Team Denmark was strengthened by DKK 7 million annually in 2015-2016 and by DKK 8 million annually from 2017 (Ministry of Culture, 2014).

The six sports political orientations were 1) sport for all; 2) sport as a resource for other welfare initiatives; 3) sport integrity and values/ sport's fundamental values about democracy, citizenship, the community, joy and fair play as a means to support sport and community; 4) the contribution of sport to education, well-being and personal building in and outside school; 5) creation of  arenas for sports in Denmark, including natural and urban environments ; and 6) branding, marketing and international inspiration (Ministry of Culture, 2016a).

The Ministry of Culture's 2014 strategy identified three ongoing sports policy projects which were intended to generate new knowledge and develop sport in Denmark. The first, Sport for All 2014-2016, aimed to enable municipalities to innovate and develop new offerings that could get more people to do sports. The goal was to promote widespread participation in sport in new, creative ways to activate citizens at the local level. The second project, Anti-Doping-Municipalities 2015-2017, aimed to develop, motivate and engage existing local expertise in various contexts focused on issues associated with young people, health and abuse. The aim was to combat doping and thus reduce the consequences of drug abuse for the individual and the economic consequences for society; The third project, "Sport for persons with special needs", was focused on vulnerable citizens who often lived a life that may put health to the test. In addition, sport is also a bridge between people with different social backgrounds. The project aimed to ensure that initiatives for vulnerable groups / people with special social needs could give these groups the opportunity to engage in sports or exercise (Ministry of Culture, 2016b).

The national sport policy provides the framework for policy design at the local level. According to the reform of 2007, the municipalities could undertake a wide range of tasks which were on the agenda of the national government such as integration and language courses, employment, environmental protection, schools and emergency services (Greve, 2012). Municipalities are protected by Article 82 of the Danish Constitution which confirms the right of

'Municipalities 'to manage autonomously their affairs under the supervision of the State' (Council of Europe, 1998; Greve, 2012).

Denmark ratified the European Charter on Local Self-Government in 1988 (Greve, 2012). According to the Charter (Council of Europe, 2010:9), 'it is required that the principle of local self-government be embedded in domestic law or in the Constitution in order to guarantee its effective implementation. It lays down the principles of the democratic functioning of communities, and is the first treaty to establish the principle of the transfer of competences to local communities, which must be accompanied by a transfer of financial resources. This principle, known as the principle of subsidiarity, allows for the decentralisation of power towards the level closest to the citizen' (Council of Europe, 2010). Overall, the main legislative acts that guarantee and explain the powers of the local government are the following:

a) The Local Government Act (2007) which contains the rules of how municipalities should be governed, in terms of voting procedures, mayoral tasks, funding, control and potential sanctions (Greve, 2012); b)The Act on municipalities undertaking rights on behalf of other public authorities and participation in undertakings by municipalities and regions (2006) which deals with the cooperation between municipalities and other public authorities and the expansion of the area in which municipal and private sector cooperation can take place (Greve, 2012).

According to Sørensen (2007: 89-90), 'Danish municipalities became metagovernors in the local communities, governing local institutions, associations, firms and networks through the regulation of self-regulation. Within the area of service production, the New Public Management reform program has inspired the municipalities to transform producers of public services into self-regulating institutions that compete on market terms, and metagovernance is exercised through the shaping of markets.' A central feature in this change is a centralization of the governance structure in the municipalities, combined with a decentralization of governing tasks to self-regulating actors (Sørensen, 2007).

As Blom-Hansen (1998:152) indicates, 'In Denmark, the comprehensive local government reform completely changed the fabric of intergovernmental relations. Denmark thus approximates the probably rare case of an

institutional *tabula rasa* in intergovernmental relations. In such a situation, the political game is more open and a more actor-oriented approach is necessary to explain policy choices'. While the reform of local government to some extent created a 'tabula rasa' the discussion of the interpretation and implementation of the reform took place within a well established cultural framework of associationalism.

## 5.3 Associationalism

Associationalism is a political theory, developed in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, which played an important role in the Danish political system as an extension of corporatism (Kaspersen & Ottesen, 2001). A wide range of intellectuals have affected the associationalist thought. English advocates of industrial and social corporatism, Robert Owen and George Jacob Holyoake, stressed cooperative, self-regulating economic communities and Pierre-Joseph Proudon decentralist utopian socialism. The two main English pluralists F.W. Maitland and John Neville Figgis were influenced by Otto Von Gierke theory of associations, a conception of a pluralist state that would give limited powers in respect of voluntary self-regulating associations. Moreover, two other sources of influence for associationalism were the French labour and administrative syndicalism (Hirst, 1993 & 1994; Kaspersen & Ottesen, 2001). Many associationalists and corporatists argued that representative democracy was a fundamentally inefficient system of representation which did not satisfy the actual will of individual electors nor collective social interests. Thus, they proposed a system of functional democracy based on the major social interests represented through corporatist structures (Hirst, 1994).

Hirst's theory states that democratic renewal is achieved by enhancing the role of what he terms 'voluntary and democratically self-governing associations' in both welfare and economic governance. Democratic renewal through associationalism takes two directions. The first is the reform of the welfare state (Hirst, 1994). Hirst argues for an alternative pattern for the governance of welfare, namely welfare provision by a plurality of self-governing associations. The second is that welfare provision from a plurality of democratically organized associations would provide members with both the power of voice and exit. Voice would be enabled through the democratic

structures of associations while the power of exit through the right to support a different associational contributor (Smith & Teasdale, 2012). In Danish sport, the above reforms took place in terms of the power given to municipalities by the Reform Act of 2007 to deal with welfare policies related to sport and particularly social integration projects and to fund local sports clubs, which are self-governing and could use the public funding for the fulfilment of their own aims and objectives. On one hand, sport clubs are free to accept municipal support in terms of organizational and managerial training and on the other hand free to refuse participation in integration activities.

Associations, as a major section of civil society, can also function as a vehicle for broad political discourse and affect the public sphere in terms of facilitating public communication, advocating difference, and advocating commonality (Fung, 2003). Finally, associations can lead to institutional effects such as equalizing representation, which allows resistance, alternative governance, social coordination, and democratic legitimacy due to their interaction with official state structures of legislation and administration (Fung, 2003).

Two features of associationalist democracy are the decentralised economy based on non-capitalist principles of cooperation and mutuality and the criticism of the centralized state with radical federalist and political pluralist ideas highly developed as an alternative (Hirst, 1994). As Hirst (1994:15) indicates 'the associationalists believed in voluntarism and self government, not collectivism and state compulsion'. The main principles of associationalist welfare system were the following: a) provision by voluntary self-regulating organisations that are partnerships between the recipients and the providers; b) such organisations are funded predominantly from public sources and are subject to public inspection; c) any voluntary organisation may establish as wide or narrow a range of welfare services as its members choose; and d) any such organisation must meet conditions of registration to receive public funds, among these would be compliance with public standards, acceptance of exit rights and recipient choice, and participation in the public/associational governance of the whole system (Hirst, 1994: 176).

According to Hirst (1994: 13), 'Associative democracy can appeal to and be used a guiding political doctrine by a variety of groups with different beliefs. It

is not tied to any given part of the old left-right political spectrum. The concept of the governance of social affairs through voluntary associations can enable groups to build their own social worlds in civil society'. Compared with pre-modern and with older versions of institutional pluralism, Hirst clearly states that associative democracy should not 'replace' representative democracy, but has to be conceived as an 'extensive supplement' (1994: 19) within the confines of the 'liberal constitutional state with limited functions' (1994: 33). Finally, compared with many post-modernist paeans of cultural diversity, Hirst clearly points out the moral limitations of allowable diversity of cultural practices in terms of a 'set of legal limits on the pluralism of values and practices' (1994: 57).

In Denmark, the overall development of the voluntary sector is shaped by three fundamental factors: the adoption of a democratic constitution; the emergence of the popular movements; and the formation of the welfare state. In brief, the democratic constitution lay the foundation for the very existence of the voluntary sector, the popular movements gave life and content to the organisations, and the welfare state defined a division of labour between the public, private and voluntary sectors (Ibsen & Habermann, 2005). The modernization of the Danish society was marked by agrarian reforms, industrialisation, urbanisation and the dissolution of the absolute monarchy and introduction of the Danish Constitution (Grundloven) of 1849. Citizens' ability to form associations without the approval of the monarch (The Danish Constitutional Act Section 78) increased their number in almost every sector of public sphere. Therefore, the history of the voluntary sector in Denmark is linked to the history of the associations (Ibsen & Habermann, 2005).

The period between 1930 and 1980 can be characterised by the wide cooperation between the State and the voluntary sector, social rights and universalism. Thus, there were increasing numbers of organisations, significant membership growth and increased cooperation with the public sector (Ibsen & Habermann, 2005). The period since the 1980s was linked to neo-liberalism and civil society, with the change of government and shift towards neo-liberalism posing serious questions regarding the financial sustainability of the welfare state and its capacity to solve a range of problems. The result was the rediscovery of the voluntary sector which was

regarded as a legitimate partner for the public sector in a wider field (GHK, 2010).

Local authorities have an interest in the bilateral collaboration with associations for two basic reasons: a) the associations have active resources, especially in the form of knowledge; and b) the associations could represent groups that are affected by the associations' activities (Torpe, 2003). Moreover, they support the voluntary sector according to the prescriptions laid down in the Social Service Act (1998) and the Popular Education Act (2000). In the case of social services, local authorities were required to collaborate with voluntary social organisations and associations by setting aside an annual amount of funding to support voluntary social work. Each local authority was also required to define the framework for its collaboration with the local voluntary sector (Social Service Act 1998, Paragraph 18), which enables local authorities to be quite precise about their priorities and the obligations they impose on voluntary organisations and their work (GHK, 2010).

Associationalism is strong at the local level, with two associations, Local Government Denmark (LGD) which organises the Municipalities and Danish Regions (DR) which organizes the regions playing influential roles in the political-administrative process and particularly in the identification of the problems, the identification of policy options, the decision making stage and policy implementation. According to Mouritzen (2011), the role of the local government associations such as LGD, DR, the Danish Federation of Trade Unions and the Danish Employers Confederation in the political-administrative making decision process is completely in accordance with Danish corporative tradition (Mouritzen, 2011). LGD has been a key actor in all networks involving the Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Interior and Health along with departmental ministries with policy agendas giving local governments the responsibility for service delivery and functions as an intermediate between local and central government in conception, negotiation and implementation of policies (Christensen, 2009).

The voluntary sports system consists of a network of non-profit organizations, comprising clubs, regional organisations, national sports federations and national umbrella organisations with the following common

characteristics: voluntary membership; democratic decision-making structure; formal independence of public authorities; and voluntary and unpaid work. At the national level one of the main umbrella organisations is the National Olympic Committee and Sports Confederation of Denmark (DIF), an umbrella organization for 61 national sports federations, encompassing approximately 9000 clubs. DIF is responsible for both grassroots and elite sport and for interests across different sport federations. The Danish Gymnastic and Sports Associations (DGI), is a second major national sport organisation with 15 regional associations and has approximately 6000 clubs which focus on Sport for All. The third major organisation is the Danish Federation of Company Sport (DFIF) which has 80 local company sports associations and has played a leading role in merging the personal and professional spheres by engaging in sports activities in the working environment in approximately 8000 informal groups or clubs (Ibsen, 2017). All three organisations coordinate sport in Denmark and act as representatives and advisors to the clubs and federations in issues with the state and the public with the purpose of organizing tournaments, competitions and festivals; organizing training courses for members; and providing support and advice to the sports clubs. Moreover, the evening schools make their own contribution to the voluntary sector as the non-profit organisations with leisure and cultural programs offering physical exercise training in exchange of financial support from the municipalities (Ibsen,2017).

The Leisure Time Act of 1968 gave the opportunity to voluntary associations to have an active role in the implementation of the Act although for many associations the Act was too bureaucratic. Consequently, most municipalities developed their own set of rules within the framework of the Act and financial support was given by public authorities to voluntary associations based on the Danish Constitution. The principle of aid for self-help was sustained, but the government and parliament thought it was important to enable the voluntary associations within the leisure area to improve the services for their members, who had to pay back to the clubs or association in the form of voluntary work, participation in the democratic procedures and a membership fee (Kaspersen & Ottesen, 2001). Moreover, the successor to the Act, the Folkeoplysning Act of 1991, continued the prominent role of local government in terms of policy

and financing. Public financial support and the freedom to provide funding were given to the municipalities in order to fund adult education and other sports, political and religious organisations with programs linked to popular enlightenment. In this case, only voluntary associations could be recipients of public support.

In Scandinavia, interest groups have played a particularly central role in connecting citizens with the state apparatus. Major interest groups such as trade unions and employer organizations collaborated closely with politicians and public bureaucrats in shaping the contours of the Scandinavian welfare states (Binderkrantz et al., 2016).The voluntary sector advocated freedom, social community and the struggle for human rights and functioned as an arena for the exercise of democratic principles (Ibsen & Habermann, 2005). Yet over the recent decades, there is evidence of large-scale changes in the composition of civil society as well as in the role of interest groups in the political system (Binderkrantz et al., 2016). In fact, according to Sørensen and Torfing (2005: 196), 'In the wake of the many reports on government failure and market failure, public authorities now aim to govern society by involving different kinds of citizens, professionals, voluntary organizations, labour market organizations and private firms in self-regulating networks'.

In Denmark there is an increasing focus on mixed economy welfare with the involvement of both private and non-profit actors in welfare provision. Non-profit providers have always played an important role in the Danish welfare state involved in areas such as leisure and culture, childcare, schools, elderly care and services for socially deprived groups (Thøgersen, 2015). The country's associationalist character is particularly evident in sport with the existence of national not-for profit sporting organizations at both grassroots sport and elite level, and the existence of local sport clubs often representing the interests of socially vulnerable groups such as immigrant communities whose cultural values and social identity traits have an influential role in the processes of lobbying and bargaining with the local government and later on during policy making and implementation. The associationalist identity of Danish sports allows religious, ethnic and national pluralism in sports associations and clubs. Thus, sport becomes a potential arena for social

integration and for the establishment of multilateral relations between national and local government, local government and sports clubs.

## 5.4 Sport and the Local government

With regard to the policy implementation, three main ways of implementing policy can be underscored: (1) hierarchy; (2) market; and (3) networks (Willem & Scheerder, 2017). In local government sport policy, the latter is especially significant and as Gkanatsios and Gargalianos (2008: 269) mention 'local authorities have an anthropocentric character since their services are produced by people to people through a network of relationships with key groups working with the municipal sporting organizations, i.e. residents, school and community sports clubs'. The network may fulfil a variety of functions including to promote events, to fulfil the statutory obligations of the municipality, to involve more actors in local sport and to address problems of common interest between domestic local authority organizations (Gkanatsios & Gargalianos, 2008). This is the situation in the Danish local sports policy which will be analysed in the three case studies in the next chapters with emphasis on social integration policies. The present section will focus on funding, political networking and aims and objectives of Danish sports policy at the local level and thus provide a context for the case studies.

In Denmark, the 98 municipalities play a major role in local sports, which is regulated by the Act on the Allocation of Financial Support to Non-formal Adult Education and Youth Activities (1968), which obliges them to support leisure, culture and sport associations (Ibsen, 2017). While the state and municipalities are responsible for providing a proper framework for sport, the sports clubs and non-governmental associations are responsible for organizing and developing sports activities. Overall, the framework of the Danish sports policy is influenced by five major aims: 1) to strengthen the sports movement in all its diversity; 2) to strengthen the opportunities for the population (especially children and young people); 3) to support sports culture in associations; 4) to create strong elite sport in Denmark; and 5) to combat doping both at elite and recreational level (Ibsen, 2017).

In comparison with other countries political management and public management in Denmark is very decentralized and it characterizes also sports policy. One can, in this context, make a distinction between two forms of decentralization. The first form is decentralization from State to municipality. Around 80% of the total public funding of sport is directly and indirectly (e.g. via the free use of municipal sports facilities) provided in the form of support from the municipalities to the local sports associations. To a large extent it is up to the municipalities to decide how much they want to support sports associations and other leisure-and cultural associations (except the obligation to create municipal facilities, such as swimming pools and football grounds accessible free of charge) and the form in which they want to provide support. The second form of decentralization is the transfer of control from the municipal government to the associations or institutions (e.g. sports halls). According to the Education Act management is mainly transferred to a commission on non-formal Education consisting of members of the municipal council as representatives of evening classes, sports associations, children and youth service, etc. (Since 2004 the Commission has not been mandatory, but almost all municipalities decided to continue with the Commission). The municipal council may decide the overall economic framework and guiding principles for aid. Furthermore, many municipalities have chosen to delegate management of municipal sports facilities to user councils which comprise of representatives of the associations and institutions (Ibsen & Eichberg, 2006). Finally, there is a lot of funding for grassroots sport obtained from local governments either directly or through funded projects. This local funding seems to be less tied to strict rules, plans and objectives. Nevertheless, it needs to be underlined that local sport priorities or project goals can also have a significant influence on sports federations' missions (Willem & Scheerder, 2017:305). In a market-based system, such as exists in Denmark, there is competition for funding between sport federations by showing that they are best executive instruments of sport policy (Willem & Scheerder, 2017).

The municipalities are responsible for most of the major welfare services such as daycare, schools, social assistance and a number of leisure and cultural activities. In addition, the municipalities not only have responsibility for

overseeing/implementing policies that Parliament has decided, but in many areas have great self-determination within the statutory framework (Ibsen & Jørgensen, 2009). Sports – including other leisure activities - is one of the areas where decentralization and community decision-making is particularly pronounced. Around 80 per cent of total public spending on sport is direct and indirect municipal support to local sports associations and activities to a much lesser extent the cost of facilities that are not association organized (Ibsen & Jørgensen, 2009 ; Ibsen, 2017).

Under the Education Act, municipalities are required to develop a local scheme for how the municipal strategy will support adult education associations which include sports associations. This system should include principles for the municipal support of activities for children and adolescents under 25 years. The municipality is required to provide accommodation and facilities for adult education activities for children and young people, and the municipality may only charge a small fee for use of the facilities. Finally, the municipality is obliged to reimburse at least two third of the associations' costs of private and self-owned premises and facilities used for children's activities and young people. But it is the municipality that has to determine the degree of and nature of public support, whereas the national government has no interference on the development of sports facilities at the municipal level as there are no legal obligations (Ibsen, 2017).

The creation of a sports club is subject to a series of criteria. As Ibsen (2006b: 30) indicates 'To be 'local' an Association must be defined for and be part of the defined local area (e.g., 500 or 1000 households) and have a constitution which includes objectives to contribute to the social, cultural or functional life of the area. Through history, many associations had a local anchor - linked to local institutions, with members from the local parish or residence and with a local awareness (which the name of the association expressed) (Ibsen, 2006b). According to Ibsen (2017), the local sports clubs are very dependent on municipal support and do not receive any economic support from the national government or the national sports organizations. There are requirements on how sports clubs must be organized in order to receive local authority subsidies, as defined in the 1968 Leisure Time Act (e.g. regarding individual membership, internal democracy and non-profit

objectives). At the local level, the largest proportion of the income of sport is self-generated and it is derived from membership fees which make up, on average, some 60% of total revenues. Other sources of income include events and activities, which make up 10% of the income; sponsorships which make up 10% of the total revenues; and from public funding, which comprises only 13% of the total revenues (Laub, 2013).

As a result of the relative autonomy of the municipal level, there are significant differences between municipalities in sports policy, the sports facilities they have available and how much money is spent on sports (Ibsen & Jørgensen, 2009).

Danish municipalities' framework of action is limited by law, the General Education Act (1991), which obliges municipalities to: a) 'provide the framework for children, young people and adults to establish and take part in the free education activities'; b) support and authorize (licence) premises only to 'a registered educative association'; c) to provide 'support to actions for children and young people under 25; d) 'provide public premises for activities in sport and ideally and socially committed club work' ; and e) to "subsidise by at least 65 per cent. the operating costs for premises owned or rented by associations forum, children and young people under 25 "(under certain conditions) (Ibsen & Jørgensen, 2009). According to the Consolidation Act (Act on Non-formal Education and Democratic Voluntary Activity) (2011), a democratic voluntary association shall 'have a formulated object of an association, which shall appear in its articles, have a democratic organization, have a board of directors, be inhabitant in the grant-providing municipality and offer a non-profit and continuous activity (Ch.2, Sec. 4). The municipal council will 'ensure a framework that makes it possible for children, adolescents and adults to establish and take part in non-formal education and democratic voluntary activities' by providing premises and grants (Ch.1, Sec. 2) (Consolidation Act, 2011).

The enabling legislation and traditions in the field restrict the scope for municipal influence. First, the low reliance on municipal economic support as the predominant form of support for sport leaves each association with considerable autonomy to decide how aid should be used. Second, there is virtually no restrictions on how sport associations use money. For example,

the association does not have to demonstrate that all the financial aid has gone to the activities for which the grant was applied. The association must simply prove the activities have been carried out as requested. Finally, most municipalities have chosen to entrust the management of the General Education Act to the General Education Committee, composed of both members of the municipal council and representatives of evening classes, sports associations, children and youth corps, etc.. The overall economic framework and guiding principles for aid and the specific decisions on who is to be supported are determined by the General Education Committee. In the decade to 2007 many municipalities also handed over the running of municipal sports facilities to user councils with representatives of associations and institutions (Ibsen & Jørgensen, 2009).

The first characteristic feature of the municipal sports policy is its informal, almost apolitical character (elaborated later). Until a few years ago there was very little discussion of sports policy in municipalities. The closest thing to a formulated policy was the municipal system for the support for association activities for children and youth (Ibsen 2009). After the municipal reform, many municipalities formalized their sports policy in the form of a set of principles and goals often adopted after a lengthy process in which many parties have been heard. The formation of the new, larger municipalities resulted in the relatively informal procedures that were typically found in the old, small municipalities, being replaced by more bureaucratic rules and procedures. But despite this formalization and increased bureaucratization the policy is still characterized by communitarian self-management ideals, rooted in popular education tradition (Ibsen, 2009).

The second central feature of sports policy in municipalities is the view that the municipality must create the framework which allow sports associations to operate without direct intervention from the municipality. Sporting activity is fundamentally based on volunteerism and volunteer leaders. In some municipalities, the association-oriented policy is designed to promote self-organized sports (Ibsen, 2009).

According to a survey conducted by Ibsen (2006c), one third of municipalities made a special effort to target physically inactive children, a quarter of municipalities had a cooperation agreement between sports clubs

and after school activities or schools; and nearly one fifth of municipalities had special activities for physically inactive adults. As an example of such a broad sports policy is Gentofte Municipality, which has adopted a 'Sports and movement policy', according to the municipality itself which caters for all ages, includes all sporting levels and seek to involve new audiences in sport. Greve Municipality's sports plan stipulates among other things that the policy "must lay the foundations for all citizens to engage in sports both in organized and unorganized contexts".This municipal-led initiative does not threaten the position of sports associations as it is often the case that municipalities implement their more targeted projects in collaboration with the local sports associations. Many municipalities have focused on partnerships between associations and municipal institutions that challenge the division of labour between the municipality and associations, the voluntary principle and the associations' autonomy. Finally, some municipalities support associations by providing management advice and development. In Fredericia for instance, they have created a 'Sport Management Academy' for this purpose. The third dominant feature of the current sports policy is that politics is first and foremost about sport venues, as 90% of municipal expenditure is spent on sports facilities (Ibsen & Eichberg, 2006). Discussions on a new local sport policy in Skive and Horsens focused almost exclusively on facilities and the concern to achieve a system that provides all sports facilities free of charge to sports associations. The development of new sports facilities is frequently the cause of major political battles, as was the case in Greve and Odense municipalities. But it is also in this field that the sports political path has met a crossroads and Odense Municipality and the Municipality of Gentofte are examples of how municipalities are seeking new paths in this area. Municipalities are more willing than previously to allow users other than associations and municipal institutions to access facilities. Furthermore, many municipalities, inspired by the Sports Facilities Foundation have developed and supported new types of facilities in recent years such as those that can cater for self-organized sports and arenas for major sporting and cultural events (Ibsen,2009).

The fourth feature of sports policy is that municipal support for sport has always been vindicated by a strong belief in the positive secondary effects of

sport. Sport is still regarded as a good means of promoting health, crime prevention, promoting the brand of the municipality and more. One consequence of these expected positive welfare effects of practicing sport is the high priority given to grassroots sport and obligation that the municipalities accept to provide support (Ibsen, 2009).

The fifth feature of municipal sports policy is the significant involvement of sports clubs in the management of sports policy. Management is partly through the General Education Committee, which in most municipalities determines the level of municipal support and is responsible for the distribution of activity grants, and partly through the influence of the local sport confederation (typically referred to as Idrætssamvirket) which, in some cases even perform administrative tasks for the municipality (Ibsen,2009). In the municipalities surveyed by Ibsen (2006c) there were substantial differences in how strong associations are integrated in the municipal management. In Skive municipality sports interaction has a very strong position since everything must go through the local sport confederation. The local sport confederation makes a priority of what the associations want in terms of construction and renovation of sports facilities and gives a proposal for a new aid which is almost followed 100%. Moreover, it takes part in all significant meetings on sport in the municipality (Ibsen, 2009).

Since the Sport for All Committee in 1987 made a number of proposals to improve the conditions for sports and identified disadvantaged groups of the population, there have been many initiatives to promote sport for the elderly, the disabled, the mentally ill, socially vulnerable refugees and immigrants. The majority of municipalities, however, had no specific activities for lower income groups or aid of such groups (Ibsen, 2006c). According to Gkanatsios and Gargalianos (2008), the municipal sports organizations have the responsibility to create the appropriate conditions to support target groups such as facilities in the deprived areas, promotion of participation in sports activities for vulnerable social groups such as Roma (or immigrants in the Danish case) and develop sporting programs in order to reinforce the relations between the local community and their own community, to be entertained, and improve their health conditions. According to the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), in the last years with the increase in immigration

there is an effort at the local level to promote more inclusive sports associations with a more diverse group of members, thereby preventing racism and exclusion through sports as well as working against racism in sports. Some sports associations are poorly equipped to include children with an ethnic minority background and are not always aware of the difficulties for the inclusion of the children in the association, having no knowledge of implicit rules and systems and facing a range of prejudices (FRA, 2013).

Decentralization, however, goes beyond the municipalities. The management of the Education Act was transferred by the vast majority of municipalities to adult education committees, made up of both members of the municipal council and representatives of the evening schools, sports clubs, children's and youth service. The municipal council determines the overall economic framework and the main principles of aid but the implementation thereof and the concrete decisions on who should be supported, are taken by the public education committee. Decisions about the use of financial support are generally left to the individual association (Ibsen, 2006c).

In the small and medium-sized municipalities the management of sport is located within schools and specific cultural or sports facilities, while in the larger municipalities management is located mainly in special management units for culture and leisure within the municipalities. In many municipalities responsibility for sport crosses administrative boundaries, especially with regard to children and the management of culture. In some municipalities cultural (including sport) and social responsibilities are combined into one management department (Ibsen, 2006c).

Another important issue in the local sports agenda is the collaboration of sports clubs and the municipalities. According to Ibsen et al. (2015), four out of ten clubs (41%) are collaborators with municipalities in issues such as funding agreements and facilities. In addition, a smaller number of clubs come into agreements with municipalities to organize activities for particular social groups, such as ethnic minorities, the elderly and the people who are physically inactive. In fact, municipalities give further emphasis of the development of the collaboration with sport clubs on the inclusion of socially vulnerable groups in voluntary-organised sport under the form of projects or partnerships (Ibsen et al., 2015).

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Sport federations are thus in a dependency relationship with governments. Consequently, one might expect to see an almost linear relationship between the percentages of dependency of federations on government funding and the impact of government on the federations' mission. Interestingly, such a relationship is not found, although decentralised countries such as Denmark with a more decentralised sport policy have lower percentages of dependency on funding with on average a 38% dependency on government funding (Willem & Scheerder, 2017).

## 5.5 Conclusion

The municipal reform of 2007 with the transfer of powers from the national government to the local government in terms of management and funding of social and cultural aspects such as sport played a significant role in the local sport policy in Denmark. The main outcome was a strong bilateral collaboration between municipalities and the local sport clubs, promoting voluntarism and the associations' autonomy and supporting associations by providing resources and advice on management issues as a result of the associationalist character of Danish sports and the upgraded role of local and national policy communities. Moreover, the autonomy of sport clubs whose activity is based on voluntarism, led to the design of self-organized sports at the local level.

. The strong relation of the local sport clubs with the municipalities, does not mean that the national sport federations, which are depended on the national government, have a loose relation with the sport clubs. National sport federations provide training and courses and participates in the organization of grassroots sporting events for children and adults. In fact, the National Olympic Committee (DIF) supports the local sports clubs in integration projects such as Get2Sport, which will be analysed in the case studies of the two Danish municipalities.

The close cooperation between public authorities and civil society, and the presence of strong constitutionally-ensured local political institutions has led to the formation of a plurality of national and local governance networks that function as a supplement to the national and local institutions of

representative democracy (Skelcher et al., 2011). A set of social ties binds the state to society and provides institutionalized paths for the regular bargaining over goals and policies (Evans, 1995). At that point, it is significant to mention the role of schools in sport at the local level. Whereas in small and medium-sized municipalities sport management is a task of schools and specific cultural or sports facilities, in the larger municipalities management is in the hands of specialized culture and leisure sections of the municipalities reflecting the importance of the size of the municipality regarding who is going to be the head of the local sport management. Simultaneously it reflects the participation of non state actors in policy making at the local level.

The recent growth in the number and importance of governance networks has to an increasing extent transformed the institutions of representative democracy through a gradual reinterpretation of the role of public authorities from that of being sovereign decision makers into being metagovernors that govern at a distance and leave considerable autonomy to self-regulating governance networks and institutions (Skelcher et al., 2011). Denmark is an example of this political phenomenon with local government becoming a metagovernor that gives autonomy to sport clubs to decide how to spend public funding and whether they want to get involved in municipal integration projects or projects run by the DIF.

After taking into consideration the importance of associationalism in Danish politics with the active role of interest groups and the strong influence of the non-profit sector in policy design and implementation of sport policy at the local level, it is therefore useful for this study to incorporate associationalism in the theoretical discussion.

# CHAPTER 6 Aarhus

## 6.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to analyze the development of sport policy as part of the migrant integration policy in Aarhus. The analysis will cover the funding/distribution of resources, the bilateral relations between a) the local government and the sports clubs and b) the sports clubs and non-sport voluntary associations. The first part analyses the socio-economic conditions of Aarhus municipality, the organizational structure and the allocation of functions within the local administration and the role of sport in citizens' daily life. The second part explores the policy aims and objectives of the sport and leisure department and identifies its main partners in policy-making and programme delivery. The third part examines broader municipal integration projects particularly those that involve immigrants.

### 6.1.1 Socio-Economic identity

Aarhus is the second largest city in Denmark with a population of more than 335.000 situated in Jutland. The location of Aarhus meant that trade would inevitably develop with Germany, the countries around the Baltic Sea, and of course within Denmark itself. Although the growth and expansion of Aarhus was delayed in comparison to other European cities, the city developed during the industrial revolution during which rural populations generally migrated into urban areas to look for labour. Another reason for Aarhus's growth is that with industrialisation it became more significant for tradesmen to be closer to the main trade routes. Aarhus's harbour made the city a natural target for growth due to industrialisation (Danishnet, 2016). In Aarhus, according to Statistics Denmark (2019a), during the period 2010-2018 there has been steady increase in population (310.653 in 2010/345.755 in 2018).

In Aarhus there is considerable religious diversity with, for example 75 religious groups, the largest of which are Christians and Muslims (Borup, 2013). Most Aarhus citizens are members of the Protestant state

church, Church of Denmark, which is the dominant religious institution in the country. Moreover, approximately 20% of the population are atheists, a percentage which has been slowly rising for many years (Ahlin et al., 2013).

The economy of Aarhus is concentrated on education and services, and it is significantly affected by the University of Aarhus and the large healthcare industry. In fact, the service sector dominates the economic sphere and is growing as the city's economic focus is changing from manufacturing to service delivery. In the past ten years, the city has received 15,000 new residents and created 20,000 new jobs, the majority within the education, service and innovation sectors (Aarhus Kommune Statistics, 2012). The economic development of Aarhus had a great impact on unemployment rates, contributing to the decrease of unemployment in the period 2010 to 2018 (Statistics Denmark, 2019a).

Another important demographic feature of Aarhus is immigration, which expanded significantly in the 2000s and continued to increase in the period 2010-2018. During the early 2000s there was significant immigration from Lebanon, Turkey and Somalia. In recent years, immigrants have come from a wider range of countries, but mainly from the Middle East (Aarhus Kommune, 2000 & Statistics Denmark, 2019b)

Many immigrants have established themselves in the Brabrand, Hasle and Viby districts, where the percentage of inhabitants with foreign origins has risen by 66% since 2000. In 2008, according to Jyllands Posten, two thirds of the population in Brabrand and Gellerup had a non-Danish ethnic background (Jyllands Posten, 2008). In the period 2010-2018, immigrants from Lebanon, Somalia, Turkey and Iraq were Aarhus's dominant groups (Statistics Denmark 2019b).

In Aarhus the largest concentration of immigrants and their descendants is in Gellerupparken which is a large housing estate in Gellerup, a western suburb of Aarhus. The largest ethnic groups (among 80 nationalities) are Lebanese (32,9%), Somali (13,5%), Turkish (7,1%) and Kuwaiti (6,6%). The Danes are 14% (Madsen, 2018). Table 6.1 shows the statistics on immigrants and their descendants in Gellerup.

**Table 6.1 Immigrants and their descendants in Gellerup, 2018**

| Groups | Number | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| People with Danish Origin | 10,407 | 55% |
| Immigrants of Non Western Origin | 3,694 | 20% |
| Descendants of Non Western Origin | 3,097 | 16% |
| Immigrants of Western Origin | 1,446 | 8% |
| Unknown | 91 | 0% |
| Descendants of Western Origin | 65 | 0% |
| Total | 18,800 | 100% |

**Source: Aarhus Kommune Statistics, 2018**

Gellerupparken has been characterised by the media and the politicians as a ghetto, because of its high percentage of Muslim population. The city has introduced a number of projects designed to reduce unemployment. For example, the municipality created Bazaar, a special shopping hall, where the residents of the area can open their own shops, restaurants, grills and grocery stores (OSI, 2007).

Mayor Bundsgaard indicated the importance of integration of immigrants in Aarhus stating that 'I perceive Aarhus as an open and tolerant city; we have a great diversity of people living here that in my opinion is a great strength and something that we need to make sure stays that way'. He also indicated that Danish businesses have to be open to foreign influences in order compete in the global market, and this requirement can be fulfilled by encouraging local business to hire international students with specific expertise (Richardson, 2013). However, Bundsgaard appears hesitant and occasionally confused when pushed to disclose how, beyond exhortation and isolated projects, the city has developed a strategy to achieve greater integration and to tackle discrimination.

The existence of a wide range of religious groups and the increase of immigration flows are two important reasons for the design and delivery of social integration policies at the municipal level. Aarhus is a city with a highly diversified population in terms of religion and ethnic background and the local government has made a commitment to guarantee their equal rights in health and employment.

## 6.1.2 Sports Life in Aarhus

Aarhus is a municipality which offers many opportunities for sport and leisure due to its demographic and urban characteristics which combine city and village. Among the key demographic characteristics are: relatively stable population growth; increasing population density; high proportion of young people and students; and expansion of the city through the growth of suburbs and the incorporation of villages outside the city limits. Despite the growth, Aarhus retains some traits that can better be characterized as village features, with forests and open lands and more detached communities. Access from Aarhus to the forest and nature and the new waterfront among other things, create many opportunities for sport (Rask, 2017).

Sports participation, organizational capacity, facility approach and the municipality's orientation towards sport create a picture of diverse and extensive sports opportunities. In addition to the municipal facilities there is a considerable amount of self-organized sport using physical city spaces as well as the rich natural environment. There is a strong volunteer culture with approximately 50,000 volunteers in Aarhus municipality associations (Pilgaard & Toft, 2010). The municipality actively supports sports organisations in and around the city, providing public organisations that aim to attract major sporting events and strengthen professional sports (Aarhus Kommune, 2017a). Since 2007, Aarhus has focused on being a 'City in Movement', which means that as a City in Movement card holder the citizens of Aarhus can take part, at a modest cost, in a wide range of activities for families and children such as AquaSpinning, BabySwimming and other projects (Businessregion Aarhus, 2012). Tables 6.2 indicates   the highest rates in children's participation in sport associations in Aarhus's residential areas whereas table

6.3 shows the percentages of participation in sports clubs for boys and girls of western and non-western origin in Gellerup, which is the focus of interest in this case study.

**Table 6.2 Children's participation in sport associations in Aarhus's residential areas**

| Residential Area | Percentage |
|---|---|
| Trigeparken | 66% |
| Gellerup/ Toveshøj | 64% |
| Bispehaven | 61% |
| Frydelund | 58% |
| Skovgårdsparken | 58% |
| Viby Syd | 56% |
| Langkaerparken | 56% |
| Vejllby Vest | 50% |

**Source: Aarhus Kommune, 2018a**

**Table 6.3. Children's participation in sport association activities in Gellerup according to gender and origin**

| Origin | Boys | Girls |
|---|---|---|
| Western | 80% | 84% |
| Non-Western | 68% | 59% |
| All | 79% | 80% |

**Source: Aarhus Kommune, 2018a**

The Municipality claims to give equal importance to professional and grassroots sport arguing that the first level will bring success and medals while the second level will promote democratic values, associationalism and function as a tool for social bonding. In addition, the existence of a strong

network of volunteers functions to an extent as an antidote to the decreased municipal budget.

## 6.1.3 Municipal Organisation

### 6.1.3.1 Mayor and Municipal Council

Aarhus is politically left of centre and the largest political party has historically been the Social Democratic Party which has also held the mayor's office for all terms in recent years with the exception of 2001 to 2005 (Aarhus Kommune, 2013b). The head of the Municipality of Aarhus is Mayor Jacob Bundsgaard of the Social Democratic Party. In the last municipal elections (November 2017) the Social Democrats, secured 37.8% of the vote, followed by Venstre (liberal party) (15.3%) and Socialist People's Party (9.2%) (KMD, 2017a).

The Municipal Council is the superior authority of Aarhus Municipality. The city council is composed of 31 members (Aarhus Kommune, 2017b) and the seats are distributed as follows: Social Democrats: 13, Venstre: 6, Enhedslisten: 3, Socialist People's Party: 2, Danish People's Party: 2, Radikale Venstre: 2, The Conservative People's Party: 1, Liberal Alliance: 1, Alternativet: 1 (Aarhus Kommune, 2017b).

The overall vision for the Municipality of Aarhus states, inter alia: 'Aarhus - a good city for all. There must be room for differences and diversity. Integration must be our strength'. The vision is based on values such as: a) Credibility; b) Respect; and c) Commitment. The vision and the general values apply to all policies in the Municipality of Aarhus, and will of course also apply to integration policy. In addition, legislation established certain basic rules / values that form the foundation of our democratic form of society. These basic rules / values that every citizen must respect are: a) equality; b) democratic decision-making; c) freedom of religion; d) freedom of expression; and e) respect for personal freedoms (Aarhus Kommune, 2007a & 2007b).

## 6.1.3.2  Funding welfare and sport in Aarhus

In October 2015 the Aarhus City Council adopted the municipal budget for 2016 to 2019. The budget for 2016 is characterized by a need for cost savings. The reason is the loss of revenue resulting from the so-called re-prioritization contribution: Municipalities shall annually reduce costs by 1% and deliver the savings to the state, which can then remortgage funds. For Aarhus, the savings required are DKK 61 million in 2016, rising to DKK 499 million in 2019 (Aarhus Kommune, 2015). One of the ways of coping with the reduction in the budget is by increasing the reliance on the large voluntary sector.

Section 18 of the Act on Social Service set out the framework for enhanced cooperation between voluntary organizations and the public about voluntary work which helps to prevent social problems and fulfil other social tasks, which include voluntary participation in activities related to both migration and sport (Aarhus Kommune, 2013a). The Municipality provides financial support for voluntary social work that can supplement its efforts to improve social conditions and employment. The Municipality of Aarhus emphasizes that the organizations and the activities that seek grants have to have a local presence and must continue or expand existing social activities and develop new ones. It is a requirement that applications for grants must be targeted at one or more Social Affairs and Employment audiences. Most successful applications for funding are focused on education, adults with mental illness, adults with disabilities, socially disadvantaged young people and adults, and people outside or on the edge of the labour market. The purpose of the voluntary effort must be to provide some sort of support, care, personal contact, advice or similar to a defined target audience (Aarhus Kommune, 2013a).

In addition to the funding provided by the municipality, several private foundations provide funds for welfare and social integration purposes. The list includes the following foundations that have involvement with the funding of sports activities: the Carlsberg Sport Fund, which will provide support up to DKK 15,000 for a range of activities, including sport, where for example a grant may be given to purchase sports kit for participants, and the Tuborg

Foundation which supports associations in the purchase of sports equipment (Aarhus Kommune, 2017c). Table 6.4 gives a picture of the distribution of municipal funding in three welfare sectors - education and culture, health, and social work and employment which reveals the gradual increase of the municipal budget in education & culture and in social work & employment, and the more rapid increase in the funding of the health sector (Statistics Denmark, 2019c).

**Table 6.4 Increasing Municipal Budgets in Three Welfare Sectors**

| Year | Education & Culture | Health | Social Work & Employment |
|------|---------------------|--------|--------------------------|
| 2018 | DKK 3,641,204 | DKK 1,715,979 | DKK 12,999,167 |
| 2017 | DKK 3,630,224 | DKK 1,584,324 | DKK 12,879,394 |
| 2016 | DKK 3,522,471 | DKK 1,526,143 | DKK 12,872,577 |
| 2015 | DKK 3,461,103 | DKK 1,452,858 | DKK 12,365,795 |
| 2014 | DKK 3,432,635 | DKK 1,465,457 | DKK 12,860,592 |
| 2013 | DKK 3,425,940 | DKK 1,356,290 | DKK 13,869,393 |
| 2012 | DKK 3,443,193 | DKK 1,329,142 | DKK 13,558,349 |
| 2011 | DKK 3,365,583 | DKK 887,125 | DKK 12,929,460 |
| 2010 | DKK 3,336,407 | DKK 863,860 | DKK 12,544,165 |

**Source: Statistics Denmark, 2019c**

Partly as a response to the pressure on the overall municipal budget, the municipality of Aarhus uses the strong voluntary network and the funding from the private sector as a double compensation for the lack of sufficient economic resources. Emphasis is given to the support of socially vulnerable groups which shows the intention of the local government to support the equal participation of these groups in Aarhus's societal life. The use of subsidies to support voluntary work reveals the strong reliance of the municipality on the non-profit sector, and to a lesser extent on the corporate philanthropic sector, and also the concern of the municipality with the promotion of associationalism to support policy delivery.

**6.1.3.3 Sports within the Aarhus Administration**

The Sports and Leisure division is a subsection of the Libraries and Citizen Service whose head is Rabih Azad-Ahmad of the Radikale Venstre (Social-Liberal) Party. The division's responsibilities include: a) Citizens' Services and Libraries; b) Sports & Leisure; c) Cultural management; d) Aarhus Events; and e) The Concert Hall and Aarhus Symphony Orchestra. The Sports & Leisure division subsidizes and provides facilities for sports clubs, scout associations and community associations (Aarhus Kommune, 2016a).

The common theme of the 2013-2016 policy document is the opportunities for new relations and cooperation in the field of sport and recreation and a focus on building mutual potential for improving cooperation between the clubs and the City. According to the 2013-2016 strategy, the goal is that 'all groups of citizens can find offers of high quality in the sports and leisure area to suit needs, interests and opportunities' (Aarhus Kommune, 2014a: 2).

Sports provision in Aarhus involves a wide range of actors, and covers a wide range of activities, facilities, projects and events. Active participation in the community is at the core of Aarhus' sports policy as it is considered that participation generates a wide range of positive effects, such as the development of democratic values and skills, and improved health (Aarhus Kommune, 2014b).

The Policy for Sports & Recreation is built around seven objectives:

1. Active children's and youth life. It is considered important that the city's children and young people are active and able to contribute to the community.

2. Development of associations, voluntary and public awareness. Aarhus municipality supports a diverse leisure and voluntary sector, which relies on the active involvement of all citizens.

3. Co-creation, Partnerships and Active Citizenship. The aim is to establish partnerships in local areas between public organizations and private companies.

4. Good facilities for a variety of purposes including for the general adult education activities and for self-organized associations and leisure.

5. Holistic leisure and integration efforts in socially vulnerable neighbourhoods. The aim is to strengthen leisure and associative life in those

neighbourhoods based on close, interdisciplinary collaboration centrally and locally in Aarhus Municipality.

6. Talent development through the establishment of a proper talent development environment and educational framework.

7. Large sporting events should provide experiences and reinforce community identity (Aarhus Kommune, 2014a & Aarhus Kommune, 2017d)

   In the case of social integration of immigrants, the first, second and fourth goals of the Aarhus sport policy are the most relevant. Sport policy in Aarhus emphasises associationalism and active participation in the voluntary network is intended to stimulate involvement of civil society in the sports affairs of the city and, most importantly, fulfil the social integrative potential of sport. Partnerships are considered to be very significant for policy delivery in a period of economic crisis and with the requirement for municipal budget savings. Finally, the holistic leisure approach in disadvantaged neighbourhoods indicates the intention of the municipal government to use sport as an integrative tool and as means to confront social inequality. The municipality of Aarhus has to take into consideration that people with other ethnic backgrounds, especially those with different religious beliefs, have their own conception of community life and their participation in local affairs and activities might not be as active as expected or desired. What remains to be explored is the extent to which policy designed by the local government has been adapted to attract people with different ethnic and religious backgrounds and whether the Aarhus Integration Policy has been significantly flexible to take account of wide cultural variations.

## 6.1.3.4 Aarhus' Integration Policy

The focus of Aarhus's integration policy involves a range of sectors such as education, employment, leisure, culture and is addressed to both younger and older generations (Aarhus Kommune, 2012; Interview with Henriette Gaardbo & Heidi Oehlers). The objectives of the integration policies are "To strengthen the cohesion of the Aarhus community and for all - regardless of ethnic or cultural backgrounds – to participate as active citizens with respect for fundamental democratic values. Ethnic minorities must have exactly the same

opportunities, rights and obligations as other citizens" (Aarhus Kommune, 2007a). According to the Municipality of Aarhus, anti-discrimination efforts can be the key for successful citizenship: 'There is a close relationship between anti-discrimination and citizenship efforts. Anti-discrimination efforts focus among other things on rights, diversity, community and identity, innovation, service development, etc' (Aarhus Kommune, 2012).

The municipal integration strategy relies on the triangle of education-employment-leisure culture. The assumption is that an immigrant with good education could easily find a place in the labour market, become a member of an association at the local level and find leisure opportunities within it. The focus on the strengthening of community spirit through the participation of a wide range of ethnic and cultural groups and the active contribution of the voluntary sector is considered to be crucial for the reinforcing of the Danish associative democratic framework and multi-level participation in policy delivery. Regarding the issue of anti-discrimination, while the Municipal government emphasises the protection of religious rights it is concerned to ensure that services delivered to immigrants help realise the idea of a unified society and reject the idea of the co-existence of two parallel and conflicting societies. Sport is considered to be a relevant tool for a peaceful and creative conjunction of the immigrants and the local population.

A unanimous city council adopted the revised Aarhus Municipality's Integration Policy on 13th June 2007. Citizenship is the focal point for integration policy. As stated by the Kommune, the overall objective is to strengthen cohesion in Aarhus, so everyone can be included as active citizens with the same opportunities, rights and duties (Aarhus Kommune, 2012; Aarhus Kommune, 2007a).

The integration policy consists of some transverse key elements and priorities with related objectives. The transverse elements are mainstreaming, service differentiation and citizen involvement. Mainstreaming means that the integration policy should be incorporated everywhere in daily work. Moreover, the municipal service is addressed to individuals with different needs and requirements, and therefore it may be necessary to differentiate the service that the municipality offers (Integrationsviden, 2013; Interview with Henriette Gaardbo & Heidi Oehlers, 2016). Finally, the public participation in decision-

making could provide assistance to the local government since, according to Integrationsviden (2013), 'the advantage of public participation is that it provides greater support for municipal action and that it creates an anchor in the population.' Integration policy priorities are: 1) citizenship and anti-discrimination; 2) education; 3) employment; and 4) settlement. The rationale for selecting these domains as priority areas of action is that integration is considered to be crucially dependent on the knowledge of the Danish language by the refugees and immigrants (Committee of the Regions, 1999).

The municipality of Aarhus attempts to create a healthy and secure environment for migrant groups in order to achieve the first step for their integration. According to Aarhus Kommune (2012), 'Health is not a stand-alone action in integration policy but the intention is to create a healthy framework for citizens in the form of general efforts and special initiatives targeted at vulnerable groups including citizens from ethnic minorities'. (Aarhus Kommune, 2012). According to the former Mayor of Aarhus, Nicolai Vammen, the Gellerup project will be the decisive test regarding the integration of immigrants. "We do not want parallel societies, but a society where Gellerup is part of Aarhus and Aarhus is part Gellerup. Citizenship and equality must permeate everything in this town. Aarhus is a diverse city - a place with room and need for all regardless of affiliation" (Nicolai Vammen quoted in Aarhus Kommune, 2009). In fact, in 2018 Aarhus Municipality was awarded the title of the annual European Volunteering Capital by the European Volunteer Centre (CEV) for its integrative efforts. The vision as Volunteering Capital is: a) to celebrate and recognize the volunteers and increase visibility - through events and sharing of knowledge and communities; and b) to test and develop new roads to improve welfare through voluntarism, active citizenship and cooperation. The objective is to make voluntarism 'fun, easy and accessible' for everyone through a focus on four main values: a) legacy; b) diversity; c) social inclusion; and d) cooperation (Frivillighovedstad, 2018a).

Moreover, in September 2018 the Culture and Citizens' Service Administration of Aarhus Municipality organised a Culture Bazaar, which is a welcoming event for refugees and new citizens. In the Culture Bazaar a number of associations, communities and volunteers, new citizens and

Aarhusians participated. In addition, a number of cultural institutions were present to draw attention to their offerings to the target groups such as international citizens, including refugees, who wish to become part of the Danish society and Aarhusians, who would like to get acquainted with migrants and their culture (Frivillighovedstad, 2018b). This initiative mirrors the strong belief of Aarhus municipality in associationalism and the contribution of the volunteering movement as a means to promote integration and intercultural dialogue between the local and the migrant associations.

Regarding sport as a tool of social integration, the Sport and Leisure division of the Municipality collaborates with volunteers at schools that are responsible for the integration of immigrant pupils and informs the division about the preference of the children for specific sports. Then the consultants of the Sport and Leisure department send volunteers from the 'Forenings Mentor' Project (analysed below) to visit the families with the aim of getting the child to join the relevant sports club. The volunteers also inform the family about membership in a club and other organisational aspects that will enable the participation of the child. Funding is provided for leisure activities under the Popular Enlightenment Law for children and young people up to 25 years old (Interview with Henriette Gaardbo and Heidi Oehlers, 2016).

The municipal integration policy considers the provision of a healthy and secure environment as the foundation for the development of sport and other leisure activities that could be used as integrative tools. However, the Mayor does not refer to specific values, norms or other Danish-centred activities that could become vehicles of integration. Moreover, the municipal integration policy document does not refer to sport as a core integrative tool but to the general need for a healthy population.

The Danish culture as reflected in the statements of Aarhus officials and documents appears to be one which prioritises the individual as an 'active citizen' but which also emphasises the common responsibilities and duties of citizenship. The expectation, encapsulated in the emphasis given to integration, is that migrants should adopt the norms and values of Danish citizenship. Sport, as has been frequently mentioned, is seen as an opportunity for native Danes to practice the norms of citizenship and for migrants to acquire those norms. Cultural pluralism does not appear to be

encouraged and the strong tradition of associationalism is, arguably at least, a mechanism for maintaining cultural uniformity.The repeated statements of values in municipal documents and by staff clear provide the focus for the formation and maintenance of an advocacy coalition that is not intolerant of immigrants, but which has strong expectations of the acceptance of the Danish traditions of active citizenship. The values of the coalition are reinforced by the prevailing public mood of support for traditional Danish associationalist values.

## 6.2 Municipal Projects on Social Integration-putting policy into practice

The Municipality of Aarhus supported a range of projects focused on social integration of vulnerable social groups and especially the immigrant population mainly related to education, training and employment although only a small number are led by the Sport and Leisure Division and demonstrates the commitment of the municipality and non-governmental organisations to integration. For the organization and funding of these projects several departments contribute along with some private organizations. Among the most important municipal projects were:

a) *Leisure and cultural introduction course for refugee children* which is collaborative project between cultural schools and SMEs. It is organised by the Magistrate Chamber of Culture and Citizens' Service of Aarhus Municipality aiming to provide children with a better starting point for joining leisure activities. It takes place through short introductory courses for the activities that the children can take at the cultural schools, the community and the cultural institutions. In the first phase, the project comprises schools that have reception classes: Sødalskolen, Læssøesgade School, Bakkegårdsskolen and possibly Tranbjerg School. In the next phase, the project addresses the local areas where refugee children will take part in leisure activities at their new living environment. Cultural schools in Aarhus such as Theater House Filuren, Aarhus Picture and Media School and Aarhus Music School develop a series of activities that run over the year. Aarhus Municipality Libraries arranges library courses while the Sport & Leisure section organises modules for sports and association leisure. Finally, the

Culture Board / Children Culture House organizes visits to cultural institutions. The course was launched at schools in spring 2017 and is expected to end in autumn 2018 under the Municipality Culture and Citizen's Service Department and with a budget of DKK 1,247,600. The course is also supported by the Danish Castle and Cultural Agency, the MKB innovation funds and the Aarhus Municipality's DKK 2 million pool for children and young people (Aarhus Kommune, 2017e)

b) *Sporttrack* is a project that started on 1st August 2008 that aims to educate volunteer coaches and associations from non-Danish ethnic group backgrounds, and create more positive recreational activities in Aarhus under the support of the Ministry for Refugees, Immigrants and Integration, DGI Østjylland, The Social Affairs Secretariat, Sport Synergy Aarhus and Globus1 under the Municipality of Aarhus. Since its start Sporttrack has trained approx. 120 youngsters from age 14-30 years old to become volunteer leaders, many of whom are now ready to begin working in a sports club as part of their education. The Sporttrack project aims to give the youngsters an education that focuses on personal development, sports activities and the operation of sports associations. Among the topics included in the training are goal-setting, conflict resolution, coaching and project management (Gaardbo, 2009)

b) *Talent Programme 2016-2017*, which ran from 01-03-2016 to 28-02-2018. The financing came from the Industry Foundation and the responsible organisation was MSB - Integration & Flex Jobs.The purpose of this project was to match the 50 most talented refugees with companies through language and internships.The matching between refugees and businesses had to be based on corporate needs and designed to select the most motivated and talented among new refugees to participate in a specially designed talent program where the focus was on jobs as a catalyst to achieve self-reliance and integration in Aarhus. The programme used various tools, depending on the talents profile, for example, wage subsidy programs, job training and job rotation. The focal point in the talent process was that the selected refugees would obtain a job in a company located in the Aarhus area (Aarhus Kommune, 2016b).

c) *Action Multiculturality in Care*. *'Rehabilitation in a diverse culture - a project for the future employee'*. The project took place for the period 2015-2017 and

the purpose was to develop methods for learning / skills development that strengthen health care in cultural contexts especially those from different ethnic backgrounds (Aarhus Kommune, 2016c).

d) *Signs of language*. Its dual purpose was identifying the particular circumstances of bilingual children and the prerequisites for learning to read and write, as well as developing new methods to ensure that the bilingual students improve literacy acquisition, so that these skills in the long term puts them in a better position to complete secondary education (Aarhus Kommune, 2016d). A similar project, *Bogstart*, that started in Denmark in 2009 and continued in the revised version from 2013-2016, intended to give children language lessons through family visits to the library (Aarhus Kommune, 2016e).

f) *Association Mentoring* (Foreningsmentor) was a programme initially for the period 01.01.2014-01.04.2016 but which was continued into 2017. The lead Department was the Municipal Department for Culture and Citizens and the programme was supported by TrygFonden. The budget was DKK 658,400. This project aimed to assist vulnerable children and young people to engage in a leisure activity. The project aimed, through the volunteers in Association Mentors, to build bridges between families and children who wanted to start in a leisure activity and local clubs. Association Mentors are attached to one child for between 1/2 and 1 year depending on need. Mentor Association is a partnership between Sport & Leisure and Volunteers' Network (Frivillignet) with support from TrygFonden. The initial target group was children and young people between 6 and 14 who need extra support to join an association. By supporting children and young people to get started in a leisure activity, the project is designed to help children and young people create social relationships, friendships and personal networks through involvement in associations (Aarhus Kommune, 2016f).

The project's current target group is children and adolescents aged 5-17 years. These children and young people and their families must be able to communicate in understandable Danish or English. The project focuses primarily on children and young people from selected urban areas; Gellerup, Bispehaven, Tilst and Aarhus N. Association's Mentor relies on a broad cooperation in Aarhus, but the project is rooted in the Sports & Leisure

division in cooperation with Save the Children and the national concept of "Room for All" which in Aarhus is funded through the Foundation Aarhus 2017 (Foreningsmentor, 2015).

An important resource designed to increase participation of socially vulnerable groups such as the economically weak, including the immigrants, is the leisure pass (fritidspas). With a leisure pass, children and adolescents from poor families get their fees for association membership paid up to 1000 kr. per year. Aarhus offers a leisure pass, giving more children and young people between 3 and 17 years equal opportunity to participate actively in associations. The leisure pass can be used for many different associational sporting activities including swimming, football, drawing, singing and music, scouting and karate although the offer does not apply to commercial leisure providers. According to the criteria for obtaining a leisure pass, the recipient's total household income must not exceed DKK 192,714 per year. As a rule of thumb the leisure card scheme is primarily for single parents (Aarhus Kommune, 2017f).

According to Henriette Gaardbo, consultant at the Sport and Leisure division of Aarhus Municipality, the leisure pass along with Association's Mentor scheme are the two main initiatives for the integration of immigrants. Another important element in the municipal strategy is through sport clubs, which are supported by the Municipality in terms of organisation, training and volunteer recruitment. According to Oehlers, the aim of the Municipality is to 'make the clubs more sustainable, more strong and help them in the way they organize themselves, educate and recruit volunteers' (Interview with Henriette Gaardbo and Heidi Oehlers, 2016). However, despite the ambitious plans of the Municipality, only 1,600 out of 5,000 leisure passes were used by immigrant families. As Henriette Gaardbo stated the barriers to the integration of immigrant include an 'understanding of the meaning of leisure activities, understanding as a parent what is their role to help the child get a positive leisure activity life, get the child to places where people meet, make a network, make friends, and learn our (Danish) values in society'. According to Gaardbo, the lack of a sporting culture and most importantly the lack of adaption to the values of Danish society prevent immigrants from participating in sporting activities and especially immigrant children who have been used to

street sports in their countries of origin. Furthermore, according to Gaardbo, individualist tendencies dominate within migrant communities instead of a community spirit since the immigrant social groups have no other goal than the gathering of people with the same ethnic origin and their clubs lack of the Danish associative character (Interview with Henriette Gaardbo and Heidi Oehlers, 2016).

According to Gaardbo and Oehlers, the different code of values, along with religion and language are the main barriers for the social integration of immigrants in Aarhus and in Denmark in general (Interview with Henriette Gaarbo and Heidi Oehlers, 2016). The issue of values is also a reason for non-integration according to the head of the Elite Sports Academy, Ole Keldorf, who is directing an organisation related to elite sports and talent development (Interview with Ole Keldorf, 2016). Immigrants who cannot adopt the values of a democratic society such as those of Denmark, could not integrate. In fact he stated that 'successful integration of elite sport in society is having [promoting] good (democratic) values'. From his side, Jens Christian Algreen-Petersen, team manager of AGF football club, indicates the importance of sport as an integrative tool because the immigrant athlete will be taught values that would bring them into wider social life. But there could be practical issues in daily life that could become obstacles such as the need for a new phone number, the opening of a bank account, the settlement in housing, in the case of immigrant professional athletes (Interview with Ole Keldorf, 2016; Interview with Jens Christian Algreen-Petersen, 2016). Moreover, Keldorf argues that being a role model (successful athlete and social model) could enable the integration of an immigrant through sports and it is good step for the social integration process in general. Characteristic examples, according to Keldorf, were two naturalized athletes, Wilson Kipketer, a Kenyan-born middle-distance runner and the football player Pione Sisto, of Ugandan origin, who was raised in Denmark and is now a member of the national football team (Interview with Ole Keldorf, 2016). Keldorf views that the two important features for social integration through sports, especially at the elite level, are a good and open environment and the existence of a role model that could enhance talent development, along with the promotion of a

set of democratic values promoting cultural leadership (Interview with Ole Keldorf, 2016).

All the above-mentioned projects were designed to achieve the active participation of immigrants in Danish society through the delivery of services that would educate the newcomers, link them with the labour market and provide a healthy and secure environment for the migrant families. Though sport is a daily leisure activity for most of the Danes, only two municipal projects were related to sport which reveals that municipal integration strategy is oriented in a more educative and labour market direction. The leisure pass and the Association Mentor scheme are two significant tools for the introduction of the Danish sporting world and the associative spirit to an immigrant. In relation to associations (clubs), the Municipality supports them organisationally, economically and in volunteer recruitment, but there are no collective sports projects designed by the local government to engage the local society with immigrant groups.

## 6.3 Case studies

### 6.3.1 AGF Initiatives for the Refugees-associationalism and marketing?

AGF (AGF Aarhus or Aarhus Gymnastikforening) was founded in 1880 and it is one of the oldest sport clubs in Denmark. Initially gymnastics and fencing were the main sports but later many other were introduced. Football was included in the list of sports in 1902. The team won five Danish Superliga titles and nine Danish Cups. During its long history AGF twice succeeded to reaching the quarter-finals of European tournaments: in 1961 in the European Champion Clubs' Cup and in 1989 in UEFA Cup Winners' Cup. (AGF, 2017; Footballtop.com, 2017)

AGF Football Club has taken two initiatives that support its corporate social responsibility for diversity in Aarhus, that are designed to demonstrate that it is a club that respects people with different ethnic and religious backgrounds and supports their progress to Danish citizenship. The first is the invitation to refugees to attend AGF football matches in 2015 and 2016, and the second initiative is designed to assist immigrants in job seeking. Both initiatives took

place with the contribution of other civil society organisations, the first with NGO FO Aarhus and the Danish Association of Social Workers in collaboration with the municipal body, the Jobcenter Aarhus, and the second initiative with the contribution of FO Aarhus. All three initiatives are strongly linked with the AGF FC's corporate social responsibility strategy for the club. As Jacob Nielsen, director of AGF, indicated 'What does football do, some will ask. The answer is clear: The social commitment and the desire to make a difference outside the pitch must, on a larger and more structured scale than so far, characterize the AGF….We want to get a sharper Corporate Social Responsibility profile and with our brand we can help to open some doors and focus on projects that serve a good cause' (AGF, 2014).

Søren Højlund Carlsen indicates the close relation of the AGF Corporate Social Responsibility (CRS) strategy with the local community. He states that 'Our CSR has a lot to do with the city, the people and the community so the case of refugees and people in need is also a part of our work. It is not a question of refugees, it is a question of whether we want to help the community or not. If there are refugees that need help or there is a project of an NGO then AGF is willing to participate. We are not focused on a specific group but on the city and the community but if there are refugees or homeless people. We are working with a project helping refugees to integrate into the society and that is called 'Sports Friends' in which usually 10-20 volunteers get (accompany) a refugee to one of our (AGF) games so that the refugees can experience local sport' (Interview with Søren Højlund Carlsen, 2017). But, according to Jens Christian Algreen-Petersen, AGF team manager (until September 2017), AGF 'as a well-known company in the state of Denmark it's more or less expected that it takes part in the existing society – whether it's a matter of inviting refugees or it's something else. DBU – a part of UEFA (and FIFA) who want to kick racism out – it just makes sense to do such a thing. In Denmark all companies have a duty and are obliged to take part in other activities than just it's main focus (ours being sport) – and it's only natural for a football club to reach out to people not speaking Danish – because football is spoken by all nationalities' (Correspondence with Jens Christian Algreen-Petersen, 18/6/2017).

### 6.3.1.1 Collaboration between AGF and the Municipality

According to Søren Højlund Carlsen, communications manager of AGF, the projects are an outcome of the collaboration between AGF and the municipality and FO Aarhus which initiated the projects for socially vulnerable groups. He states that 'We are helping FO Aarhus and the local council in projects. The aim is to show the club's colours in the city, to show that we care for the community, to use what we have to help people and to generate new fans. We mainly want to help. Sometimes the initiatives come from FO Aarhus or the Municipality but sometimes we do things ourselves. If we have the money and the manpower we almost always say 'yes' to integration projects' (Interview with Søren Højlund Carlsen, 2017). The initiative is taken either by the city council or by AGF and their partner organisations.In this case, 'FO Aarhus provided the organizational support inviting the refugees and providing buses to transfer the refugees, whereas AGF provided the experience and tickets' (Interview with Søren Højlund Carlsen, 2017).

At this stage, in terms of the Multiple Streams Framework, AGF and its partner organization FO Aarhus act as policy entrepreneurs finding a solution to the problem of the social integration of refugees settled in Aarhus by inviting them to attend the games. The expectation that the club should devise a corporate social responsibility statement of the club acts as a policy window that gives the opportunity to AGF to proceed to policy implementation. In terms of the use of ACF there is a single coalition composed of AGF and FO Aarhus and there is no opposing coalition due to the fact that the activity took place within the associational framework.

Five hundred refugees were invited to attend the stadium in Aarhus and see one of AGF's football matches. The rationale for the initiative was to give refugees a place to meet with volunteers, and civic and municipal associations, get a picture of the initiatives and voluntary associations in the city and proceed to network with local organisations (Aftenskolernespris, 2016). AGF contributed to the integration process in cooperation with the FO-Aarhus region, inviting refugees to the home game against FC Nordsjælland on Sunday, 18 October 2015. According to Aftenskolernespris website, the initiative aimed to enable all refugees - both new and old – to have a positive

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experience and make a new start in the new social environment (Aftenskolernespris, 2016).The initiative was nominated for Aarhus Municipality's Integration Prize 2015 (FO Aarhus, 2015).

Frit Oplysningsforbund (FO), which was AGF's main partner, is one of the Danish information federations, launched at the national level by the four oldest political parties. FO was founded in 1952 by members of the Radikale Venstre-a socially liberal party for the purpose of disseminating popular education in general and working for the acceptance of UN ideals in particular (FO Aarhus, 2017a). According to the FO website integration is one of the key topics on its agenda with the aim to help the citizens 'to understand Danish culture and respect for other cultures and be active participants in our democracy' (FO Aarhus, 2017b). "It has always been the task of public education to take care of vulnerable groups, and the public awareness work has always been carried out by the living encounter between people across borders and cultures. Here football is in many ways an obvious framework, and so I immediately joined the idea when the AGF proposed inviting all the region's refugees to the game. It will certainly help to make a positive difference on several fronts "said Torben Dreier (Ravn, 2015). His statement reflects the deep core belief of a civic organisation in Aarhus with a left ideology in the equal participation of vulnerable groups in the Danish society and in this case people with different cultural and ethnic background. The support for sport and particularly football as a means of social integration reflects the secondary belief that football is a worldwide popular sport that can break the barriers of language, culture, and ethnicity. This vision is also incorporated in AGF's CSR rationale and thus attendance at football games by refugees gives a significant opportunity to this socially vulnerable group to get involved into Aarhus community life.

### 6.3.1.2 The Danish FA's Attitude towards Sport and Integration

The Danish Football Association (DBU) regards football as an integrative tool in Denmark. In fact, in 2015, DBU invited a number of guests representing municipalities, clubs, organizations and companies associated with football and integration to a round table discussion. A basic theme of the

discussion was how football can be used as a vehicle to create positive change in vulnerable residential areas (DBU, 2015a). In fact, the rationale of using football as an integrative tool is incorporated in DBU's new brand concept 'Part of Something Bigger', which has been continuously developed from autumn 2013 up to today and agreed by DBU's board in summer 2014 (Interview with Mikkel Minor Jensen, 2017).

According to Mikkel Minor Jensen, CSR and Public Affairs Manager at DBU, 'Part of Something Bigger' (POSB) applies to both national team and grassroots sports. Both elite and grassroots sport play an important role in integration. Inclusion can be in many levels, it about groups that never did sports before, it is about children who can't afford to play, or it is about people living in asylum camps who need to experience the benefit of football….. Football can and will be used for major societal challenges such as health, integration, social gathering and inclusion with more - both nationally and locally' (Interview with Mikkel Minor Jensen, 2017). Furthermore, in August 2018 Aarhus Municipality and DBU have signed an agreement for 5 years with the aim that more Aarhus citizens will enjoy the community and the movement through football. By forming this 'welfare alliance', Aarhus Municipality and DBU commit each other to create stronger local communities for volunteers, leaders and players in the Aarhus clubs and for the city's other citizens. In fact, according to the Mayor of Aarhus, Jacob Bundsgaard, 'Football spreads joy and creates communities with both practitioners and spectators, and in this way, the sport can help lift health, integration and inclusion. At the same time, we support the great volunteer work that is the foundation for us to be a strong football city in Aarhus' (Aarhus Lokalavisen, 2018 & DBU Kommunikation, 2018). Therefore, initiatives such as the invitation of refugees by AFG in partnership with FO Aarhus are part of a broader framework which involves both local government and DBU with the aim of bringing together Danes and people of other ethnic backgrounds. This initiative not only verifies the policy strategy of the use of football as a welfare/integrative tool but also underlines the usefullness of the ACF and MSF in this study. In terms of the ACF there is a single coaltion composed of the local government, DBU and the local sports clubs while in terms of the MSF welfare issues such as the lack of integration and the need to increase

voluntarism can be solved by the formation of a so-called welfare alliance, which will give policy makers a model for subsequent welfare sport-centred agreements.

### 6.3.1.3 FO Aarhus and the AGF initiative

The director (skoleleder) of FO Aarhus, Torben Dreier, explained the aim of his organisation regarding participation in the AGF initiative. He indicated that 'It is not our organizational goals we have to achieve, it is the integration and networking part, we have used handball in the 1990s so using sport has been going on for years. It is not to achieve our organizational goals but to achieve goals for integration, networking and being part of the community' (Interview with Karin Coles and Torben Dreier, 2017). From her side, Karin Coles, language consultant and English teacher at ES sprog (language courses center) and partner of FO Aarhus, declared that the rationale behind the participation of FO Aarhus in the initiative was purely the integration of the refugees. She stated that 'It was not the main goal of AGF to increase the migrant spectators but their integration. To show how Aarhus and Denmark stand for them and what we do here' (Interview with Karin Coles and Torben Dreier, 2017). In this case, football is used as an integrative tool, and FO Aarhus was positive towards the AGF initiative to invite all the region's refugees to the game. 'Football is a universal language, and therefore I also believe that an initiative such as this, in spite of language barriers can help link refugees more closely with Aarhus', Torben Dreier indicated (AGF, 2015).

The invitation to the Superliga match on October 18, 2015 was sent to organizations, associations and institutions in the region that had significant contact with refugees, and bus transport was organized for groups from Odder, South Denmark, Favrskov and Skanderborg. AGF was responsible for the organization of football game while FO-Aarhus's task was linked to the advertising of the free football match. According to Jacob Nielsen, director of AGF, "We chose to collaborate with FO Aarhus because we assessed that they had the right network for the task and basically also want to make a difference for vulnerable groups in society. Our expectations were fully met - yes, we could not have wanted a better partner in this situation"

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(Aftenskolernespris, 2016). From FO Aarhus side, Torben Dreier also sees sports clubs as important partners, arguing that 'Sport clubs are definitely very good collaborators. They are the best door openers because they have a wider network.  When you collaborate with a big brand name such as the sports club you get highlighted by the media' (Interview with Karin Coles and Torben Dreier, 2017). Football is a significant integrative tool for the FO Aarhus director who argued that 'Football is a universal language and, therefore, I believe that an initiative like this despite language barriers can help to connect refugees closer to Aarhus' (FO Aarhus, 2015). Jacob Nielsen, explaining the rationale of the initiative, argued that 'We want to emphasize that we are a diverse and open club that is for everyone, regardless of where you come from.' (AGF, 2015).

FO-Aarhus organized bus transport for the 500 refugees who had been invited to the football matches. Torben Dreier sees helping refugees as one of FO Aarhus' most important tasks and this view is also shared by President of FO Region Aarhus, Marlene Borst Hansen: 'This is an excellent example of how public information can be bridge-building between people…. and be an entrance to the Danish society' (FORA, 2015).

In 2016 AGF repeated the previous year's successful initiative, inviting the region's refugees and children and parents who usually do not have the chance to attend a match in the Alka Superliga to two home matches in Aarhus against Lyngby and FC Copenhagen in November and December 2016 and which was organised in cooperation with FO-Aarhus and the Danish Association of Social Workers. Instead of distribution of sponsorship tickets, the AGF administration decided that the initiative would take the form of social responsibility (AGF, 2016a; FO Aarhus 2016; Ravn, 2016).

The language barrier is overcome when it comes to attendance at a community event such as a football game, according to Torben Dreier, director of FO Aarhus. He stated that "Community around a football match can gather people across cultures and linguistic barriers" (Fyens.dk, 2016).

According to the AGF website, the refugees seemed to welcome the new AGF social integration initiative and two Syrian refugees, Mahmoud and Rasoul, who came to Denmark two and three years ago were quoted welcoming the initiative to use football as a means for social integration of

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immigrants. 'I think it's really good to be for football. I am interested myself in football, so for me it's really cool to come in and see and experience AGF's team', said Mahmoud, who was informed about the initiative through the language school in Favrskov Municipality. Mahmoud and Rasoul both had an interest in football, before they came to Denmark, and they have now started a football team for refugees. 'We played football in our home country as children, and now we have started a team here in Denmark. We are approximately 20 young people from different countries', says Mahmoud, who is the team's coach (AGF, 2016b).

However, the statements of these immigrants, who had been selected by AGF, raise the question whether attendance is enough to enter the Danish sport society and gradually become a citizen. Moreover, another consideration is the choice of a passive form of involvement with Danish sport rather than an active form which means participation of immigrants in amateur football games organised by AGF which will give an opportunity to immigrants to get to know each other, meet the locals and develop their athletic skills. It is also noteworthy that the one outcome mentioned is the formation of a migrant football team which could be seen as reinforcing cultural separation or isolation rather than integration. Besides, the sample of interviewees provided by the AGF administration is too small to draw conclusions about the opinion of the majority of immigrants that attended the games.

These reservations notwithstanding Søren Højlund Carlsen is very positive about the role of AGF and of football in contributing to good citizenship. He claims that 'Good citizenship means collaboration and solidarity as an outcome of coexisting peaceful cultures. It is about how to be good citizen and a good human being. Values of the football club can also be the values to integrate in the society. We are learning our young players and we are educating our fans about tolerance, stamina and ambition and we would like to have winner culture. We are a community standing together and when you watch a football game you are a part of the community. Being a part of a club is like being part of family. We would like to integrate people by feeling that they are welcome. And football can provide that feeling!' (Interview with Søren Højlund Carlsen, 2017). Despite the success of the initiative and the close partnership between AGF and FO Aarhus, there was no follow up after the

end of these matches. According to an explanation given by Carlsen, 'When we talk with FO Aarhus there is always a follow up and we discuss with them about new projects. But sometimes we have one project and then we move on. You make a statement and an impact on people. For instance, the support of Gay Pride event. In order to have a follow up, depends on the NGO and the project. If we are approached by an NGO from Copenhagen we do a project and then we move on' (Interview with Søren Højlund Carlsen, 2017).

The initiatives of AGF to invite refugees to attend a football game and to link them with the local labour market through the collaboration with Jobcenter Aarhus, enabled the role of the Municipality to be limited in providing organisational and economic support to the club. However, the club will continue to retain control over policy design and delivery. The AGF initiatives have created a link between sport and other civil society organisation, especially with the not-for-profit sector.

Regarding the political dimension of the AGF initiatives, it seems that there is a strong centre-left tendency in the AGF football club which promotes an equalitarian and anti-racist identity with the design and delivery of initiatives that create a more open and active citizenship.

AGF and Jobcenter Aarhus started a cooperation agreement aimed at opening doors to the labour market for new refugees and vulnerable citizens in Aarhus. With over 250 sponsors in its business network, AGF was considered a natural entrance to a large number of companies in Aarhus. Jobcenter Aarhus and AGF have thus entered into a cooperation agreement that aims to lead to specific employment-oriented activities for this target group. 'When everyone feels that they are part of the community and are involved in solving tasks, they grow and develop. This is the case with a football team and it is not different in the labour market. To get a job and learn the language is the fastest and best shortcut to integration, and we want to take active action on the front.', AGF's director, Jacob Nielsen argued (AGF, 2016c).

From his side, Janus Hans Hedemann, head of employment- oriented integration at Jobcenter Aarhus, regards sports clubs as effective partners in integration projects. 'Sports clubs are very important factors in integrating refugees, immigrants into the civil society because many people do sports.

When you become a member of a sports club or another kind of club you have access to another group of people with other ethnic backgrounds. They get friends, cultural knowledge, information and get access to networks. They get cultural knowledge, network and get more integrated into the society. That is a very important perspective. It doesn't matter if it is a sports club or smaller group. It is important to be a part of civil society to meet other people to become a citizen' (Interview with Janus Hans Hedemann, 2017). However, when it comes to the collaboration with AGF he became very critical arguing that the collaboration was not successful and thinks to collaborate with smaller local clubs under the support of the Sport and Leisure section of the Commune (Interview with Janus Hans Hedemann, 2017). In this case of the use of the labour market by a sports club such as AGF, the usefullness of ACF takes place through a single coaltion composed of AGF and Jobcenter Aarhus.While the deep core belief of the club is that integration can take place through sport (participation or attendance) there is a secondary belief that integration of immigrants/refugees can take place through the labor market. In terms of the MSF the problem of integration of refugees in Aarhus can find a policy solution through their introduction to the labour market through the involvement in sports clubs in collaboration with the Ministries of Culture, Immigration and Integration, and Employment. Job center Aarhus acts as a policy entrepreneur linking the interests of the clubs with those of employers and achieving the activation of immigrants in the labour market.

In April 2018 AGF continued its integrative initiatives in collaboration with FO Aarhus but this time instead of inviting refugees the target group was people with special needs such as learning disabilities and functional difficulties. It was during an AGF home game against Hobro IK, AGF invited students, residents, teachers and staff from a large number of special schools and institutions in Aarhus, who usually do not have the chance to attend football due to social barriers (SHC, 2018). This initiative show that AGF and it partner organization FO-Aarhus have a deep interest in the integration of all socially vulnerable groups in which immigrants were included and also that both AGF and FO Aarhus used the same means to attract the target group.

The enforcement of the relationship between immigrants and Aarhus society, promotion of associationalism and the strong element of the policy

networks' engagement in policy delivery are the main policy trends in the AGF initiatives. In this case, it is a partnership between a sports club and an NGO with a humanitarian mission. The collaboration of AGF with FO Aarhus along with the financial support of a wide range of sponsors, reveals the value of a strong policy alliance based on humanitarian values with the aim of social inclusion of vulnerable social groups in the local society and particularly in both the sporting world and the labour market. However, the sporting world differs from the strict ethno-centric labour market by giving better chances of citizenship through the engagement in activities linked to community building and democratic values. Finally, the AGF initiatives reveal the importance of the participation of non-state actors in the attempt by the Danish welfare state to confront social problems. In this case, the local sports club and its partners become responsible for the design and delivery of an integrative policy, acting as an extension of the local government that looks for response to a social phenomenon such as immigration. The use of football as an integrative means is also supported by the two main sporting federations, the DBU and the DIF through Get2Sport project showing the importance of a popular sport in attempting to break the barriers of language and ethnicity.

### 6.3.1.4 Associationalism and/or marketing?

Observing the AGF activities from a commercial view point, the attraction of more immigrants to the football ground either as players or spectators will benefit the club, by increasing public funding for AGF social integration projects and possibly attracting more season ticket holders from among naturalized Danes. In terms of the meso-level theories, the multiple streams framework and the advocacy coalition framework both offer insights. In MSF, the problem, as defined by the state, is the need to achieve the successful integration of migrants into Danish society and their acceptance of Danish cultural values. AGF along with its partners, FO Aarhus, the Danish Association for Social Workers and Jobcenter Aarhus, provide initiatives that could overcome the immigrants' marginalisation and open the way to their equal and active participation in the society. The political stream enables the introduction of integrative policies at the local level since Aarhus is governed

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by the Social Democratic Party with Radikale Venstre being the head of the Sports and Leisure division and, therefore, pro-immigrant and pro-integration policies and initiatives are prioritised in a city which already has a long-term tradition in welcoming and integrating immigrants. These policies/ initiatives are promoted by the policy window of the Popular Enlightenment Act and the public funding provided by the municipalities to provide social integration projects for socially deprived groups. Moreover, in all three initiatives, the ACF could be a secondary suitable framework. The ACF's initial design was to 'capture bottom up policy processes operating at the sub-national levels of government' (Pierce et al., 2017: S33). In the municipality, there is a coalition between the sport club, the Danish Association of Social Workers and FO Aarhus. Other traits of ACF observed in the AGF initiatives include an identifiable policy sub-system as the primary unit of analysis; a broad set of sub-system actors (AGF, FO Aarhus and Danish Association of Social Workers) that not only include more than the traditional 'iron triangle' members but also actors such as civil servants, consultants, scientists, that support the initiatives in organisational and/or financial terms; and finally an indication that policies and initiatives are best thought of as translations of policy core beliefs such as equality, freedom and the right of participation in associations' activities as full members. To sum up, the ACF offers an important analytical framework to this case study in terms of understanding policy change (Pierce et al., 2017).

Finally, regarding macro-level theories that are the most suitable to this range of AGF initiatives there are elements of neo-pluralism with the AGF collaborating with NGOs such as FO Aarhus, Danish Association of Social Workers and Jobcenter Aarhus. The rationale of AGF fits with the neo-pluralist principle that social groups have considerable power in representing their views. Neo-pluralism sees the state as not as a referee, but as a relatively autonomous actor (with different departments) that forges alliances and promotes its sectional interests. This creates possibilities for some groups – while limiting others – in their political options. In the case of social integration initiatives of AGF related to the attendance at matches and help in the job seeking process, there are no obvious conflicting interests between the local government and the AGF and its partners, however it seems that the

initiative has not been funded by the municipality despite the official statements of support for the projects which indicate that for the local government sport is not always seen as a primary means for integration. Besides, the local government doesn't intervene in sport clubs' internal affairs and therefore, it is up to the club to provide assistance to socially vulnerable groups in the form of integrative initiatives and projects. But the most appropriate political theory that is linked with the AGF initiatives is associationalism (with its neo-corporatist overtones), according to which 'human welfare and liberty are both best served when as many of the affairs of a society as possible are managed by voluntary and democratically self-governing associations' (Hirst, 1994: 112). In these cases democratically organized associations such as a sport club, AGF and an NGO, FO Aarhus would provide members with both the power of voice and exit and will lead to the organisation of joint actions such the invitation of immigrants to football matches. Associationalism is expressed through the collaboration between a sport club, an NGO and the Danish Association of Social Workers. While AGF offers the venue and acts as the host of the initiative, the other two actors provide human and economic resources along with the participation of the volunteers. Whereas the local government is the main policy actor that is responsible for sport policies related to immigration, the civic organisations act as an extension of the state and make a significant contribution in Aarhus society, reflecting the bottom - up aspect of Danish politics. Due to the presence of a centre-left pro-immigrant local government, civic organisations with a left ideology are members of the same coalition with the municipal authorities and are supportive of the municipal integration strategies. Besides, associationalism is linked to the provision of public wellness as a crucial element of the society and therefore, the range of AGF initiative aims to create conditions for 'well-being' through equal participation in social events (attendance of games) and work (linking refugees to the local labour market). Finally, associations such as AGF and FO Aarhus can contribute to institutional effects such alternative sources of policy and delivery systems, social coordination, and democratic legitimacy due to their interaction with the local government and its sport and leisure section.

**6.3.2 Women's Swimming Programme**

Swimming in Aarhus is organised in two ways-one by the municipality and the other by swimming clubs. Around 2007/2008, public gender-based sessions were established in Gellerup Bath and held every Wednesday and Saturday. Initially, separate sessions were organised for men and women, but quite quickly it became apparent that there was not enough support for the men's swimming programme as opposed to women's swimming programme and the men's programme closed. At the end of 2009, AGF Swimming club received DKK 250,000 from the Mary Foundation, which would be used for integration-enhancing swimming activities at the Gellerup Bath (Azad-Ahmad & Rask, 2016). According to the Prince Frederik's statement, "Using sport and the Danish associations as an active part of integration work, sport can, through its universal languages, bring people together across religion, culture and politics." Visions for the project were: a) Integrating immigrant women and girls into the association; b) The triangle Participation - Interaction – Integration; c) Meeting up - learn to swim; d) Building social networks among women in Gellerup ; e) Designing a future outlook focused on ethnic mixed teams and assistant instructors ; and f) Acknowledging the associations' function in terms of tuition, attendance and volunteerism (Kofoed-Nannerup, 2013).The municipal authority noted a decline in women attending the public women's only sessions following the establishment by AGF of women's only sessions in their club. As a consequence, Gellerup Bath reduced the time for women's swimming on Saturdays from 15:00 - 18:00. (Azad-Ahmad & Rask, 2016).

**6.3.2.1 The Politics of Swimming**

In the first meeting of the municipal council of Aarhus in May 2016 the Liberal party proposed for the banning of gender segregated swimming in Gellerup. According to the official proposal,

'The Liberal Party in Aarhus Municipality wants to put an end to gender-segregated swimming in the municipality's swimming pools, as it is the case at Gellerup pool. [...] Children and adults must learn that it is completely natural to swim together regardless of religious beliefs. Therefore, special programmes are harmful and not beneficial for integration. It is a well-known problem that minority ethnic women lack permission from their spouses to participate in activities where other religions are also present'. (Proposal by the Liberal Party, 2.5.2016 quoted in Lenneis & Agergaard, 2018:706).

Accordingly, the politicians that advocated a ban argued that women-only swimming sessions impeded social integration and led to the creation of a 'parallel society'; that these swimming sessions were contradictory to Danish norms and values and functioned as religious practice; and that the participant women were Muslims who were victims of oppression by their husbands (Lenneis & Agergaard, 2018).

Furthermore, the discussion focused on the link between ideas of gender equality and Danishness and the major role of sexuality and ideas of sexual liberation. Here, the examples that the councillors used to advocate sexual liberty and 'liberal-mindedness and tolerance' as significant Danish values demonstrate that the dominant theme of the debate was western perceptions of gender equality. For instance, Marc Perera Christensen (Conservative Party) underlined sexual liberation has a special position in the Danish history and created a 'twofold analytic' between western and non-western values. Likewise, Aarhus's mayor, Jacob Bundsgaard (Social Democrats), underlined tolerance, individual freedom and women's liberation as principal Danish values. Moreover, the politicians advocated winter swimming, arguing that this swimming practice is irrelevant to religion. Despite their different political views, all parties in the city council seemed to oppose 'religious leisure'. Even the defenders of women-only swimming agreed that religion was not a reason for gender segregation and, therefore, argued that women participating in women-only swimming were led by a sense of sexual modesty (Lenneis & Agergaard, 2018).

In the second discussion (September 2016) in the city council, the 'Sport and Leisure' department advocated women-only swimming through a six-

page memorandum. Referring to a women-only environment as a secure space that would enhance all citizens independently from their gender and ethnic origin to have access to leisure time activities, they concluded that gender-segregated swimming contributes to the citizens' health and activation. However, the majority of the local politicians expressed their dissatisfaction with the department's proposal, which they characterized as 'hopelessly naïve' or 'culturally relativistic'. The politicians supporting the Liberal Party's proposal advocated that women-only swimming is an un-Danish practice unsuitable to gender equality and democracy in Denmark (Lenneis & Agergaard, 2018). Finally, in the third city council discussion (October 2016) although the Cultural Affairs Committee discussed the case of gender-segregated swimming there was no agreement. For the first time, five women-only swimming users were allowed to attend the hearing and share their views according to which gender segregated swimming benefited both the individual and society. However, only the political coalition that supported women-only swimming referred to this hearing and criticised the city council's absence of evidence for what they considered to be the women's oppression. Yet no other councillor mentioned the hearing. Arguments relating to equal access for both men and women in the swimming session became stronger in the third meeting with several politicians stressing there is no prohibition on women to swim (Lenneis & Agergaard, 2018).

### 6.3.2.2 Local Activism-The Role of the Friends of Women-Only Swimming

 In October 2016 the activist group 'Friends of Women-Only Swimming at Gellerup Pool' was formed. The group's members varied in gender, ethnicity, age and socioeconomic background, although the majority were white Danish women. From October 2016 to February 2017 the group had weekly meetings to organize its activities from designing a facebook page, writing newspaper articles or talking on the Danish TV. In November, the user survey of the group was submitted to the city council a 12-page resume of the results (Lenneis & Agergaard, 2018). According to the survey that shows that 80 percent of users were Muslim women, while 20 percent were Danish women

who do not want to show their body for example because of being overweight or because they are have a disability or have been subjected to abuse (Søndergaard, 2017a). About a week before the voting for the closing of Gellerup Bath's women-only sessions, Women's Swimming Friends in Gellerup Bath initiated a petition to preserve the three-hour women's swim and they managed to gather 3,000 signatures. The group's arguments were that:

a) "Public women's swimming in Gellerup baths is used by women and children from the local area as well as ethnic Danish women and is the most visited swimming time in Gellerup bath with over 100 exercisers each week.

b) The gender-divided swimming is used by Muslim women and women with different or no religious backgrounds. Thus the closure is not considered to be religiously conditioned. It's more a matter of personal preferences. The curtains are set as desired by both women's associations and naturists.

c) Gender-divided swimming is also about bathing culture and shyness. All people, irrespective of culture and religion, have individual degrees of shyness with the right to self-determination and freedom of choice. There is increasing modesty in sport and not exclusively with a background in culture and religion. Motivators increasingly participate in sports with like-minded people like overweight, disabled and seniors. Men are offered man's swim and man yoga. - No one can be forced to exceed the personal limits (Dahl Jensen, 2017). The survey's clear aim was the identification of the users of women-only swimming in Gellerup and thus challenge the politicians' portrayal of the female users.

'The city council's decision [to send the case to the executive committee] has provoked frustration and indignation among many of the permanent users of women-only swimming, who could not recognize themselves in the portrayal the councillors have justified their decision with' (User survey, 1 quoted in Lenneis & Agergaard, 2018:715).

The Group 'Friends of Women's only Friends in Gellerup' that opposed the Municipality's decision of banning the public swimming programme becomes a part of the multiculturalist coalition that supports gender segregated swimming and is composed of centre-left/left parties. There is a core belief in the protection of the women's rights in health, exercise and a secondary belief

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in the use of the Gellerup swimming pool as a venue of integration even in the form of a segregated sporting activity.

On 15 December 2016 with a report under the title 'Opinion of the mayor's department on the matter "Proposal from Venstre: Showdown against gender-divided swimming ", the Mayor of Aarhus restated the strong arguments of the city council for the ban of the public programme and for the continuation of the segregated swimming program offered by the associations. Venstre resolutions in the case clarified two main points:

1) City Council decided that the municipal swimming pools in public opening hours must offer equal access for all regardless of gender; and 2) The City Council underlined that the municipality would, as so far as possible, appoint unemployed locals in swimming pools according to the Danish Popular Enlightenment Law.

Regarding the first point, the decision will take effect as a general rule that covers all municipal swimming pools. All municipal swimming pools must provide equal access for everyone regardless of gender. Swimming facilities such as 'The Spa of Spain' and the facilities of the "Grossererbadet" will therefore be affected by the decision. Regarding the second point, it is apparent from the Culture and Civil Service Opinion of 6 June 2016 that there is gender-segregated swimming in 6 swimming pools in the municipality. According to the Venstre, there are 12 associations, of which 9 are ethnic minority associations. The Popular Enlightenment Law contains rules stipulating that the municipality shall appoint local unemployed persons to public education sports associations. At times when swimming pools are closed to the public, thus the associations have the opportunity for club organised sessions (Bundsgaard, 2016).

In the fourth discussion (January 2017), there was a new development in the political arguments. The Social Democrats who had previously described women-only swimming as a means for women's oppression, now criticised the Liberal Party for the view that women's only swimming was an activity impeding integration and an act of women's oppression. Instead, Esben Kullberg, the Social Democrats' spokesperson in this round of discussion, underlined that through his participation in public debates in Gellerup, he was

aware that a wide range of ethnic women participated in women-only swimming, often as a result of sexual modesty (Lenneis & Agergaard, 2018).

On 18 January 2017, the majority in Aarhus City Council voted 26-5 to ban municipal gender-seggregated swimming programs during public opening hours. Venstre, the Social Democrats and the Danish People's Party voted for the ban of the program while Radikale Venstre and the Enhendslisten/Red-Green Alliance voted against (BT, 2017). The decision was publicized on 1 February 2017. According to Henriette Gaardbo, consultant at the Sport and Leisure section of Aarhus Municipality, 'The parties who voted for the ban were against the idea that Muslim men decide [should have power] over the women and that men cannot enter the swimming hall because of the women. We (Sport and Leisure section) still support the women-only swimming in our service but we do it with the associations. We still have an activity where you become a lifeguard. Every half year we organize an activity that we support and pay for and there is a female lifeguard instructor. That is supporting the activities of the associations (Interview with Henriette Gaardbo, 2017).

Nation, gender equality, sexuality and religion are notable issues on the Aarhus political agenda that affect minority ethnic women's opportunities of engaging in leisure time physical activities. The councillors characterize women-only swimming as an un-Danish and religious-centred leisure practice, which contradicts gender equality and sexual liberation in Denmark, thereby creating a hierarchical twofold split between 'backward' Islamic values and 'progressive' western values and providing a regulation of religious life. (Lenneis & Agergaard, 2018).

Gert Bjerregaard of the Venstre Party offered a different view: 'Do we mean that it is equality when you have offers like that in Gellerup - that is, swimming that takes place behind rolled curtains and closed to the public? Is that what we have to offer in Aarhus municipality? We do not think so. It helps to pull in the wrong direction' (BT, 2017).

Social Democracy's representative, Esben Kullberg, emphasizes that the proposal does not mean a total stop for women only swimming as it is available through the associations such as the Hovedstadens Svømmeklub received support from the municipality of Copenhagen to arrange women's swimming in Tingbjerg (BT, 2017).

Apart from shyness there is clearly a dimension of modesty linked with religious beliefs. According to the Islamic faith, as Linderod-Bølge and Warburg (2017) state, 'The body being sacred is also a perception among some Muslim men, which is a part of the explanation for that there is a demand for gender-divided swimming for boys and men'. The other explanation for the gender-divided spaces is community and free space. Besides, the community spirit in the clubs make them feel more comfortable being in the swimming pool since many of the Muslim women suffer from hydrophobia and had never tried swimming in the past' (Linderod-Bølge & Warburg, 2017).

The lack of swimming culture by Muslim women was also indicated by Marianne Kennild through her experience as a swimming coach at Gellerup Bath, 'In the beginning it was hard work. The women from Muslim cultures didn't know about our swimming culture. The hormonally disturbed teenage girls behaved foolishly, pushing every one else into the pool regardless of their ability to swim' (Correspondence with Marianne Kennild, 18/10/2017).

Modesty, the right for community and free space for women and the lack of swimming culture by middle-eastern immigrant women are three important factors that are obstacles for the implementation of the Danish sports cultural values which are linked to equal participation of both sexes in public sports programs. However, the local government of Aarhus in the particular case didn't seem to realise that isolation of these women in the name of Danish culture would prevent them from equal participation in the local community activities. The associations act as an alternative solution for the immigrant women but it might be lead to further segregation through the participation in mono- ethnic sports clubs. All the above statements underline the importance of the ACF as the most important analytical framework in this study indicating the role of the associations as a policy broker, and the set of different beliefs expressed by the two opposing coalitions, the assimilationist and the multiculturalist.

The swimming hall debate in Aarhus symbolizes the politicians' concern about parallel societies, and therefore the debate on swimming will not disappear quickly or easily. Lecturer Jens Peter Frølund Thomsen from the Department of Political Science at Aarhus University researches attitudes

towards immigrants, and he believes that gender-divided swimming is basically a very political issue. Frølund Thomsen believes that multiculturalism will challenge the whole idea of a community and equally-based society (Søndergaard, 2017b).

Maria Ventegodt Liisberg, head of the Equality Department at the Danish Institute of Human Rights, believed that the decision to end women-only swimming can be an expression of discrimination because of the abolition of an existing offer that has been used primarily by women of ethnic minority backgrounds. Moreover, she indicated that the rationale given by politicians will have the opposite effect, instead of integration with men, they will stop swimming (Interview with Maria Ventegodt Liisberg, 2017).

According to Ventegodt Liisberg, 'There are many different policies better than before with much more focus on employment [of refugees] than it was previously. It was quite worrying that they introduced the integration benefits [regulations] that the first 7 years you received reduced social benefits that are so low that people cannot take part in associations and extra curriculum activities for their children and in that sense they are preventing social integration of ethnic minorities. But there is a general feeling that it is becoming less permitted to make special considerations so there are trends in both directions' (Interview, 2017). Liisberg indicates a significant gap in national government policy which affects the local government integration efforts and especially the role of the local associations as integration programs' providers.

The decrease of social benefits would become a significant reason for newcomer refugees in participating into activities and projects run by the associations and, on the contrary, will make an increase in demand for public programs and weaken the demand for membership of immigrants in Danish sports clubs.

The special arrangements offered to ethnic women and the interventions by the associations were the factors that caused the ban of the programme according to swimming coach, Nadia Gulnar Umar. She stated that 'a lot of people were angry about the fact that women received such a special treatment more specific the foreign women according to the mindset that everyone is equal. If they want to integrate women, who don't want to swim

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among men if you remove the swimming programme then they just stay at home….If you remove the public kvindesvømning [women's only swimming] you will see a higher demand for the private clubs' (Interview with Nadia Gulnar Umar, 2017). She added that they need to 'get out of the house and move their bodies because in the middle eastern culture it us not that much part of the mindset that you have to be healthy and active. I was brought in the mindset that I have to be active attended many sports including martial arts' (Interview with Nadia Gulnar Umar, 2017). In addition, Hovmand (2017) argued that apart from getting out of home and enabling immigrant women to follow a healthier lifestyle there are also benefits for the Danish national economy in the future, due to lower health costs. The above arguments by Umar and Hovmand indicate health as an important reason for the continuation of gender-divided programs for the immigrant women (especially women with Muslim background).

Despite the ban on public programmes, immigrant women can continue to take part in gender segregated programmes under the mantel of the associations. The Danish Union of Associations has a responsibility to meet the needs of people and through the associations immigrant women can find a private space where they can explore their potential (Petersen, 2016). Therefore, a solution for the women that went to the public swimming programme is to form a formal association and apply to the municipality for time for swimming and social gathering after public opening hours. The application and control of the association's legitimacy (checking of articles of association, board of directors, contingent, etc.) - is probably due to the sports and leisure section of the municipality (Vinther, 2017: 9).

In fact, for the period 2017-2018 there are three sports clubs running swimming programmes for women in Gellerupbadet: Den Active Kvindeforening, Lystrup Svømning and PK Svømmeforening. In addition, there are other 7 swimming pools across Aarhus in which swimming clubs run programmes for women (Aarhus Kommune, 2017g). Generally, in Denmark, according to DGI, 13 special women's sports associations and a number of clubs in Odense, Aarhus and Copenhagen offer gender-segregated swimming (Søndergaard, 2017a). However, according to Marianne Kennild, the public i.e. municipal) swimming was a more successful means of integration than

those sessions offered by the associations which tend to be mono-ethnic. In the public programmes there were Danish, French, German, Russian, Polish, Romanian, and Pakistani women who had the opportunity to mix with each other, but the formation of mono-ethnic clubs didn't improve the integration process (Correspondence with Marianne Kennild, 2017).

However, some non-municipal swimming clubs are multi-ethnic.For example of the Viby IF 'Kvindesvømning' programme runs for two hours every Saturday. It is composed of two groups of 15 each that is practicing for one hour each and there is a wide range of women of migrant origin coming from Turkey, Denmark, Afghanistan, India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Lebanon Iran, Iraq, and Kurdistan (Interview with Nadia Gulnar Umar, 2017).

Umar is very supportive of the women's swimming programme. She argues that 'Kvindesvømning' is an effective programme in terms of helping women to get out into the society and integrate and have fun. The chairperson, who is also a woman, started the club because there was no club for women to be themselves and work out without a man looking at them and distracting them. (Interview with Nadia Gulnar Umar, 2017).

She is not totally against the idea of segregation as a means of integration since she understands that it is separate from the community as whole but she advocates women's right to work out by themselves and not seen by men. She is not disappointed by the decision to ban the public programme but she is disappointed by the rationale given by the decision-makers not to recognize the women's right to have their own swimming sessions. However, she is satisfied that the Kvindesvømning will continue to exist through the associations and sees this as a positive development (Interview with Nadia Gulnar Umar, 2017).

For Marianne Kennild, segregation is a successful solution to the integration of migrant women. 'Segregation is a successful means of integration because women come out their houses and meet other women of other nationalities and find out how to interact with other nationalities. Women have always got together without men to fight for their right to integrate'. Besides, she claims that the rationale given by the politicians is wrong. 'Politicians say that segregation is against integration. It is a fight against Muslims because according to the politicians' rationale Muslim men suppress women and tell

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them to go there but it is actually the women themselves that wanted to go' (Interview with Marianne Kennild, 2017).

According to Kennild, when it comes to municipal support of the gendered swimming programme she claims that the municipal policy was more open in the past because women were paying to swim and then the municipality funded them to enter the swimming pool. The local government in Aarhus is less supportive now with the rise of the right-wing whose anti-immigrant xenophobic tendencies influence the political map (Interview, 2017).

Henriette Gaardbo supported the decision of leaving the associations to run gendered swimming programmes and defended the decision of the municipality. In fact, she stated that 'From my point of view, it was a right decision that it has no affect on the associations….The municipality has drawn a line. In the associations you can do whatever you like, there is a law to protect it. The public hours has to be open for everyone so for that reason we can not differentiate our service' (Interview with Henriette Gaardbo, 2017).

Furthermore, Gaardbo concludes that 'It is reasonable to think how do we differentiate our services. I don't think it was a bad idea to close it down because the politicians don't think about the long term reactions from these ethnic groups because they don't feel they met their needs… Most of the women, who go to a club, go to mono-ethnic associations. If you look it from a Putnam perspective, like bridging and bonding, there was more bridging in this [municipal] activity than the women's swimming in the associations' (Interview with Henriette Gaardbo, 2017). Despite her support for the ban on segregated swimming programs she is also critical of the rationale of the political parties and indicated the beginning of the dialogue between Aarhus Municipality and the immigrant communities of the city. Moreover, Gaardbo linked the ban with the upcoming municipal elections. 'I felt with this decision to ban the program that local politics is different this year because the elections in November is coming up. In national politics, the Social Democratic Party has been soft in the past in integration policy but now they have made a turn nationally because they have lost a lot of votes to the right wing party, Danish People's Party' (Interview with Henriette Gaardbo, 2017).

Finally, for Simon Prahm, CEO of the GAME (a Danish NGO whose mission is the provision of youth street sport activities linked with social integration of

immigrants), 'the way the issue of integration is addressed by the media and especially the politicians is almost half a problem. Because by keep referring to immigrants although we are talking about people who have been born in Denmark, raised in Denmark or going to school in Denmark as the rest as immigrants it not going to solve the problem. Referring to all in this group as a problem, as it is often done in the media, it going to worsen the problem' (Interview, 2017).

In the case of Women's Swimming in Gellerup, the main macro-level theory that is relevant is neo-pluralism in the associationalist version. The need to fill the gap in gender-divided programmes after the ban on the public programme is covered by the associations, the swimming sports clubs across the city. While a public programme is no longer possible, the Municipality decided that instead of trying to replace it by a programme run by the public sector, it is the voluntary sport clubs that have become policy makers and co-producers in social integration efforts. In terms of meso-level analysis there is evidence of emerging competing coalitions-one strongly committed to integration and another more willing to accept a degree of multiculturalism. Pressure groups, such as the Women Swimming's Friends, push for the retention of the public swimming programme, by organising citizen petition, while the Municipality uses both written (association law) and unwritten (cultural values and norms) legislation in order to justify the end of the public women's swimming sessions.

There are also elements of neo-corporatism, since there is an intense collaboration between the state (Municipality) and organized interests (sports associations), a result of interdependence of interest groups within the capitalist system which necessitates bargaining. Consistent with neo-corporatist theory the state's function is to establish and maintain a particular economic and social order and in this case to stop the public programme in defence of social equality and the protection of the local community from the creation of parallel societies. The state is concerned to directly regulate and influence the presence of the associations in the local community in a way that it is compatible with goals of economic and social order. Finally, there is an 'intermediary' function to representative organisations such as associations

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in order the local government to achieve its goals. However, the analysis of the Gellerup swimming project highlights the tension between the dominant ideology of integration (supported by the deeply rooted value of equality) and the culture of associationalism and non-intervention by the state in sport policy. The tension arises when associations are established which do not share the dominant ideology and, in the case of swimming, are willing to establish schemes such as segregated swimming which challenge the dominant ideology.

In terms of meso-level theories, both the advocacy coalitions framework and multiple streams framework provide insights. There are two basic coalitions competing for decision making and policy implementation. On the one hand, there is the coalition that supports the ban on women only swimming programmes organised by the municipality and is composed of the centre-right parties, the far right party and the Social Democrats who oppose segregation as an integration path since it contradicts the traditional Danish integrative culture. On the other hand, there is the coalition of the left parties and the group of Women's Swimming Friends in Gellerup that support the public programme on the grounds that it is open to all women irrespective of their ethnicity, religion and sexual orientation and regard the ban as a measure motivated by the politicians' anti-Muslim tendencies. This case raises a conflict which involves the deep-rooted beliefs in Danish society and which is reflected in the response by the policy makers in the Municipality. The multiple streams framework is valuable as it draws attention to the double problem of the social integration of immigrants and the right of women to have their own swimming sessions. The main policy actor who functions as a policy entrepreneur is the municipality that presents the solution to the problem by continuing the women's programme in the associations. The policy window, the Popular Enlightenment Act opens the way for the associations (sports clubs) to implement municipal integration strategies in collaboration with the local voluntary network. Political decisions are produced through the municipal enforcement of sports clubs in terms of funding and human resources under the aegis of the national sports federations and especially their umbrella organisation, DIF.

### 6.3.3 Get2Sport: ACFC in Gellerup

The history of ACFC[1] the club in Gellerup that participates in Get2sport started in 1994. The biggest group of people living in Gellerup in 1994 were stateless Palestinian refugees who came in 1986 through a national program facilitated by the UN in 173 municipalities. The Municipality employed youth leader for Gellerup and asked local community leaders if they could work together and build up a traditional football club. They started with a group of youngsters who were making problems. That was the first step of ACFC. The ACFC team was composed of immigrants from different ethnic background. In 2017 the club had 152 members and 30 volunteers (Interview with Anders Glahn and Afif Abdallah, 2017). The club has a parent network of 20-30 adults who take an active part in the club e.g. in connection with the organization of tournaments and do practical tasks that vary from driving to picking up cones for the training sessions (Odgaard Christensen et al., 2013). There has been targeted training for volunteer trainers, so 18 trainers have completed DBU's C1 and C2 training course and 15 coaches in the football club have the DBU's B1 course (Aarhus Kommune, 2018b). Moreover, according to Svenningsen et al., (2017) 25 girls aged eight to fifteen whose parents come from Kurdistan, Somalia, Palestine and Afghanistan, train under the instructions of the ACFC's teenager coach Nagin Ravand (of Afghani origin) with the aim to get introduced to the Danish sport association world through playing football and creating friendships.

Anders Glahn, the municipal representative in Gellerup with responsibility for providing leisure time activities for children and youngsters, states that in the public legislation, it is youth clubs and playgrounds, that provide leisure opportunities for youngsters and in particular for immigrant youth in Gellerup. 'In such a complex area such as this, the poorest area with the highest unemployment, lowest rate of education, shortest living age and 50% of the inhabitants are under 21. The area gives more ground for charities. We have a 20 year partnership with Afif [Abdallah], the president of ACFC, and work together with the voluntary organisations' (Interview with Anders Glahn and Afif Abdallah, 2017).

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[1] AktivitetsCenter Football Club

Get2sport became an opportunity for collaboration between Aarhus Municipality and the local sport clubs. Get2Sport is supported by both Municipality and DIF. As Anders Glahn stated, 'In Get2Sport we brought Municipality and DIF together in a practical way at the local level and then we have a network that supports it since we receive a lot of attention by the mayor and the municipal consultants in city hall, because they know what is happening out here and they can support us. Through this support by participating in this network with Get2Sport we, (here in Gellerup) feel that we are part of the normality in modern Denmark despite poverty and criminality' (Interview with Anders Glahn, 2017). According to Kristina Lind Thrane, project manager of Get2Sport, ACFC receives from Get2Sport through Aarhus Municipality DKK 10,000-50,000 to meet its financial obligations for training courses, travelling and social arrangements (Correspondence, 2019). Moreover, as member of Get2Sport, ACFC received in 2015 DKK 400,000 (a part of a DKK 5 million donation from the IOC) as an award for its integration efforts. The money will be spent on activities that would promote physical exercise and strengthen unity among children, youth and the elderly (Gustavsen, 2015)

Anders Glahn indicates the importance of the educational dimension of sports for the Children and Youth Section of Aarhus Municipality, justifying the interest in Get2Sport activities in Gellerup: 'We at the section of Children & Youth….support the maximum quality of the youngster's education and development. Instead of watching things as problems, we can watch it with possibilities and chances if we are focused on the everyday life in a cultural activity matter. There sports are very important!' (Inteview with Anders Glahn, 2017). Glahn's statements stress the social dimension of the bilateral collaboration between the local government and DIF. The aim is not simply the development of sports programs, but the creation of a framework which will prevent the radicalization of the immigrant youth and the establishment of the proper conditions for the gradual integration of the immigrant youth. In this effort sport functions an educational tool which will develop the social skills of the immigrant population in Gellerup, focused on the youth.

The Get2Sport scheme in Gellerup in confronting social problems in vulnerable residential areas is dependent on collaboration with a wide range

of sectors. According to Anders Glahn, 'In the last 15 years, the local authorities understood that we had to deal with the complexities that we have in the ghetto areas. The local politicians know that the municipality cannot solve all problems, the police, voluntary associations, the housing association, but together in a collaboration we have a chance to change attitudes and ways of living in these areas' (Interview with Anders Glahn and Afif Abdallah, 2017).

### 6.3.3.1    The Role of ACFC

The ACFC club in Gellerup Park in Aarhus has made a huge effort to make children play football and thus distract them from anti-social behaviour. The club is very active in integration work in the area and is today part of the Get2Sport project in the Danish Sports Federation (DIF) and has received several awards for its work. The Danish Football Association (DBU) would like to help spread the experiences of ACFC and other similar examples - and in other ways to allow football to help solve the various challenges involved in integration and inclusion in different places in Denmark (Bretton-Meyer, 2014). Since 2011 ACFC held a DBU football school in collaboration with Get2sport. The first football school had the participation of 84 boys. In 2016 115 children (69 boys and 46 girls) between seven and sixteen years old participated in the largest Get2Sport Football School in Denmark and in 2017 there were 140 children (70 boys and 70 girls) (Aarhus Kommune, 2018b). The participants pay a weekly fee of 100 DKK (Burmeister, 2016). The school, according to Preben Astrup, succeeds in providing the proper football education and a network to children with one third continuing their sport activities in the associations after the end of the school's training sessions (Burmeister, 2016). The Mayor of Aarhus, Jacob Bundsgaard, praises the positive role of ACFC in integration through sport: 'ACFC has made a fantastic effort and created community and opportunities for a lot of children over the years. The football is too many a way into association life and thus the way to take an active part in society, for example as a coach or board member. Through association life, you learn the democratic rules of the game,

and at the same time the association life provides networks that can help one further in jobs or education' (Minor, 2015).

Each training course has a special theme such as healthy diet, self-training, and parent involvement. The goal is to give children and young people from vulnerable areas an opportunity to build their self- confidence and increase the chance to leave Gellerup to a better place. 'The boys here have a dream of playing high-level football, but they must also be able to see themselves at that level. We get a part, they get used to something more, build confidence and believe they can go all the way', according to Mahmoud Dirawi, a young migrant coach (Sørensen, 2015a). Moreover, the integration takes place in matches and tournaments in which the aim is to teach the boys from Gellerup how to act in the football culture and some talented players get promoted to a larger club (Sørensen, 2015a). ACFC is a part of the AGF talent cooperation with the aim that the most talented players of ACFC will have the opportunity to join the AGF's first team. However, integration is still a major aim of the partnership, according to Rasmus Stenild, head of the AGF Talent Cooperation. 'We want to help promote integration wherever we can. Both by supporting and participating in the things that are going on in ACFC, and by allowing players to come to the AGF and become part of our environment. If we can help to create positive role models in the boys who are good enough to play in the AGF, and thus make a small contribution to the whole integration effort' (CHH, 2014).

The importance of football for integration through the ACFC example is backed by Aarhus mayor, Jacob Bundsgaard: "The ACFC has made a fantastic effort and created a community and opportunities for a lot of children over the years. Football is so prominent in society, and thus the way to take an active part in society, for example as a coach or board member. Through associations, you learn the democratic rules of the game, and the associations also provide networks that can help one further in job or education" (quoted in Sørensen, 2015b).

A major part of young migrants' integration activities in Get2Sport in Gellerup are the referee schools and coach schools. Since 2005, 96 football judges with a different ethnic background have been trained by ACFC (Aarhus Kommune, 2018b). In the last 2-3 years there were 60 youngsters who have

participated in referee courses supported by the local referee association. (Interview with Anders Glahn, 2017). According to Poul Broberg, 'A pillar of our success is the collaboration with FA [DBU]. They get in one week time after passing the exam they can become real referees. They make money, it is appealing to them to have uniform, to be the boss of the pitch. We can have other projects where you can give them some knowledge of football rules and refereeing but they don't get to be able to go to the real football league afterwards. It is a huge potential for us and a huge advantage' (Interview with Poul Broberg, 2017). The bilateral collaboration of DIF and DBU led to the initiation of a referee training programme for immigrants which is hoped will be beneficial in terms of personal development, raising of self-esteem and the establishment of a framework on a national basis under which immigrants could be integrated in the Danish sports culture and get educated in the same level. In terms of policy design, DIF and DBU will share their tasks with the first being the sponsor of the programmes and the basic organiser at the national level, while DBU will provide the training at the local level. In terms of the use of ACF there is only one coalition composed of ACFC-DIF-DBU and there is an emergence of a secondary belief that young immigrants could become referees and not only players. These beliefs underline the deep core value of social justice and freedom (of choice in this case). In terms of the MSF the problem of integrating immigrants in a socially vulnerable neighbourhood is confronted by the foundation of football referee training programmes.The DBU functions as a collective policy entrepreneur by offering referee courses to the immigrants and give the chance to policy makers to proceed to the development of referee schools in other sports in order to integrate immigrants through the local sport clubs.

**6.3.3.2 The Get2Sport Children's Summer Camps**

In Aarhus, 40,000 children of different class backgrounds go to the summer football camps. From the 1,000 poor children, 80% are of other ethnic origin. The camps function under Get2Sport. According to Preben Astrup, 'The training track is linked to normality. We have no specific courses for immigrants but immigrants can take part in ordinary courses. Besides, 35% of

the referees in Aarhus are of immigrant ethnic background. They referee real matches, they follow exactly the same rules like all other referees in the world, the pay exactly the same amount of money to become referees'. (Interview, 2016)

When the football schools started in 2011, there were no girls, but now there are 70 as a result of the encouragement and discussion with girls' trainers who have made a great effort to get them to the football ground, by talking to both children and parents. ACFC have succeeded in attracting a lot of immigrant women to become footballers. In relation to integration, the girls play an important role, assisting their parents to overcome psychological problems caused by war (Brock, 2017). 'We just want more parents to stand on the sidelines and join the community because it's a way to influence the whole environment. It helps to strengthen the community' (Afif Abdallah, president of ACFC, quoted in Brock, 2017).

According to Anders Glahn (2017), 'the number of the girls has increased the last four years. It is a question talking to the parents and especially mothers. It took a number of years until they felt confident about what is happening in the football club. They succeeded in finding a group of girls 15-16 years with high status and good education that became coaches. 30 Somali women volunteered this summer at the football camp, sitting from 9 o'clock in the morning watching their children' (Interview with Anders Glahn, 2017). The increase of immigrant girls in participating in Get2Sport training programmes and especially with a traditional 'masculine' sport such as football is arguably a positive sign for the integration of both sexes in the Danish sports culture which will function as a route to citizenship. The development of a good relationship between the voluntary network of the club (members of the board, coaches and assisting staff) and the parents will hopefully increase the participation rates of both boys and girls with immigrant origin in Get2Sport football schools and strengthen the bonds between immigrants and the local community under a framework of trust and mutual respect that is associated with community values.

Preben Astup, DIF Public Affairs consultant, indicated the need for the presence of Get2Sport in every vulnerable residential area. Sometimes he approached a sports club himself and sometimes vice versa. As he states 'If a

club contact me in the city, then I contact the local municipality (to express this club's interest in participating into Get2Sport) and they could either agree to support the club saying 'that is good for our club and it is good for our city' or, if the club is a soccer club and has problems I could talk to the Danish Football Association (Interview with Preben Astrup, 2016).

The reason the Get2Sport has chosen football as the major sport is explained by Preben Astrup. 'Some years ago a handball club was interested in becoming part of Get2Sport. People have never played handball and parents never played handball. Handball is very difficult game, and needs a lot of parents to support. Some of them were more interested in money. So, it is not suitable for the people in socially vulnerable areas. So immigrants are attracted to football, martial arts, boxing, maybe swimming, when we are talking about the girls and even volleyball ' (Interview with Preben Astrup, 2017).

Astrup pointed to the paradox of the success of Get2Sport and similar programmes. He observed that the migrants who have taken advantage of the programmes and feel more integrated and confident move out of areas like Gellerup. Consequently, 'the better we do in integration the more ghetto we have, because the consequence is that people are leaving but there are others that are coming in' (Interview with Preben Astrup, 2017).

However, Glahn argued that those who have gained jobs and moved away from Gellerup often stay in contact. 'Our experience is that people participating in leisure activities get education and a steady job….But still they are here even if they go away. So they are role models and talk about Get2Sport activities in their companies in Aarhus and elsewhere. In the associations these people (refugees) change attitude. It develops you as a person and gives you strength' (Interview, 2017).

The Get2Sport Project in Aarhus reinforces many of the conclusions drawn from the analysis of the swimming scheme. In particular it confirms the difficulty that the municipality faces in offering sport services for specific groups –whether defined by ethnicity or gender. The ideological dominance of integration places municipal officials in a difficult position although the municipality is able to provide indirect support for segregated activities through the network of clubs/associations. However, this relationship between

the municipality and the clubs differs from traditional associationalism, which involved shared values, and currently appears to reflect the development of different value systems-one which stresses the importance of prioritising Danish cultural values and the other which is more accommodating towards cultural pluralism. ACFC through Get2Sport became a strong bond between the sport clubs and the local government since the latter have seen that ACFC could offer the right framework to confront criminality and marginalization of Aarhus' immigrant youth that lived in Gellerup and its surroundings. Whereas the official sports strategy of the municipality talks about integration, there are no municipal integrative initiatives and therefore the integration efforts are based on work done in a sports club. Despite the challenges to traditional associationalism evident in the Aarhus projects there is still evidence of neo-corporatism, with the public corporations being represented by the local government and the Danish Sport Confederation (DIF). Both the municipality and DIF are partners of ACFC under the Get2Sport framework in terms of funding, organisation and human resources. Neo-corporatism is also illustrated in this case study through two basic traits such as the state's function in establishing and maintaining a particular social order. So, the state is focused on the direct regulation of individual actors whose behaviour is compatible with the goals of social order and the ascribing, prescriptively or descriptively, of an 'intermediary' function to representative organizations such as DIF. The Ministry of Integration sets the agenda of organizing projects for the social integration of Immigrants and DIF/Get2Sport functions as the intermediate actor who will adjust the agenda to the Danish sporting world. Under corporatism, producers organizations cease to be voluntary representative bodies and acquire a substantial role as a regulatory agency on behalf of the state. This also applies to Get2Sport and the DIF. These features mirror the use of sports programs by governments to achieve social stability in case such as the Gellerup ghetto.

In terms of meso-level theories, the case study of Get2Sport in Aarhus is linked to ACF. The presence of Get2Sport in Aarhus is a result of the trilateral collaboration between the local government, DIF and ACFC with the aim to integrate the immigrant youth and children into the society of Aarhus. They share the same deep core beliefs concerning the integration of immigrants

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and refugees in society through sports activities and the training courses for referees and coaches have an educational character to create strong and self-confident and qualified people that will contribute to the local community and also the strengthening of the voluntary network in sports clubs. However, at the level of policy beliefs there is evidence of an emerging tension. Although the fundamental policy position concerning the relationship between the state and sport clubs remain the same (i.e. respect for the autonomy of the sport clubs) there is evidence of an increasing tension between the values of equality and diversity. The tension is more evident at the 'secondary aspects' level, where the municipality has not been able (allowed) to deliver sports projects which cater for specific groups as this is considered to contradict the dominant cultural (deep core) values of equality. However, the continuing acceptance of this deep core policy belief in the autonomy of sports clubs enables cultural diversity to be accommodated.

The multiple streams framework is also applicable. The problem is criminalization and ghettoisation of immigrants in Aarhus, especially in Gellerup, and the policy is the participation in social integration programs linked to sport. The Popular Enlightenment Act is a policy window through which sports associations can play an integrative and educational role for children and youth. Finally, in the political stream it is the financial and organisational support, expressed by the social democratic administration of the Municipality and the head of Sports and Leisure section who is a member of the Radikale Venstre Party and also by the financial and organisational support by DIF and DBU of projects such as Get2Sport in Aarhus. DIF/Get2Sport acts as a collective policy entrepreneur (Kingdon in MSF identifies individuals as policy enrepreneurs) in linking problems, policy ideas, and politics to draw attention to issues such as social integration of immigrants through sport and the transformation of vulnerable residential areas into areas that promote education and community work, which can be incorporated in the government agendas.

In this case study there is a policy coalition composed of a cluster of organisations such as the umbrella organisation for sports federations DIF, the grassroots football club ACFC and the municipality through the sections of Children & Youth and Sport & Leisure connected to each other by resource

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dependencies. In addition, there is a demonstration of a set of formal institutional and informal connections between Aarhus Municipality and other actors such as the DIF and ACFC that share a set of core beliefs and interests in public policymaking and implementation of integration policies. Moreover, these actors are interdependent in terms of resources and policy is a result of the trilateral interaction and collaboration.

Moreover, the ACF is relevant to this case study since the partnership between DIF, ACFC and the Municipality of Aarhus encloses some of the main characteristics of policy coalitions such as a limited number of participants, frequent interaction between the three parties on all matters related to the policy issues; consistency in values, membership and policy outcomes over time; consensus, with the ideology, values and broad policy preferences shared by all participants; exchange relationships with all members of the policy community having some resources; bargaining between members with resources; and the hierarchical distribution of resources within the participating organisations.

## 6.4 Conclusion

The Aarhus case study underlines the change in the relationship between the state and the citizens, and particularly the relationship between the two levels of government and the voluntary associations: From collaboration to co-production which is defined as "a partnership between citizens and public service providers" (Pestoff, 2015). In fact, according to Hartley (2005) this change has led to new forms of citizen engagement in which citizens act as co-producers of services in the New Public Governance (NPG), a neo-corporatist type of governance, focused on service processes and outcomes, where public value is a key term. The function of NPG is based on networks and partnerships, where the third sector and social enterprises are important actors and citizens are active co-producers of public services (Pestoff,2015). All the above characteristics are seen in the cases of AGF initiatives, the women's swimming program, and Get2Sport.

Associationalism is the dominant characteristic in all three case studies in Aarhus. First, in the case of Get2sport, there is collaboration of the DIF with

ACFC a local grassroots club founded by Palestinian immigrants. Policy design and implementation is a responsibility of the umbrella organisation of sports federations and a local football club that provides human resources in terms of coaches and volunteers.

With regard to the AGF case, collaboration between AGF, FO Aarhus and the Danish Association of Social Workers was central to the provision of social integration opportunities through sport. A major role is played by the Danish Football Association whose idea of 'taking part of something bigger' opened the way to policy change and the use of football fields as arenas for social integration of socially vulnerable groups. Whereas AGF receives invitation by the local council to participate in projects in this case it was FO Aarhus an NGO that took the initiative. There is a division of labour that shows the horizontal path of collaboration with AGF offering the facilities and volunteers and FO Aarhus offering the organizational support by arranging the invitations and the transportation of the refugees. The municipality is not involved here and the initiative illustrated the bottom up policy making process and the power of associationalism in providing ideas that can become the platform for state policies. The basic code of values that both AGF and FO Aarhus share is about solidarity and collaboration and integration of socially vulnerable groups in the local community through sports programmes. However, there are secondary beliefs from both organisations. AGF is aiming to increase the spectators and FO Aarhus to use the collaboration with AGF to get access to the media. In the case of AGF and Jobcenter Aarhus, the joint core belief is that immigrants can get integrated through their active participation in the labour market.

In the case of women's swimming sessions, the public programme is banned but the associations remain strong and continue to run gender-segregated programmes. At this point, associationalism is illustrated through the power of the associations to remain providers of female swimming sessions, whereas the public programmes run by the municipality will keep its mixed gender character. A clear example of the power of associations at the local level is given by Simon Prahm, who indicates that 'It is difficult to have access to the local facilities, if you aren't registered an association….

Moreover, it is difficult to get hours in the existing gyms because they are used by the local associations although not all the time'. In addition, he indicated that ' the main challenge is that in some municipalities it is hard to get access to facilities, it is very hard to get funding for a structure like ours that is more open and flexible and, you can say, informal. The main challenge is the system's need for an official organizational structures and the youth's need for sports and informal organisations. So that creates some tension, because they are coming from two different worlds' (Interview, 2017).

Political debate is expressed by the division of the local parties between the ones that support the continuation of the public programme (left) and the ones that oppose it (centre-left and mainly the right-wing parties). The first group was supported by a local women's movement 'Women Swimming's Friends in Gellerup Bath'. The strong coalitions that are formed show a significant politicization of the issue which is linked to the existence of 'parallel societies' and the dilemma between the right of the women to exercise on their own and the defence of the Danish sporting culture which advocates that public space is open to both sexes. Another issue is how far can segregation go, with Muslim women wanting to create their own clubs since their religious beliefs forbid being uncovered even in the swimming. Whereas the 'Kvindesvømning' issue has divided the local city council and the society of Aarhus in two coalitions, in the cases of AGF initiatives and the Get2Sport there was only one coalition that supported them and it was composed of the public sector and the not-for-profit sector.

In the latter cases, a major variable such as culture functioned also as a barrier since immigrants were not used of participating in voluntary associations, and were not aware of the Danish community values, affecting policy implementation in terms of human resources and especially the strengthening of the voluntary network. Therefore, it was a challenge to attract immigrants of Muslim background and especially girls to participate in their training courses and become volunteers. That is also the case in ACFC and Get2Sport in Gellerup where parents with a Middle Eastern background are not aware of the Danish sports culture and they weren't very active in voluntary activities. Also, some of them prevented their daughters from taking part in a traditionally masculine sport such as football. However, in both cases

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sports clubs as policy providers provide the framework in which migrants become members of the local community and develop their social skills through participation in football and referee training sessions.

# Chapter 7 Copenhagen

## 7.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to analyze the development of sport policy as part of the migrant integration policy in Copenhagen. The analysis covers the funding/distribution of resources, the relations between: a) the local government and the sports clubs and; b) the sports clubs and non-sport voluntary associations. The first part analyses the socio-economic conditions of Copenhagen municipality, the organizational structure and the allocation of functions within the local administration and the role of sport in citizens' daily lives. The second part explores the policy aims and objectives of the culture and leisure department and identifies its main partners in policy design and implementation. The third part examines broader municipal integration projects particularly those that concern immigrants. The last part analyses three specific sport clubs linked to the social integration of immigrants: namely the Hovedstadens Swimming Club, the Nørrebro Taekwondo Club and the Brønshøj Football Club.

### 7.1.1 Socio-economic identity

Copenhagen is the capital of Denmark and the most crowded Danish city. According to Statistics Denmark (2019b), the capital city region (Region Hovedstaden) approximately has a population of 1,835.537 [in the 4th quarter of 2018].The Municipality of Copenhagen has 622.698 inhabitants (in the 4th quarter of 2018) (Statistics Denmark 2019b) and it is the largest of the four municipalities that compose the City of Copenhagen (Byen København), the other three being Dragør, Frederiksberg and Tårnby. The municipality of Copenhagen consists of ten districts: Indre By, Østerbro, Nørrebro, Vesterbro/Kongens Enghave, Valby, Vanløse, Brønshøj-Husum, Bispebjerg, Amager Øst, and Amager Vest. In addition, Frederiksberg is an enclave (separate municipality within a municipality) in the municipality of Copenhagen (Urban Design and Planning in Copenhagen, 2017). Immigrants in Copenhagen can be divided into four main groups: Nordic citizens, citizens

from the European Union and non-Western citizens, especially from the Middle East and Asia (Skovgaard Nielsen et al., 2016). The city has a wide range of immigrants coming mainly from Pakistan, Turkey, followed by Iraq (Urban Design and Planning in Copenhagen, 2017).

Lutheranism is the dominant Christian dogma followed by Catholicism, Orthodoxy, Reformed Church, and Free Churches (Pentecostal, Evangelical, Baptist, Methodist, Jehovah's Witnesses) and even International Churches. Apart from Christianity the other main religious dogmas in Copenhagen are Islam, Judaism, Buddhism and Hinduism (Københavns Kommune, 2017a).

The change in urban politics in Copenhagen in recent years has been underlined by three interconnected tendencies: first, the transition of the political agenda priorities from redistribution to growth; second, urban politics moved towards a more external looking approach; and third, private enterprise has an upgraded role in decision-making, while the public sector has embraced entrepreneurial forms of organization and behaviour (Lund-Hansen et al., 2001). The move towards urban governance in Copenhagen began in the late 1980s and its establishment took place in the 1990s. In the post-war period, the political and administrative construction of the welfare state led to the formation of the urban government in Copenhagen. This period also included population growth and automobile expansion, and consequently record construction of growing and increasingly distant suburbs. This rapid development of the built environment was regulated by the State, the municipalities and the counties based on the Town Planning Act of 1938 and the Regional Planning Act of 1949, inspired by the 'Finger Plan' of 1947, according to which development would be channelled into five finger zones extending outwards from the city centre, with recreational space in between. Growth culminated in the 1960s, with deserted industrial buildings replaced by of office buildings suitable to the new service economy (Lund-Hansen et al., 2001). Finally, in 1993  the campaign of the Social Democratic mayors in Copenhagen towards the social problems linked to migration led to the establishment of an Urban Committee whose strategy was composed of: a) economic support; b) physical improvements; c) social initiatives (which involved   activities for immigrants and socially vulnerable groups); d) organizational reforms and ; e) educational initiatives (Munk,2002: 226). A

local network strategy was based on partnerships between the local housing organizations, local government, residents and voluntary organisations; funding of new social activities for the residents; and the employment of neighbourhood initiators in the disadvantaged neighbourhoods (Munk, 2002).

Copenhagen's social geography was the outcome of at least four major influences. First, regional policy reduced growth in the capital region during the post-war period. The reversal of this policy in 1989 let loose powerful forces of change in the city's social geography. Second, deindustrialization changed the economic base of the city, leaving brownfield areas for eventual redevelopment and leading to a shift in the demand for labour towards services. Industrial employment declined by 50% between 1960 and 1980, falling another 20% in the following 20 years. Third, the crisis from the mid-1970s through the 1980s increased unemployment. And finally, suburbanization was responsible for the loss of inner-city population with the exodus of mainly younger, better-off households leaving mostly older and economically weaker households in the inner city (Lund-Hansen et al., 2001).

Nowadays, Copenhagen is among the top five fastest growing big-city destinations in Europe and is a growth mechanism for Denmark. The goal of the City of Copenhagen's 'Business and Growth Policy' is to become Northern Europe's leading business metropolis - where growth and quality of life are combined. By 2020, the annual GDP growth is expected to have increased to 5%, with an estimated 20,000 new private jobs created, and productivity is expected to have increased by 4%. These goals of the Copenhagen Municipality could be met through policies that will make Copenhagen a pole of attraction to various international companies, investments, highly skilled international professionals, tourists and mega events (Københavns Kommune, 2017b; City of Copenhagen, 2017: 4-5).

In 2011, about 17.9% of Copenhagen inhabitants with a non-Western ethnic origin were unemployed, but the rate was reduced to 12.2% by the end of 2016. The reduction was a partly result of the municipal policy to get more unemployed immigrants into subsidised internships where they could develop their working skills and even get a paid vacancy. The unemployment rate for Copenhageners with a Danish background was 4.7% in 2016 (Rychla, 2016).

The latest unemployment rates in per cent of the labour force in the main Copenhagen areas/suburbs are presented on table 7.1

**Table 7.1 Unemployment in Copenhagen**

| Copenhagen Areas/Suburbs | Month/Year | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| Capital City Region | November 2018 | 3,8% |
| Province City of Copenhagen | November 2018 | 4,3% |
| Copenhagen | November 2018 | 4,5% |
| Frederiksberg | November 2018 | 3,8% |
| Province Copenhagen's Region | November 2018 | 3,9% |

**Source: Statistics Denmark, 2019a**

**7.1.2 Sports Life in Copenhagen**

Copenhagen is a city in rapid development with new districts under way in, for example, Valby (Carlsberg), Nordhavn and Ørestaden. By virtue of being the capital and the general urbanization trends the city attracts many from both the rest of the country and abroad. It is therefore a complex of inhabitants, which also diversifies the sports scene in Copenhagen. Moreover, Copenhagen contains a number of internal differences, not only between Copenhagen Municipality, Frederiksberg Municipality and the rest of the country, but also between the municipality's individual districts (Rask, 2017).

In spite of a strong population growth, the profile of the individual districts varies, like the citizens' composition in the districts varies in both education, and income. In Indre By and Østerbro, with the highest income and education level, typically, a higher sport participation rate could be expected than in Brønshøj-Husum and Bispebjerg due to the high proportion of citizens from non-western countries and relatively high level of unemployment. Unlike Aarhus, Copenhagen has relatively limited access to nature within the

municipal boundary, but in turn, it has attractive park areas and green areas and good opportunities for sports by the water (Rask, 2017,11).

With regard to associations and evening school life Copenhagen accommodates a wide range of associations and offers a versatile evening school programme to the city's citizens. According to the Culture and Leisure Policy 2016-2019, 'The Copenhagen associations play a central role in the city, gathering people and promoting the democratic values. Among the specials qualities of the associations is the provision of sports to children and that many of them have gone constructively into the work of promoting culture and leisure in connection with the new elementary school reform. (Københavns Kommune 2017c: 16).

The city has a wide range of sports clubs. The major football club is FC København, which was founded in 1992 after the merger of Kjøbenhavns Boldklub and Boldklubben 1903 (FC København, 2018 & Ankerdal, 2018) . Other clubs are BK Frem is based in the southern part of Copenhagen (Sydhavnen, Valby), FC Nordsjælland (from suburban Farum), Fremad Amager, B93, AB, Lyngby and Hvidovre IF. Copenhagen has several handball clubs such as Ajax, Ydun, and HIK (Hellerup) and clubs in other sports such as swimming, floorball, badminton and martial arts (Ny Sport, 2017).There are several similarities between Copenhagen and Aarhus with regard to citizens' choice of activities. In both Copenhagen and Aarhus, strength training and running - even more so than at national level- are by far the most popular activities. Four out of ten citizens in the two cities train in running, while 37% are involved with strength training, showing that the individual exercise activities are most popular in the big cities. This is explained largely because these activities are generally popular among the 16-29 year-olds. The activities are characterized by low entry barriers and by being flexible geographically and, in terms of time and in access to public facilities. However, Copenhagen's activity routes vary from both Aarhus and the rest the country since the Copenhageners are more likely to participate in swimming, yoga, football and cross fit than the Aarhusians and the rest of the country, which is more likely to be engaged in walking, gymnastics and badminton (Rask, 2017, 17).

**Table 7.2 Organisational Location of Sport Activities in Copenhagen, Aarhus and nationwide**

| Sport Activities | Copenhagen | Aarhus | National Average |
|---|---|---|---|
| Associations | 32% | 38% | 39% |
| Private | 35% | 34% | 25% |
| Company Sport | 8% | 7% | 6% |
| On their Own | 63% | 65% | 62% |
| Evening school | 2% | 2% | 2% |
| Other Context | 6% | 7% | 6% |

**Source: Rask, 2017**

According to a study conducted by Storm and Rask (2017), sports associations play a major role as organizers or providers of sports and exercise, but mainly for children and adolescents. At the national level, adults are more active 'on their own' than in sports associations. That is observed also in the municipality of Copenhagen, and here the difference is particularly great. In Copenhagen municipality the proportion of citizens doing at least one activity on their own increased to 64% with only 33% doing sports in associations. At the national level, sports associations are the second largest organizational form after self-organized activities, but in Copenhagen, the private / commercial centres have been the dominant sport activity providers. Only a relatively small proportion of adult Copenhageners are active in forms of 'company sports'. Throughout the various stages of life, Copenhageners follow the pattern developed at national level to a large extent. However, the older (retirement age) Copenhageners are less likely to be members of the associations which, in part, explains the reduced prominence of sport associations in Copenhagen (Storm & Rask, 2017:24). With regard to gender, there are no big differences between the choice of organizational forms. A slightly higher proportion of women practice sports in private fitness centres, while men are more likely to participate in sporting associations (Storm & Rask, 2017: 25).

In relation to the participation of migrants, football, dance, swimming and martial arts have proved to be the most successful sports for attracting migrants and ethnic minorities in the City of Copenhagen. In 2011, about half

of the 900 new members of clubs had an ethnic background other than Danish, and one third of these children and young people were ethnic minority girls whose participation in sport associations in general is quite low. 'The partnership with the City of Copenhagen enabled us to focus more on the girls. We would not have had that opportunity otherwise' (Kaj Nielsen, project manager and chairman of Nørrebro Taekwondo Klub, quoted in Fabricius, 2011).

### 7.1.3 Municipal Organisation

### 7.1.3.1 Mayor and Municipal Council

The City of Copenhagen has an intermediate government system with a divided administrative structure. Particularly, the government of the City of Copenhagen consists of its supreme body, the City Council, followed by seven standing committees. According to this system, the Lord Mayor as well as the chairmen of the standing committees (mayors) are members of the Economic Committee – with the Lord Mayor as chairman of the Committee. In a system of divided administrative management, the Lord Mayor and the chairmen of the standing committees (the mayors) share responsibility for the senior management of the City: Each of them is head of the administration in charge of the tasks falling under their various committees. The seven committees (and corresponding administrations) set up by the City Council are: 1) Finance; 2) Culture and Leisure; 3) Children and Youth; 4) Health and Care; 5) Social Services; 6) Technical and Environmental; and 7) Employment and Integration. The committees can make final decisions within their areas, which reduces the number of decisions that must be submitted to the City Council (Københavns Kommune, 2017d and 2017e).

The City Council is Copenhagen's supreme political authority. It has 55 members who are elected for a four-year term. The City Council sets the strategic framework for the committees (Københavns Kommune, 2017e). In November 2017 municipal elections the Social Democrats received 27,6% of the votes followed by Enhedslisten (18,4%) and Alternativet (10,5%) (KMD, 2017b). The City Council elected in 2017 was composed of : Social Democratic Party (centre-left),15; Enhedslisten, 11(socialist); Alternativet,

(centre-left, green party), 6; Radikale Venstre, 5 (centrist, social liberal); Venstre (centre-right, conservative liberal), 5; Socialist People's Party (left wing, democratic socialist and green), 5; Danish People's Party (right-wing populist), 3; Conservative People's Party(centre-right, liberal conservative),3; Liberal Alliance (centre-right), 2 (Paaske, 2017; Brandt, 2017). The 2017 municipal council is dominated by a social democratic coalition (Larsen, 2017).

### 7.1.3.2 Municipal Budget

According to the budget for 2017, Copenhagen Municipality is investing in the following main areas: modern schools, jobs and good business; environment; housing; green transformation and infrastructure; and culture and sport (Københavns 2017f, p.4).The city's budget includes a number of programmes for children in vulnerable families, including more teachers in vulnerable neighbourhoods and money to strengthen early efforts to allow children in vulnerable families to attend day care and be stimulated socially and linguistically. In addition, money has been allocated to support the city's poorest - early retirees, recipients of cash benefits and integration projects. At the same time, money is being spent on building suburbs for the general housing that Copenhagen refugees move into (Københavns Kommune, 2017g).

According to Statistics Denmark, in the period 2010-2018 there was an increase in the municipal budget in Copenhagen in two policy areas, education and culture, health and a broadly stable rate in social work and employment, which is demonstrated at table 7.3.

**Table 7.3 Municipal budget in three essential policy fields**

| Year | Education & Culture | Health | Social Work & Employment |
|------|---------------------|--------|--------------------------|
| 2018 | DKK 5,081,279 | DKK 2,996,561 | DKK 23,235,021 |
| 2017 | DKK 4,947,279 | DKK 3,049,527 | DKK 23,406,750 |
| 2016 | DKK 4,869,301 | DKK 2,831,499 | DKK 23,372,588 |
| 2015 | DKK 4,716,866 | DKK 2,738,628 | DKK 23,148,629 |

| 2014 | DKK 4,512,231 | DKK 2,661,035 | DKK 23,456,590 |
|------|---------------|---------------|----------------|
| 2013 | DKK 4,380,647 | DKK 2,584,589 | DKK 23,704,117 |
| 2012 | DKK 4,060,902 | DKK 2,544,126 | DKK 24,422,073 |
| 2011 | DKK 3,937,117 | DKK 1,769,862 | DKK 23,252,434 |
| 2010 | DKK 3,867,734 | DKK 1,168,404 | DKK 22,626,767 |

**Source: Statistics Denmark, 2019c**

The budget for culture and leisure in 2017 was DKK 191,5 million and was allocated to fund a series of major projects including: renovation of the city's swimming pools, sports facilities and properties. Copenhagen's swimming pools and sports facilities are heavily used and DKK 28 million has been allocated to renovate swimming pools and DKK 2 million to plan the renovation of the Ryparken's sports facilities and the Svanemøllehallen. In addition, in budget 2017, there are DKK 149 million allocated to comprehensive improvement of a number of municipal properties. The rest of the budget applies: a) to support cultural activities in Brønshøj water tower; b) to support the Festival Pool, which funds cultural and sports events in Copenhagen; and c) strengthening associations of Copenhagen by allocating funds to a number of projects. The Culture and Leisure Administration is also committed to developing social partnerships with selected associations to support resource-poor children (Københavns Kommune, 2017h).

**7.1.3.3 Sports Organisation**

The Culture and Leisure Committee (KFU) is attached to the Culture and Leisure Administration. The members of the Culture and Leisure Committee, according to the regulations of the Board, oversee the management of the municipality's cultural and leisure activities which include public libraries, sports facilities, cultural facilities, including museums, theatres, music and subsidies for cultural activities (Københavns Kommune, 2017i).

The head of the Culture and Leisure Committee until 2017 was Mayor Carl Christian Ebbesen from the Danish People's Party, a far-right anti-immigrant party, but after the last elections (November 2017) he was replaced by Francisca Rosenkilde (Alternativet). The administrative committee consists of 3 Social Democrats, 2 Alternativet, 2 Enhedslisten, 1 Socialist People's Party, 1 Radikale Venstre, 1 Liberal Alliance and 1 Venstre (Københavns Kommune, 2017j).

### 7.1.3.4 Integration in Copenhagen Municipality

At the national level, discourses and policy on diversity, migration and citizenship have been characterized by a guest-worker policy in the 1960s, through an integrationist/intercultural policy following the 1973 crisis, to a gradually increasing assimilation policy during the 1980s and 1990s, to the recent introduction of more integrationist/intercultural policies in the 2010s. According to Andersen et al. (2014), in contrast, the dominant discourse in Copenhagen is pluralistic, focusing on the advantages of diversity and attempting to create a city based on diversity. Mainstreaming is the strategy for achieving diversity and therefore the direct resource allocation for diversity-related initiatives is limited. However, to mirror the increased focus on diversity, the municipal departments annually publish estimates of their expenses on diversity as part of the city's integration policy (Andersen et al., 2014).

The Municipality of Copenhagen integration strategy encloses all socially disadvantaged groups in which migrants are just one of them with the aim to promote justice and diversity. 'Get Involved in Your City. Citizenship + Inclusion' was the municipality's integration policy motto for 2011-2014 based on three key concepts: inclusion (as a sense of belonging and participation in the city); integration (as a process of interaction between people of different ethnic backgrounds); and citizenship (as the possibility for all citizens to participate in the democracy in a responsible and accommodating way). The vision is to create an inclusive city focusing on citizenship and diversity. The focus of the policy is predominantly on (non-Western) immigrants and refugees, but to some extent on socio-economic factors as well. Four themes

were identified by the municipality: 1) a good start in life for all children and young adults; 2) inclusion in the labour market; 3) supporting deprived groups and areas; and 4) the open and welcoming city (Andersen et al., 2014).

Moreover, the Copenhagen city council has launched a 'Policy for Deprived Neighbourhoods', in which area-based initiatives (ABIs) are considered to be an important tool.The ABIs are characterised by applying an integrated and place-based approach and as such they emphasize a wide range of challenges that occur in the chosen neighbourhoods instead of addressing one policy problem (Agger & Poulsen, 2017).The ABIs in Copenhagen have an emphasis on close collaboration with local residents and stakeholders. In Copenhagen, the vision is called 'a city in balance' and it is aimed at initiating 'a positive development in the districts – encompassing physical, social, cultural and environmental aspects' (Københavns Kommune, 2012a cited in Agger & Poulsen, 2017: 374). According to the 2014 Municipal Planning Strategy document (Københavns Kommune, 2014b: 39), 'Municipal investments in e.g. day-care institutions, schools, sporting facilities, recreational areas, etc., can be used to create greater coherence in the city through a strategy that gives us the opportunity to meet one another across quarters(districts)'.

During the 1990s and specifically in the early part of this decade the city council adopted policies and practices which could be regarded as integrationist with an agenda focused on human rights and anti-discrimination and, in the early days, there was also a recognition of group rights through the inclusion of places for ethnic minority representative groups on the city's Advisory Integration Council. However, in recent years as the national government emphasised assimilation, the city council of Copenhagen seems to have followed the opposite direction. In fact, this can be exemplified by two major policy initiatives of recent times: VI KBH'R' and Engage in the City. The city council set out to make Copenhagen itself into a place for all citizens regardless of their ethnicity, legal status or attitude towards Danishness. In 2008, the campaign 'We Are Copenhageners' was created, according to 'Wij Amsterdammers' campaign in the Netherlands, acknowledging it is easier to become a Copenhagener than a Dane. The twin aims of the campaign were to strengthen inclusion and dialogue between citizens of the city; and highlight

and celebrate the city's diversity. Vi KBH´R´ was implemented during the first Integration Policy of the city, covering the period 2006-10. The vision of the policy was that: "Copenhagen will be an integrated city in which citizens are able to live together safely and securely, sharing a respect for diversity and common basic values such as freedom of speech, democracy and gender equality. Integration is a mutual process in which all citizens irrespective of ethnic origin, create and form their society. The integration policy is designed to promote equal opportunity for all". Based on the three principles: 1) Integration is a joint responsibility; 2) Integration requires diversity; and, 3) Integration must be attractive. Therefore, goals were set in policy areas such as employment, education, housing, safety, culture and leisure activities, and health and care services. (Council of Europe, 2011: 5).

Policy goals were monitored by an Integration Barometer, which is published online. The Barometer works by giving six key themes (employment; education; housing; safety; culture and leisure; and health) a 'traffic light rating' based on data from surveys and existing statistics and breaks the results down by neighbourhood. There were even more substantive terms by a new city integration policy Engage in the City 2011-2014 and, within this a detailed strategy for the years 2011 to 2013 entitled Programme of Engage in CPH6. The policy had an even stronger emphasis on inclusion, setting out a vision that: "Copenhagen is the place the citizen can trust, there is education and work for all, and religious beliefs are respected". The Policy had eight objectives: 1. More young people benefitting from education 2. People at work 3. A more diverse leadership and workforce in the municipality 4. Increase the number of beneficiaries of municipal service 5. A safer Copenhagen for all groups 6. More must have their voices heard in Copenhagen 7. Reducing the feeling of exclusion through poverty. 8.Fewer to experience discrimination. The Inclusion Barometer monitored progress through key indicators corresponding to the eight goals. The Inclusion policy 2011-14 emerged from a wide-ranging consultation process of think tanks and hearings and 38 different working papers. 'Engage in the City' identifies a much more important role for civil society than have previous policies. A Diversity Board was established with senior representatives from business, culture, civil society, minority communities, city representatives etc. to

promote diversity and facilitate the engagement of stakeholders. The members of the Diversity Board have signed the Copenhagen Charter for Diversity. In 2011 the work of Engage in the City has focused on four theme areas, city life, work, education and dialogue (Council of Europe, 2011: 5).

According to the municipal publication on Integration in Copenhagen, 'Copenhagen must be a city in which more Copenhageners are in employment and education, and where more people live a healthy and active life, while fewer are socially disadvantaged and experiencing being outside the community' (Københavns Kommune, 2017k). This is the ambition behind the 4-year integration policy for 2015-18, adopted by Copenhagen Citizens' Representation on March 26, 2015. With the Integration Policy for 2015-18, Copenhagen Municipality focuses on social mobility and cohesion under the following two headings: a) more citizens in education and jobs and b) open and safe city (Københavns Kommune, 2017k & 2014a).

With the Copenhagen City Integration Policy 2015-18 as a framework, the Employment and Integration Committee through its Integration Plan wants to ensure: a) work for Copenhageners with a different ethnic background; b) that there will be fewer young people with a different ethnic background without education; and c) strengthening of citizenship among Copenhageners.

With the Integration Agreement 2015-16, the Employment and Integration Committee has come a long way towards achieving the goals of the Copenhagen City Integration Policy. For example, the overrepresentation of the able migrants in the group of unemployed has fallen by 15 percent since 2014. The proportion of citizens with an ethnic background other than Danish with an internship in the private sector, had increased between 2014-2016. The Integration Plan for 2017-18 is based on an improvement of work education and strengthening citizenship. A total of DKK 11 million were allocated annually for a number of additional projects in the field of integration:

a) DKK 4,5 million to get citizens in the target group in work

b) DKK 3 million to create a leisure job for young people

c) DKK 2 million to combat social control

d) DKK 0,9 million to combat discrimination

e) DKK 0,6 million for civil society efforts for refugees.

The target group for Integration Action Plan 2017-18 is citizens of an ethnic background other than Danish. In the municipality of Copenhagen, this term is used for citizens who are immigrants or descendants from non-western immigrants. From 2016, the municipality of Copenhagen began to receive significant numbers of refugees with the consequence that the Integration Action Plan 2017-18 also includes efforts to strengthen citizenship for refugees in Copenhagen Municipality (Københavns Kommune, 2016).

**7.1.3.5 Municipal Projects in Social Integration**

There is a number of projects organised by Copenhagen Municipality designed to facilitate the integration of migrants. They involve a wide range of departments, especially children and youth, culture and leisure and employment and integration. The City of Copenhagen has in recent years focused hard on integration. Over DKK 200 million have been used every year since 2014 on various integration projects. The projects included: 1) "Including Mega City's Anti-Discrimination". In 2014, a majority of the City Hall entered into an agreement to promote "The Including City of 2014". A joint agreement included how the municipality should promote democracy by combating discrimination with an agenda composed of inter-religious events, intercultural events, and the development of a campaign that could highlight the prejudices towards ethnic minorities (Vanopslagh,2017).

2) "Taste the world" diversity festival. For several years, the municipality held the diversity festival "Taste the World". The purpose was for ethnic minorities to have the opportunity to "engage in dialogue with Copenhageners and to increase understanding of the city's diversity" (Vanopslagh,2017).

3) The Diversity Home. In the summer of 2013 Peder Lykke Center was chosen as a diversity care home in the municipality of Copenhagen, where citizens of different ethnicity, religion and language could interact and live peacefully. DKK 1.9 million was used to educate employees in "intercultural competencies" and knowledge of ethnic minorities (Vanopslagh,2017)

4) Bydelsmødre. An important integrative project that takes place in Copenhagen and other municipalities across Denmark is Bydelsmødre (Neighbourhood Mothers). The Neighbourhood Mothers can function as a  of

"link" between socially vulnerable women, who often lack networks and face challenges with the Danish language and the municipal system, and the local area, because of their own experience as newcomers in Denmark. (Bydelsmødre, 2017a).

The basic idea in Bydelsmødre concept is that mothers in many ways are the key to the whole family's social and cultural integration process. The concept of Bydelsmødre is based on five values: recognition, respect, confidence, equality and diversity (Bydelsmødre, 2017b).

There are almost 40 Neighbourhood Mothers (NM) groups in Copenhagen and other municipalities. Many of them have come to Denmark as adults and have undergone various challenges associated with settling in a new country. The main tasks and activities associated with the Bydelsmødre project are the following:

a) Guide women to family counselling, citizen services, gymnastics, women's cafés, healthcare provider, job centre and more.

b) Act as co-organizer of an existing women's cafe in a social housing plan.

c) Arrange a themed evening on communication with teenagers in collaboration with the local community library.

d) Collaborate with a school to get parents with ethnic minority backgrounds to participate in parenting meetings.

e) Arrange a presentation with the local police in the local mosque.

f) Mediate to solve misunderstandings between parents and day care centres / schools (Bydelsmødre, 2017a).

An example of an organisation that promoted integration in Copenhagen Municipality is KHRS which is a service company established in 1981. At that time, KHRS was primarily in the business of cleaning services, whereas expansion has now taken place within the service area provided. KHRS offers a wide range of services, primarily within the framework of the hotel industry and business services. KHRS won the Business Prize 2016 in the 'Environment and Social Responsibility' category. Over the past 10 years, KHRS has worked with integration and employment-promoting projects in collaboration with the country's municipalities including Copenhagen (KHRS, 2017).

Integration is an issue that is high on the municipal agenda but it is also an issue that concerns civil society and the non-for-profit sector. An example of an NGO that gives credit to integration of newly arrived refugees is Trampoline House. Trampoline House was established in 2010 as a citizens' collaboration between asylum seekers, refugees, artists, scholars, journalists, and others interested in breaking the social isolation, poverty, and inertia that characterized life in Danish asylum centers. The objectives of the Trampoline House are to:

1) Break the isolation and clientization experienced by asylum seekers in the asylum system and provide them with the necessary knowledge and support to improve their social and legal situation.

2) Support refugees with residence in Denmark in carving out a safe and dignified life with meaningful employment, friendships, self-confidence, and understanding of the official and unofficial rules of Danish society.

3) Inform the Danish public about the conditions for asylum seekers and refugees in Denmark and advocate for structural changes in the current asylum policies based on solidarity and mutual respect (Trampoline House, 2017:2). Trampoline House's integration strategy is based on four pillars which are skill-enhancing internships, systematic counselling, a psychosocial community and democratic practice (Trampoline House, 2017: 3).

According to the founder of the Trampoline House, Morten Goll, 'What we have here is a consensus democracy that works because we are a small organisation. We can actually help the newcomers understand democracy. Democracy is not just the parliament and the right to vote. It is a way of life'. (Interview with Morten Goll, 2017). Goll explains why Trampoline House doesn't use sport as an integrative tool, arguing that 'Rather than sports our interest is in democracy. Democracy is a culture and culture happens between people. For the people to meet there should be activities. For this to happen we need activities, it could be sports. For pragmatic reasons we don't have the facilities. But instead we have classrooms in which refugees are taught Danish, English and Arabic, kitchen, tailor shop, hairdresser, garden, children's corner, where the children of the refugees, who attend classes, wait' (Interview with Morten Goll, 2017).

The municipal integration policy in Copenhagen is focused on the use of the labour market as the main means to include migrants into the local community and in this process the local government has a partnership with other important local stakeholders such as local civil organisations and businesses. In order to meet its policy goals, the Municipality used projects focused on intercultural events as means to combat discrimination and racism and promote diversity, along with area-based initiatives in socially vulnerable neighbourhoods with inhabitants with ethnic backgrounds other than Danish. These projects reveal the importance given to the participation of the local migrant communities and the local associations as co-actors in the integration process. Moreover, with the 'Neighbourhood Mothers' project, the Municipality intended to approach immigrant women who face challenges because of their different cultural and religious values, indicating the significance of gender equality and motherhood. Furthermore, the establishment of a Diversity Board composed of delegates from business, civil organisations and the municipality shows the intention of the local government to promote diversity and associationalism. The municipality gives credit to the contribution of the local labour market and the civil society that will provide job opportunities and education. The cases of KHRS (local business) and Trampoline House (NGO) as arenas of integration are bright examples of how businesses and NGOs can offer a working environment where migrants and refugees can enter the Danish community life, giving them the opportunity to interact and peacefully coexist.

**7.2 Culture and Leisure Strategy**

The culture and leisure strategy provides the framework for initiatives in the Copenhagen municipality. It unfolds in practice on 3 levels: 1) a vision that is common to all of Copenhagen and gathered under the term 'urban culture'; 2) principles that are the starting point for initiatives and actions in the cultural and leisure area; and 3) areas of action that will be the focus in the coming years (Københavns Kommune 2017c; Københavns Kommune 2012b). According to the Culture and Leisure strategy document for the period 2011-2015, 'Culture and leisure must work across the city to create active platforms

for sports, art and the city cultural heritage... The challenge is to organize the city so that it can meet population growth, support the culture and the potential of sport to create economic growth and develop in cooperation with players outside Copenhagen' (Københavns Kommune, 2012b:7).

According to the city's publicity material, 'the City of Copenhagen's ambition is to be an attractive city with quality of life and "edge". Copenhagen should be a city where not everything is planned and decided in advance, but one that is it open to new ideas so that the city develops potential without losing its character…At the same time, the city must maintain the pulse of the big city as a place where there is a cornucopia of cultural and leisure facilities' (Københavns Kommune, 2017c:6).

The principles that guide the Culture and Leisure Committee include the following:

1. The value of the culture. Culture and leisure provide indirect benefits such as community development across social divisions, health, lifelong learning, developing creative skills and entrepreneurship.

2. Democracy. In the culture and leisure life in Copenhagen there must be an offer for everyone. The volunteer associations must be supported as a venue for community and responsibility, and user involvement must have a special place in Copenhagen's cultural life (Københavns Kommune 2017c: 8).

3. Quality. Culture and leisure must be based on quality. The policy has a special focus on children, young people and socially disadvantaged groups…and there must be a place for the new comers so that they can become part of an active cultural and leisure life (Københavns Kommune 2017c:9).

4. Freedom of expression. Copenhagen celebrates freedom of speech, and everyone should be able to express their opinions about cultural and leisure life (Københavns Kommune 2017c:10).

5. Decentralization. A large part of cultural and leisure life is local and happens predominantly within the many decentralized institutions in Copenhagen, such as libraries, sports facilities and cultural centers. Decentralization allows citizens to engage and have their say in their local area and supports the principle of democratization by moving decision-making closer to users (Københavns Kommune 2017c:10)

Frank Jensen, Lord Mayor of Copenhagen, underlines the aim of his administration regarding the use of sport as an integrative tool: 'As Lord Mayor and Social Democrat it is an important priority for me that we use sports as a part of our social and integration policies - for example to prevent young people from being tempted into becoming gang members and instead wanting to be a part of the local community. I think that there is a different attitude to immigration now than ten years ago. As politicians, we are much more aware that we have to demand active participation in society from the people coming to Denmark and Copenhagen from other countries. But this means that we also have to offer activities that make it easy to become a part of the local community' (Correspondence with Frank Jensen, 2018).

From her side, Camila Graversgaard Nielsen, consultant at the Culture and Leisure Administration at Copenhagen Municipality, clarified the focus of the administration which is more on inclusion rather than integration. 'We don't speak so much about social integration any longer, we speak about inclusion, to include these socially vulnerable groups into sport and leisure activities, for instance. We don't specifically have a focus on ethnic minorities or migrants any longer in this department. That has changed things....If we speak about things in a different way maybe it will change our perception of things. I think it works. We still have a focus on integration of ethnic minorities but we speak about it in different terms' (Interview, 2017)

In addition, Graversgaard Nielsen indicated that integration through sports is an issue that concerns three municipal departments and sports associations. 'There has been focus on what sport and leisure can do, and how it works as a tool for integration. In the department of social work, and in the department for youth and children there is an increased focus on sports in collaboration with our local sports unions (associations). I find that very positive, there is a big challenge for us, the big departments, working together on this agenda. We try to collaborate but it still doesn't work at the moment, it will come in a few years (Interview, 2017).

Within the Municipality cultural and leisure activities are considered to have great potential to involve different populations. In order to achieve this objective the Culture and Leisure Committee requires that institutions of Cultural Management should review local areas and its facilities in order to

ensure that more children and youth in local city areas have access to a range of activities (Københavns Kommune 2017c, p.17).

Pia Allerslev, Mayor of Children and Youth, expressed a more liberal view than the Mayor of Culture and Leisure, indicating that the sports clubs can provide better services in integration than the municipal departments. 'It is not our task to organize sports or invent all these sports clubs or make all these boys or girls active. It would be the NGOs, the sports clubs or the civil society can do that better. They have a huge task here. But, of course, we as the municipality need to make sure that they have the right frames to work in, they are provided with the access to the children either at the schools or in the afterschool activities (Interview, 2017).

The Copenhagen barometer shows that bilingual children, especially girls, are significantly less active in their free time than ethnic Danish children. The response to this issue by the sports associations was to allocate more volunteers to outreach work in areas of low participation which include many areas with a high concentration of migrants (Ebbesen, 2017a). The municipality works with the associations through three specific programmes:

1. Organization of Holiday Camp (FerieCamp): Holiday Camp provides cultural and leisure activities during school holidays in six deprived urban areas in Copenhagen. The activities are for all Copenhagen schoolchildren and are available without registration. The children receive an offer for association guidance at participation. Holiday Camp is addressed to all children aged 6-17 years in the five major school holidays. The activities are run by associations, libraries, cultural centers and other organisations (Københavns Kommune, 2015 & Ebbesen 2017a).

Camilla Graversgaard Nielsen, indicated that the municipal focus was on children in socially disadvantaged areas, arguing that 'The department focuses on children and youth. We collaborate with unions places in socially vulnerable urban areas and we manage to grasp these children. The Ferie Kampe are placed in the area where the children live. The majority of the children, about 80% that participate in our initiatives have immigrant background' (Interview, 2017).

The goal of the various camps is to bond families with the associations that have the resources and competences to include children with special needs in

their activities. At the camp, the children have the opportunity to try the activities together with their parents, who get more information about the associations and opportunities for their children. The holiday camp is organized by Fritid KBH in cooperation with DGI, the National Association for Autism and the associations KIFU and KTK (FerieCamp, 2017).

2. Leisure Guides: The Leisure Guides work to provide children and young people in vulnerable urban areas in Copenhagen with the opportunity to have an active free time. Engaged volunteers guide children, young people and their families to sports and cultural associations, close to where they live. The Leisure Guides are a cooperation between Culture and Leisure Management of Copenhagen Municipality, Frederiksberg Municipality and Danish Refugee Council (Ebbesen, 2017a). Especially in Leisure Guides, there is a closer collaboration with sport clubs in terms of meetings and agreements. 'The programmes are designed for immigrant children and adolescents and provide a wide range of sporting activities with football and swimming being the two most important integrative tools' (Interview with Camilla Graversgaard Nielsen, 2017).

3. Participation in the area of Vestamager and establishment of social partnerships: Culture and Leisure Management entered into a partnership with Peder Lykke, Dyveke and Amager Fælled School in connection with the primary school reform. The Culture and Leisure Administration sends employees out at the schools where they act as 'bridge builders' between schools and culture and leisure services (Københavns Kommune 2015, p.19).

The main barriers that are addressed in these programmes are: a) the lack of knowledge concerning what these clubs can provide to the children. Most of the parents have never attended any sports activity or joined a sports club in their entire life and have a little knowledge of what they can do for the children; b) The economic difficulty of the families in finding the membership fees (the municipality is planning to address this problem in 2018); c) The booking system in sports facilities. Most of the associations have online booking systems and the Culture and Leisure try to help the family that face difficulties in booking; and d) Gender divided programmes. Sport clubs run swimming lessons only for girls where curtains are drawn and men are not allowed to attend and that has caused a political debate, with the Mayor of

Culture and Leisure being against that type of integration (Interview with Camilla Graversgaard Nielsen, 2017)

Another important sport-related municipal tool is the 'Idrætsprojektet' (Sports Project), designed in the Center for Vulnerable and Crime-Threatening Youth (CUKU). The Sports Project began in 2007 with the aim to improve young people's lives through sport and movement activities and by strengthening their bond with civil society and community (Kph-Projects, 2018). According to Christoffer Hansen, 'You need, as a municipality, as government and as social worker, to cooperate and do things together so most people will have success these frames (framework of integration)' (Interview, 2018). Moreover, Hansen stressed that that 'activities other than sport (but related to motion/leisure) such as music have a big potential in bringing people together. People understand how Denmark works, what are the most important values and be part of those values'. Hansen is very optimistic about integration, indicating that social workers and participants in the program are open towards integration and that from their side the municipalities have to back up the set of values with the provision of facilities and the tasks implemented by volunteers and social workers (Interview, 2018). Two important tools used by 'Sports Project' linked to integration are the mentor pack and the leisure pack. With the mentor pack the citizen gets a mentor and become part of the sports project. The mentoring package of the sports project is an offer for adult citizens in the municipality of Copenhagen, who need special support in connection with accessing the labour market or educational system (Idrætsprojektet, 2017a).

The leisure package is designed to motivate of the participant to adopt an active leisure life in new communities. The leisure package is an offer for children and young people in the sports project's target group. The participant is assigned a personal trainer who trains and teaches the participant twice a week for the purpose of getting him / her firmly linked to an offer in a civil association as well as building the participant's network that can support the positive development of the child / young person, possibly accompanying the child / young person to leisure activities. There is also the possibility of supplementing the Leisure Package through Leisure Package + School (Idrætsprojektet, 2017b).

The (former) Mayor of Culture and Leisure, Carl Christian Ebbesen, indicated his administration's vision by stating 'I want to strengthen the associations in Copenhagen because it is a very important part of Danish culture and can - besides give sweat on the forehead, fun experiences with teammates and a unique unity - teach children and young people something about the democratic rules of play and the importance of be part of a community' (Ebbesen,2017b).The policy objectives of the Culture and Leisure Administration of the Municipality of Copenhagen are focused on a wide range of socially disadvantaged groups rather than only migrants. The two different packages, Mentor package and Leisure package, mirror the intention of the municipality to provide services to both parents and children in order to activate them, bring them into the Danish sporting world and make them a part of the Danish community. The mentor package involves the participation of the municipal Employment and Integration Committee since it also aims to connect the recipient of the package with the labour market. The Leisure Package focuses more on sport and the training in citizenship, but there is also an extension of the package with school work. Both packages have an educational dimension, showing the intention of the Municipality to offer integration programs that activate and improve both physical and social skills of the participants.

Sports clubs are basic tools for the social integration of vulnerable groups such as immigrants and table D2 in Appendix D summarises the main initiatives in a Rasmussen (2008) study.

### 7.2.1 Sport Associations and Social Partnerships

An important municipal service in Copenhagen that enables sport associations to act as means of integration in disadvantaged areas is the existence of social partnerships (Ebbesen, 2017b).

The budget for 2018-2021 allocated funds have been allocated to 10 associations each to receive DKK 200,000 annually for four years to recruit an organiser in the association in order to create stability and a social focus so that the association can receive, accommodate and support socially vulnerable children and adolescents. Similarly, the purpose of the support is

to ensure that the association can act as an active partner and a driving force in its local area.

The social partnerships can only be sought by public-sector associations resident in the municipality of Copenhagen. Applicants must - as a starting point - have 150 children and youth members, accommodate and support socially disadvantaged children and youth in the association and have activities in or near a socially disadvantaged urban area.

The allocated funds must be used for remuneration of one or more organisers who are intended to support the general voluntary operation of the association. Above all, associations must share the objective to better accommodate socially disadvantaged children and young people. (Københavns Kommune, 2017l)

The Popular Enlightenment Committee takes the final decision on grants on the basis of recommendations from the Culture and Leisure Committee. Then, the associations that are appointed and approved to become social partnerships must pass a training course. The grants are paid after the conclusion of an individual contract between the Sport Association and the Culture and Leisure Management (Københavns Kommune, 2018a). The Municipality of Copenhagen already has Social Partnerships with five public-sector associations: Brønshøj Football Club, Fremad Valby, Nørrebro Taekwondo Club, Nørrebro United and SheZone which are financed up to 2020 (Københavns Kommune, 2018a). For the period 2018-2021 the clubs that joined social partnerships were Amager Judo Skole, BK Union, Boldklubben Skjold, BørneBasket København, Copenhagen Floorball Club, Global Kidz, Hovedstaden Svømmeklub, Rollespilsfabrikken, and Stevnsgade Basketball (Københavns Kommune, 2018b)

## 7.3 Case studies

Partnerships can be seen as organizations consisting of independent entities in the form of associations, institutions, schools, having a population from the same geographical area. Partnerships may also encompass whole of subsystems involving of employees, children, parents, etc. each with different set of conditions and objectives but with a need to cooperate. Partnerships

are regarded by Høyer Kruse et al. as unifying subsystems in the form of associations, institutions, schools operating within the same local environment (Høyer Kruse et al., 2008).

Under social partnerships sports clubs in Copenhagen collaborate with local organisations and voluntary networks with the aim to develop and bridge across ethnic minorities with the focus on children and youth, and provide the basis for an inclusive use of the city's sport facilities. Their work is designed to strengthen the neighbourhood's cohesion the integration of immigrant groups within the local community. Through partnerships with the municipal authorities and also with sports federations such as DIF (through Get2Sport), the sport clubs become providers of social integration. The following case studies, namely HSK, Nørrebro Taekwondo Club and Brønshøj Football Club will demonstrate significant aspects of their integrative role in distressed neighbourhoods.

### 7.3.1 Hovedstadens Swimming Club (HSK)

HSK was founded in 2012, by a merger between GI40Hermes and the Swim Club, Copenhagen. With over 5,500 members, it is Denmark's largest swimming club and it caters for swimming at all levels, whether it is beginner, exercise or competitive swimming (HSK,2018a). Svømmespecialisten, Alm Brand Bank, Sportyfied, Team Copenhagen are the main sponsors of the club (HSK, 2018b).

HSK offers gender-segregated swimming lessons for children and young people. All gender-divided swimming lessons for children and young people take place in Tingbjerg School Swimming Pool or Hillerødgade Bath and Hall. HSK boys and girls teams (5-12 years) are divided into four levels. HSK also has teenage girls teams to the older target group of 13-18 years. In addition to gender-segregated swimming teams for children, adolescents and teenagers, the club also has swimming teams only for women between 18-25 years and women +25 years in Tingbjerg School Swimming Pool and women +25 years in Damsø Bath in Frederiksberg (HSK, 2018b).

In 2013, HSK sought support from the City of Copenhagen municipality development pool to launch four integration projects, two of them in Tingbjerg.

Over three years, the club received funds, among other things, to hire a project coordinator and coaches. Since then, the Danish Sports Association's integration work in socially affected areas, Get2sport, has been associated with the project. Since the start of the projects, nearly 500 children and young people have been taught, the majority of which have a different ethnic background than Danish and are children who are often not part of the association life in a swimming pool. In addition, the clubs has employed over 20 local youth as auxiliaries and coaches (HSK, 2018b).

The project was initiated in 2013, based on a wish from ISA organisation (Idræt og Samvær)[2], Tingbjerg Heldagsskole (All-Day School) and the Area Secretariat in Tingbjerg to maintain the swimming education that ISA had two years before. The project partners were the Area Secretariat in Tingbjerg, ISA Tingbjerg, Beboer Center Tingbjerg, Tingbjerg All-Day School, Women's Cafés, Association Guides, Integration Managers from the Child and Youth Administration in Copenhagen Municipality and DIF Get2Sport (Interview with Thea M. Andersen, 2017).

Since 2016, the City of Copenhagen Municipality Development Fund has supported three HSK new projects in Tingbjerg: Teenage girls 13-18, Women's swim 18-25 years and elective subjects in Tingbjerg for 7-9. grade level at Brønshøj School and Tingbjerg Heldagsskole. In addition to support from the City of Copenhagen, HSK's new projects are also supported by DIF Get2sport (HSK, 2018b). HSK receive every year DKK 70,000 from Get2Sport (Correspondence with Kristina Lind Thrane, 2019).In spring 2018, HSK joined the social partnership scheme with Copenhagen Municipality. The social efforts are targeted at vulnerable social groups in both Tingbjerg and Folehaven (HSK, 2018c).The funds are allocated to enter into partnership with FritidsGuiderne KBH, including: a) to ensure a good reception of the children and young people who are guided to the association via the Leisure Guides; and b) to spread the knowledge of the Leisure Guides to all the association's instructors and volunteers (Nielsen, 2017). Table 7.4 provides an overview of the municipal funding of HSK in the period 2013-2019.

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[2] The municipal project ISA (Sport and Togetherness) aims to the introduction of youth and children who are not members of a sports club to the associational life through the organization of sport and social activities at the local school after school time.

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**Table 7.4 HSK Municipal Funding in 2013-2019**

| Project | Period | Grants |
|---|---|---|
| Tingbjerg Boys | 1.9.2013-31.8.2016 | DKK 219,782 |
| Tingbjerg Girls | 1.9.2013-31.8.2016 | DKK 219,782 |
| Family Swimming | 1.9.2013-31.8.2016 | DKK 194,250 |
| Jinnah International School | 1.9.2013-31.8.2016 | DKK 171,000 |
| HSK Tingbjerg Girls 13+ | 1.9.2016-31.8.2018 | DKK 181,500 |
| HSK Tingbjerg Women 18+ | 1.9.2016-31.8.2018 | DKK 189,000 |
| HSK 'Youth in Front' | 1.9.2016-31.8.2018 | DKK 204,375 |
| Social Partnerships | 1.1.2018-31.12.2018 | DKK 200,000 |
| Partnership with Leisure Guides | 12.6.2017-12.6.2018 | DKK 20,000 |
| Partnership with Leisure Guides and Holiday Camp | 10.9.2018-31.8.2019 | DKK 25,000 |
| Total | | DKK 1,624,189 |

**Source: Københavns Kommune, 2018c**

The club runs swimming programmes in 14 locations in Copenhagen and Frederiksberg but Kvindesvømning runs only in Nørrebro, Frederiksberg and Tingbjerg. The ones in Nørrebro and Frederiksberg is not part of a project. In 2013 the project in Tingbjerg started with 30 girls and since then more than 300 have been participating in girls-only swimming classes (Interview with Thea M. Andersen, 2017).

There are more than 100 swimmers in the women's teams with different nationalities. There is a diversity of swimmers from Somalia, Turkey, Poland and Denmark that clearly show the strong concern within the club to attract a

wide range of migrant women and also local Danish women who would train together and become members of a community where they learn to swim and receive support (Interview with Thea M. Andersen, 2017).

The integration project in Tingbjerg for 5-12 year old children started in 2013. From 2013-2016 it was supported by the City of Copenhagen. (Copenhagen municipality decided to support another project aimed at teenagers and young people from 2016). Since the beginning of the project, 261 girls and 223 boys participated in the swimming sessions. The project is led by Danish coaches with support from 20 of the children from the project as coaches and assistant coaches. Some of the teams are gender-segregated and others are mixed teams. The majority of participants have different ethnic backgrounds than Danish, but Danish children also participate in the gender-segregated swimming (Interview with Thea M. Andersen, 2017).

Since 2016, HSK has run an elective and education course for 7-9 grade students from Tingbjerg Heldagsskole and Brønshøj School. The project is supported by the City of Copenhagen. The course is not gender-segregated. and electives are developed in collaboration with DGI  and take place both in the classroom and in the swimming pool. Students learn about social responsibility, conflict management, first aid, child development and, as assistant coaches, how to make swimming lessons fun and educational. After the elective course, 9 of the students have gone on to practice as assistants in HSK, where they participate in the club's daily education of children (Interview with Thea M. Andersen, 2017).

According to Thea M. Andersen, 'We think our responsibility as a great association includes social responsibility. We do this by turn to groups you do not normally see in associations and sports associations. Furthermore, in our effort is to ensure that children get good and healthy entertainment and possible time job in a young age. All parts we believe can form the foundation for a healthy lifestyle, a durable link with Danish associations and potentially to the Danish labour market' (Interview, 2017).

Andersen admits that swimming is a new tool in integration, and as project coordinator in the local area she had to establish a personal contact with the families of the participant children in order to gain trust but overall she was satisfied that there was a high number of active girls (HSK, 2017).

Since January 2017, HSK has been in collaboration with DIF Get2sport to be a recipient association for refugees. HSK has already received over 40 refugees who regularly meet for the weekly swimming lessons. The offer of swimming lessons applies to children, young people as well as adult refugees who want to go swimming. No matter what prerequisites they have, the club administration will try to find a team that fits the level (HSK, 2018b).

HSK has in the past few years taught 500 girls and boys to swim due to the gender-segregated teams. Club chairman, Allan Nyhus, regarded gender-divided swimming as the most successful integration project he has participated in. 'The swimmers and their families get greater contact with Danish civil society and the direct integration of the 25 girls we have been trained as coaches or auxiliary trainers. They are given a definite leisure job'. Nyhus also indicated that gender-divided sport is not an end in itself, but a means that opens a door to welcome some immigrant girls' (Søndergaard, 2017a). Yasmin Elsherbeiny is one of the girls who have learned to swim thanks to the initiative in the HSK. Her father, Hussein Elsherbeiny, is very proud of her daughter's progress in swimming, but emphasizes that she would have to stop going to training, if there weren't girls only teams (Dreyer & Ejsing, 2016).

In a two year period, HSK has succeeded in getting over 200 children to go swimming in Tingbjerg. The majority have immigrant backgrounds, and many are girls who would often not be a part of club life in a swimming pool. According Lars Sørensen, Director of the Club, "In the Hovedstadens Svømmeklub, we believe that associations are a strong way of integration. As one of the country's largest sports associations, we see it as our social responsibility also to work with swimming and movement in water for specific target groups that live in distressed neighbourhoods' (HSK, 2017).

The method developed by the swimming club is based on respect for the barriers that usually prevent children of other cultural backgrounds from becoming part of a swimming club. There are gender segregated team - Tingbjerg Boys and Tingbjerg Girls. Teaching takes place under shielded windows. But most importantly, in addition to a regular team coach, the club has dedicated an employee to be visible in local communities, visit schools in the area and women's cafes, share flyers and give presentations about

swimming as well as sit ready to answer questions in the swimming pool to create contact and trust with the parents and the children (HSK, 2017).

Sussie Enghøj, a cultural and leisure worker in the area secretariat in Tingbjerg, stressed the good personal contact between the club and the parents. 'The down to earth approach is important with parental contact, as you can explain and indicate they should not be worried if their children are exposed to some scenarios that do not fit into their culture'. From his side, Lars Kruse from DIF's Get2Sport, who supports the project, underlines the success in integration of new people in society by creating a better contact with parents and better access to the young in a socially charged area (HSK, 2017).

In addition, it is part of the club's mission to get the swimmers to stay in the club and train to be coaches. This has resulted in the training of four young female coaches in the club and twelve assistant coaches - all with a different ethnic background who attended training courses at the Danish Swimming Union. HSK lend burkinis to the girls so they could take part in the training and then teach on mixed teams. In addition, HSK organized swimming sessions/classes with great support from the volunteer mothers (HSK, 2017).

The Director of HSK Lars Sørensen is supportive of the integration through participation in mixed teams, but he recognizes that this could be a barrier to some people, arguing that "It's about having to meet the populations on some of their premises, which we make as an association. Integration is also a process. It can not be useful to put things in a square and close people and believe that you can integrate by saying 'it's, like it or not-you must come or not' (Mortensen, 2016: 12).The administrative director of DIF, Morten Mølholm states that 'the goal is not gender-segregated swimming. The goal is that the new Danish girls should be invited into the community where they can swim and have fun together on the same footing as others in the club' (Mølholm, 2016).

DGI has also taken a supportive position towards the HSK women's only swimming programs in Tingbjerg arguing that they help Muslim women to integrate DGI Chairman Søren Møller. He also added that there has historically always been gender segregation in sport, and women's associations have played an important role in women's struggles to take part

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in society (Andersen, 2016). He also argued that 'gender segregation can be beneficial to give the girls peace and trust to build a community. There is no doubt that gender segregation has made a lot of girls to participate, which otherwise would not have come' (Møller, 2016). In 2018 HSK was one of the nominees for the annual Integration prize. The club had managed to get new groups of Danes to sports. Among other things, the efforts have been targeted at citizens of minority background and citizens over the age of 60. In addition, HSK provided training programs for young people in vulnerable residential areas to raise health and to contribute to the integration and social development of vulnerable neighbourhoods (Ministry of Culture, 2018b).

Moreover, DGI underlines that the gender divided activities are legitimate and that the club offer valuable social assistance and promotes active citizenship. 'There is nothing at the Hovedstadens Swimming Club's activities, which can justify the minister being able to apply for sanctions. There is no need to challenge the club's democratic intentions or challenge its right to do what it does. On the contrary, HSK performs very socially useful work. The club helps to develop active citizenship in practice'. However, he is critical when it comes to segregation in the labour market or in schools as an outcome of religious values since unconditional participation in them is a part of the Danish society (Møller, 2016). The values and actions of DGI place the sport organization within the multiculturalist coalition. DGI praises the work of HSK despite HSK's non-traditional approach of approach of supporting gender-segregated swimming rather than only providing mixed gender programmes and recognizes the values of the club in enabling the participation of socially disadvantaged groups such as immigrants.

DGI recognised the difficult mission of sport clubs to integrate a wide range of minority groups since the clubs come across serious problems such as the unwillingness of some immigrants to follow the coaches way of organizing the training (instructions) because of their different culture, and thus, leave the club. According to Martin Kjærgaard, project coordinator of DGI, 'It takes skills, patience and a method to absorb the most difficult minority groups' (Interview with Martin Kjærgaard, 2017).

The gender divided teams of HSK caused a political debate in April 2016.

According to the integration minister Inger Støjberg (of the Venstre party), gender-divided swimming lessons are a "completely misunderstood consideration" that contradicts the Danish code of values, damages integration in order to benefit it and the government will take action. "It may be that these girls learn to swim, but they are not integrated. And that's what it's all about. You can do well in Denmark, even if you can not swim. But you can not commit to Denmark if you do not know Danish people and have Danish values and standards under the skin' (Redder, 2016).

Integration Minister Inger Støjberg's position regarding gender-divided swimming teams was not supported by colleagues in the municipalities. A good example was Copenhagen's Children and Youth Mayor Pia Allerslev who was fully committed to a project launched in 2012 in DGI City, where a swimming team for immigrant women was given the opportunity to swim behind curtains and without male lifeguards present. She also considered interference from Christiansborg (Parliament): "When you meet the integration challenges in the municipalities, it's not as black and white as some of my party people at Christiansborg might make it. It is easy to have a basic point of view, but we must be more nuanced in the debate. The first task is to get them into the association and whose gender-divided swimming team is the first step, I'll back it up, as I did in 2012 "(Johansen, 2016).

Allerslev argues that 'it is really important to support swimming associations that make classes only for women/girls because if we don't make sure the girls to get another perspective than the one they see in their parents' eyes when they talk to them, then we lose. We also lose a little bit by making sport un-special conditions when we want to get them out of their parent's houses. We need to focus on how to integrate more than being afraid of losing a bit of our own culture' (Interview with Pia Allerslev, 2017).

In sharp contrast, the Mayor of Culture and Leisure, Carl Christian Ebbesen, who is also supportive of sports associations as tools for integration, is very critical of the segregated swimming programmes. 'I and the Danish People's Party believe that we must support the associations that offer immigrant children and young people within the real society where values such as gender equality and democratic education are at the forefront. It is lost when associations offer gender-divided swimming behind rolled curtains

for immigrant girls in the name of integration. It is not integration, but the opposite, and it helps to maintain the girls in parallel societies' (Ebbesen, 2017a). There are two conflicting views within the same policy subsystem that undelines the existence of opposing coalitions. Whereas the Mayor of Children and Youth who favours the multiculturalist approach to integration gives emphasis to the participation of women and their liberation from tight parental control and favours the women's only sport activities, the Mayor of Culture and Leisure, puts traditionalism as a priority and the Danish way of integration. Although both seem to advocate the equal participation of both sexes in sport, there are profound differences in the deep core beliefs regarding security and power that affect policy such as Ebbesen's intention to decrease the immigrants' numbers in the sport clubs because it is the latter that are conceived as defenders of the Danish identity and he wishes to avoid the risk of that role being deluted.

The centre-left and centre-right parties also expressed their opposition to gender-divided swimming lessons, on the basis that the outcome is the opposite of integration and of support for freedom and equality. Mette Frederiksen, president of the Social Democrats indicates that 'as a mother and politician - but most like women - I am so much against gender-divided swimming and tinted windows in the swimming pool. We are free individuals. And neither children, women or bathing should be subjected to a blurred view of gender. Let's create real integration, on equal terms.' (Sparre & Ritzau, 2016)..

Also, Venstre's delegate Jakob Ellemann-Jensen believed that the integration policy of the swimming pool is incorrect. "This is one of the misunderstood considerations we have adopted over the past 40 years, which has made the whole integration effort to fail. In Denmark you can go to the swimming pool without the risk of being mutilated and being nervous about meeting a boy. For this we do in Denmark, and you have to accept when you live in Danish society' (Sparre & Ritzau, 2016).

A contrary view was expressed by Enhedslisten Rikke Lauritzen from the Citizens' Representation in Copenhagen, who supported the gender-divided project funded by the municipality's Popular Enlightenment Committee, where Rikke Lauritzen is chairman (Møller, 2016). 'False considerations do not help

integration, but on the other hand, it helps to maintain young neo-neighbours in the parallel communities we all want to help them out' (Engel-Schmidt, 2016). For Lauritzen, the women's only teams is a middle solution since if there is no such opportunity the girls won't come to practice (Skivefolkeblat, 2016).

Both the Socialist People's Party and the Radikale Venstre in the Culture and Leisure Committee in Copenhagen Municipality disagree directly with Mayor's position, calling the declaration of pure symbolism. "The HSK makes a great effort and is actually helping to solve any challenges we have in the field of integration. Carl Christian Ebbesen goes to the parents' errand, as the 'saviours' want them at home. He is totally wrong, also here', according to Michael Gatten, member of the Culture and Leisure Administration for Radikale Venstre (Brandt, 2016)

However, SF's integration spokesman Jacob Mark, thinks gender-divided swimming is not a way to go to promote integration: "I think it is an expression of misunderstood tolerance and lack of integration. I acknowledge that it is a very dilemma-filled case, because these girls are going to learn to swim, and I think that is very nice, but it is an expression that the girls comes from some families where there is no democratic and true gender equality view on women (Dahlgaard, 2016).

The Alternativet political spokesman Rasmus Nordqvist thinks that it is a 'super difficult dilemma', but he believes nonetheless non-segregated swimming pools leads to integration (Dahlgaard, 2016). All the above conflicting views underline the existence of two opposing coalitions and underline the usefulness of the Advocacy Coalition Framework. On the one hand, there is the assimilationist coalition that is supported by the government, the centre-right parties and also by the Social Democratic Party that supports the traditional way of integration through mixed gendered sport acitivities, and on the other hand, the multiculturalist coalition composed of the left parties, which support the right of the immigrant women to train away from men's eyes. Whereas the first coalition is characterised by conservative deep core beliefs such as traditionalism, conformity and security, the second coalition's set of deep core views include equality, freedom, social justice and tolerance.

There is a diversity of views that characterize the political debate about the creation of gender divided swimming programmes on the basis of attraction of more immigrant girls of Muslim religious background. Though there is common view that the traditional way of integrating through sport is in mixed teams, there are disagreements on the motives and the outcome of these motives. In a social democratic municipality such as Copenhagen, there is a shift to the right due to the fear of establishing parallel societies that would change the norms and the values of Danish society. The head of the Culture and Leisure Administration that belongs to the Danish People's Party rejects the idea of using segregation in the name of Danish tradition, whereas the position of the Social Democratic Party has three dimensions. The first one is the existence of the right-wing Mayor in the Department and the need to have a unified voice. The second one deals with the need to attract the right-wing voters. The third reason is more personal and has to do with the view of the president of the Social Democratic Party as a mother. There are conflicting views within the Vestre Party, with the Ministry of Immigration and Integration underlining her rejection of segregation as solution, whereas others such as the Mayor of Children and Youth Pia Allerslev realises that there should be an allowance for these programmes that advocate the rights of women to train in the way they feel comfortable and start becoming parts of the local community. In that way, more children and young people would join the swimming programmes and enjoy the benefits of the integration process from an early age which is actually an essential aim of the Municipal integration programmes. Finally, within the left parties there is a tendency towards the acceptance of the only women's programmes in order to enable the immigrant women to leave their houses and become active, start socializing and create networks.

With reference to the Advocacy Coalition Framework there is a significant political debate on women-only swimming teams in HSK. Two conflicting coalitions have emerged with the club and the sports federations on the one side and the political parties SD, Venstre, Danish People's Party along with the two levels of government (national and local) on the other. However, there are voices in the local government such as Pia Allerslev's that support the gender segregation in sporting activities as the first step in integration. The

core beliefs of the sports club is the promotion of sports activities for youth and children and the focus of the club is the participation of more girls in the club's teams. The secondary beliefs concern the social integration of immigrants since Nørrebro is traditionally one of the most immigrant dominated neighbourhoods of Copenhagen, the club is dominated by immigrant members and there is an interest in increasing the number of women with a different ethnic background than Danish. Therefore, the club is supportive of a segregated team as a first step towards the participation of immigrant girls in the mixed teams in the near future.

## 7.3.2 Nørrebro Taekwondo Club

Nørrebro is one of ten districts in Copenhagen and the one which has the highest population density. Nørrebro has its own specific identity: traditionally, it was a working class area but regeneration and slum clearance programmes, gradually introduced from the 1970s onwards, led to changes in the demography of the area, fuelled by the availability of new social housing which provided opportunities for many young people, students and migrant families to move into the area. In recent decades, Nørrebro developed from a traditional working class area into a multi-ethnic and multi-class district and has attracted intense media scrutiny over many years, which has focussed on providing negative reports of a conflict-ridden area and spectacular clashes between the police and immigrants, as well as local groups (Møller & Larsen, 2015). Outer Nørrebro is a more complex area characterized of both wealthy areas, but also by more socioeconomically disadvantaged areas (Ryom, 2017).

By 2009, 27% of the 78,000 people living in Nørrebro were either first or second generation immigrants (Møller & Larsen, 2015). Three years later, 13,931 people were registered as immigrants, 6361 as the descendants of immigrants (Schmidt, 2016). More than half of the immigrants or those of immigrant descent in Nørrebro come from Muslim dominated countries such as Bosnia-Herzegovina, Turkey, Somalia, Morocco, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Pakistan and Syria (Schmidt, 2012). Table 7.5 shows the numbers immigrants and their numbers in 2018.

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**Table 7.5 Immigrants and Descendants in Nørrebro, 2018**

| Origin | Immigrants | Descendants | Overall Total |
|--------|-----------|-------------|---------------|
| European | 7,570 | 1,618 | 9,188 |
| African | 1,743 | 1,417 | 3,160 |
| North American | 508 | 37 | 545 |
| South-Central American | 601 | 66 | 667 |
| Asian | 4,644 | 2,853 | 7,497 |
| Oceanian | 181 | 6 | 187 |
| Stateless | 14 | 8 | 22 |
| Undisclosed | 8 | 4 | 12 |
| Total | 15,269 | 6,009 | 21,278 |

**Source: Københavns Kommune Statistics, 2019a**

### 7.3.2.1 The mission of Nørrebro Taekwondo Club

Nørrebrohallen offers a wide range of activities including football, handball, basketball, table tennis, climbing and squash (Kultur N., 2018a). More than 10,000 people use Nørrebrohallen every week of which 80% are local residents (Madsen & Maigaard, 2008). Hillerødgade Bal and Hal is Nørrebro's only combined sports facility. In addition to the swimming pool you will also find a sports hall, table tennis room and mirror room that are available for badminton, ball games and table tennis, play martial arts and gymnastics (Kultur N., 2018b). Finally, Korsgadehallen provides some very flexible frames for sports life in Indre Nørrebro, where both organized and unorganized sports can be found. Particular attention is paid to the fact that facilities for the typical Danish girls such as Gymnastics and aerobics can also be made available to Muslim girls (Lokale og AnlaegsFonden, 2018).

Under this multiethnic environment that has multifunctional sporting facilities, Nørrebro Taekwondo Club, Denmark's biggest taekwondo club, has linked its mission with the social integration of immigrants. It was founded in 1982 under the name Son Bong Sae Sim Taekwondo Dojang. Most of the

association's members are children and youngsters between 7 and 25 years old from Nørrebro and from the Copenhagen area generally (Nørrebro Taekwondo Klub, 2018). Members of the club come from Morocco, Palestine, Afghanistan, Thailand, Poland, Mexico and Spain (Madsen, 2013).

Initially the training sessions of the club were held in gyms at the local schools in Nørrebro and later the club used the rooms in old factories in the area. (Madsen, 2015: 30). At the beginning of 2000 the club moved to its current accommodation. An extensive refurbishment of the club was funded partly by the City Council of Copenhagen through the Culture and Leisure Administration with the purpose of establishment sport facilities in the area (Madsen, 2015: 31). 90% of the children of the club and 20% of the adult members had another ethnic and/or linguistic minority background. Classes were gender mixed apart from a special girls' class and taught by female instructors and was an alternative option for the girls who didn't want to train with boys. It was originally aimed at girls from the local Muslim community whose parents might prefer them not to take part in gender-mixed classes. Instead it resulted 80% of the girls in the club between 7 and 15 leaving the gender-mixed classes in favor of this class, with only a few of them being Muslims (Madsen, 2015: 34).

When the club moved to the current location which has a high immigrant population, the organisation of the club has changed. According to the president of NTK, Søren Herlev Jørgensen 'The local people have chosen to be members of the club and that organisation was influenced to both values and to how we run the club. It will be all club's responsibility of what is the best interest of the members, how would we make members happy, prosperous and make results' (Interview, 2017). However, according Søren Herlev Jørgensen, the club faced a difficulty in attracting Danish volunteers in a poor area such as Nørrebro due to the existence of a migrant population (Interview, 2017).

NTK has focused on creating good frameworks and experiences for children to obtain the certification "The Good Taekwondo Club for Children", which is a collaboration between the sports club and DIF, which matches DIF's own concept of "A good sports environment for children".

The club has 6 focus points to achieve quality in the children's area:

1. The club has made a policy for children

2. Work with children is organized so that the children also have an influence and an opinion

3. The parents have been involved in the club's work

4. The club has made a plan for having qualified children trainers and managers.

5. The children have the opportunity to attend competitions, camps etc.

6. The physical environment of the club has been adapted for children

(Dansk Taekwondo Forbund, 2017)

A feature of NTK is that the significance of sport is that it should be socially useful and instructive. These requirements apply at the organizational level and at the level of young club members. Skills improvement, organizational participation and elite cooperation with Team Denmark are crucial parts of the membership's identity, but at the same time the club frequently participates in nearby municipal sports activities tasks with express emphasis on social components together designed to improve the situation for the neighbourhood's children to enhance integration. Several of the club's participants expressed the view that the competencies and values developed via the Taekwondo can result in distinct types of social development and, not least, can also result in the transfer of these competences to other relationships and situations outside sport (Madsen, 2013).

90 percent of the club's 450 members have non-Danish backgrounds, and a large proportion of the parents participate when organizing competitions. And while religion according to one of the club's leaders is of great importance to many of the members, it's not a question that causes problems in everyday life. "The most important thing here is to be good at taekwondo. We do not care about the cultural or religious background of the members. We have very skilled coaches and managers ", explains Kaj Nielsen, who has trained and taught Taekwondo for many years and has been employed as a full-time consultant in the Nørrebro Taekwondo Club (Søndergaard, 2014).

According to Herlev Jørgensen, running NTK is a combination of various tasks. 'The way that we run our club is like 'Denmark is one' on a smaller scale. With people having opinions, doing an extra work, making a difference,

caring for each other, understanding the differences, respecting each other even if we have different opinions'….. 'The most important thing that we can do, is to make them feel a part of society, they have the right to take part, they have the right to make a difference, the right to be there and also to be active like equals…..The best thing that we can give is to make them feel apart of the society. And then they take responsibility as part of the society' (Interview, 2017).

### 7.3.2.2 Funding Nørrebro Taekwondo Club

Each year NTK receives DKK 200.000 from Social Partnerships from the Municipality (Københavns Kommune, 2018, p.12). The collaboration started in 2008 Nørrebro Taekwondo Club was selected to receive funding because they focused on attracting girls with ethnic minority background. Nørrebro Taekwondo Club had a big boys section, also with many ethnic minorities, but had virtually no girls and the club managed to increase the number of girls and create a girls section (Navigent, 2011). In addition, Nørrebro Taekwondo Club receives every year DKK 260,000 from Get2Sport, which means they have the resources to participate in Denmark championships, use a bus for the purpose of the transporting children and parents and hire Karla Christensen, whose tasks is to welcome new members, introduce them to the new environment and function as an advisor as well (Agger, 2016, Søgaard, 2018 ; Correspondence with Kristina Lind Thrane, 2019). Table 7.6 gives an analytical picture of the club's municipal funding in 2013-2019.

**Table 7.6 Nørrebro TWD Club Municipal Funding 2013-2019**

| Project | Period | Grants |
|---|---|---|
| Pre-leisure Jobs | 2014 | DKK 150,000 |
| Family Assistants | 1.12.2015-1.12.2016 | DKK 75,000 |
| Kick-Start | 1.1.2016-31.12.2016 | DKK 30,000 |
| Social Partnerships | 1.6.2013-31.5.2019 | DKK 1,200,000 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Partnership with Leisure Guides | 12.6.2017-12.6.2018 | DKK 20,000 |
| Partnership with Leisure Guides & Holiday Camp | 10.9.2018-31.8.2019 | DKK 50,000 |
| Total | | DKK 1,525,000 |

**Source: Københavns Kommune, 2018c**

The club has been successful in recruiting more local volunteers and attendants. The aim was that the first generation of migrant members who became skilful at taekwondo would later on act as coaches educate the second and third generation of the migrant members which is a basic task of Get2Sport (Interview with Søren Herlev Jørgensen, 2017). Immigrants have been given the opportunity to work in the club several times a week (Haarløv, 2016).

In addition, Nørrebro Taekwondo Club has among other things chosen to develop by establishing the Get2Sport Taekwondo Tournament, whose rules enable children to enjoy the game by learning to stand up when they lose a game and continue the game and there is a gold medal for the child that participates in 4 matches no matter the result. This tournament aimed to introduce the children and their families to the opportunities for leisure, jobs and education (Nørrebro Taekwondo Club, 2017).While the deep core belief of the club is the production of talented athletes and the increase in volunteers, the rules of the Get2Sport Taekwondo tournament indicate a policy belief that young athletes should focus on the the joy of the game and the importance of participation. Besides, while the deep core belief is that sport is the focus of the activities, there is a policy belief that education and access to the labour market through sport are equally important.

### 7.3.2.3 Nørrebro Taekwondo Club and the issue of gender segregation

The club has also addressed the issue of using segregated teams as a response to the problem of exclusion from participation in a mixed gender training session. According to the president of the club, Søren Herlev

Jørgensen, 'We have had on and off classes for women only, earlier we had classes mostly for women scouts and the experience was that we had some of them are allowed to practice in the women team there but if their practice went well they ended up getting allowed to join a mixed gender team, So,if the dojos feel that they do well and have some good fighting possibilities, the only way to teach them well at that level is in mixed gender teams. We can start with a sport team for women because we know that quite a few of them end up being allowed to take part in the mixed teams' (Interview, 2017).

'Segregation is a successful means because it works. To the depth of my knowledge and experience, we would have some girls who wouldn't been allowed to do taekwondo and be part of an institution such as ours with all the good educative activities (for instance see how the society works). If we can offer those girls an entrance, they wouldn't be allowed in normal terms to come. So,we will give them a back entrance just for them, so a lot of them end up being in the same room´ (Interview with Søren Herlev Jørgensen, 2017). 'The gaining of trust from the parents side in combination with the values of a mixed team will lead to the allowance of girls training with men in mixed team'. (Interview with Søren Herlev Jørgensen, 2017). According to Herlev Jørgensen, 'They (migrant women) will see that everybody is behaving well, see the high morale standards and understand that is an environment where I can be accepted. If we didn't have a back entrance some of the families will never get to us' (Interview, 2017). The view of Herlev Jørgensen towards segregation places him to the multiculturalist coalition that conceives segregation as a temporary solution until the immigrant women participate in the club's mixed gender activities and he justifies the use of ACF as the most suitable framework for this case study. The deep core beliefs are the equal participation of women and men in the sports club and the acceptance diversity, but there is a secondary belief that with the existence of gender segregated activities can result in an increase in immigrant women as members of the club, either athletes or just volunteers.

Kaj Nielsen, member of the board of NTK raises the issue of trust between the parents and the club that is an important factor leading to the function of a mixed teams model and there has been increasing support from the parents in their children's sporting activities (Søndergaard, 2014), He also underlined

that more ethnic minority girls had joined in sports clubs such as NTK due to the fruitful cooperation with the municipality that allowed the club to focus on working with the girls, who could become trainers (Fabricius, 2011). The view of Kaj Nielsen indicates that while the primary belief is the attraction of girls who would become successful athletes, there is a secondary belief that girls could become trainers as well, acting as mentors to the female athletes.

An important barrier that Nørrebro Taekwondo Club came across was the inactivity of parents in the club's affairs. With the limited human resources of volunteers, the contribution of the parents would be very significant. Then the club has to seek the assistance of the local government to hire paid employees for the reception area and trainers who could help less resourceful members to solve the membership problem (Interview with Søren Herlev Jørgensen, 2017).

According to Søren Herlev Jørgensen, 'Voluntarism is a new concept for the parents since they haven't been used of being active in their kids' lives. However, their role was building social networks while children are training. The work of the club is not just about the kids, it is for the families too' (Interview, 2017). The parents are considered to be important actors not only by offering support to their children but also by contributing to socialization through the building of social networks that could open the way to access to community life and to the labour market. Besides, by understanding the importance of voluntarism in the Danish society it will be easier to adapt the Danish code of values. This view indicates the secondary belief of the club that the club wants to increase not only the number of athletes but also the number of volunteers and give the opportunity to the parents to become equal members of the club and co-actors in their integrative effort.

Another problem that the club faces is to get qualified instructors (Interview with Søren Herlev Jørgensen, 2017) which highlights the significance of the Culture and Leisure Department's assistance to the club through the provision of coaches that will have experience and knowledge of working with children of ethnic backgrounds other than Danish. According to Herlev Jørgensen, a solution would be certified coaches of local clubs to act as auxiliary staff. A further challenge in developing coaches from club members is that immigrant children who have developed a long-term relationship with the club have

ambitions that are focused on getting a good education and getting university degrees rather than becoming instructors (trainers). NTK is more successful in hiring girls that are not succeeding in sports results and make them instructors (Interview with Søren Herlev Jørgensen, 2017). However, this problem is unavoidable since sports clubs in Denmark have the double aim to assist the young migrant athletes to achieve educational success and take a university degree and to develop them as athletes who might move on to an elite club. A characteristic example of such a club is the Danish African Soccer Academy (DASAC) whose motto is sport and education (Interview with Hamid Faiz Junior, 2018). Therefore, though the club can lose an athlete, the society can gain a scientist and the aim of social integration can be fulfilled. Besides, the club can gain a highly educated member that can serve as a member of the administrative staff in the near future and can contribute to the club's development.

A more difficult challenge concerns the interference by parents prompted by the behaviour of other children. According to Søren Herlev Jørgensen, 'we are very focused on having a neutral environment in our club so everyone could be there for taekwondo. So the problem that we sometimes have like most sport clubs is when parents have an opinion about other parents' kids. Or how other kids behave in front of your kids. There we have a strict policy that the parents should not talk to other parent's kids for that matter, they should talk to us. Some of that could be a cultural set-up.'(Interview, 2017).

In terms of middle range theories in the both cases of Nørrebro Taekwondo Club the Advocacy Coalition Framework is the most suitable theory. NTK is part of a coalition that supports multiculturalism as an integration process along with sports federations such as DIF and with the left political forces at the local level, and partly uses gender segregated teams as a tool to attract migrant girls as a first step before their participation in mixed gendered teams. Core beliefs include the integration of socially vulnerable groups and the emphasis given on migrant children and youth in order to combat criminality and marginalization in Nørrebro and to introduce the migrants to the associationalist culture that is dominant in the Danish society. A notable focus is also given to the integration of migrant women which shows that gender equality is an important value of the club. Among the secondary aspects is the

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long term plan of increasing human and financial resources in terms of staff, athletes and state funds.

## 7.3.3 Brønshøj Football Club

Tingbjerg is one of the country's most discussed vulnerable residential areas with high crime and insecurity rates and there have been numerous efforts to improve both the physical and the social environment in the area. The residents' composition is the following: 70% - Other ethnic background than Danish, 13% are residents of the municipality of Copenhagen, 50% - young people under 29 which is 35% - in the entire municipality of Copenhagen (Ibsen & Boye, 2012).The following table 7.7 demonstrates the diversity of immigrants and their descendants in Brønshøj-Husum in which Tingbjerg is a part of.

**Table 7.7 Immigrants and their descendants in Brønshøj-Husum, 2018**

| Origin | Immigrants | Descendants | Overall Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| European | 4.212 | 1.498 | 5.710 |
| African | 1.795 | 1.334 | 3.129 |
| North American | 101 | 9 | 110 |
| South-Central American | 234 | 24 | 258 |
| Asian | 4.696 | 2.283 | 6.979 |
| Oceanian | 37 | 0 | 37 |
| Stateless | 6 | 5 | 11 |
| Undisclosed | 4 | 0 | 4 |
| Total | 11,085 | 5,153 | 16,238 |

**Source: Københavns Kommune Statistics, 2019b**

In Tingbjerg most facilities are centrally located in connection with Tingbjerg School (Ibsen & Boye, 2012, p.17). Tingbjerg-Husum has a number of, leisure facilities, activity centers that function as central social venues for urban residents. In addition, residents have access to attractive municipal sports facilities such as swimming pool, gym and sports hall that facilitates an active leisure life. Tingbjerg Heldagsskole, Tingbjerg Forum and EnergiCenter are

the primary facilities of the area (Københavns Kommune, 2015b). In the area, and a little further afield is Husum Sports Park. The residential areas are all newly renovated and well-equipped with play and activity equipment. Outside the area are two large recreational areas, Gyngemosen and Utterslev mose (Ibsen & Boye, 2012). In Tingbjerg in comparison to Vollsmose and Gellerup, there are no large multi-stranded sports associations, neither in the residential area nor close to, but there are a small number of single-sport associations (Ibsen & Boye, 2012, p. 22)

The area is the home of Brønshøj Football Club (BB), which was founded on May 15, 1919. In 1973, the club merged with Tingbjerg Sports Association, and moved to Tingbjerg in 1977 (Brønshøj Boldklub, 2018a). The club has a large membership among immigrants in the area and therefore Bronshoj Football Club is particularly concerned with integration (Ibsen & Boye, 2012). BB has a little below 500 members - 400 of those have a foreign background. Most are from Morocco, Somalia, Albania, FYROM and Turkey, but there are members from more than 25 countries (Correspondence with Tobias Halbro on 6//2/2018). Most of the coaches are volunteers. There are immigrant coaches of Arabic and African origin that compose half of the coaching staff (Interview with Tobias Halbro, 2017).

Tingbjerg School works with Brønshøj FC as the focal point for the provision and promotion of physical activity in the area and their work is supported by the area's two housing companies FAB and SAB in the house Tingbjerg Forum, which is centrally located in the area (Ibsen & Boye, 2012).
A range of activities is offered with football being the primary sport, especially among older boys. In addition, swimming is popular, especially among girls and among adults, walking and hiking trips and strength training are also offered. Tingbjerg Heldagsskole is funded by the Health Administration and the Culture and Leisure Administration to provide recreational activities after school for a year. The school has taken over all the clubs in Tingbjerg, and in cooperation with Brønshøj FC, ISA has started offering football sessions to children who were not members of a club (Ibsen & Boye, 2012)

In 2003, the Ministry of Refugees, Immigrants and Integration awarded Brønshøj FC with the "Volunteer and Association Prize" for its work on integration through football. The winner is an organization that actively

involves ethnic minorities in the voluntary integration work in cooperation with institutions in the local community. Over the years, DBU (Danish FA) has supported Brønshøj Football Club with funds from the organization's so-called "integration pool" (DBU, 2004).

### 7.3.3.1 Involvement in Social Partnerships and Get2Sport

Nowadays, the club participates in two projects Social Partnerships run by Copenhagen Municipality and Get2Sport run by DIF (Dalland, 2015). It receives DKK 200,000 each year from Social Partnerships and DKK 280,000 from Get2sport (Correspondence with Tobias Halbro, 2018; Correspondence with Kristina Lind Thrane, 2019). According to Tobias Halbro, Chairman of the Youth Department of the Club, the club received, from the local board and DIF, an invitation to participate in Get2Sport. 'It was the elected local board with DIF initiative to contact our club with two other clubs too because of the change of the population. In the 70s and 80s more immigrants came to the area and now there are mostly immigrants that live in Tingbjerg. The aims of Get2Sport project in Brønshøj are very broad to strengthen the volunteers and make sure there is a club for all, a place for all children to play' (Interview, 2017).

According to the 2015-2016 Social Partnerships contract terms, the club had to collaborate with the local kindergartens and the Tingbjerg School, establish parental councils, collaborate with the daycare institutions to achieve earlier involvement in the associations and develop a girls football framework (Københavns Kommune, 2015c). For the period 2017-2020, the target groups of BFC activities will be children of 4-19 years, parents and volunteers (Kobenhavns Kommune, 2017n). The main current targets of the head of the youth department, Tobias Halbro, are to strengthen volunteering in Brønshøj FC through support, recruitment and motivation, increase the membership of the club, start up new youth cohorts and encourage the parental involvement within the club framework, among other things by offering coaching courses. A final aim is to establish the girl football section in Brønshøj FC through a targeted effort and collaborate with the area's local youth organizations. In 2018, the youth department had a special focus on: a) Start-up of the project

"Early association start in Brønshøj Boldklub"; b) Start-up of girls teams, including recruiting a girl volunteer group; c) Start-up of collaborations with Tingbjerg School and the residential social plan; and d) Planning of sporting events for the youth (Brønshøj Boldklub, 2018b).

Tobias Halbro, director of the youth department and coach of Brønshøj Football Club, underlines the rationale behind this collaboration and especially about working with immigrant children. 'It is about solidarity, that is every kid has a place to go (to train) and be part of an association not only by playing but also by taking part in the democratic processes. Be a part of the dialogue because a lot of the Danish associations are (part of) 'Folkeoplysning'.It is more about the dialogue of to be a part of what is happening….adapting a Danish sport culture but also keep their own culture. Kids with immigrant background are interacting with kids from other clubs. It is not just a sporting culture, it is the norms' (Interview with Tobias Halbro, 2017).

Special Integration Funds was a project in the municipality of Copenhagen, which has been awarded to 5 associations, ending in May 2015. Through a big effort by the president of the club Finn Ryberg, it had been possible to get a grant for another two years in the newly launched project, Social Partnerships. The grant had been awarded with a prior approval for two years and the participation of the club started on 1st June 2015 (Brønshøj Boldklub, 2015a). Brønshøj FC managed to extend the agreement for 4 years to 2020 (Brønshøj Boldklub, 2015a). The Social Partnerships agreement of 2017-2019 was composed of actions in two different periods: a) 1 June 2017– 31 May 2018. Emphasis was given to the organization of courses for parents and the increase in the level and amount of training. The recruitment concerned resourceful families; b) 1 June 2018 – 31 May 2019. The focus was on the creation of a girls team and the systematization of the volunteer efforts in the club. Moreover, the cooperation with schools was emphasized (Københavns Kommune, 2017o). An essential part of the Social Partnership's activities is cooperation with the local organizations, for instance, with the Municipal Social Administration's "Idrætsprojektet", a sports project that recruits and educates volunteers with an emphasis on youth teams. Brønshøj FC is responsible for the provision of football education, collaborates with schools to train young people as sport leaders and assistant coaches. Moreover, the

overall plan for social housing work in Tingbjerg is to use the area's young people as assistant coaches and through the provision of education by the club, it is hoped that the parents will learn about the association life and be introduced to volunteering and also spread knowledge of Brønshøj FC in their networks in Tingbjerg (Københavns Kommune, 2017o). Table 7.8 summarizes the municipal funding provided to Brønshøj FC.

**Table 7.8 Brønshøj FC Municipal Funding 2013-2019**

| Project | Period | Grants |
|---------|--------|--------|
| Football and Development | 3.9.2013-24.6.2014 | DKK 24,876 |
| Social Partnerships | 1.6.2013-31.5.2019 | DKK 1,200,000 |
| Total | | DKK 1,224,876 |

**Source: Københavns Kommune, 2018c**

'Good citizenship it depends on us, we have to take charge of it but we don't have enough resources. Get2Sport/DIF pays the salary of the coach and the rest is paid by social partnerships a project consisting of 5 associations under the aegis of the municipality. We have a collaboration with Save the Children and their Homework Café.They have their own projects but we are also invited to take part in them. But they are professional fund raisers and we are just a voluntary sports club' (Interview with Tobias Halbro, 2017).

As a member of the Social Partnerships project, Brønshøj Football Club is obliged to participate in meetings with local organisations, attend courses on organizational development, board work, volunteer recruitment, local collaborations and other topics as needed. The goal is to offer support to the board, ensuring quality, progress and stability in the association (Københavns Kommune, 2012c; Correspondence with Tobias Halbro, 2018). Brønshøj Boldklub wishes to get a larger proportion of vulnerable children (also girls) to start in the association and start early so that they get the most out of the association life. This is done by holding training sessions in kindergartens and inviting children and parents to club events and thus educate the parents to make the clubs part of their leisure time (Ellegaard et al., 2009: 17).

The triple goal is the club's establishment of a safe and secure basis for the voluntary operation of associations in vulnerable urban areas, (in particular as they face challenges with social issues) recruitment of volunteers and the recovery of costs for their activities. The criteria for receiving the grant from Social Partnerships are the following: a minimum of 250 children and young members; a focus on integration task in vulnerable urban areas; and the provision of support for ethnic minority children and adolescents (Københavns Kommune, 2012c; Correspondence with Tobias Halbro, 6/2/2018). The club's aims reveal two different set of beliefs, the deep core beliefs that relate to the integration of immigrants in a socially vulnerable areas and a secondary belief concerning the increase in volunteers in order to increase members and provide the framework for the introduction of the migrants to the Danish community sporting life. Moreover, the collaboration with the Municipality under the Social Partnerships scheme in combination with the collaboration with DIF underline the existence of a tripartite coalition that advocates integration through multiculturalism.

In 2015 Brønshøj FC, CPH Youth and BK Union, in collaboration with Get2Sport, organised DBU's football school for boys and girls born in the years between 2001-2008. The school is held on the tracks around Genforeningspladsen and Grøndal Multicenter from Monday to Friday, and aimed at children from socially disadvantaged residential areas, as well as all members of the three collaborating clubs (Brønshøj Boldklub, 2015b).

The Get2Sport Soccer School complies with the concept of DBU's traditional football schools, but is targeted at children in vulnerable residential areas. Get2Sport's work with football schools gave them the Rohde Prize in 2013, which is awarded each year to people who have made special efforts for Danish football. A prize that Brønshøj Football Club, together with former long-standing chairman Finn Ryberg, received in 2011, among other things, due to the work for social efforts in the local area (Brønshøj Boldklub, 2015c).

BK Union and Brønshøj FC collaborate on the big 4-day event, where more than 60 boys and girls played football. Unlike normal DBU football schools, the participation fee is only a third of the price, so that all children in Nordvest and Brønshøj / Husum have the opportunity to participate and have a positive summer holiday experience (DIF, 2015b & DBU, 2016a).

### 7.3.3.2 Challenges faced by Brønshøj FC

The club's problems are typical of the issues that clubs experiencing in socially disadvantaged residential areas experience: a large-scale football soccer stakeholder that need to be managed, combined with declining membership, lack of young players and trainees and a lack of supportive parents (La Cour, 2013).

While the differences between the boys and girls' participation in organized sport are not large, it is a big difference between the participation of ethnic Danish girls and the participation of 'new Danish' girls. Such barriers for new girls is about ethnicity and gender. Several clubs, such as Brønshøj Football Club, have successfully established girls' teams trained by girls (La Cour, 2013,195). In Brønshøj Football Club, the trainer, who is also in charge of that venue, was able to teach young Danish girls because the girls and their family knew him personally. The relationship between trainees, schools, girls and their families has made it possible to create the information stream necessary to know how to take the first important step in participation in the association (La Cour, 2013, 195).

According to Halbro, the club's main challenges are the lack of parents experience with associations and their lack of awareness of the culture of voluntarism in order to help the training session. Since most of the youth members are of immigrant origin and the weakness of the voluntary network is a serious problem within the club's youth department (Interview with Tobias Halbro, 2017). This opinion is also shared by an immigrant football coach and founder of the Danish African Soccer Academy, Hamid Faiz Junior, who indicated the problem of the lack of a sufficient number of volunteers and coaches and argued that a solution would be to work with a limited number of players until they reach a certain age [and leave the club] and then start working with another group that will replace the previous (Interview with Hamid Faiz Junior, 2018).

Moreover, there is a big behavioural difference between migrant parents and Danish parents whose children are playing for the club. According to Tobias Halbro, the first are not supportive of the children going to training,

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instead they claim that their children are tired or there is something at the school; they are not supportive financially or psychologically. On the contrary, Danish parents who want their children to be more competitive and elitist are very supportive for their children's athletic activities that take place in Brønshøj Football club (Interview with Tobias Halbro, 2017).

According to La Cour (2013), some of the clubs' new players have had at the beginning behavioural problems, which have demanded a considerable pedagogical effort from the project employers. Some players were violent and sometimes characterized by lack of respect for opponents, which has caused quarrelling on the pitch and among some spectators who were equally aggressive. According to La Cour (2013: 196), 'Brønshøj Football Club has a zero-tolerance policy that has brought the problem under control and helped create an awareness what it means to be a constructive player and member of the public'. The club's youth department members are 90 percent of an ethnic background other than Danish. The club tries to put the immigrant players who are indisciplined into a framework composed of laws, rules and good behaviour, but some of the players fail and have to be excluded (Ellegaard et al.,2009). Another difficult issue is the turnover of the population that impacts participants'recruitment (Brønshøj Husum Avis, 2014).

Finally, there is a problem in coordination with the parallel integrative activities offered by the Municipality made more difficult due to the large size of the Municipality and the small size of the club. As a result the club has been given fewer activities by the Municipality (Interview with Tobias Halbro, 2017). Hamid Faiz Junior shares the same views with regards to the size of the club in terms of resources that affects the use of facilities. In fact, he underlines that elite sport clubs such as FC Copenhagen dominate the use of facilities whereas amateur clubs with limited resources such as DASAC (or Brønshøj Football Club in this case study) has to focus on a limited number of athletes (Interview with Hamid Faiz Junior, 2018).

Apart from being a member of Get2Sport, the club through its fan club 'Drunken Army' has made attempts to introduce refugees to the Danish sporting culture. Particularly, Brønshøj FC's fan club 'Drunken Army' created a football team for refugees in connection with the game against HIK on 24th October 2015. They invited 40 refugees from Sandholm camp to experience a

lot of football activities in Brønshøj and escape from the gray environment of the asylum camps. Before the regular game, there was a friendly game, in which teams were mixed with the guests from Sandholm and fans. Brønshøj FC supported the initiative and has invited refugees from the Sandholm camp free of charge to the match between Brønshøj and HIK for the KanalSport Division (Brønshøj Boldklub, 2016a).

Providing a good experience and changing the mood of the refugees is the double aim of Brønshøj FC, according to the chairman Jan Juul Jørgensen, who argues "We are an association and a club that works with the football opportunities for creating good experiences from children, young people and adults who play themselves or just people who would like to see and experience football from the stadium or sidelines. And here we have the opportunity to contribute to a positive initiative that can create a positive and good experience for some people who are in a difficult situation. "(Brønshøj Boldklub, 2016a).

Before and during the game, the group of 'Drunken Army' also collected used football equipment for the refugees in the Sandholm camp (Brønshøj Boldklub, 2016a). The event was part of the international campaign 'Football People', that celebrates community and diversity in football every year in October. The campaign took place in 2014 over relevant events in 59 countries and coordinated by the 'Football Against Racism in Europe' (FARE) umbrella organization (2700-Netavisen, 2017a). The invitation was repeated in October 2016 on the occasion of the game against Avarta, where Brønshoj Football Club had invited 25 refugees to attend the game for free. The players of the club wore kits with the message "All colours are beautiful" on the chest (Brønshoj Bøldklub, 2016b) & (DBU, 2016b).

Brønshøj FC Fan Club and the club's administration compose a single multiculturalist coalition that supports the introduction of refugees to everyday associationalist life through participation and attendance at football games. The deep core values of the club are tolerance, universalism, equality and diversity while anti-racism, solidarity and compassion are the main policy values. Both sets of beliefs are justified by the decision of the club to bring refugees to the games as both spectators and players so that the can experience football in both ways.The above factors justify the use of ACF in

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this case study. Moreover, the MSF can be useful since the main problem is the integration of immigrants in the local area and the solution takes place through their active and passive participation in football acitivities. At this point, the 'window of opportunity' is the activities of the organization 'Football Against Racism in Europe' that gives the opportunity to Brønshøj FC to organise sports events as part of a broader anti-racist sporting framework.

Jeppe Rohde, a member of Brønshøj Drunken Army, explained the reason they have launched the initiative: 'Football is a universal language. We welcome refugees and asylum seekers on Tingbjerg Ground, where the football culture is grown on the pitch and the stand. The only requirement was that it should aim to celebrate the diversity of football and fight racism and homophobia' (DBU, 2016b). Finally, in the summer of 2017 the club showed its serious intentions in assisting refugees to integrate and combat racism once more by hiring a German coach, Michael Winter, who apart from his professional career, had also worked with refugees from Eritrea and Syria (2700-Netavisen, 2017b).

The strategy of Brønshøj Football Club towards immigrants shows the intention of the club to attract more members with an ethnic background through the existence of both men's and women's teams that would absorb both sexes with focus on children and youth. Moreover, the club is open to collaboration with the local schools and organisations in projects such as social partnerships or Get2Sport and also with international anti-racist sports initiatives .The participation of the club in these schemes shows that focus is given to the contribution of the local community in the 'bridging and bonding' process. Furthermore, the positive response of the club's administration to the fan's club idea to invite refugees indicates the belief of the club in the internal democratic processes and the great focus on accessing citizenship through sport. Also seeing the initiatives from a commercial view, the attraction of more members and spectators with an ethnic background will improve the brand name of the club which will become a satellite for equality and social justice and will increase both human and financial resources.

The initiatives like Brønshøj Football Club's in Copenhagen and AGF's in Aarhus bring asylum seekers closer to the local community and potentially provide a significant social service. In fact, Hermela Haile Berhane, project

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coordinator of the Red Cross in Copenhagen, regards sport clubs as important co-actors in integrative initiatives of the Red Cross, indicating that 'sports organisations are very effective partners since not only they do introduce new refugees to the sporting culture in Denmark and the daily achievements from doing sports but also they meet people from a different (social) level and on the playfield they are equal to everybody else' (Interview with Hermela Haile Berhane, 2017).

In terms of meso-level theories, the evidence from the BFC case can be analysed within the Advocacy Coalition Framework. The club is a part of a coalition with the Municipality of Copenhagen's Social Partnerships scheme and with the DIF in Get2Sport as a measure to confront the social problems of groups such as the immigrants in distressed neighbourhoods. This target is actually among the secondary beliefs of the club. The primary beliefs are to provide the social bonding of the refugees with the local population, introduce them to the Danish sport culture and open the way to the creation of amateur teams of immigrants and refugees that will compete alongside the local Danes at the amateur level. The two policy brokers are the Culture and Leisure Administration of the Municipality of Copenhagen and DIF who provide the organisational framework and the funding through Social Partnerships and Get2Sport.

## 7.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, the main topic of discussion has been the new policy design and implementation process created by the close collaboration between the Municipality of Copenhagen and not-for-profit organizations in a joint attempt to confront social problems that concern socially vulnerable groups. In the case study of Copenhagen there is a strong multilateral collaboration between the local government, sport federations and clubs, local housing organisations and schools either in the form of Social Partnerships or in the scheme of Get2Sport that provide solutions to the problem of social exclusions of socially vulnerable groups in distressed neighbourhoods, particularly immigrants and asylum seekers. The collaboration concerns both human and economic resources in terms of coaches and volunteers and funding.

Associationalism is strengthened throughout partnerships. The municipality's rationale is that social problems could be better confronted with the use of the local sport clubs in collaboration with sports federations and especially with DIF and the Get2Sport project. Sport clubs from their side collaborate with the local housing associations, schools and organisations such as 'Save the Children' that focus on children and youth. Nørrebro Taekwondo Club and Brønshøj Football Club with the creation of the girls-only teams, as a first step towards integration, and the HSK with the women's only programmes focused on the attraction of immigrant girls. Moreover, Brønshøj Football Club not only includes migrants as members but has also taken the initiative to invite refugees to attend football matches, (following the example of AGF in Aarhus) in collaboration with DBU and the international fair play campaign 'Football Against Racism in Europe'. In all the above initiatives, the Municipality of Copenhagen provided the funding and the human resources (clubs hiring paid employees provided by the municipality) but then the clubs designed and implemented programs addressed to socially vulnerable groups (with immigrants being one of them) in collaboration with the sports federations.

The focus of the municipal government sports programmes in the form of leisure activities for children and youth is to introduce them the Danish associationalist life before they become members of a sports club, but also through the membership of local sport clubs. There are educational packages that provide mentoring and coaching for pupils. Through these packages the pupil can receive a combination of education and training which will assist him to develop his personality and health and be able to integrate into the Danish society. Gender equality is very important dimension of the integration process and for that reason there are projects such as Neighbourhood Mothers that provide assistance to the migrant women to become active members in the society. Besides, it is an important part of the sport clubs' strategy to have an increased number of female members (coaches and athletes).Furthermore, the strategy to focus on the distressed neighbourhoods shows the interest of the municipal government to provide solutions to the social problems linked to migration at the local level by forming partnerships with local stakeholders and using the local sport facilities as arenas for integration.

The sports clubs mentioned in this chapter are members of Get2Sport and Social Partnerships and in that way they are close partners of both DIF and the local government in integration projects. HSK, Brønshøj Football Club and Nørrebro Taekwondo Club focused on the integration of migrant children and youth in the Danish community life with the dual aim of providing education and training with the long term goal of producing academic degree holders, coaches and athletes. Beside, since they are located in socially distressed neighbourhoods emphasis is given to combating of crime and the radicalization of migrant youth and for that reason they collaborate with the local civil organizations and volunteering network.

Another characteristic in Copenhagen is the existence of sub-systems within the same policy coalition with the subsystems composed of the local government from the one side, and the sports federations and sports clubs from the other. The culture and leisure administration is more focused on the inclusion of socially vulnerable groups through participation in the sports clubs gender mixed programmes as part of the traditional Danish way of integration. On the other hand, sports clubs are more focused on migrants and their integration through active (training) or passive participation (match attendance) in sports activities and the use of segregation as an alternative means to the participation of migrant women in the training sessions of the club. In the case of Brønshøj Football Club, there is a great back up by the supporters' association and the club is participating in international anti-racist football campaigns and there is a common position towards diversity and multiculturalism from both club's administration and the club supporters' organisation.

The main problems the three sport clubs in Copenhagen face in their integrative effort is difficulty of adapting the Danish sporting culture and especially the  importance of associationalism and voluntarism in the local community due to their different cultural background, the religious beliefs that prevent women from participating in mixed gender sports activities that leads to the lack of membership in girls, the lack of trust between sports club and immigrant families that affects the relationships between the coach and the athlete (especially in the case of women), the lack of sufficient number of volunteers and coaches, immigrants abandoning the club since they leave the

area to get a job elsewhere or abandoning their sporting aspirations in order to pursue an academic career and even the aggressive behaviour of migrant athletes towards their coaches that becomes a reason for their exclusion from the team.

The political debate that takes place in the case of Copenhagen deals with the use of gender-divided teams as a means of integration for immigrant women of Muslim background. Whereas sports clubs (HSK, Nørrebro Taekwondo Club and Brønshøj Football Club), the two leading sports federations (DIF, DGI)  and the left wing parties (Enhedslisten, Radikale Venstre, Socialist People's Party, Alternativet) are positive in using gender segregated teams as a first step in attracting immigrant women to join sporting activities, getting away from home and building a social network, the Culture and Leisure Administration with a director from the far right Danish People's Party along with other centre-left and centre-right parties such as Social Democrats and Venstre oppose the segregation policy which according to them contradicts Danish values and the traditional way of integration through sports by participation in mixed sports teams and reinforces the concept of 'parallel societies'. That is probably the main reason behind the rationale of the Culture and Leisure Administration of the Municipality of Copenhagen talking about 'inclusion' and not about 'integration' of immigrants. Though the Municipality of Copenhagen advocates diversity and multiculturalism, the Culture and Leisure Administration supports assimilation and opposes integration through gender segregated programmes. In fact, there are conflicting views within the Municipality, in which the Administration of Children and Youth favours the use of segregation as a means of integration and has a multicultural approach. This ideological contradiction shows the different policy approaches and the hesitation of some political forces that see a danger in the creation of a multicultural society which will threaten the associationalist Danish sporting tradition based on community values.

Neo-pluralism in its associationalist version is the dominant macro-level theory relevant to the analysis of this case. In Copenhagen there are conflicting political views within the municipal administration about the means of integration and there is an upgraded role for the sport clubs and the sport

organizations that have equal power in representing their views, as bearers of policy making and as co-actors in a decentralized system in which the municipality offers the financial and organizational framework providing assistance to the sports clubs which are encouraged to promote social integration activities. Then sports clubs act as semi-independent policy actors shaping policy with the local government. However, the clubs need the economic assistance of both the municipality and the sports organizations in the form of Social Partnerships and Get2Sport project, and also some private funding, in order to proceed to their integrative activities by using municipal facilities and paying expenses for the use of athletic equipment, the organization of sports tournaments at the local level and even for the hiring of employees with special tasks in communication and public relations.

In Copenhagen case study the most applicable middle range theory is the Advocacy Coalition Framework. The main actors who comprise the coalitions are sport clubs, sport federations, the local government and the political parties that participate in the municipal administration. On the one hand it can be argued that there is a single coalition composed of sports clubs and the local government under the form of Social Partnerships or a composed of the sport clubs and DIF under Get2Sport. The local government and DIF are providing the financial and organisational framework for the club's integrative initiatives with the double aim to increase voluntarism and membership in the sports clubs. On the other hand, when it comes to the case of the use of segregated teams as a method to integrate migrant women, there are two conflicting coalitions. One is composed of the sports clubs, sports federations and political parties that favour multiculturalism and the other that is composed of the Culture and Leisure administration and political forces that advocate assimilation  It could be argued that both coalitions share core beliefs in the equal treatment of socially vulnerable groups and the emphasis given to children and youth in order to combat criminality and marginalization and also in order to introduce children and youth to the Danish community life and to the associationalist culture that is dominant in the Danish society. However it is also clear that the far-right parties there is a belief that immigrants are undermining and diluting traditional Danish values and that these beliefs conflict with the acceptance of multiculturalism which

characterizes the core values of the municipality (though not the Culture and Leisure Administration), the centre-left political parties and many of the local sport associations. The different core beliefs are also reflected at the secondary aspects level where the incorporation of migrants in the club as part of the code of values based on diversity and equality and their participation in the sport club's activities as part of the community life with the long term plan of increasing human and financial resources in terms of staff, athletes and state funds reflects the values of the multiculturalist coalition. However, sharp differences in beliefs are evident in relation to attitudes to gender-segregated sport, and provides the clearest policy division between assimilationist and multiculturalist coalitions.

# Chapter 8 Discussion

## 8.1 The decline of neo-corporatism and the shift to the right

As explained in Chapter 2, Danish politics has experienced significant changes at the national level during the past thirty years, most notably the decline of corporatist representation in the policy-making process, and the simultaneous increase of parliamentary power as the outcome of changes in executive-legislative relations. Under these conditions, organized interests were forced to adapt to these changing circumstances to preserve their political influence. Furthermore, delegation in corporatist policy-making committees and lobbying of civil servants in government ministries have been undermined by the increase in political lobbyism of elected representatives in both parliament and the cabinet.

Another important aspect of the decline of Danish corporatism was the pluralization of the interest group system. The increased mobilization and political activities of public interest groups and identity groups are the outcomes of the new societal cleavages and political issues such as immigration, the environment, law and order that are not linked to labour market or macro-economic issues that traditionally define the neo-corporatist political agenda. After the mid-1990s, immigration was seen by many Danish political parties and voters as the most urgent problem that could affect the balance of national political power. In 1998 the Danish People's Party successfully used anti-immigration rhetoric in its first participation in the national elections and took 7.4 percent of the votes, enabling it to enter the parliament. Since then the party's political power has increased and it became the second largest party in Denmark receiving 21.1 percent of the votes in the 2015 national election. The electoral success placed the Danish People's Party in a key-role in the parliament as an ally of the Liberal–Conservative coalition government 2001–11, and once more for the Liberal government from 2015 to the present. More important is that the party has been surprisingly capable of dominating the public agenda on the issue of immigration both reflecting and shaping the national mood in a way that has radicalized not only the traditional right-wing parties but also the Social Democrats and the Socialist People's Party. They have increasingly adopted

a hard line against so-called parallel societies of Muslim immigrants which were contradictory to "Danish values" and have stressed the need for tighter rules on refugees with sport being one of the areas in which the divergent views of the political parties of the centre left and centre right have been evident. In the case study of Copenhagen, the Danish People's Party played a substantial role in the policy design of the municipal sports projects linked to migration by holding a leadership role in the Culture and Leisure Administration.

These changes in the political scene of Denmark, in which the dominant trend was the decline of neo-corporatism and the rise of neo-pluralism, were underlined by the shift to the right which has affected policies on migration and sport, though at the local level associationalism retained its strength and voluntary associations offered policy solutions in relation to both migration and sport which were often in marked contrast to the national policy beliefs. Under these political conditions, Aarhus and Copenhagen municipalities designed and implemented policies in which sport clubs and voluntary associations were the key actors in policy design and implementation, functioning as an extension of the state at the local level.

## 8.2 A Comparison of the Two Case Studies

The case study of Copenhagen has several similarities and differences with the case study of Aarhus. In both cities in terms of municipal projects there was a strong focus on the introduction to associationalist life through sports and leisure camps which focused on the integration of children and youth which includes immigrants. In both Copenhagen and Aarhus there were volunteers from the municipality that had the role of introducing the child to the local sports club. In Copenhagen it was called 'Association's Guides' whereas in Aarhus 'Association's Mentors'. Moreover, in the municipal programmes in Aarhus there was a leisure pass offered by the sport and leisure administration, whereas in Copenhagen there were various leisure packages by the social services of the municipality that were an economic means for the families in socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods to take part in the association's life. There was a strong voluntary culture in each of the

clubs in the case study cities and the clubs' administrators tried to involve parents and women in the clubs activities either as coaches, athletes or simply as volunteers with the aim to achieve gender equality and increase the number of members. In this effort both the municipality and the sports federations are partners in so far as they provide funding that is used to hire people whose job it is to provide a bond between the clubs and the families. In both municipalities there were distressed neighbourhoods in which local sports clubs acted as an extension of the state in policy making, taking initiatives to invite refugees to football games as a first step of introducing them to the Danish sports culture and community life. In the case of Copenhagen, it was an initiative taken by a fan club of an amateur football club, Brønshøj, in collaboration with the international project 'Football Against Racism in Europe' whereas in Aarhus it was the administration of an elite sports club, AGF that took the initiative in collaboration with the NGO FO-Aarhus. Brønshøj Football Club is more often involved in integration projects with vulnerable social groups with funding from the municipality, sports federations and private companies whose corporate social responsibility strategy uses sports as a tool and sports clubs as 'network builders'.

Furthermore, in both cases the gender divided swimming sessions were the main topic of political discussion with parties being divided about the success of segregation as a method that leads to integration in contrast to the traditional way of integration by participating in mixed gender activities. In addition in both case studies, there was support from the sports federations in integrative projects by DBU and mainly by the DIF, through the Get2Sport project which has collaborated closely with other local organisations such as housing associations and schools, running football camps and taekwondo tournaments. Finally, in both municipalities the main sports used as integrative tools were football and swimming. The main difference between the two cities is that the programme in Aarhus was public and therefore decisions about who could attend were made by the municipality whereas the program in Copenhagen was run by a sports club and, therefore, the decisions were made by the club.

The main differences between the two municipalities were that in Copenhagen's sport and leisure strategy there was a focus on vulnerable

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social groups (which would include migrants but which was not exclusively focused on migrants) while in Aarhus the focus was more specifically on immigrants. In Copenhagen the concept of inclusion as assimilation rather than that of inclusion as multiculturalism is used to inform policy due to fact that the political head of Culture and Leisure department was a member of the far right Danish People's Party whereas in Aarhus, the head of the sports administration was Rabih Azad-Ahmad, a Dane of immigrant background and member of the Radikale Venstre, and his view on 'Kvindesvømning' as a provider of integration is positive. Moreover, in Aarhus case study there was an elite sports club, AGF Football Club that participated in social integration initiatives in collaboration with a local NGO, FO Aarhus, inviting refugees to attend football games as a first step towards involvement in the local community, whereas in Copenhagen there was an amateur sports club, Brønshøj Football Club, leading a similar initiative. However, in the latter case the effort was inspired by an international anti-racist football campaign by the international organization Football Against Racism in Europe. Furthermore, the Brønshøj Football Club initiative was also characterized by the strong involvement of the club's fan association which reveals the bottom up approach in policy making in contrast to that of AGF that was a more top down approach since it was the administration of the club that decided to take part in social integration projects. In addition, AGF was more interested in a broad range of projects concerning socially vulnerable groups such as the poor, and people with disabilities rather than focusing only on immigrants. Finally, ACFC in Aarhus is a sports club with a clear focus on immigrants since it was founded by Palestinian refugees in Gellerup whereas Brønshøj Football Club is a club that participates in social integration schemes with a double aim to include the immigrant population and increase the number of female participants.

With regard to the funding of the integration projects, in Copenhagen there is formal support of the area based initiatives under the scheme of social partnerships with the existence of a particular set of criteria and strategic goals that the participant sports clubs are obliged to meet in order to receive funding. Brønshøj Football Club and Nørrebro Taekwondo Club are members of the social partnerships because they chose to follow the organizational and

financial framework set by the municipality. Apart from the municipality which is the primary source of funding, there are secondary sponsors such as child-focused organizations such as Save the Children or private funds such as TrygFonden and Nordea that supported the integration projects of sports clubs. In Aarhus, the municipality played a more monitoring role in the projects and is less a major source of financial support. In the women-only swimming programme, the municipality had supported it financially but then when the policy was changed by the municipality to prohibit municipally-funded segregated swimming the associations ran it and also became the main sponsors. In the case of ACFC, the DIF was the main sponsor of the programme whereas the municipality provided support in terms of facilities and sending municipal consultants from the sport and leisure department and from the children and youth department to monitor the work and become a bridge between the club, the immigrants and the stakeholders of the local community.

In this thesis, different methods of integration of immigrants were observed throughout the study of the sports clubs in Aarhus and in Copenhagen. First, participation in women's only teams and classes (basically) for Muslim women who are not allowed to take part in mixed teams. This aim was met through the associations since the public programme faced serious challenges from many of the local political parties. All interviewed coaches and administrative staff shared similar beliefs towards segregated programmes which they saw as a first step towards integration and the involvement of female athletes in mixed gendered teams. Second, the invitation of migrants/refugees to attend football games which was a method used by two football clubs, AGF in Aarhus and Brønshøj Football Club in Copenhagen in order to facilitate the introduction of immigrants to Danish community life and, especially for the refugees to provide an opportunity to leave the asylum camps. Third, the organization of summer camps/ tournaments under the aegis of the sports federations with the aim to attract immigrant children into sports activities. These tournaments do not aim primarily to increase competitiveness but to encourage the enjoyment of play and the development of the social skills of the participating in mixed groups of local Danish and migrant boys and girls. The DIF/Get2Sport programme is the main organiser in partnership with the

Danish Football Association and the Danish Taekwondo Association. Especially, the Football Association's strategic slogan 'A Part of Something Bigger' gives greater significance to the use of football as a tool to integrate vulnerable social groups such as migrants into the Danish society. It is important to note that these programmes are open to both local Danes and immigrants since their primary aim is to encourage interaction between the two communities from a young age. All three different integration methods provided opportunities for the interaction of immigrants with the local community by introducing them to the world of sport in both passive (spectators) and active (participants in programmes) ways.

The major challenges that sports clubs faced in both Aarhus and Copenhagen were the mistrust of parents of the coaches and the role of the club, the lack of a sufficient number of volunteers, the cultural and religious values that prevent Muslim girls from participating in mixed gendered teams, the coaches' expectations towards migrant athletes and vice versa, the difficulty that many migrants have in understanding the meaning of associationalism and voluntarism in the Danish society, the transfer of the migrant groups from one area to another, leaving the club for employment or in order to pursue employment or an academic career. These challenges have a great impact on the success of the integration efforts of the sports clubs since there were changes in member numbers or problems in the relationships between the coaching staff and the athletes. The overall issue that arises is the degree of attachment to the club and its role in the life of immigrants as part of the local community. Immigrants in both cities are prevented or inhibited in participating in sports clubs either as athletes or volunteers because of their different perception of the role of the sports club in personal development and network building. The main hesitation of the immigrant parents is the influence of the coach on their children's lives and the difficulty in understanding the role that they, as parents, can play in the club as volunteers, which is generally an unfamiliar concept to them. On the other hand, the immigrant athletes, when they come to the age to study and/or pursue a career and may leave the club, generally recognize the integrative role of the club, stay in touch with their former coaches and praise the role of the sports club in their personal development.

The existence of two major advocacy coalitions within the administrations of both the Copenhagen Municipality and the Aarhus Municipality indicate the political climate. In the case of Copenhagen, the coalition that supports inclusion (the process of including people within a social group) and assimilation is dominated by the far right Danish People's Party, whose member Carl C. Ebbesen was the Mayor of Culture and Leisure until the end of 2017 but has support from both centre-left and centre-right parties that advocate of the prioritization of Danish values in order to become a citizen. The coalition that advocates integration and multiculturalism, accepting gender segregation in sport and the preservation of immigrant cultural identity is composed of left wing parties. In the case of the Aarhus municipality, there are also two major coalitions. The political divisions in Aarhus were slightly different as the first coalition included the social democratic municipal administration and the centre-left and centre-right parties which support the integrative role of the associations and is less supportive of gender segregated swimming programmes and advocates assimilation. The second coalition includes the sport and leisure department which supports multiculturalism since the head of the administration is of an ethnic origin other than Danish and has the support of the left parties and the facebook movement 'Kvindesvømning Friends'. For the analysis of these two opposing positions the Advocacy Coalition Framework was an effective analytical framework for interpreting and evaluating the beliefs (deep core and policy core).

## 8.3 The strength of associationalism

An important trait of both city case studies is the strength of associationalism. Associative democracy is the democratic model developed across Denmark in which individual participation is commonly expressed through the framework of self-governing interest groups or associations. In the case of sports clubs, their members' rights/ interests such as the right to equal citizenship, the right to health and to the participation in community life are the three goals that the sports clubs prioritize and they frequently co-operate with other self-governing voluntary organisations to achieve them. Territorial or

neighbourhood representation is a very important aspect of associational democracy in Denmark and therefore sport clubs become the advocates of territorial interests at the local level. For instance, ACFC in Gellerup (Aarhus), Nørrebro Taekwondo Club and Brønshøj Football Club are sports clubs that aim to develop and improve areas that are characterised by the far right as ghettos and to confront the radicalization and marginalization of the immigrant youth that live in the area. Another contribution of associationalism in the Danish sporting and community life and to the concept of citizenship is the provision of civic education through which the values of good citizenship are taught. The assumption is that within sports associations people can learn to exercise their rights and fulfil their duties as members of the association and also develop their social and citizenship skills. In the case of sports clubs in Denmark, people with a different ethnic, cultural and religious backgrounds become members of a community that bonds them and activates them through a series of tasks and duties accompanied with a code of values. Moreover, associations in Denmark act as implementers of policy in relation to a range of major political issues including migration. The three local sport clubs in each city case study are clearly involved in both policy implementation and policy making and act as an extension of the local government, participating in area-based integrative initiatives as members of the Get2Sport project run by DIF and/or as part of the social partnerships scheme in collaboration with the Copenhagen municipality. The sports clubs investigated in this thesis have a strong loyalty to their locality and almost all of them-with the exception of AGF- are grassroots clubs whose majority of members are immigrants. The rationale is that sport clubs are strong stakeholders in terms or human resources, media coverage and public support and function as network builders, especially at the local level. As part of the local community, sport clubs, traditionally play a major role in confronting primary social issues such as criminality and radicalization of the youth. In their involvement as co-actors at the side of the local government in area- based initiatives they collaborate with the local voluntary associations and schools and they make use of both human and financial resources and the facilities in order to attract more participants to their initiatives, both immigrant parents and youth. Therefore, co-production schemes are

developed within the socially vulnerable neighbourhoods with the associations having a highly significant role. It is a strongly held view within sport clubs that immigrants, by becoming members of the association, become aware of the importance of the voluntary organisations in community life and interact with the local population by keeping their own cultural characteristics within a diversified sporting environment. For that reason, the sport and leisure administration designed programmes that in both cities will introduce the young Danes to the world of sports associations (clubs).

However, the importance of associationalism is conceived in a different way by the political parties in the two municipalities. Whereas the centre-right parties regard associations as preservers of the traditional ethnic Danish national identity, the left-wing parties regard them as arenas of co-existence of different cultures and preservers of human rights. Finally, there are more liberal voices (for example Pia Allerslev from the Venstre Party) that support the need for an even greater role for the associations and less involvement of the local government in the design and implementation of social integration sport projects.

In all case studies in this thesis, the voluntary sector has made a significant contribution to the implementation of the integrative initiatives since volunteers function as 'bridges' between the clubs and the immigrants, bring immigrants to the games, go to the refugee camps, give them tickets to the games and inform them about the football culture in Denmark. Moreover, volunteers from the sport and leisure administration have an active role in the approach of the municipality towards migrant children. They organise visits to the local schools, get in touch with children and discuss sports opportunities in the municipality within the local associations. From their side, the sports clubs in this study gave integrative initiatives a high priority in their corporate social responsibility strategy no matter if they were elite clubs or grassroots clubs. The case studies of the sports clubs in Aarhus and in Copenhagen reveal the intention of the clubs to bring immigrants closer to them as members and/or spectators and thus combine social responsibility and the commercial aspect of attracting more members who will contribute financially to the club. What is also notable is the aim of the clubs to assist the migrants to follow a successful academic or employment career showing that whereas sport is the

object of the activities, the administration of the club is also concerned about the educational and economic success of their members who would function as role models to the younger generation of members. The clearest example is AGF with the involvement of Jobcenter Aarhus which had the initiative to link the immigrants with the labour market.

From all the above analysis, the two main characteristics that the selected sports associations had in common were values and social networks. The values that the associations preserve were closely aligned to the social democratic values of the society and with the values associated with the municipalities' integration strategies. They are linked to the democratic culture of the associations which are based on equal rights and responsibilities, the division of labour and the interaction between the members in a certain range of activities within the associations. Moreover, the underpinning values of the association reinforced the view that social networks act as preservers of democracy, promoting citizenship while also incorporating people with different cultural, ethnic, religious or even economic backgrounds.

In the case of the use of gender segregated teams as an integration method, the policy window was created by the local government that rejected the segregated teams giving the opportunity to the associations to run such programmes. The beliefs of the associations are in opposition of the beliefs of the Culture and Leisure Department but very similar to the beliefs of the city council in Copenhagen. Whereas the city council advocates that Copenhagen is city that is 'open to all citizens', no matter their ethnic background, the head of culture and leisure administration was against this strategic goal, supporting the associations' role as providers of social inclusion but according to the Danish way based on the traditional code of values. However, his public support for traditional Danish values hid a deeper belief in excluding people with religious and cultural beliefs other than those of the native Danish population. In the case of Aarhus, where the head of sport and leisure administration was of an ethnic background other than Danish, there was strong support for the public swimming programme but when it came to its abolition, the associations took over the implementation of integration by running their own women-only programmes. In fact, the associations

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proceeded to use immigrant coaches to approach more women, especially Muslim women, with a non-Danish ethnic background.

## 8.4 The pattern of policy change: The focus on area-based initiatives and the role of sport

The major issue in the contemporary migration policy in Denmark is the development of socially vulnerable areas in which immigrants are the predominant social group. Whereas in the earlier decades, the Danish migration agenda was more focused on employment and family reunification, the contemporary agenda has given priority to the elimination of what the centre-right government has defined as ghettos. There are currently 22 'ghettos' (a term used primarily by the far right for the areas of social disadvantage and was adopted by the centre-right government) with social problems where more than 50% of residents are non-Western immigrants and the government aims at eradicating immigrant 'ghettos' by 2030. The official definition of 'ghettos' by the government was followed by an announcement in March 2018 that the government would pursue a new set of laws to confront the danger of parallel societies, enforcing rules aimed at integrating non-Western, predominantly Muslim immigrants from Turkey, Middle East countries, Pakistan and Somalia who according to right wing politicians constitute a threat to 'Danishness'. Therefore, hardline policy on immigration became a political consensus and even the traditional pro-immigration Social Democratic party, which is in opposition, has supported the government's anti-ghetto plans in order to gain votes (Perrigo, 2018).

The changing national debate on immigration has led to pressure from the national government on municipalities to develop policies to combat 'ghettos' and the threat of parallel societies. At this point there is a controversy. The government gives priority to the tightening of the laws whereas the local government has the creative role of developing the social and citizenship skills of the immigrants that reside in the 'ghettos'. The shift to the right by the national government is not accompanied by an analogous shift by the social-democratic municipalities of Aarhus and Copenhagen that advocate 'open and diversified' cities that gives priority to the activation of immigrants in

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'ghettos' such as Gellerup, Tingbjerg and Brønshøj through their participation in sport and leisure activities. At that point the role of the sporting federations and especially the role of the DIF was crucial since they designed campaigns and projects such as 'A part of Something Bigger' (by the Danish FA) and Get2Sport (by DIF) in order to confront the ghettoization of the immigrants from an early age focusing on children and youth, using sport clubs as tools for learning Danish community values, and organizing summer camps and tournaments at the local level. Through that process, football, swimming and martial arts become the means for the integration of young immigrants and sport clubs become significant co-actors in policy-making and implementation.

The problem that has a high position in the governmental agenda is the transformation of socially vulnerable areas and the threat of the parallel societies. Whereas in the previous decades employment was the main issue on the migration agenda, in the last decade the danger of losing the traditional cultural traits as an outcome of a 'parallel society' have been the reason that the Danish government had emphasized the tightening of immigration and welfare laws. Besides, the municipalities as responsible governing bodies at the local level designed policies that provided education and attempted to link immigrants with the labour market. Particularly, there is a focus on transforming socially vulnerable areas into spaces of cultural and religious diversity and freedom according to their urban culture vision. For instance, in the policy for disadvantaged areas of Copenhagen the municipality created a general vision and defined a set of goals which according to a long-term plan are going to be fulfilled by 2025. A very significant goal is to ensure that the residents of disadvantaged areas use public schools, local libraries, neighborhood health services, and participate in leisure and culture activities as members of the associations that compose the 'social partnerships' scheme to the same extent as citizens in other parts of the city. Four other important goals are: to raise the employment levels in these socially vulnerable areas to the Copenhagen average; to create a socially robust urban space; to ensure the level of safety in those areas is as high as other parts of the city; and to combat criminality (Københavns Kommune, 2017m). Therefore, through area-based initiatives, sport clubs and educational

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institutions became significant partners of the local government, activating the immigrants and linking them with the local community.

The Danish municipalities have, therefore, proceeded in the formation of social partnerships (in Copenhagen it is formalized) in an attempt to gather local stakeholders, housing associations and NGOs with sport becoming the major tool that will function as the driving force for the marginalized immigrant children and youth to become active citizens and integrated with the local Danes. In Aarhus and Copenhagen areas of disadvantage were considered by the municipalities as places that could be transformed into areas of culture and leisure through the participation of the immigrants in sports clubs as part of integration projects such as Get2Sport and Social Partnerships and through municipal support in terms of facilities and human resources. Whereas at the national level, migration has been defined as a major threat to the country, at the local level there was a focus on bringing immigrants closer to the world of the associations and designing sport programmes that will enable the interaction between immigrants and the local population in a way that immigrants will learn the Danish community values and understand the meaning of volunteering as a vital part of Danish society. Through this process, the local government stresses the problems of socially vulnerable areas, offers solutions and helps to prepare the ground for the national government and the political parties to prepare policy making on the traditional basis of consensus.

## 8.5 The conflicting belief systems and the opposing coalitions

The two city case studies in Denmark provide evidence of the belief systems of Aarhus and Copenhagen municipalities, which are characterised by the rise of associationalism and the decline in deep core belief in corporatism. The municipal sports programmes are designed to introduce citizens, and especially the migrants into the world of the associations. There is a range of deep core beliefs in sport clubs and the municipalities in Denmark. The main deep core beliefs and values are equality, social justice, freedom, cooperation, universalism and active citizenship. These beliefs and values are mirrored in the emphasis on the integration of children and youth in

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Danish society through participation in projects and initiatives run by sport clubs under the umbrella of sport federations and/or the municipalities. Furthermore, another practice that reflects the deep core belief system is that of joint participation in the club's activities in order to obtain social and citizenship skills. Finally, sport associations are considered to be the main bearers of social integration at the local level. These beliefs are the outcome of an egalitarian society with a long-established social-democratic political identity. Apart from deep core beliefs there is a set of policy core beliefs that is the response of policy actors such as sport clubs and municipalities towards particular political phenomena such as the existence of an immigrant population in socially distressed neighbourhoods and the difficulty in adopting Danish community values. The main policy core beliefs are tolerance, compassion, respect, anti-racism and solidarity. Immigrant youngsters are incorporated in integration projects such as Get2sport and Social Partnerships along with the local Danish youth, and segregated teams are used as alternative method of integration to confront the lack of participation of women in sports due to religious beliefs. Besides, social partnerships schemes with the participation of local voluntary organizations and stakeholders and with focus on sport are being designed in order to confront criminality and marginalization, indicating the need for the collaboration of multiple actors rather than simply sport clubs.

At this point, there are two opposing coalitions within the two municipalities which have coalesced around different sets of deep core and policy core beliefs. In the first coalition, there is the view expressed by liberal politicians in Copenhagen that associations must be stronger and more autonomous in terms of policy making and become the main actors in policy making. This rationale is based on the fact that the associations already have the structural and organizational framework that can provide integration services while the role of the municipal sport and culture administration is limited to introducing children and youth into the sports world. According to these beliefs, the private sports programmes run by the associations would become the principal programmes of integration and the public programmes will be more marginal.

This view is a more social liberal view and is linked to the belief that the sport associations are the responsible bodies for the social integration of both native Danes and immigrants into the local society and that the municipal administration should only play the role of the bridge between the sports clubs and the people. This view is characterised by a multiculturalist approach that advocates that people with different ethnic, cultural and religious background can co-exist in a socially friendly environment which will respect their identity and especially their religious beliefs. It is also characterized by openness for change in society with the active participation of citizens of ethnic background other than Danish. Besides, it encourages the development of sports clubs and conceives them as autonomous entities that are similar in values and structure and can attract socially vulnerable groups such as immigrants. Moreover, for the advocates of multiculturalism, social partnerships and Get2Sport schemes reinforce associationalism and enrich neo-pluralism in terms of attracting stakeholders at the local level and giving the opportunity to pressure groups that are not directly involved in sports but linked to migrants to take part in policy making and funding of integration initiatives and programmes. This shift to neo-pluralism would strengthen civil society and the associations that provide services to migrants would become primary partners of the sports clubs and the municipalities.

In the second coalition, there is an assimilative position held by the more conservative circles of the municipalities composed of centre-right/far right parties with the support of the Social Democratic Party that advocate that the associations should be monitored by the local government in such a way that they should provide inclusion based on the traditional Danish values. This position is characterized by traditionalism, conformity, security and power and sets as a priority the defence of national values, the security of the state and its citizens and the control over the wide range of social groups that reside in Denmark. Moreover, the associations, apart from being a means for integration, will become a means for securing social order rather than respecting the rights and the needs of immigrants whose behaviour is an outcome of their set of cultural and religious beliefs. That means that the local sport associations would have an internal policy towards the immigrant athletes and volunteers defined by the traditionalist Danish belief system that

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would transform immigrants into Danes without permitting them to retain their cultural traits which are conceived as threatening to the values of the local community. Since both municipal and sport associations programmes address mainly children and youth, an inevitable consequence would be the conflict between the administrative and coaching staff of the club and the immigrant athletes' parents over taking control of the child.

According to the assimilation coalition, immigrants who fail to adhere to the rules and values of the Danish sport system are unsuitable to be integrated into the society since they prefer to be loyal to their own values and beliefs and throughout the assimilation/inclusion process this group of immigrants will be forced to abandon the club. The associations would become more protectionist and ethnocentric and would continue the role of the municipalities but in a way that will prohibit the formation of parallel societies. Moreover, advocates of assimilation within the municipal government have serious doubts about the intentions of the immigrants to adopt Danish values which are part of a western belief system. The small number of immigrants who participate as volunteers in sports programmes either run by the municipality or the associations and their insistence on gender segregation are seen as a threat to the foundations of the associationalism and, more broadly speaking, to Danish society. This assimilation coalition is influenced by the right wing leadership of the sport and culture administration in Copenhagen whereas in Aarhus it is a result of the fear by the city council from shifting away from the traditional mixed gender integration model. For the assimilation coalition, social partnerships can become a means to provide criteria for the participation of sports clubs in social integration projects and especially the ones that refer to the increased participation of girls in sports activities. Therefore, the funding of integration projects run by the sports clubs depends on meeting the set of criteria monitored and designed by the municipalities in a such a way that Danish values are protected. However, the Get2Sport project seems to be a more autonomous and flexible project in terms of its relation to the municipality and there is a dominant multiculturalist view expressed by the participant clubs and DIF that supports gender segregation as a first step to integration. Furthermore, the supporters of assimilation believe in the hierarchy of the societal needs which in their words

mean that the integration of the Danes has to be prioritized rather than the integration of immigrants. The latter have to pass through a phase of adopting 'Danishness' in order to reach the sports standards of their fellow athletes and adopt their mentality and then become citizens. These two different sets of beliefs led to the creation of the two opposing coalitions in both municipalities, revealing the division of public opinion within the municipal administrations of both Aarhus and Copenhagen.

The belief system of sports clubs studied in this thesis tend to follow the multicultural path. The sports clubs display a belief in the equality of all members and encourage their interaction though their active participation in the club as athletes, coaches or as volunteers. The interviewees, though they referred to a range of challenges that the club faces during the integration process and the difficulty that some immigrants have in understanding the meaning of associationalism and the values of voluntary work in Danish society, argued that there is a high level of satisfaction among the immigrants participating in the activities of the club. That belief is an outcome of the conception that the path to citizenship can be open through interaction and involvement in the form of voluntary tasks. The main hesitation of parents/husbands leaving their daughters/wives to join mixed gender training sessions can be overcome through the girls-only teams, a fact that reveals the flexibility of the club and the strong belief in a relationship of mutual respect to the cultural and religious traits of their members accompanied with internal democratic procedures which encourage the double aim of successful athletic career and professional/academic success. The fact that the majority of the club members (mainly athletes and volunteers) were immigrants (with the exception of AGF in Aarhus) doesn't prevent the administration of the clubs from participating in integration projects that provide for native Danes such as Get2Sport and it simultaneously reveals the belief in equality for both native Danish youth and the immigrant youth. Moreover, the target age group of the immigrants is composed mainly of pupils taking part in the activities of the sports clubs indicate the intention of the club to provide integration through educating the immigrants from an early age and the intention to collaborate with the local schools in terms of providing after-school sporting activities and even using school sports facilities. The commercial view that migrants

participation will increase the club's membership and the internal funding of the club is present but sports clubs funding is also based on the support of other stakeholders such as municipalities, federations and even private funds. Finally, all interviewees from sports clubs in both Copenhagen and Aarhus opposed the values and beliefs of the right-wing coalition about the formation of parallel societies and the negative attitude of immigrants towards the values of a western society such as Denmark, highlighting the universalist nature of sports and its mission in 'bridging and bonding' people with different identity in cultural, religious and sexual orientation terms.

## 8.6 The similarities of the Danish case study to the broader Scandinavian sport policy framework

In relation to the broader Scandinavian context, the Danish case through the study of sport clubs and projects in Aarhus and Copenhagen has basically many similarities mainly to the Swedish and the Norwegian sport policy and integration framework. The Scandinavian model is undelined by a strong bond between the state and civil society and it is highlighted by the tripartite collaboration within the state, the national sport federations, the local sport clubs and other significant local stakeholders such as schools and housing associations in the form of social partnerships. Football remains the main integrative tool in the three Scandinavian countries and the local voluntary sports clubs under the financial support of the state at both national and local level and the organizational support by the football association run programmes and initiatives with the drible aim to provide increase of participation, health, and integration. Moreover, the National Sport Confederation is the main national umbrella sport organization that supports integrative efforts by providing funding to the sport clubs, whereas at the local level the local sport council has also a significant role in design and delivery of the programmes. The football association initiated programmes that underline the social dimension of the game and its integrative character in the case of immigrants. The local sports clubs function as policy makers in socially disadvantaged areas and target to the transformation of the areas into creative urban areas of diversity and equality. Municipalities retain their

autonomous character, providing the framework for integration through the formation of social partnerships and this is obvious in the Denmark, Sweden and Norway. Finally, there are common challenges that Scandinavian sport clubs face such as the lack of associationalist sporting culture and the role of the club, low participation of immigrant women in associational sports activities, cultural barriers related to language and religion leading in some cases to segregation and even to exclusion of immigrants from the community life.

## 8.7 The usefulness of the Policy Analysis Frameworks

### 8.7.1 The Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF)

The main policy analysis framework that was used was the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF). As is clear from the foregoing analysis, the ACF was more useful than the MSF as it provides a much deeper analysis of the interaction of a wide range of actors within a decentralized policy system and their division into two major coalitions that underpin the two major positions towards integration in both cities that are studied in this thesis. The ACF provided a clearer insight into the political conditions than the MSF, and particularly the political debates and the rationale behind the positions of the various stakeholders engaged in strategies on integration through sport.

The Advocacy Coalition Framework has demonstrated its usefullness in this thesis. Relatively stable parameters such as the existence of a stable municipal government in both Aarhus and Copenhagen with consecutive electoral victories of the Social Democrats, sports clubs under the support of sports federations (under their umbrella organisation, DIF) that have long tradition in participating in social integration projects in local neighbourhoods that have been characterised by centre-right groups as 'ghettos' for more than a decade. Moreover, the concept of associative democracy is rooted in the Danish political tradition and the associationalist model and, despite the different interpretation by the Danish political parties, remains deeply rooted at the local level irrespective of the changes that have occurred at the central government level.

Another important ACF concept is that of external system events such as the increase of migration flows, the organization of an international campaign towards confronting racism in sports and changes in the local governing bodies as the outcome of the elections affect the political conditions under which the municipalities and sports clubs design and implement sport policies linked to migration. For instance, the increase of migration flows in areas such as Nørrebro and Tingbjerg in Copenhagen and Gellerup in Aarhus and the dispersal policy at the national level can affect the number of immigrants that live in those areas and therefore the participation of immigrants in sports clubs as athletes and volunteers, and the human and economic resources available to the municipality and sports clubs. The changes in the administration of the Culture and Leisure (or Sport and Leisure) Department as the outcome of the local government elections can also affect policy.

The ACF generally provides a useful theoretical approach for understanding policy issues. In the case of Aarhus and Copenhagen, the ACF was a useful tool in recognizing the policy beliefs of the sports clubs in both cities along with the wide range of challenges they faced during the policy implementation process. The involvement of the local government and the political debate on women-only swimming sessions, the agendas of both municipal and association programs, the degree of support from the sport federations are the main issues that were analysed effectively through the use of ACF. The ACF's focus on change in coalitions, in policy analysis, balance of power, is useful for studying public policy over time. In both Aarhus and Copenhagen, the municipalities which are governed by the social democratic party advocated openness and diversity, but were forced to undertake a shift to the right, creating a coalition with the right wing parties that advocate assimilation. Moreover, the ACF provided a useful means for identifying coalitions based on beliefs. The coalitions formed in both cities were guided by beliefs systems based on different perceptions of how immigrants can integrate into the society as members of a sports club. For the sceptical/xenophobic coalition, that would happen without changing the nature of the community as the beliefs and values of migrants were considered to be anti-western and a threat to citizenship and democracy in Denmark. For the pro-immigrant/multicultural coalition, the participation of immigrants in a sports

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club would enrich diversity and openness and would give the opportunity to people that are often marginalized and radicalized to become equal citizens.

Finally, the ACF provides a good way of understanding policy change as resulting from coalition politics. In both Aarhus and Copenhagen, the existence of a strong assimilation coalition within the political geography of both cities led to the banning of the swimming programme in Aarhus and to the debate over the use of segregation as an alternative integrative policy. However, policy change is not consistent in the case studies since the associations resisted the policy of the assimilation coalitions and are still having gender divided teams despite opposition from the advocates of mixed gender teams. The ACF's perspective of subsystem politics and non-sequential change is useful for understanding policy processes. In both Aarhus and Copenhagen there is a strong policy subsystem with the involvement of interest groups, sports club supporters, women's movement and internal voices within the municipality's culture and leisure administration.

Policy change within the ACF can be studied by examining changes in the relatively stable parameters. In the study of the sports clubs in Aarhus and Copenhagen there was a stable municipal government with the Social Democratic Party in office with consecutive electoral victories but there were significant internal voices that 'break' these parameters by adopting different political positions to those of the city council. Moreover, in both Aarhus and Copenhagen, changes occur in the number of immigrants that participate in the sports clubs despite the stable parameter of the acceptance of immigrants as athletes, coaches, or auxiliary voluntary staff. The changes in the relationship of immigrants to the club can be affected by their different professional plans or by the disagreement with the coaches' expectations of them.

## 8.7.2 The Multiple Streams Framework (MSF)

Whereas the ACF was the primary policy framework used in this thesis, the Multiple Streams Framework (MSF) was also useful, especially in highlighting the importance of the political stream (national mood) in affecting policy definition and policy choice. The framework also highlights the contested

nature of problem definition (multiculturalism or assimilation) and the contested nature of policy choice. A particularly valuable aspect of the MSF is the concept of the policy window, an example of which was the regulation that the associations could offer gender divided programmes. It was through that window that the policy maker could overcome the obstacles for the participation of Muslim women in sporting activities in Denmark.

Moreover, the MSF is significant in this thesis since it is highlights the influence of the three streams in shaping the Danish political agenda on sport and migration. Whereas the state remains the central policy maker, the sports federations and the sports clubs design policies aimed to assist socially vulnerable groups. The state functions as a relatively autonomous actor, providing the essential political agenda on sport and migration but then sport clubs tend to accept or differentiate the agenda through the design and implementation of programmes addressed to the local residents of the socially distressed areas arguably reflecting the deep core belief in the autonomy of sport organizations which affects the national mood and consequently sets as a limit on the scope for radical policy change. The multiple streams framework was useful in this thesis in explaining agenda-setting while recognising also that a new process stream comes into being after an item is on the agenda. For instance, it explained the upgraded role for the municipalities to provide solutions to the existence of 'ghettos', a topic with a high position on the national government agenda, and the priority of the Danish municipalities in confronting that problem in socially distressed neighbourhoods. Particularly, the MSF can explain the rationale of the municipalities on taking initiatives and proceeding to the new scheme of collaboration with sport clubs and the local voluntary organizations.

An important concept of the MSF is that of policy entrepreneur, the actor within the policy stream that develops alternative solutions to major policy problems and brings them to the agenda setting table in an attempt to couple specific solutions to particular problems. In the case studies of the municipalities of Aarhus and Copenhagen, the policy entrepreneur role is vital since policy problems such as the integration of Muslim women through participation in swimming programmes is temporarily solved by the intervention of the head of sport and leisure department that addresses the

problem to the city council and finds a solution by increasing the role of the associations that offer also gender-segregated teams. In the case of Copenhagen, the Mayor of Culture and Leisure, Carl C. Ebbesen, has the role of policy entrepreneur. Ebbesen despite the city council's strategic goal of an 'open and diversified city' positioned his department against the integration of immigrants through the use of the segregation method that will favour multiculturalism. In Aarhus it is the city council which decided to ban the public swimming programme and pass the women-only swimming sessions to the sport associations who would have an increased role at the local level and especially in socially distressed neighbourhoods. In both cases there was a mixture of solutions and problems since segregated teams are an alternative solution to the hesitation of some immigrant women to take part in mixed teams, which is the Danish traditional way of integration. However, this solution might lead to problems such as the marginalization of the public programmes and the special treatment of a specific population group. Moreover, the policy entrepreneur plays an important role in policy change and especially in the traditionally social democratic municipality of Copenhagen, whereas while the municipal government advocates openness and cultural diversity, the head of the Culture and Leisure Administration had a xenophobic position towards the treatment of immigration by highlighting the danger of parallel societies and insisting on traditional Danish methods of integration expressed by the associations. This position has a great impact on the shift of the specific municipal department to the right, following the political positions expressed at the national level by the liberal/conservative government and supported by the centre-right and centre-left parties. In Aarhus, the NGO FO Aarhus also acted as policy entrepreneur through its involvement in an integrative initiative in collaboration with AGF Football Club. Particularly, FO Aarhus as a close partner of AGF, provided organisational support to the club to organise the transfer of refugees to attend football games and acted as advocate of multiculturalism.

A major limitation of Kingdon's framework is the assumption that the streams are independent. On the contrary, the policy and political actors often interact with each other in more than one stream. This is also evident in the six case studies, where there is an intense lobbying between sport clubs and

the municipalities and also between sports clubs and sport federations. Moreover, sometimes Kingdon's model blurs the line between agenda setting and policy formation. In spite of the strong analytical side of the Multiple Streams Framework, there are certain constraints. Firstly, although MS approach developed as an influential model in the public policy analysis and processes in the United States, limited focus was given on the application of its rationale in European countries. Zahariadis (2007) suggested that public policy scholars should enrich the analysis with different spatial divisions (sub-national, supra-national, etc.) or other sectoral representatives, mainly because it will provide additional theoretical and empirical value. This thesis examined Aarhus and Copenhagen municipalities as a sub-state example and sport and migration policies as case study sectors and therefore its use can provide a coherent understanding of policy making and the role of each sector. Nonetheless, it is a well-known and useful model for sport policy and migration policy analysts seeking to bring their proposed problem solutions to the government agenda.

## 8.8 Reflections on doing the research

During the writing of this thesis I came across various challenges that functioned as obstacles in receiving data concerning the two city case studies. Among the major challenges that I identified were the existence of a wide range of primary policy documents written only in Danish, the hesitation of some politicians to give interviews and the lack of a rich historical background of the integration efforts and the relative budget spent by the sports clubs that are studied in this thesis. Solutions were found by using online translation tools (and having translations checked by a native Dane fluent in English), and finding media reports and press releases.

The first challenge in doing the research, was the language barrier and particularly, the necessity and the degree of difficulty of preparing translations of documents from Danish into English. As explained in more detail in the methodology chapter, since major policy documents were in Danish, I had to find the key words in English (for instance, integration project, social partnerships, municipal sport policy) translate them into Danish with the use of

online translator (mainly Google translator) and then search for the original documents. Then, I had to translate the document from Danish into English in order to read the information that I intended to use. This strategy assisted me in getting a wide range of information that was enclosed in academic papers written by Danish scholars in their mother tongue, press releases of sport clubs and newspaper articles that referred to social integration through sport in Denmark. At that point the major problem was that the translation of paragraphs were not totally accurate and therefore I tried to translate shorter phrases which led to a much better translation of primary policy documents that provided originality to my research and also check translations during interviews. Interviewees also provided the opportunity to check that I had identified all relevant documents.

Moreover, another challenge was the delay in receiving answers from the possible interviewees who held senior positions in a sports club, sports federation or the municipality. This caused a delay in booking interviews and receiving timely data, especially during the early field trip to Denmark in 2016 and in some cases I had to retry contacting the interviewee and/or try to find another interviewee from the same organization who is involved in policy design. That challenge was overcome by taking interviews with a senior colleague of the principal interviewee and I feel confident that I managed to get all necessary data.

Unsuccessful efforts were made to book interviews with politicians from different political parties since the controversial nature of the issues linked to migration have affected the willingness of politicians and migrant organizations to give interviews. There was a double issue behind that challenge. The hesitation of politicians to give an interview and/or lack of time. In order to cover that gap, I have focused on interviewing civil servants from the sport administration of the municipalities and from the Ministry of Immigration and Integration and also found media quotes from politicians that highlighted the conflicting political views, especially at the local level.

In addition, I faced difficulties with finding material in relation to the budget and the integration activities of the sports clubs in the past. The main problem behind that challenge was the lack of official archives or there were some privacy issues by the clubs and the information I finally received was the

outcome of interviews and correspondence by e-mail with the interviewees, the official website of the clubs and a range of media reports, mainly from newspapers and their online versions.

Another challenge was contacting immigrant associations despite initial contact with the Ministry of Immigration and Integration, and the Danish Refugee Council. The main problems appeared to be that the sports clubs that collaborate with municipalities deal with individual immigrants and not organized immigrant communities. However, the lack of receiving data from immigrant organizations was substantially covered by the opinion of individual immigrants involved as athletes in integration projects found on media reports and the official websites of the sports clubs. Generally, problems in receiving sufficient material from interviews were overcome by the gathering of a wide range of official documents, from ministries, municipalities, sports clubs, federations, policy papers conducted by university research centers and a wide range of media reports on the integrative effort of the clubs mentioned in this thesis.

Finally, I managed to find more information about the initiatives and programmes of sport clubs and municipalities involved in this study by paying attention to the main points of the interviews and then trying to get even more information by checking the websites of these organizations and particularly the sections that referred to the news, the strategy of the club and the club's principles of corporate social responsibility. That proved to be a good means of achieving triangulation and providing a better analysis of the organization.

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## Appendix A: Interview Questionnaires

### A) National Government

1. What are the main trends in migration policy in Denmark in the last decade?

2. What is your opinion about changes in public attitudes towards migration? (Is the Danish public still supportive of inward migration? Has the issue of migration become a more prominent issue and if it has become more prominent how has it affected government policy?)

3. In which areas do political parties converge and diverge in social integration strategies through sport?

4. What are the main responsibilities of the national and the local government? Does the division of responsibility work effectively?

5. Which are the current legislative acts on social integration of immigrants? Are there specific references to the division of responsibilities between central and local government and to sport?

6. Is social integration seen as the responsibility of one ministry or is it a general responsibility? How does an inter-ministerial collaboration take place in terms of designing and implementing social integration strategies? Are there specific areas of common action? Are there any legislative acts enabling or disabling this collaboration?

7. What are the main routes to citizenship-learning to be a Dane and how significant is sport?

8. What are the main problems and the main barriers in the social integration process of immigrants and what is the response of the national and local government?

9. Are there any initiatives for immigrant's integration at the school level? Is education the main integrative tool, in which sports programs have their own contribution?

**B) Local Government**

1. What are the main trends in migration policy in Denmark in the last decade?

2. How have public attitudes towards migration changed in the last 10 years? Is the Danish public still supportive of inward migration? Has the issue of migration become a more prominent issue and if it has become more prominent how has it affected government and municipal policy?

3. Why did your municipality become involved in projects involving migrants encouraged by elected members, the public and the government?

4. In which service areas do integration projects take place at the local level? Does sport have a significant position in the municipal agenda?

5. Are there any programs designed to attract immigrants to use municipal sporting facilities?

6. Is there a close collaboration between municipalities and sport clubs in integration projects? Which are the common paths of action and which are the possible problems in this bilateral relation?

7. Which are the main integrative projects on sport in the last decade? Are they linked to a specific sport? Are there projects specially designed for immigrant children?

8. What is the division of labour between the municipality and sport clubs in designing and delivery of social integration policies?

9. What are the main barriers for the integration of immigrants observed in these projects?

10. What are the trends in the funding of integrative projects? Is it becoming easier to obtain funding to support these projects? What is the balance between public and not for profit sector?

11. Is there a collaboration between neighbouring municipalities in integrative projects through sport?

12. Are municipalities the only government bodies responsible for the integration of immigrants? How does the national government contribute to the work done at the local level?

**C) National Sports Federations**

1. What are the main integrative initiatives involving national sports federations? Are they developed by NSFs or by government? What is the contribution of NOC/Sports Confederation in designing integrative strategies?

2. How does collaboration between sports federations and clubs in integration initiatives take place? In which aspects do both sides converge and diverge?

3. What is the budget for integrative projects? What is the contribution of both the public and private sector?

4. Are there immigrant coaches/sports leaders hired by each sports federation for assisting immigrant athletes to integrate?

5. Is there a mentoring program for immigrant athletes?(If not, is there a plan to establish such program?)

6. What are the main challenges of the national sports federations facing in designing and implementing social integration policies?

7. Are individual or team sports more suitable for integration projects? Are there specific examples from the Danish sports world?

**D) Sports Clubs**

1. Did you need to alter the priorities of your CSR policy to meet the needs of migrants?

2. Why did your club become involved in projects involving migrants? Was involvement encouraged by elected members, the public and the government?

3. What are the aims of your project and how were they agreed?

4. What are the main challenges that the club and its staff face during the integrative process of migrant athletes?

5.In which areas do sports clubs collaborate with the local authorities in integration projects? How strong is this collaboration in achieving good citizenship?

6.What is the contribution of both public and private sector on a sports club's integrative role? What support (organisational, financial, facilities) do you get and who from? How does the volunteering movement contribute to the club's integrative effort?

7.What does good citizenship through sports mean to you? Is it adopting the Danish sports culture and way of playing the game or is it collaboration and solidarity as the outcome of peacefully co-existing cultures?

**E) Non Sport NGOs**

1) Has your organisation always used sport as a means of achieving your organisational objectives?

2) How did you get involved in the migrant integration project? Were you approached by the sports club or some other organisation or was it your own initiative?

3) Are sports organisations effective partners?

4) Do you consider sport to be an effective means of achieving your organisational objectives?

5) How has municipal policy towards migrants changed in the last ten years? More supportive or less/ Better or worse financed?

6) How has central government policy towards migrants changed in the last ten years? More supportive or less/ Better or worse financed?

**F) Kvindesvømning Project**

1) How did you get involved in the migrant integration project? Were you approached by the sports club or some other organisation or was it your own initiative?

2) What was the Kvindesvømning project rationale and what were its main policy objectives?

3) Who were the main actors from both public and private sector participating in Kvindesvømning in terms of organisation, policy design and implementation, and funding? What was the contribution of the local swimming clubs and the voluntary sector?

4) What were the main budget trends of Kvindesvømning? Was the funding time limited (i.e for 3 or 5 years)?

5) What was the political debate on Kvindesvømning? What was the rationale behind the termination of the project? Do you think that segregation is a successful means of integration?

6) What are Kvindesvømning Friends group goals and objectives? Is the group still active in terms of pushing towards the reset of the program? What are other alternatives in using swimming programs for the social integration of immigrants?

7) Do you consider Kvindesvømning to be an effective means of achieving integration efforts? Are local sports swimming clubs effective partners in integration projects?

8) How has municipal policy towards migrants changed in the last ten years? More supportive or less/ Better or worse financed?

9) How has central government policy towards migrants changed in the last ten years? More supportive or less/ Better or worse financed?

# Appendix B: List of Interviewees and Correspondents

## Table B1. Interviewees in Aarhus

| Name | Organization | Position | Date | Form |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Henriette Gaardbo | Aarhus Municipality | Consultant at Sport & Leisure Department | 18-11-2016 & 22-9-2017 | Face to face |
| Heidi Oehlers | Aarhus Municipality | Consultant at Sport &Leisure Department | 18-11-2016 | Face to face |
| Ole Keldorf | Elite Sports Academy Aarhus (ESAA) | Director | 21-11-2016 | Face to face |
| Jens-Christian Algreen-Petersen | AGF Football Club | Team Manager | 23-11-2016 | Face to face |
| Preben Astrup | Danish Olympic Committee (DIF) | Consultant of Public Affairs | 25-11-2016 & 18-9-2017 | Face to face |
| Karin Coles | ES Sprong/FO Aarhus | English language teacher | 18-9-2017 | Face to face |
| Torben Dreier | FO Aarhus | Director | 18-9-2017 | Face to face |
| Søren Højlund Carlsen | AGF Football Club | Communications Manager | 19-9-2017 | Face to face |
| Janus Hans Hedemann | Jobcenter Aarhus | Central Manager for Integration | 20-9-2017 | Face to face |
| Anders Glahn | Aarhus Municipality | Leisure & Youth School Leader in Gellerup | 21-9-2017 | Face to face |
| Afif Abdallah | ACFC Football Club | President | 21-9-2017 | Face to face |
| Marianne Kennild | AGF Swimming Club | Lifeguard Coach | 21-9-2017 | Face to face |
| Nadia Gulnar Umar | Viby Syd IF | Lifeguard Coach | 23-10-2017 | Skype |

**Table B2. Interviewees in Copenhagen**

| Name | Organization | Position | Date | Form |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mikkel Minor Jensen | Danish Football Association (DBU) | CSR and Public Affairs Responsible | 26-9-2017 | Face to face |
| Poul Broberg | Danish National Olympic Committee (DIF) | Director of Public Affairs | 26-9-2017 | Face to face |
| Tobias Halbro | Brønshøj Football Club | Leader of the Youth Department and Coach | 27-9-2017 | Face to face |
| Martin Kjærgaard | Danish Gymnastics and Sports Associations (DGI) | Integration Projekt Coordinator | 27-9-2017 | Face to face |
| Camilla Graversgaard Nielsen | Copenhagen Municipality | Consultant at the Culture & Leisure Department | 28-9-2017 | Face to face |
| Søren Herlev Jørgensen | Nørrebro Taekwondo Club | President and Coach | 28-9-2017 | Face to face |
| Stephanie Piontek | Ministry of Immigration and Integration | Special Consultant | 29-9-2017 | Face to face |
| Maria Ventegodt Liisberg | Danish Institute for Human Rights | Head of Equality Department | 29-9-2017 | Face to face |
| Katrine Syppli Kohl | Center for Advanced Migration Studies University of Copenhagen | Postdoctoral Researcher | 2-10-2017 | Face to face |
| Katrine Borg Albertsen | Copenhagen Capacity | Researcher at the Analysis Department | 2-10-2017 | Face to face |
| Pia Allerslev | Copenhagen Municipality | Mayor of Children and Youth | 3-10-2017 | Face to face |
| Hermela Haile Berhane | Red Cross | Integration Project Coordinator | 4-10-2017 | Face to face |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Morten Goll | NGO Trampoline House | Director | 5-10-2017 | Face to face |
| Ulf Hedetoft | University of Copenhagen | Dean of the Department of Humanities | 9-10-2017 | E-mail |
| Simon Prahm | NGO 'GAME' | CEO | 25-10-2017 | Skype |
| Thea M. Andersen | Hovedstadens Swimming Club | Integration's project poordinator | 5-12-2017 | Skype |
| Hamid Faiz Junior | Danish African Soccer Academy | Founder and Coach | 9-3-2018 | Skype |
| Christoffer Hansen | Copenhagen Municipality | Director of Idraetsprojektet | 23-4-2018 | Face to Face |

**Table B3. Correspondents**

| Name | Organization | Position | Date | Form |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jens Christian Algreen-Petersen | AGF Football Club | Team Manager | 18-6-2017 | E-mail |
| Preben Astrup | Danish National Olympic Committee (DIF) | Consultant of Public Affairs | 30-8-2017 | E-mail |
| Marianne Kennild | AGF Swimming Club | Lifeguard Coach | 18-10-2017 | E-mail |
| Thea M. Andersen | Hovedstadens Swimming Club | Integration Project Coordinator | 11-12-2017 | E-mail |
| Tobias Halbro | Brønshøj Football Club | Head of the Youth Department and Coach | 6-2-2018 | E-mail |
| Frank Jensen | City of Copenhagen | Lord Mayor | 2-10-2018 | E-mail |
| Kristina Lind Thrane | Danish National Olympic Committee (DIF) | Project Manager of Get2Sport | 30-1-2019 | E-mail |

**Appendix C: Sample Interview Transcript**

**Interview with Poul Broberg on 26/9/2017**

**Q: What are the main integrative initiatives involving national sports federations? Are they developed by NSFs or by government? What is the contribution of NOC/Sports Confederation in designing integrative strategies?**

A:There are two reasons for deciding to interfere with integration strategies.We can see that first of all the Danish club based system is offering activities, volunteering a unity a social community where you get people to meet each other, people to talk, become volunteers and thereby contribute to the local society.The other thing that is an advantage for us as a sport organization is that the deprived areas have been in the 1960s and 70s middle class areas with green areas and it was a vision of the urban planners to get a better space to the middle class but then they were turned to deprived areas. In 1960-70s a lot of sport clubs have been founded by middle class and also the working class. These clubs suffer a lot because they get in youth and children from other social and ethnic background who were not used to be a member of a sports club and they didn't bring their parents because they weren't familiar with the voluntary club system. We needed to do something to strengthen the volunteers clubs.That was in the end of the eighties.

Over the years there was a base of a more systematic integration/ inclusion initiative which could once for all make a position for the civil society in these social deprived areas, based on the existing clubs and structures.

So instead of developing new projects that will have rather a short term limit we said let's go to these clubs that existed for 20 and 30 years and  strengthen their opportunities to include people that are socially deprived or come from another ethnic background. That was our main ambition.

We also have discovered that as an umbrella organisation we needed to take an initiative and we could not rely on our member federations to do it themselves. We need to exercise our role as an umbrella organization and step in front.

**Q: How does collaboration between sports federations and clubs in integration initiatives take place? In which aspects do both sides converge and diverge? Are there any conflicting interests and difference in sport federations' strategies in comparison to club's strategies?**

A: First of all the challenge is that many of the member federations don't see as their main objective to do these initiatives in social deprived areas and they were not able financially to set aside funds. They need money from that is we went to the government to find funds to fund these clubs. They need funds to hire people that make sure that the volunteers can concentrated on the sports that are being good at either being coaches, playing football or being the voluntary members of the board of the club.

Driving a team to the away games was a challenge because many of the parents didn't have car. Coaches spent days trying to organize transport. Now people who get paid can arrange the transport of the team and the coaches can concentrate on the game.

We tend to concentrate on the sports that are relatively strong or have a relatively strong federation, for example football, and that becomes a challenge because all the children don't want to become footballers. We want to secure to have a broad sporting picture in social deprived areas and children can do martial arts and boxing and not only football. But boxing federation and taekwondo are small federations in don't have both human and financial resources to be actively participant in these areas. And there we are trying to replace the federations and make an agreement with the local boxing club or taekwondo club.

When it comes to the societal initiatives such as Get2sport or sport in socially deprived areas we discovered that we need to replace federations that are not resourceful to enter in a meaningful collaboration with the local sport clubs.

**Q: In this situation do you get money from a private fund such as Nordea or Carlsberg Fund?**

A: We are financed by the government. By the end of the 80s we had set aside money on social inclusion initiatives. We showed to the municipalities to invest by ourselves in these projects, compare to other projects that need to be paid by the state of the municipalities. Part of funds are coming by own budget, state funds, first of all to

make sure that we get a certain level in the municipalities. Some of them invest a lot but some others lower their investments substantially. That is why we need the government money. We don't want to proceed to any club support without having an agreement for partnership with the municipality before, because the local ownership is 80% if we succeed.

**Q: So you [DIF] first talk to the municipality and then to the local club?**

A: Yes, because all our agreements are with the local municipality. Then they fund the club. Nordea Fonden in 2016 and come with a big investment the vision is that 50% that we [DIF] are present in social deprived areas with the funds from the NF there will be a civil society effort in all socially deprived areas in Denmark.

**Q: Is 50% of the funding covered by Nordea Fonden?**

A: Yes, 50% of the Get2Sport funding is from Nordea Fonden.

**Q: Where do the rest come from?**

A: Around 20% from municipal funds, 20% from government funds and 10% from DIF funds.

**Q: Are there immigrant coaches/sports leaders hired by each sports federation for assisting immigrant athletes to integrate?**

A: We still lacking behind leaders, coaches, volunteers with a different ethnic background. The next step with the government is to get more ethnic minorities and volunteers hired as coaches. We grew in recruitment but it is still not reflecting how the population is looking. It is getting better with women with another ethnic background in terms of organizing activities, recruiting volunteers and coaches.

Another challenge is an average of 20% of the population that is most well connected and well functioning and have jobs move out to live in a middle class areas and the ones who come as refugees are the least resourceful because they have just arrived to Denmark or face problems of obesity and alcoholism.

**Q: But even if a coach has a national licence does he/she have to pass exams and pass training schools in Denmark to have an official licence?**

A: One of the pillars of the success in Get2Sport is due to the close collaboration with our member federations, among of them the FA, that we are offering the coaches and trainers a real education that they can use in the overall football system.

In Aarhus, we give the youth referee courses. What it becomes a pillar of success is that because of the collaboration with FA they get in one week time after passing the exam they can become real referees. They take money, it is appealing to them to have uniform, to be the boss of the pitch.

**Q: How much does an FA referee school last?**

A: It takes a couple of months. We can have other projects where you can give them some knowledge of football rules and refereeing but they don't get to be able to go to the real football league afterwards. It is a huge potential for us and a huge advantage.

Every summer we do football schools in these socially deprived areas and the kids get official jersey of the FA and the official national team jersey. It is meaningful for the children of the deprived areas to feel of being something bigger. And what had been an important part of the success of Get2Sport is that we have managed always getting connected to the real sports so these people who used to live their whole life in socially deprived areas can either use the coach certificate or the referee certificate to get aside of these areas and be part of an ordinary football game and part of the city. This has been an important part of our success.

**Q: Is there a mentoring programme for immigrant athletes?(If not, is there a plan to establish such programme?)**

A: We [DIF] don't have mentoring program but we try to select special people as role models such as the 23 yo Ilknur Kekec of Turkish origin who was not allowed to come to the football pitch by her mother, mix with boys and do sports, became coach and president of the youth committee in the sports club in Hoje Taastrup and is now talking to the parents trying to convince them that is a good investment to let the children come to the football ground. We

are trying to develop and share stories we think that will have a national reference.

When it comes to athletes from grassroots sports participation it is getting better to the recruitment but when we go to the elite level there is a greater challenge since less come from other ethnic background. We are not able to develop them into elite athletes. So we definitely have a challenge to develop a track from the grassroots sport recruitment of ethnic minorities, get the most talented identify them and get them on a challenge track that they can end up being a member of the national or the Olympic team. We are definitely not able to fulfill that potential yet.

**Q: So do you think that is mostly possible to integrate people through grassroots clubs rather then elite sports clubs?**

A: In the Danish Sports Model all elite athletes have started from the grassroots sports club and by that developed their talent.

**Q: I mean the immigrants. Can they easily integrate through the amateur level?**

A: I won't say easily. Still the recruitment is challenging to make immigrant athletes. First of all development in their recruitment of ethnic minorities and make it and look what kind of talent development path can we follow in working with ethnic minorities.

**Q: What are the main challenges of the national sports federations facing in designing and implementing social integration policies?**

A: Challenges that the national sports federations face in designing social integration strategies. To really show a commitment and ownership to the issue. A lot of them do not see them as a natural path of their organization and strategy. They show lack of investment, they don't want to invest moneywise. The clubs in these deprived areas need special funds to be able to survive. They also show a lack of ability to recruit volunteers from different ethnic background. Finally, we need more federations that are able to move their activities closer to the deprived areas. To try to think differently that they don't always need a state of the art basketball court a state of the art football pitch to make activities. A good example was Cricket federation is using the green areas that are around these socially deprived areas and organized games without using the regular

facilities. By moving the activities closer to the deprived areas they create safety and gain parents trust.

**Q: Are most of the facilities that are used as integrative arenas municipal or private?**

A: Municipal. I think 90% of the facilities is of municipal ownership. By that we have great potential for having enough room/sports facilities for recruiting people from another ethnic background.

**Q: Are individual or team sports more suitable for integration projects? Are there specific examples from the Danish sports world?**

A: Football has been a major part of our integration efforts and we see an advantage from this because these children and youth being a part of the team, get social relations with children that are coming out of the socially deprived areas, learning to work together and showing that they can be an important part of a bigger success but we can also see that individual sports such as boxing and taekwondo are good for other kind of children and youth that could live in the deprived areas. Some aggression is caused because some of them are feeling isolated, find difficult finding jobs and being accepted outside the socially deprived areas. Martial arts and boxing take the top of their temper and by that they are good individual sports that is why we as an umbrella organization have the advantage that we can see this from a drone perspective. We can look at the socially deprived areas and see these target groups. On the contrary, the federations will see that from one side. As an umbrella organization will make sure that the federations are talking together activities that are offered in the socially deprived areas have some kind of variety and difference and that would not been the case if a single federation has organized them.

# Appendix D: Tables on State Funding and Danish Sport Clubs Integrative Initiatives

**Table D1. Major State Funding on Sport for Socially Vulnerable Groups in 2010-2018**

| Period | Pool/Actor | Amount in DKK | Extent of projects |
|--------|-----------|---------------|--------------------|
| 2010-2011 | Ministry of Culture and Nordea Fund: Wide sports municipalities | DKK 20 mil. | 11 projects |
| 2010-2013 | Ministry of Social Affairs & Integration, Development Support | DKK 15,2 mil. | Get2Sport |
| 2012 | Ministry of Social Affairs & Integration, Sport for vulnerable groups | DKK 20 mil. | IFS and partnership with Sport for LIFE, OMBOLD & DGI |
| 2014-2015 | Social Pool (Ministry of Social Affairs & Integration) 'transitional support | DKK 8 mil. | Get2Sport |
| 2014-2016 | Ministry of Culture & Nordea Fund: Wide Sports Municipalities | DKK 20 mil. | 11 projects |
| 2015-2017 | Ministry of Culture: Alternative sports forms for children and youth | DKK 6,5 mil. | Platform for Street Sport and establishment of street sports in-at least-10 municipalities |
| 2015-2018 | Ministry of Culture:Sport for People with Special Needs | DKK 11,34 mil. | IFS,OMBOLD, Sport for LIFE |
| 2016-2017 | Social Pool (Ministry of Social and | DKK 8 mil. | Get2Sport |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Internal Affairs) 'anchoring support' | | |
| 2016-2019 | Ministry of Culture: Sport for socially vulnerable groups | DKK 6 mil. | BROEN, DFUNK Sport, GAME, OMBOLD |
| 2017-2020 | Social Pool (Ministry of Social and Internal Affairs) | DKK 8,8 mil. | Sport for LIFE |
| 2018-2021 | Social Pool, (Ministry of Integration) | DKK 24 mil. | Get2Sport |

**Source: Pilgaard, 2018**

## Table D2.  Danish Sport Clubs Integrative Initiatives

| CLUB | SPORT | INTEGRATION TRENDS |
|---|---|---|
| BOLDKLUBBEN SKJOLD | FOOTBALL BASKETBALL | a) Migrant athletes from FYROM act as ambassadors inviting others to join, b) migrant coaches hired to talk to parents to let their children get encaged |
| KATSJ | LEISURE (SPORT & PLAY) | Optional Hug to the kids when they come to the club in order to feel accepted. The volunteers teach the children about their own culture and the Danish culture too. Danish is the official language, but several volunteers also use English when they cannot understand Danish. |
| SIK FIGHT | MARTIAL ARTS | The club has more talented young boxers with ethnic minority backgrounds and they serve as role models for the younger members. |
| KØBENHAVNS INTERNATIONALE KLUB (KIK) | FOOTBALL BASKETBALL SWIMMING | The club contributes to crime prevention. Football is the basic integrative tool. Lectures on Danish culture are held and focuses on ethnic Danes learning about Somali culture. The volunteers try to promote the dialogue between the ethnic groups that co-exist in KIK. |
| B1908 AMAGER | FOOTBALL | The club has not really done anything in relation to integration work, and there have been no targeted projects in this area. Those who come with ethnic minority backgrounds participate on an equal footing. Football and the community that is the focus. There are on average 2 to 3 players with ethnic minority backgrounds in each team |
| FREMAD AMAGER BOLDKLUB | FOOTBALL | The integration employee (with a municipal grant) contacted the migrant children's parents. Then this task was appointed to the coaches who integrate members regardless of their ethnic background. There is more then one coach on each team to confront any problems that the migrants face. The club encourages registration of children rather than teenagers. |
| HAFNIA FLOORBALL CLUB | FLOORBALL | The club became part of the "Association for the Fellowship of the Holmbladsgade Quarter" (FFIH)  in 2001. One of the club's tasks is to develop and maintain members of ethnic minority backgrounds. A club consultant take care of the parent contact. The club has an ethnic minority assistant coach, and acts as a role model for many of the players. |

| AJAX KØBENHAVN HANDBOLD KLUB | HANDBALL | The club had a collaboration with the Sandholm camp ,the local schools and institutions, including visits to schools, settlement of different ball activity days, sports days across schools and motor training with a leisure center, collaboration with the surrounding schools in the project "Children, Well-being & Overall - A Good Start of Life". School classes (0-3 grade levels) where one of the purposes is to promote the integration of migrant children. |
|---|---|---|
| BK SKJOLD/ STEVNSGADE BASKET | BASKETBALL | The club has a project at a local school, sending trainers to the after school activities clubs (SFO) so that the children can play basketball once a week. The club has hired ethnic minority coaches, and these are largely role models. The club's representatives think it would be optimal to have a tutor for migrant children. |
| 'TO THE BEAT ' | DANCE(HIP HOP) | In the past, a club employee worked on integration.  The club's experience in relation to integration work 60%. of the members of the association have ethnic minority backgrounds. The club has the easiest to attract the boys, which is generally within the hiphop culture. The recruitment of members by doing satellite work, street-level workshops or through the social media. |
| ARBEJDERNES TENNISKLUB (ATK) | TENNIS | There is no official focus on integration but it has integration activities. Members of ethnic minority background use the club as a leisure center and an opportunity to be part of the Danish society. The youth coach has a very open and inclusive form of training. |

 **Source: Rasmussen, 2008**