INAMOS

CROSS-NATIONAL SPORTS CLUB STUDY REPORT

INTEGRATION OF NEWLY ARRIVED MIGRANTS THROUGH ORGANISED SPORT – FROM EUROPEAN POLICY TO LOCAL SPORTS CLUB PRACTICE (INAMOS)

SIEGFRIED NAGEL | SARAH VÖGTLI | PETER EHNOLD

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Siegfried Nagel
University of Bern, Switzerland

Sarah Vögtli
University of Bern, Switzerland

Peter Ehnold
IST University for Management Düsseldorf,
Germany

Contributors:

Karsten Elmose-Østerlund, University of
Southern Denmark, Denmark

Josef Fahlén, Umea University, Sweden

Andreas Gohritz, IST-University for Management
Düsseldorf, Germany

Bjarne Ibsen, University of Southern Denmark,
Denmark

Henning Jarck, Ruhr-University Bochum, Germany

Mathilde Kristensen, University of Southern Denmark, Denmark

Torsten Schlesinger, Ruhr-University Bochum,
Germany

Ørnulf Seippel, Norwegian School of Sports
Sciences, Norway

Cecilia Stenling, Umea University, Sweden

Åse Strandbu, Norwegian School of Sports Sciences, Norway

Photos:
@LSB | Andrea Bowinkelmann

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◯ Introduction

To scale up sport-based integration activities in Europe, a more in-depth understanding of the underlying processes within the local voluntary sports clubs (VSCs) is urgently required. If we assume that, from a medium- and long-term perspective, a significantly broader base of VSCs should be involved in targeted policies and practices for "integration through sport", a number of specific issues arise in relation to this challenge that should be addressed more systematically. Despite some evidence from previous research, we do not yet know enough about the determinants that could explain or predict a sports club´s willingness or ability to implement specific programmes and initiatives for integrating migrants, refugees or other vulnerable groups. The quantitative research that was undertaken by the SIVSCE research consortium did show a general disposition and willingness among European VSCs to support the integration of newly arrived migrants (NAMs) and other vulnerable groups and there is evidence that, for example, the size of a sports club, the type of sports they offer or their attitude towards performance and competition correlate with structural integration (Elmose-Østerlund et al., 2019). Yet there also still information gaps, open questions and contradictions which cannot be explained by quantitative research alone. Policy makers and sport organisations in Europe are interested in more detailed, qualitative information on how VSCs can be motivated and empowered to get more systematically involved in social integration practices. In particular, we need a better understanding of what motivates local sports clubs to open up their organisation to newcomers, and how decisions for or against targeted integration practices are made within the organisation.

The specific nature of VSCs must be considered when researching these processes. In this context, it is important to mention that VSCs are "communities of interests" that have the primary mandate of satisfying the interests of their members (Horch, 1992). Therefore, integrative efforts of VSCs for NAMs depend on the dispositions – i.e. the ability and willingness – of the VSCs as implementers of social integration (Agergaard, 2011; Dowling, 2019; basically Skille, 2008). At the same time, implementing specific policies and programmes related to social integration or other important societal causes may benefit a VSC. Nevertheless, such a kind of social responsibility for VSCs may also come with costs or have unintended consequences that are not aligned with the initial interests of their members or stakeholders.
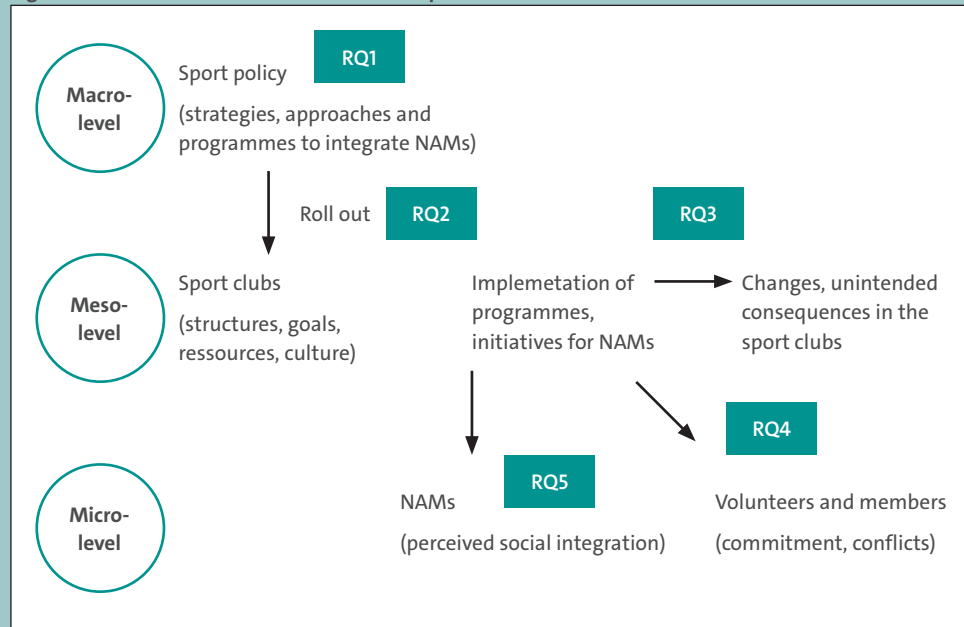
Therefore, this report addresses the third and fourth main research questions of the INAMOS project:

RQ3: Which factors are relevant in the process for successful implementation ("roll-in") of programmes for the integration of NAMs? Which factors hinder the implementation of programmes, even when the sports clubs are involved in the integration of NAMs?

RQ4: How do sport-based integration practices for NAMs change the sports club as an organisation? Which intended and unintended consequences can be observed and does this change the commitment of the original volunteers and members?

In the figure below, these two main research questions are embedded in the multi-level framework and presented in relation to the other main research questions (for more detail see the report: PROJECT MANUAL).

Figure 1. Multilevel framework and research questions

Figure 1. Multilevel framework and research questions

Table 1. Number of clubs separated into top-down and bottom-up for each country

Country	Top-down	Bottom-up	Total number
DK	3	3	6
GER	3	3	6
NOR	0	7	7
SWE	6	0	6
SWI	3	3	6
	15	16	31

Sample

To collect data for the qualitative cross-national sports club study, we used multiple sources of data for each case study (interviews with decision makers in the club, focus groups with club members and volunteers). The focus lies on reconstructing the implementation process for integration programmes or integrative measures and the associated consequences for the club and its members. Theoretical reflections and the research questions guide the data collection, particularly the interview and discussion guides (Yin, 2014). The data collection was carried out by means of problem-centred expert interviews as well as focus groups and single interviews with club members (see report: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY). An overview of the interviews conducted can be found in Table 2 below.

◯ Method

Case study design

In line with Yin (2014), we followed a holistic multi-case study design by analysing social integration in organised sport with a specific focus on the implementation of specific projects and integration initiatives in VSCs in five European countries (Denmark, Germany, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland). Board members and other decision makers in the VSCs were interviewed to explore the level of potential willingness and abilities for the implementation following a roll-out of national policy. Furthermore, we will explore the perceptions and evaluations of other club members and volunteers in the same VSCs.

We selected VSCs that are involved in a specific "integration through sport programme" as policy implementers, but also clubs that implement integrative measures based on their own initiative. The first perspective considers clubs that participate as implementers in top-down strategies of policy programmes. Nevertheless, it should be noted that policy programmes or top-down interventions do not simply "make their way through" the club but will be adapted or reconstructed by the club itself. The second perspective considers clubs that develop and implement their own integrative measure(s) from inside-out (bottom-up).

The range of selected VSCs in each country depends on the availability and commitment of the clubs, especially considering the impact of the global Covid-19 pandemic. The number of clubs separated into top-down (implementation of a specific programme) and bottom-up (integrative measures on their own initiative) can be seen in the following table for each country. For Sweden, we could only select top-down clubs, since there is a nationwide policy programme that is relevant for all clubs. In Norway, all clubs can be characterised as bottom-up clubs.

Table 2. Overall sample of the interview study (BU= bottom-up; TD=top-down)

Information	Expert interviews with decision makers	Focus groups and single interviews with club members
Interview type	51 single expert interviews	■ 15 focus groups ■ 13 single interviews
Number of interviewees		■ 48 focus group participants ■ 13 respondents in single interviews
Distribution of gender across interviews / focus groups	25 female, 26 male	23 female, 38 male

Data analysis

The interviews will be analysed based on Mayring's (2010) qualitative content analysis, as this approach guarantees a high level of intersubjective comprehensibility and comparability. The analysis will be based on a deductive approach in the form of a structured content analysis (based on theory-driven and theoretically based categories). At the same time, however, the analysis will also follow an inductive approach by keeping the coding open enough to allow for the detection of any new and more differentiated subcategories. Intersubjective comprehensibility and validity (Lamnek, 2008) will be ensured by combining the use of a theory-based structured interview guide with systematic, rule-guided content analysis (Schnell, Hill & Esser, 2005).

○ Findings: decision-maker perspective

Integrative efforts for migrants in VSCs are influenced by the clubs' organisational logistics and attitude towards integration, as well as by the resources and capacities available. The following section therefore focuses on the willingness and ability of the clubs to implement integration programmes and initiatives.

Willingness – motives and goals

In many of the cases across the countries, the main goal of the clubs in terms of their club work is to make their sport(s) and activities accessible to everyone. They are concerned with either being open to everyone or providing communication that is more geared towards the target group(s) and recruiting strategy. The starting point in many cases seems to be the sporting activity that is offered. They then expand on that by developing new goals and including new target groups. However, overall, it becomes evident that there are exceptions in the form of clubs that have either been founded with the main objective of enabling integration or that use their sports and competencies for such causes.

Club goals are linked to overarching goals that guide the club activities and values as well as targeted and specific goals in terms of integration as a broad concept. In our cases, different goals underlining the programme or integrative measures can be found.

In several cases, the main goal is of a sport-related nature. Here, the goal is to either make the sports or specific activities in the club accessible for everyone or to promote sports in their communities. For example, the Swedish football club Husqvarna FF combines both sport for everyone and elite sport activities and is located in what is identified as a socially vulnerable area. The club sees itself as an integrative force in the local community, so by starting inclusive activities it is thus showing further goals related to its engagement within and with the local community. Similar to these cases, other clubs refer to sport-related experiences and the club environment itself that they instrumentalise for different social outcomes, with thes aim of making them accessible to everyone. For instance, the Danish football club, The Star, exhibits a strong belief that when their players thrive, have fun and feel safe when playing football, they will have a solid basis for developing football skills and, beyond that, skills that help them participate in the club community and society in general.

A number of clubs do not state that they have specific goals concerning the integration of NAMs, nor that they have installed specific measures or statements in their strategy. Nevertheless, they are active in engaging their community, which in their cases are very diverse. Despite the low strategic component of their work, the constitution of their members themselves and the significance of their embeddedness in the local community make for an integrative setting. In one exception, however, the activity itself has given the club access to NAMs and is being targeted towards families with young children and a low threshold to participate, as well as their collaboration with the church and the municipality.

Two clubs state that their overarching goal for their engagement in integrative work within the club is to connect NAMs to further sections or activities in the club and lead to long-term memberships. However, the transition to the main club is the club`s main goal here.

When we look at the motives, we then need to differentiate between the motivation to have integration as a set club goal and integration work in the club itself and the motivation to implement a programme or introduce integrative measures. In some cases, both aspects of motivation are present, as either the programme itself is the first form of integrative engagement or the programme fits the already existing structures and activities within the clubs.

For a broad range of clubs, there are normative motives for either, or sometimes both, their engagement in integration work and the implementation of an integration programme. This means that clubs state that they "feel obliged" to take on a social responsibility and offer specific activities that are open for everyone.

Club 1 from Denmark

This Danish football club is making efforts to develop sports activities for different groups of vulnerable people who - for one reason or another – do not fit into the existing sports club activities. Among these vulnerable groups are children and adolescents living in a residential area where there any many people with a migrant background. To appeal to this target group, the club offers free football activities (Friday football) for children and adolescents in the local neighbourhood. The goal of this effort is – according to the club experts - not to recruit more members but to inspire children to get involved in communities that offer leisure activities in general. It is not important to the chairman and the project manager if the children choose to enter Hillerød football or another association, as long as the project has opened their eyes to the values of becoming part of a social leisure community.

In other cases, underrepresented groups are targeted specifically in the framework of a programme and in terms of the local community (e.g. "underrepresented local girls"). They state that they want to take on responsibility for different social challenges and the promotion of, for example, "positive body culture", "development of attractive local communities", "conveyance of democratic values" and "parent involvement". From a more deficit-oriented perspective, in terms of underrepresentation, "health" is another responsibility that they assume. In one case, the club's very foundation is based upon normative considerations of access and equity, with the motivation of providing a possibility for girls and women to participate in a sports club community.

Club 2 from Denmark

The main goal in this club – a female sports association in Denmark - is to provide girls and women of all ages, regardless of ethnicity and sports skills, with the opportunity to become part of a sports club community. There is a particular focus on including girls and women who are vulnerable and/ or unfamiliar with sports clubs. Therefore, it is of great importance to the club that all girls and women feel welcome and accepted for who they are. This is apparent in swimming classes, for example, where the club puts effort into providing swimming facilities that offer girls and women the opportunity to change and wear swimwear without compromising their religious or cultural codes of practice.

Similarly, the formation of a new club board was seized as an opportunity to negotiate and develop new strategic goals and reconsider club values, which resulted in the design of an internal club integration project. In that case, the board considered providing access to underrepresented groups, especially girls and women, as an important goal.

Club 1 from Sweden

This specific club already had very integrative and inclusive ambitions even before the nationwide project was launched. According to the respondent, this is a result of the specific local context of the club, a so-called vulnerable area with many first and second generation immigrants. As the vast majority of Swedish sport clubs are local community clubs in a very specific way, this club also has residents in its vicinity as its main target group. This means that the club also worked primarily towards individuals with migrant backgrounds before the launch of the programme. So, in this way, this specific club is certainly helped by the financial support it received for the programme and elsewhere but would most probably also have been working in a similar way without the programme.

Other clubs combine both normative and functional motives for their integrative engagement. Functional motives for their integrative engagement can be observed with four clubs in Sweden and Germany. In two cases, motives cannot be identified or have changed and faded, respectively.

Club abilities

We understand abilities as the specific structural characteristics and available resources that support the initiation and implementation of sport-based integrative programmes and measures. As we will see in the resource building (and supportive and missing resources) chapter, the implementation process can not only be supported by certain structural conditions but can also induce institutional change. We differentiate between the following organisational capacities that can be considered as abilities for the implementation of integration programmes: human resources, finance, relationships and network, infrastructure, planning and development.

Human resources

Human resources are instrumental for sports club life, especially when it comes to installing integrative measures and implementing programmes, as well as managing different steps throughout these processes. Motivated, enthusiastic, competent and skilled club members and volunteers, and in some cases full-time or part-time employed individuals, are the driving forces of such initiatives, as is apparent in the data from the case studies in all countries. It thus becomes evident, however, that such motivation is ideally spread among different people and distributed across club structures.

In three cases, normative motives and the obligation to take on responsibility to open up club life, managing access better through targeted programmes, is the main contribution of human resources to implementing the programme in the clubs. In two cases, only a few people are involved in the processes, which makes the initiative vulnerable in terms of its sustainability. For example, once the main leaders of an activity in the club that implements the Swiss "Move Together" programme ended their involvement, the club lost knowledge and resources and a successor had not been recruited. Another example, however, is the formation of a new board in one of the clubs. The board is composed of young players and former members who are determined to make "integration" a priority in the club and address current socio-political issues in Switzerland.

Club 1 from Switzerland

The origin of the integration project was the new formation of the club board in 2013. The new board members were young people who understood the importance of integration and invested a lot in creating new structures and starting projects to see how the club could address the issue even better. Things started moving faster when the club was awarded the city's integration prize. Since then, many different projects and activities for and with newly arrived basketball players have been introduced. However, tandem systems for a low threshold entry into the club and social integration within the team have proved to be the most effective strategy and have been incorporated into the team structures.

Volunteers, board members and paid staff are often described as an important resource in terms of their contribution to implementing measures or introducing integrative measures. Trained, competent and qualified coaches, for example, create a learning environment which not only promotes the sporting development of club members, but also their social and personal development. In some cases, there is a "pool" of coaches, which enables the clubs to use them flexibly and as required. For example, this availability keeps the clubs running when there are additional courses or personnel fluctuations in a German club. A particularly strong component is said to be designated or employed staff who not only coordinate the integration initiatives in the club, manage targeted contact with communities and the target group but who also have the ability to take notice of open funding opportunities.

Club volunteers and other staff can also strengthen the club's ability to become aware of available project opportunities, apply for funds and coordinate the necessary cooperation with relevant stakeholders given that the club is already involved in sport-based integration or is aiming to focus its activities on that goal.

Club 1 from Sweden

For this specific club, having six employees is the result of having previously been involved in other kinds of outreach projects. As they are, to a greater or lesser extent, financed by funds from such measures, they are also very aware of the rather large number of initiatives and funders available that can also be used to continue covering their salaries. In this way, the respondent noted, it is a win-win situation or a very beneficial circle of events. Their staff are more or less constantly on the lookout for new funding opportunities and when they are successful with an application, they can keep them as staff and/or employ more staff while simultaneously arranging good activities.

Club 2 from Sweden

In this specific club, the fact that it has the possibility to employ staff makes a big difference when it comes to awareness of available offers (such as this programme), applying for funds and coordinating the necessary cooperation with relevant stakeholders. The respondent noted that they would miss many offers or calls to tender without their employed staff. He added that there are so many initiatives with similar targets these days that it would be impossible to keep track of them without those people in place. He concluded that he cannot imagine how they would manage such an operation with just volunteers.

Designated staff for implementing programmes, namely project managers, are a strong resource, especially those with long-term experience whose organisational knowledge combines with the resources related to the programme or integrative measure itself. In the context of a German club, the size of the club and therefore its capacity to appoint paid staff is considered to be its biggest strength. Not to mention the fact that three out of the six employees (part-time employed) have a migration background, which is described as a strong asset in the context of sport-based integration. Project managers are mainly appointed in the Danish context. For example, one club describes the project managers, who were appointed and supported by the Get2Sport project fund, as a strong resource in sport-based integration work. Therefore, long-term experience is described as being especially important in the Swiss context, primarily when it comes to the relevant stakeholders and the network built in the context of sport-based integration.

In some cases these staff members and volunteers have professional experience in social work or socio-pedagogical experience. As a consequence, programmes that are prioritised are of high quality and in line with the club's goals as well as the socio-cultural context. However, with one or fewer designated persons appointed and responsible for the ongoing tasks, it can also create a sense of feeling overwhelmed, which leads to a decrease in quality. Furthermore, in many clubs the focus and solution is on keeping the activities afloat. This especially targets a trade-off for available temporal resources between long-term planning and club development.

Club 3 from Sweden

For this specific club, not having time to focus on long-term planning is mostly related to the time needed to engage coaches and/or volunteers to take care of the two teams specifically established for integration purposes. In turn, this was a consequence of the fact that it was very difficult to reach the parents of the people playing in the teams, and even harder to engage them as coaches and/or volunteers.

It is noticeable, especially in the context of the Danish Get2Sport project, that there are funds for such positions in terms of project coordination and management, for example for activities targeting females with a migration background. As the clubs aim to reach specific target groups for their integration initiatives, their intercultural competencies become especially relevant in order to understand where, how and through which channels to recruit and get people interested in what they have to offer. Being embedded and recognised as a spokesperson in such communities, either through a long tradition of sports club work or assigning communication tasks to members of ethnic communities, facilitates that process and makes it credible and legitimate.

Club 4 from Sweden

This specific club has an explicit ambition to recruit leaders/coaches from the participant group, as this will not only provide it with the human resources needed to run the activities but also, and perhaps more importantly, give it a specific image. This, the respondent claims, makes their activities "stand out", so to speak. Since they are visible in the city landscape when they conduct their activities, it also becomes apparent who is leading them and the club is quite confident that it makes a difference to have leaders/coaches to whom prospective participants can relate.

Club 5 from Sweden

For this specific club, it was considered key to be able to recruit a resident from the local asylum housing facility with a background in martial arts as a leader/coach. Not only was this a gateway for being able to communicate with other residents at the housing facility, it also showed them that the activities were accessible and available to them.

When it comes to the distribution of responsibilities and building resources among club members and volunteers (and the board as the strategic commission), regular meetings for the consideration of new projects enable the club to act in the interest of club members but decide centrally on new or adapted measures. For example, a consensus around the integrative involvement of the club and which measures are therefore introduced can be negotiated, as was described by one Swiss club. Similar visions for the club`s sport-based integration bring people together.

In another case, a Swiss football club holds regular board meetings together with the coaches, which enables the club to react to individual members' issues, for example those related to employment, educational issues or housing, and combine resources. In some clubs, there are explicit goals about how to recruit new members, volunteers and staff. Both in terms of competence and intercultural understanding, a good strategy has proven to be to appoint members with a migration background.

Giving club members responsibilities within the club adds up to that in terms of appropriate recruitment. For example, club members are given the opportunity to attend board meetings and take on smaller responsibilities at first or shadow a board member. These opportunities are described by a Danish club and a Swiss club.

Some clubs, however, have a relatively low human resource capacity and struggle to recruit new volunteers and maintain the current staff. This also applies to a situation with volunteers who are motivated to perform sport-based integration activities but where there are too few to implement them appropriately. This is likely related to the fact that these clubs cannot offer renumeration for their volunteers and coaches. It might also be connected to the fact that, despite the members' support, there is no interest in sports development, and especially no interest in developing sport-based integration initiatives, as is the case in one German club.

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Finance

The financial resources in the clubs are different in the various cases. In most cases, their finances come from the following three sources: club-internal resources (annual membership fee, fees from sports and other courses for non-members), their (extensive) network and project subsidies. In addition, clubs apply for other funds or have access to other sources, which support the club financially.

For club-internal resources, the annual membership fee is a stable source of income, which can be easily assessed each year and that almost all clubs demand from their members. However, there are other activities that support the club`s financial resources, such as a "swimming school" in the case of a German club, which attracts more children with a migration background compared to the main club but that finances the main club`s activities. Another German club offers "prevention courses" for non-members, which act as one of the club's income sources.

It appears that maintaining an extensive network (see also relationships and network below) supports the club`s financial resources and, in particular, brings in additional funds for sport-based integration activities. Specifically, municipalities seem to be large advocates of clubs' sport-based integration work. For example, they support clubs by reducing membership fees, as in the case of the administration of social security and social services.

Other funds derived from maintaining a network with relevant stakeholders are project subsidies that the clubs receive (see WP2 report for a more detailed description of the programmes and indirect subsidies).

There are different descriptions of funding opportunities. The clubs draw upon their financial resources capacity that which comes, for example, from foundations that support sport-based integration activities. In two Swiss cases, an integration award given by local authorities accelerated the clubs' programmes and funds, enabling the clubs to prioritise integrative measures.

Only a few clubs seem to lack financial resources. Instead, these are either stable enough or sufficient to implement sport-based integration programmes or integrative measures. In one case, it is connected to the cessation of project funds after the project duration of 5 years in the German context. In another case, tough competition from other clubs in the nearby surroundings makes securing sufficient funds difficult.

Relationships and network

In many cases, the clubs have an extensive and diverse network in the context of which the sport-based integration programmes and integrative measures are supported. There are seven different stakeholders (see Figure 2), that are described in relation to their contribution and support for the clubs` integrative work.

Figure 2. Relationships and network of the club sample
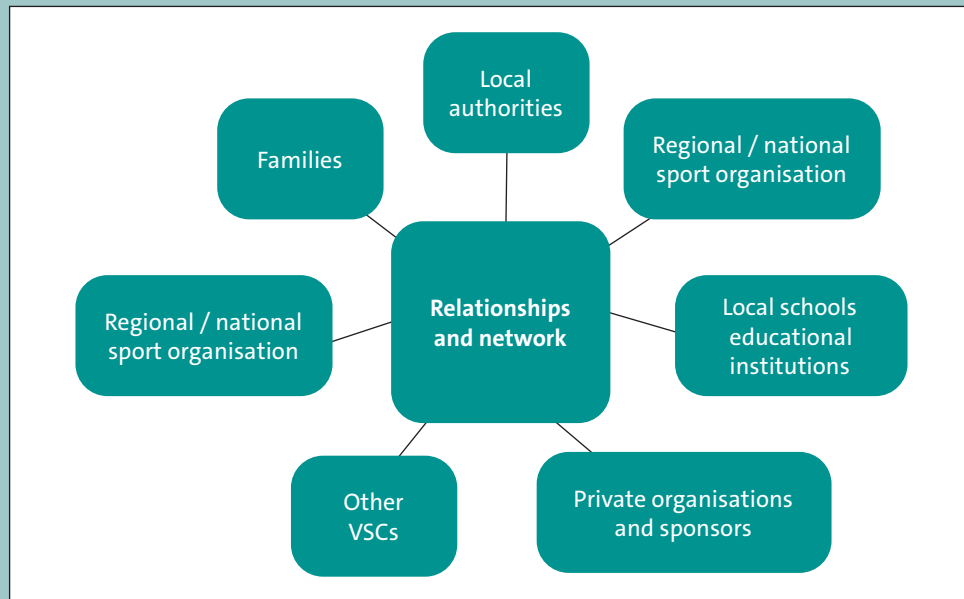
The collaboration with local authorities, mainly the municipality but also the local youth department, social care and services, crime prevention, and public health institutions, provides access to some of the main stakeholders in the clubs' network. In many cases, the collaboration with local authorities, especially the municipality, means the club is getting support in terms of access to facilities and financing. Larger clubs with a monopolistic standing are prioritised here and have better access to good facilities. In cities especially, where infrastructure resources are scarce and sports facilities highly contested, some clubs report that, in terms of new members and teams, this would hinder the development of the club. Another German club bypasses this obstacle by renting facilities, in order to gain independence for planning and development. Renting or owning facilities also enables the clubs to "bring" their activities near the communities they target, especially when it comes to sport-based integration. This is described by two Swedish clubs. In this case, the collaboration with the local authorities enabled the club to gain awareness of the geographic locations of the segregated suburbs and neighbourhoods with groups who are underrepresented in their club.

Club 3 from Sweden

For this particular club, the establishment of two specific teams for integration purposes was a specific result of the club's close and longstanding relationship with the local authorities. Had it not been for this connection, the club would not have been made aware of the available facilities in the city's segregated neighbourhoods/suburbs. So even though the club had an ambition to be a club that combines sport for everyone with elite sport activities and welcomes everyone interested in handball, it would not have had the facilities it needed to be able to start two new teams.

The collaboration with regional or national sport organisations is mainly connected to the project-specific relationships. While there might be other facets of that collaboration, when it comes to sport-based integration club work, the sport organisations and federations support the clubs financially through funds.

A large number of clubs have indicated that they would like to collaborate with local schools or other educational institutions in the local surroundings. In most cases, the collaboration exists of try-outs of the sport facilitated through the school and its awareness of the club. Or the clubs offer extended school activities with training or try-outs in the after-school programme. In one case, the club provides physical education in the school itself. In all cases, it seems that the school, as an institution where attendance is compulsory for all children and adolescents, is a great partner of the VSCs in terms of facilitating access to organised sports. But this is especially evident for clubs that have a rather monopolistic standing and can offer activities where there are few other alternatives. In urban environments, however, schools are rather reserved, since they receive many offers for their students and there is no possibility to control all those offers. In some schools, advertisements of any kind are prohibited, which makes it impossible to make the club and their activities visible in that context.

The collaboration with private organisations and sponsors is of value both in terms of getting professional support in terms of intercultural competencies and gaining access to target groups as from a financial resources perspective.

The relationships and network with other VSCs seems to be a valuable asset for the clubs for two observed reasons. Firstly, in terms of programme implementation. Within the Danish Get2Sport project and the Swiss MiTu Move Together project there are regular meetings with the participating clubs and, in the latter, compulsory courses on inclusion and intercultural communication. Through these possibilities, knowledge and experiences are shared and contacts made. Even though these relationships are not formal, they enhance the implementation of programmes through shared experiences. Secondly, and more formally in line with the rules and regulations of the basketball and football league, teams can be merged, either temporary or permanently, and facilities shared.

Infrastructure, planning and development

In terms of infrastructure, planning and development resources, the clubs describe five areas that enable and support sport-based integration: size of the club, availability and access to sports facilities, long-term planning, "good" communication and a volunteer community.

The size of a VSC can enable it to bundle its resources to invest much more in sport-based integration. Depending on its size, the sports it represents and the sports or leisure opportunities available in the local community, a VSC can take a monopolistic standing in the local community. Embedded in the local community, a VSC`s active part in "integration through sport" can be recognised and therefore gain a lot of attention and participation. Some clubs are renowned for their activities and respected as a spokesperson for the local community. Other clubs, which are home to more underrepresented sports, can

attract members who have traditionally or originally played that sport in their country of origin e.g. cricket or basketball. Very large clubs with different sports (departments and sections) are a large provider of sports and leisure opportunities in the local community and have been for a long time, which means that many members are followed by their children.

The availability and access to sports and training facilities support sports-based integration initiatives in two ways. Firstly, the availability enables offers to be planned in the longer term and the communication can therefore be targeted. Club development and the registration of new teams or groups and, therefore, additional dates for training is therefore slowed down or even inhibited when there is strong competition for facilities. Secondly, members and interested or potential new members need to have easy access to the facility grounds. As such, in terms of the targeted community a more central and local facility is more likely to be visited than grounds that are far away, or that have to be reached using public transport at an additional cost. Focusing on specific segregated neighbourhoods/suburbs instead of specific target groups is seen as a success factor when it comes to reaching individuals who are not yet in the club. If the club is not yet a part of that said community, renowned and recognised for its work, renting facilities near the target group's community can bring the offers and activities closer to them. Another aspect entails the diversification of activities that go beyond sport-related activities and are built through an extensive network and collaboration with different partners.

Club 3 from Denmark

This Danish football club has developed a strong collaboration with partners in the local community, including teachers at local schools, members of the municipal crime prevention team and social workers connected to children and adolescents attending the football club. Through this collaboration, the club manages to meet children and adolescents via a holistic approach, taking into account the different social arenas in which the children are involved. This means that the values and social manners which form part of the football club start to impact on how the players behave in other settings. Furthermore, a close collaboration with local, national and international football clubs makes it possible for the club to provide the members with a wide spectrum of football experiences e.g. applying to be a ball boy at national football matches or travelling to visit international football clubs. Experiences that all play an important role in retaining the members' interest - giving them a sense of belonging in a community where adults have a sincere interest in supporting both their well-being and the development of their football skills.

Long-term planning is more likely to be possible if there are suitable human resources in place (e.g. full-time or part-time employed staff). Dedicated volunteers also take on this responsibility. Long-term planning is furthermore described as an important factor in terms of considering not only sporting development in the club, but also social and personal development. In one Swiss club, the club receives the contacts of every family in town, who can then be contacted directly and informed about the activity.

This is done every summer. However, in many contexts, this is not transferable due to data protection obligations.

"Good" communication is described as having benefits for sport-based integration. The characteristics of "good" communication are based around the frequency of meetings, fixed communication channels and processes for new member requests, as well as involvement in strategic decisions. For example, some clubs have regular meetings with the board and also include the coaches and interested members in their meetings. Similarly, the Swiss club BC Femina addresses the inclusion and participation of its members by giving them the opportunity to take part in meetings or by openly publishing the meeting minutes on their website. It is said that such habits and opportunities make it possible to maintain, share and renegotiate and find solutions about which all club members agree. This is tightly connected to a strong volunteer community as in a German club, for example, where a vacant youth centre was spontaneously taken over and activities started from there. Whereas planning capacity in these cases might be relatively low, these VSCs act very flexibly and dynamically according to their values.

It becomes obvious that many different "forces" and, in some cases, circumstances and opportunities have played a role in introducing sport-based integration programmes and measures.

Roll-in processes (of implementation)

Implementing or "rolling in" a sport-based integration programme or integrative measures in the VSCs follows a variety of approaches and characteristics. These are grouped together and described in the next sections. This step is strongly linked to the WP2 report and the analysis of the different national instruments and project logistics. However, the perspective here is more on the description of the VSC itself and gives an important insight into the implementation process. On the one hand, the sample consists of clubs that implement a specific programme which was formulated on another level, such as national sport federations or government agencies (top-town clubs). On the other hand, the sample is further complemen-

ted by VSCs that implement their own projects or individual measures or offer specific programmes in terms of sport-based integration efforts.

Top-down clubs

Starting with top-down clubs, there is one main observation in terms of how the roll-in strategy can be described. Taking this observation as a starting point, a distinction can be made between three strategies in terms of the way in which the programme is rolled n to the local level of the VSCs. These strategies are partly aligned with Campbell`s (2004) differentiation of mechanisms for institutional change (see table 3).

In many clubs, the mechanism called "bricolage" by Campbell (2004) is in place and observable when it comes to programme participation and implementation. To get an idea of what an extension of existing sport-based measures could look like, see the following quote from a Swedish club:

"It's not cheap to keep this place running. So, when a call comes in that is almost tailor-made for what we are doing, we have a pile of old applications for funding that we can draw from to secure the funding we need to keep our staff and sustain our activities."

In the context of this example, particular questions about the development of such programmes and measures without the tailor-made calls to tender and project funding opportunities arise. When it comes to "translating" the challenges faced, whether structural or social, in the context of project calls and programme implementations, the following quote from a Danish club illustrates the mechanism behind them:

"Yes, it is a club that would very much like to accommodate everyone. In the beginning, it was a club that played high level handball - 2nd division – engaging really talented players at a high level. A very prominent club at that time. Later, there were problems in establishing the youth department properly. Now it is a very present issue with the project manager who got hired 3-4 years ago and is working on creating a club for everybody and especially for the local residents."

To give an example of what is described as an "impulse" for a programme to initiate and engage in sport-based integration, see the following quote from a club in Switzerland:

"So, I'm the kind of person, if you say to me today, starting tomorrow we'll do this, then I'll take it up as a challenge and we'll do it. Then it's a new challenge, and yes, if it serves the club, then we'll do it, and because it's always been a bit of an issue for us anyway, especially inclusion and integration, or especially for me, because I also come from the social sector, it was simply "ah, finally we have something". And I would say that I didn't have to think for two minutes about whether we should participate or not."

The example illustrates a club with a high willingness to initiate and engage in sport-based integration, especially by making their activities available to a wider group of people. The programme itself is an impulse, a trigger for realising and translating that willingness into action and specific measures.

Bottom-up clubs

When it comes to the clubs originally considered to be bottom-up clubs, we can see a wide variety in how programmes, projects or single measures are designed and implemented. To get an overview, Table 4 below shows the most relevant features in the origin of the programme or measures in each club.

Table 3. Implementation of sport-based programmes in and through top-down VSCs (N = 15)

Bricolage (n = 7)	Extending, complementing existing sport-based integration measures	4x SWE, 2x GER, 1x DK
Translation (n = 4)	Problem-solution (member recruitment, social environment)	2x SWE, 2x DK
Impulse (n = 4)	High willingness (institutional logic, driving key members)	3x SWI, 1x GER

Table 4. Bottom-up strategies for setting up sport-based programmes and measures

Denmark	
Club 1	Merging of two junior teams with mediation and involvement of parents with experience in social work. From mediation efforts to steady projects for fostering a strong community (both normative and functional motives).
Club 2	Project collaboration with local political institutions for establishing the club (normative motives).
Club 3	"Sport for all" philosophy: besides elite sports groups, activities for everyone and targeting of vulnerable groups (normative motives).
Germany	
Club 1	Integration of NAMs was not initially an intended process but rather a consequence of their engagement (normative motives).
Club 2	The club has a very functional, pragmatic take on the integration of migrants into the club: it can be considered as the acquisition of new members if integration work is successful (functional motives).
Club 3	Courses for everyone are offered among others in areas with a high share of families with a migration background, so there are therefore an above average number of children with a migration background (functional motives).
Norway	
Club 1	Special and inclusive activities, partly outside of the club, linked to schools
Club 2	Integration through ordinary football
Club 3	Inclusive and cheap football
Club 4	Inclusive, cheap, flexible and very wide spectrum of activities, academies (empowerment)
Club 5	Inclusive, cheap, flexible and very wide spectrum of activities, academies (empowerment)
Club 6	Inclusive and cheap activities, academies (empowerment)
Club 7	Football for NAMs (five years ago)
Switzerland	
Club 1	Formation of a new board as an impulse for initiating a sport-based integration project in the club (socio-political reasoning), resulting in an integration award from the city council (normative motives).
Club 2	Club is situated in a socio-culturally diverse city area; single support structures and one team transferred, integration award from the city council (both normative and functional motives).
Club3	Sport-induced demand from refugees and NAMs; single support structures (both normative and functional motives).

Capacity building, supportive and missing resources during roll-in processes

Alongside the supporting resources that were described in the chapter about abilities at the club level, there are resources that are built through programme participation and the implementation or the introduction of integrative measures in the club. There might be some overlapping with the abilities in the prior section. However, the resources described here are strongly connected to the implementation process itself and are more a result of it.

Resources established

This section presents the central results for resources established through the implementation of a sport-based integration programme or introduction of integrative measures. This process can be presented as a first section of (un)intended consequences at the structural level. Most resources established can be described along the resources dimensions and the following are the most significant: infrastructure, relationships and network, human resources and planning and development, especially in terms of the established knowledge and competencies. Other case-induced dimensions are also presented below.

Infrastructure resources and more specifically facilities have faced increased demand and / or use due to the implementation of sport-based integration programmes or the introduction of integrative measures in the clubs. This is associated with either additional activities, increased eligibility for additional training hours or facilities and transportation for club members or the demand for such due to diversified activities. Incorporating integration as a club goal makes meeting points and opportunities more important,

as in the German case. In another German case, the clubs took over existing facilities and gained momentum with a fitness studio and a youth centre respectively.

What can be stated, however, is that available funds and existing ideas are functional and well met if the club has clear intentions on how to use those. Funding opportunities can function as an impulse for ideas and planned structures that already exist while also creating a sense of awareness.

In many cases, human resources have been established in terms of new volunteers and staff, active member and volunteer communities and increased parental support and involvement (see also lack of resources). A Swedish club noted that, in terms of new volunteers and staff, these individuals had not been leaders in the club prior to the establishment of the integration activities.

> **Club 6 from Sweden**
>
> For this specific club, this was initially a much welcome addition to an otherwise strained cadre of coaches. However, as the club saw it necessary to reimburse the leaders for the specific activities, it quickly realised that this solution was not viable in the long term as it also added friction between remunerated leaders and the voluntary leaders of the club's existing teams.

It is noted that the integration efforts encouraged recruitment and that members of the local (and targeted community) with access to knowledge and experiences could be recruited. This was transferred to the active member and volunteer communities, which developed along with the implementation process and the introduction of new integrative measures. For some clubs, parental

involvement and support was a factor that was prominently targeted with their measures, such as activating and mobilising them to attend games, help out with events and thus become involved in their children`s development.

Intercultural competencies, knowledge and experiences with the target groups and communities have been gained in some cases and been explicitly described. While the experiences alone resulted in intercultural sensitisation to some extent, especially with the recruitment and engagement of NAMs and volunteers with a migration background, the clubs gained competencies and access to the target groups and communities. With the increased sensitisation, clubs and decision makers gained an understanding of locally appropriate project logistics. For example, while children and their parents were welcomed in the Swiss "Move Together" programme, the sustainability of club participation was foreseen for children but not for their parents. Understanding this missing structure was a learning process.

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Club 2 from Switzerland

Throughout the implementation of the Swiss MiTu Move Together programme the club, and especially the decision makers involved in the programme implementation, gained an awareness about the components and their fit for the local context and beyond. The interaction with the programme group - pre-school age children and their families with special needs - enabled the decision makers to realise that in terms of long-term participation in the club, a solution for the children was in place. After joining the activities with their parents, children would be able to join activities with the older age group. However, it was conceived that the parents originally joining the club with their children would not continue to participate another activity in the club (e.g. fitness group, volleyball or gender-specific gymnastics and sports). The decision makers therefore started to promote existing activities that could also be started by the parents. This example shows the emergence of ideas and solutions once the club really engages in the project logistics and the process towards the defined goals. It thus shows how the club itself further developed the programme and created ownership and agency.

Similarly, sensitisation is described in some clubs as having facilitated the development of a common club culture. This is to be specifically understood in terms of the clubs incorporating "integration" as a club goal and mitigating divergences between club goals such as performance-oriented and socially-oriented goals. For the Danish club The Star, for example, the project became the starting point for getting involved in several other activities targeting "vulnerable people" such as addicts and children with special needs.

Relationships and networks as resources were established in some cases, specifically through improved cooperation and collaborations. This becomes evident, for example, by creating synergies such as merging activities or bringing other VSCs or organisations and potential stakeholders into the project network. Or alternatively, as is the case with a Swedish club, by scaling up the initiative and expanding to other cities.

Club 4 from Sweden

For this specific club this was also one of the section's original ambitions before it tapped into the possibilities offered by the nationwide programme. In addition to belonging to a club that was well-renowned for its outreach image, this helped the section to get traction with other nearby clubs, clubs in other cities and with other organisations working with the specific target group. In turn, these ambitions made the section an even more legitimate partner for funders and other stakeholders.

A nation-wide network such as the Swiss "Move Together" programme enables activity leaders across clubs to share their experiences and knowledge as well as develop solution strategies. This opportunity is highly emphasised as being an important established resource and, to some extent, insurance for the quality of their programme delivery.

To maintain an extensive network in terms of the sport-based integration programme or measures means having professional support, better access and support (e.g. KulturLegi of the Swiss Caritas in collaboration with municipalities) for the target groups and underrepresented club members. It also makes it possible to draw upon different sources of financial support. This mainly targets local, regional and national authorities and sports organisations that recognise the clubs' work as an important contribution to both sports and social development.

This recognition and the club`s reputation as a contributor and actor in sport-based integration is a highly appreciated recourse and, in many cases, described as an established resource. With such a responsibility with local authorities, the clubs are not only supported in their work and contribution but also legitimised to influence local politics and decisions. For example, a German club engaged the local community with political stakeholders in a debate for the sustained use of the youth centre. For this engagement, the club consequently received responsibility for the youth centre. And a Danish club put the integrative potential of sports clubs on the political agenda, resulting in several politicians visiting the club and acknowledging their work.

Only a few clubs believe that the implementation of sport-based integration has not led to establishing resources and/ or do not describe having established resources.

Supportive resources

In all cases, established resources that are presented and described above support the ongoing implementation of sport-based integration programmes and measures. However, supportive club resources, approaches and strategies are highlighted in particular in this section.

What is considered to be particularly supportive in terms of the implementation of sport-based integration programmes or measures is having available staff and volunteers for different functions in the club and their flexibility. In one case, this refers to the changing demand of their offers and the resulting challenge of being able to draw from a "pool" of volunteers and coaches for delivering the programme and activities. Such a network and contacts maintained by the club`s president and board are described as being a supportive factor for implementation. Thus, in terms of human resources, not only being recognised as an organisation but also having a permanent presence of club staff and volunteers in the local community, as well as support from organisations or municipalities, are described by some clubs as being helpful in terms of access and entry levels for interested potential members.

When it comes to funding opportunities and resources the club can draw upon for their activities, approaches comparable to the idea of "social enterprises" are a supportive structure. There are clubs which have installed such structures, for example, prevention courses for non-members and swimming lessons for which participants have to pay the fees.

Supportive resources are the ability to support vulnerable target groups in terms of providing access and maintaining their participation in the club. This is done in terms of support for paying the membership fee or tandem systems, where they receive assistance to help facilitate the first steps in a club environment.

Again, a network makes it possible to create synergies and show the club`s work as an important contribution to social integration and cohesion. Some clubs describe it as specifically supportive if other VSCs can be contacted for advice on following the requirements from federations or city councils or mediating the scarcity of available facilities.

Missing resources

It becomes evident that, if the established resources described above and supportive resources are lacking or missing, the club is impeded in its implementation process and in the extent to which its work can gain traction and have an impact. The missing resources described below show the most significant factors hindering the successful implementation across the cases and they are connected to all the dimensions of organisational capacity discussed.

Infrastructure in general and facilities more specifically are, in many cases, a highly contested factor in access and availability. There is a need for access to facilities to meet the demand for training or course participation. In some cases, there are waiting lists of NAMs and, in other cases, the club could start new groups or activities which would allow for more participants if there were available facilities. In one Swiss case, the club cannot register more teams because there are no facilities available, which reportedly slows the club`s development down, especially in terms of integrating NAMs. In another case, the low prioritisation associated

with the low popularity or frequency of the sports itself results in the allocation of sports and training facilities that are not easily accessible. Having to travel to a decentralised facility to do sports and participate in the club results in travel time and costs that hinder potential members from joining. Transportation thus forms a barrier when it comes to playing games in other regions or cities, and for children and adolescents, since parental involvement is low. Carpools can be formed but cannot always be organised.

Voluntary and human resources seem to be a missing resource in many cases. This fact is hindering the demand of potential members for club activities and from following requirements and applications for additional funding. On the other hand, a limiting factor is reportedly not engaging with volunteers who are anchored in the target communities and therefore not gaining access to relevant knowledge and experiences for communication, needs, and access.

In terms of planning and development, some cases face challenges and report missing resources. In particular, they are discussed in terms of the sustainability of funding opportunities, federation requirements and the low prioritisation given to certain sports. During the process of aiming to secure funds, clubs wish for more "block funding" in order to secure financial stability for a longer-term horizon and to free up more time for club staff and volunteers to concentrate on providing club activities.

Surprisingly, financial resources are only lacking in some cases and hinder the implementation of sport-based integration programmes or measure thereafter. Networks and cooperation with other VSCs thus seem to be an explicit issue for a few clubs.

Intended and unintended consequences

The results discussed in this chapter are set at an aggregated level in the cross-national and cross-case perspective. Since every programme and all integrative measures are defined with a certain difference in goals and the instruments required to reach these, the consequences should be strongly linked to the specific set-up. However, this discussion of consequences can be observed in many different cases and is thought to be considered when developing new programmes and implementing them in new contexts.

The established resources, as presented in section 3.1.3.1, are to be understood as positive consequences due to the implementation of sport-based integration programmes and integrative measures. They encompass resources on all dimensions of the organisational capacity model, such as human, financial and infrastructure resources, the resources of relationship and network as well as planning and development (see results described in section 3.1.3.1). The aggregation of the cross-case and cross-national results could stimulate the question about what the necessary conditions are for the resources to be established. The results here do not show definitive answers, especially since the context here, as described above, is very specific (programmes, instruments, goals, etc.). Furthermore, many clubs develop not only resources as capacities but also a common culture as a factor of willingness through the implementation of sport-based integration programmes

and integrative measures. A common culture results, as we can see in the analysed cases, in the definition of goals linked to the integrative engagement and the internal club negotiations in that same context. The two mechanisms of abilities and willingness, in that context and in their interdependence, seem to be conditions for a positive outcome or, as it were, intended consequences.

It is obvious that where there is a willingness to implement sport-based integration programmes and define integrative measures, resources are established in many dimensions and a lack of resources can be overcome or compensated. What can also be observed is that with programmes, instruments and goals that do not overlap with local specificities or are context appropriate, resources are hardly established (this applies to both abilities and willingness). Through the approach of programme implementation as a centrally formulated policy, local adaptations as well as following club-specific interests are only applicable to some extent. Where it does not cover the clubs` goals and culture, "implementation fatigue" is observable. In one case, no resources were established because the club dropped its interest in implementing the programme and fully committing to the consequences the programme component would have had for their activities. They rely on supposed automatism in their local community, as the activity is described to be the institution for promoting movement in early childhood. It cannot be observed whether this approach is inclusive or exclusive.

Club 3 from Switzerland

This example shows a club of great local specificity, as it is located in a small rural town where socio-cultural diversity is relatively low. The roll-out of the Swiss MiTu "Move Together" programme was designed with a lot of enthusiasm and a motivation to achieve greater inclusion in the region. However, during the programme implementation, the decision makers in the club became increasingly tired by the programme components and the ongoing work on the communication and recruitment channels for families with special needs. There were two main reasons for this fatigue and decreasing interest. Firstly, the programme logic of building up an extensive network with relevant stakeholders with access and contacts to the target group was only applicable to some extent, as there was already a strong informal network in the small town. Secondly, there were ultimately few shared values and a decline in motivation to continue applying the approach suggested by the project. There was also increased difficulty in communicating with the project coordination team, which was another reason for not continuing with the implementation.

After assuming a rather aggregated perspective and emphasising the interdependence of the two mechanisms of abilities and willingness, more contextual challenges as unintended consequences are discussed in the following section.

In some cases, communication to NAMs seems to contradict the basic idea of the clubs, which is to offer sports activities for everyone. So addressing a specific target group creates inclusion and exclusion at the same time. The clubs in this context thus first make sure that access and participation are possible. Furthermore, the target group of NAMs is described, in some cases, to be a "risk" in terms of scarcity of resources and instability of the group`s living situation. This mainly has to do with the political climate and the asylum and integration processes, which prevent many NAMs from integrating easily due to being at the mercy of regular and forced relocation. Therefore, activities are often planned for a limited scope of time, which some clubs do not willingly redesign and reoffer.

Some clubs do not have access to the target group and therefore no participation. However, this is considered to be a result of their location and offers. No participation at all might just also be an indication of agency within the group of NAMs in terms of a lack of interest for the specific sports, the activities or the club itself. And to add to this point, as discussed in the preceding sections, a network that either exists or is established through the implementation of sport-based integration programmes or integrative measures can help to address this challenge. Access to the target group can be gained through an extensive network of sport affiliated and non-sport affiliated actors and institutions. In addition, being embedded or active in a diverse community and engaging a diverse group of members and volunteers enables facilitated access.

○ Findings: club members' perspective

Perception of programme/measures

Motivation and expectation

In general, the club members show a great deal of openness regarding the integration of migrants and refugees. However, they expect the migrants and NAMs to show some acceptance of the general rules (of the sport) and norms or values within the clubs. However, the clubs interpret their integration activities as a social or natural duty of sports clubs and activities or measures towards which that goal should be implemented, whether or not as part of a programme. The clubs are part of the local community and therefore have an obligation to work on integration. The motivation of the members to implement integration policies and measures seems to focus on not excluding anyone and being open to everyone, rather than integrating specific groups or people with a particular social or cultural background. The perception is that integration plays an important role for members and the local society alike and offers an opportunity for the migrants and NAMs. It seems that there was no specific starting point for a focused attempt to bring migrants and NAMs into the clubs. It was rather a process which was sometimes intensified by external circumstances such as more refugees coming to the village. Or it naturally happened over time where members brought migrants with them from school or kindergarten. However, there was also an intrinsic motivation to extend the integration activities, as they realised their functional purpose of recruiting members.

Awareness of the programme and measures

Overall, the awareness of the integration programmes among members seems rather low. Few are aware that the clubs are implementing programmes or that such a programme actually exists. However, members who have a role or function in the club or are part of the club's decision-making processes are better informed about the club's integration policies and programmes. Therefore, the awareness and knowledge about the programmes and measures are often related to practical circumstances. Despite the awareness of each member, they are all very positive about the club's role in integrating migrants and refugees and the specific activities of the clubs aimed at the needs of migrants. However, members also seem to be critical about the integrative effect or potential of measures and activities as, in some contexts, the social interaction within activities and the timespan of the activities are estimated to be too low to have an integrative impact. It can be frustrating that the programmes are sometimes developed quickly and haven't been tested before and finally run into troubles. Another cause for frustration among members can be differences between the implementers and the decision-makers in the managing and actually implementing the programme.

Communication and information

Most members often wanted or needed more information about the programmes. Those lacking information could have prevented or relieved tensions associated with their experience of competition over club resources such as coaches or hours in the training facilities. Furthermore, more information could correct misconceptions in the clubs about the spending of the club funds. Potential causes for late or missing information about the programmes and initiatives can be the short-term implementation of specific actions. Informing and communicating with members is difficult for the club management when swift actions are required. In the German case, data protection regulations were identified as an obstacle for communicating with members. However, this is not an integration policy issue but rather a general problem. In clubs with different departments, it seems to be an obstacle to informing members across departments and incentivising them to participate in or implement projects themselves.

Some members refer to how other members see newcomers as non-members and, as a result, question why club resources are being used on and for individuals who are not actually members. Although such views are not very common, they point to a need for more and better information, not only for members involved in activities specifically constructed for integration purposes but, more importantly, for those who are not involved.

Integration seems to be something that is not discussed specifically at club meetings, and it is not something that people talk about during their daily work in the club. Thus, the overall perception among volunteers is that integration is more like an underlying theme in the clubs' work than a topic. This is also reflected in the ordinary members' perspective on the clubs' integration efforts.

In terms of external communication, clubs produce flyers and create communication networks with schools, kindergartens or day-care centres, and sometimes using local print media to promote the programmes.

Challenges

Predominantly in the German cases, financing integration activities seem to be a rather big challenge. The members are aware of external funding for the integration programmes but do not have knowledge about the terms of the programme funding. The funding is sometimes used to reduce the membership fees for migrants and refugees. A lack of financial resources leads to a reduction in the efforts and activities with club members. The sustainability of the integration programme is occasionally bound to the external funding (to pay coaches, buy equipment), leading to uncertainty about the future of integration activities.

Recruiting migrants and in particular NAMs is a huge challenge and, in some cases, has become more difficult over time. They are rarely a homogenous group that can be targeted directly. Additionally, competitive sports do not seem to be a pull factor for attracting those groups. In some cases, migrants are very selective about their engagement in sports clubs due to the club's willingness to pay for their participation (for example in German football clubs). There are several ways to tackle the challenge of attracting the target group. For example, building networks with local primary schools and kindergartens to gain access as early as possible has proven to be successful. The communication is bilateral as the school has the telephone numbers of the coaches and can call them directly if there are interested children. If the clubs already have migrants as members, they are a good multiplier for addressing their peers. The location and style of the facility can also be helpful in pulling in possible mem-

bers e.g. an open facility where non-members can also do sport. Club members can invite them to take part in the club training there. Specific personnel within the club can also be a pull factor for migrants and refugees. In one case, it was known that one of the coaches is also an asylum attorney and could provide assistance in obtaining a residence permit.

Discriminatory behaviour and racism against the club has also been a challenge clubs faced. This ranges from provoking opposing players or spectators due to incorrect decisions from referees to negligence on the part of local federations or agencies. However, discriminatory behaviour did not only occur across different clubs. It also occurred within one club or one team where different nationalities clashed with each other for various reasons. Based on their outer appearance some people are labelled as foreigners, even if they have adopted the national culture and are well-integrated. So far, the worst experiences with racism were in rural areas. This may be because there are only a few foreigners located there.

An integrative challenge lies in confronting the migrants and refugees with the specific rules and norms of the club, the sport and society. Club members have experienced that refugees in particular completely lack an awareness of general norms such as arriving on time, being prepared with the necessary equipment and being reliable when making commitments. This may distort the training regimen in the initial stages of implementing the programme and can cause more difficulties in competitive sports. The implementation of these formerly unknown rules and regulations is a lasting process. Clubs use sanctions of this behaviour to build an environment where people have to adapt to certain rules and norms.

Lived experiences

Experiences in terms of the programme

All club members report good experiences in terms of the programmes. Even the Swedish club members stated that they are positive about the commitment their club is making to this issue, although the members generally have little awareness about the programmes of their club.

In general, members find it very supportive to have a clear agenda in the club that builds on common values and a strong collaboration among the volunteers. Furthermore, several members highlight the importance of being a visible sports club in the local community, which the programmes can help to achieve. Being visible helps the clubs to recruit new members (both migrants and locals), inspire more children to participate in leisure activities and gain the parents' trust. Nevertheless, the club members agree that it is not easy to recruit new members.

The members see it as positive when the

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club organises events (e.g. tournaments, celebrations, joint trips, joint dinners, summer parties). This particularly fosters social cohesion and promotes social interaction. The club thus the opportunity to bring families together so that everyone gets along, whether they are Muslim, Christians or some other religion. The people responsible play an important role here as the organisers and mediator of the activity and can influence both the atmosphere in the team as well as resources of the club or team members.

Club members say that the programmes helped them to improve their offers and buy new equipment. Clubs that receive financial support through the programme find it somewhat easier to do so, although the members agree that the funds are still insufficient. Accordingly, interviewees report a lack of equipment and insufficient access to sports facilities. However, most of the members – especially in Germany – describe the daily work in the clubs as always being collegial and harmonious, as there were/are also no disputes about the allocation of funds. In clubs in Germany which receive financial support through the programme, members add that being able to hire paid employees makes it possible to provide a more continuous effort and collaborate with schools and day care institutions within the working hours. In addition, having the opportunity to provide migrants with identical jerseys, equipment and snacks plays an important role in forming a community where all members feel appreciated.

Members from most of the countries mention that without the projects some employees/volunteers (like coaches), some teams and/or even some departments would probably not have existed, which shows the importance of such programmes (and funds).

Experiences in terms of migrants

Club members also report good experiences in terms of migrants. They say that a warm welcome is always positive. That builds a certain amount of trust and the migrants are willing to repay this trust. "If you don't want to integrate people, then integration has failed per se." The respondents from Germany see two sides of integration: those who want to be integrated and those who want to integrate. The members from Switzerland state, in both top-down and bottom-up clubs, that social integration would only succeed with the willingness to be part of the club.

In many cases, the interaction through participation in the sport activity is described to support the social integration of people with a migration background and all participants in general. The common interest in the sport activity, in movement and other components of the activity are,

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in the view of the interviewees from Switzerland, a starting point for social integration. Some respondents from Germany report that their experience in their daily work is that specific sports (like volleyball) are not so suitable for attracting migrants to the club because they do something else – at the latest from adolescence (10-12 years) – such as football or staying at home (especially the girls). Some clubs therefore provide a broader scope of activities such as dance and gymnastics in order to also reach out these groups - like girls.

In general, members of all countries state that the greatest barriers for integration within or outside the clubs are language and the local culture. Language as well as knowing local culture and its specificities are tied to what the members describe as "successful" social integration. Different languages among the members are a

huge barrier to getting socially involved, even if in some cases the coaches made every effort to communicate or they learned to count to ten in different languages (Germany). The members from Switzerland describe that the social part of the sports activity in particular, the before and after, is strongly connected to the language and cultural capacities of the people with a migration background. Thus, the social interaction between members of different origins is quite limited in some clubs.

Within the clubs, the interviewees cannot identify many problems in everyday life. Some members report declining enthusiasm where training sessions were skipped or migrants stopped coming altogether (Germany). On the contrary, in emergencies there are always helpful parents who step in as watchdogs or helpers. Unfortunately, this does not lead to systematic voluntary work, which the members see as one of the hardest challenges during integration. Furthermore, the interviewees from Switzerland and Denmark find it challenging to get the children's parents fully involved in the club and get them to pay the membership fee. Many parents with a migrant background are not familiar with sports clubs and therefore they do not necessarily know what is expected from them when joining a sports club. In this regard, some of the volunteers emphasise that the club has a responsibility to teach the parents what a sports club is and the expectations associated with being a member of a sports club in Denmark.

Furthermore, coaches and other club members with a representative or significant role, play a large part in transferring common goals and defined club goals, according to the members from Switzerland. They describe this as another condition for social integration, which to some extent could be perceived as a more assimilative expectation but also

has a social negotiation component to it. Migrants must feel that the coaches, representatives and other members do not only care for them as athletes but also as human beings. Clear rules for club members can thus be collectively negotiated and developed. In that sense, some of the rules and values are tied to local culture and might get lost in translation if there are language barriers. Generally, common rules, values and goals must be in constant negotiation to reflect the fluctuation and development of the club members, according to respondents from Switzerland.

According to the interviewees from most of the countries, the integration work in the sports clubs offers various kinds of potential for migrants. Danish members stated that it offers educational potential as a way to gain an insight into the procedures and the culture of local sports clubs and, on the other side, to learn how to take responsibility and contribute to a community. This educational potential applies to adult members as well as to children and their parents. In the view of most members from all countries, migrants could learn a lot from training and observing new and general rules and norms, if the coaches are ambitious and passionate about their work. The Danish respondents also consider it essential that volunteers engaged in the integration work with migrants are fully committed and passionate about their task. By providing meaningful leisure activities for children and adolescents from different social backgrounds, the sports clubs have the potential to prevent crime and trouble, some members from German and Danish clubs believe. Members from Denmark see great potential in the fact that sports clubs expose children and adolescents to role models who expect something from them and who have clear values. However, there are also reports from Swedish members about some coaches who find

it difficult to welcome new additions to their groups and having to restart existing group processes. There is also a need for more administrative efforts when showing new participants the ropes and spending more time communicating with parents who are not familiar with the local club culture. In those cases, the integration is more difficult and mostly takes longer.

Beside those perceptions from the everyday lived experiences with migrants, several club members from different countries mention that the integration work increases the possibilities for the migrants to gain new friends. This resulted in some cases in an active exchange between course participants in everyday life via WhatsApp (Germany). Some respondents also have a perception that the sports clubs constitute a free space for both children and adolescents to have a break from their daily obligations and worries – and give members the opportunity to learn new skills which they might not have been able to learn under other circumstances (Denmark). For those interviewees, it is equally important to help newcomers to sort out the basics of everyday life (e.g. buying a SIM card to communicate with their family back home; assistance with challenges related to residence permits, forms, applications, rules and bureaucracy; figuring out how to interact with local authorities; getting a (part-time) job)., particularly in Sweden, Germany and Norway.

Consequences and evaluation

Most respondents find it difficult to talk about consequences. Some of them point out the fact that they have not been members of the club for long, while others see the club as having always been the way it is now. Consequently, most find it also hard to leave any evaluative comments. This is, however, difficult also for those with more knowledge about and/or experiences of integration efforts. To some of them, it is simply not very clear how to review the potential results.

Particularly in the case of the interview partners from sports clubs in Switzerland, this results in consequences being reported primarily for the people with a migration background and not for the sports club itself. Swiss club members describe that the social interaction between a more diverse group of people makes it possible to build new friendships, especially through social events outside of the sporting activity or beyond the club context. It is described that participation in a local sports club enables people with a migration background to incorporate local culture and language, which is also useful in other areas of life. Thus, networks are enlarged and enriched across all age levels, from the children and their parents in the national MiTu "Move Together" programme to the adult members in the bottom-up clubs in Switzerland.

However, there are also voices that mention changes and consequences in relation to the sports club.

Positive structural consequences

Some members report that the integration work has led to an increase in membership. In addition, new target groups and new members in the club context mean new young players or sports people for the enduring sustainability of the club

existence. In part, it was also reported that financial income increased, which was used for example to pay coaches and buy sports materials.

Furthermore, respondents from two Danish clubs stated that integration work has had a positive impact on the club's reputation in the local community. According to the respondents, the clubs previously had a bad reputation – receiving lots of red cards during football matches and getting complaints of misconduct and aggressive or even violent behaviour both on and off the field – but due to the clubs' great educational focus and their efforts to form a strong and welcoming community they now have a much better reputation.

Likewise, respondents from a Danish club reported that the integration work has helped the club to gain greater political attention. The visit of well-known politicians to the football club, who acknowledge the great integration efforts of the club, helps to increase the focus on the opportunities and challenges of integration through sports clubs. Similar positive consequences are reported by members of a German club. They state that contacts with the district sports federation and the state sports federation could be established. Communication with them has improved significantly through the programme.

Negative structural consequences

However, there are also statements about negative structural consequences. Specifically, respondents in the Swedish clubs were critical of an increasing shortage of available training hours in the club facilities, the burdens placed on an already strained coach cadre and the loss of income due to the discounts or waived fees offered for newcomers.

The bureaucratic requirements for entering the programme are also viewed critically by the members of a German club. The procedure was considered to be much too complicated and time-consuming. This has a deterrent effect and applying for funds should be simplified. However, after the application was submitted, there were no more problems with the process. Through the bureaucratic act, the club has built up knowledge about preparing applications, which helps it to handle further applications.

Some respondents also reflect (rather negatively) on the fact that integration activities tend to be temporary in character (as newcomers often move after a short period of stay) and that this aspect gives rise to an increase in administrative duties, onerous set-up times and time spent getting hold of external funds.

Positive socio-cultural consequences

In addition to the positive structural consequences, the respondents, especially in the Danish and Swedish sports clubs, also mention several positive socio-cultural consequences of the integration work. Firstly the coaches find it positive that the diversity among members requires the coaches to develop a more welcoming learning environment by being more creative and more aware of meeting each member at eye-level. Secondly, differences in skin colour, clothes and cultural habits among the members makes it visible – in a very concrete way – that the club is for everyone regardless of cultural or religious background. Furthermore, it gives the members the opportunity to meet people who are different from themselves and experience that they often have more in common than they think. Thirdly, it is reported that working for the common good boosts morale in the club and makes people proud to be a member of the club.

Negative socio-cultural consequences

Only a few respondents have a perception that the integration work implies negative socio-cultural consequences. Negative consequences are mainly described in terms of boundary making and group making practices, which result in exclusion for others. As a member of a swimming club in Denmark reported, there is also a risk that a large majority of members with a migrant background can challenge the feeling of belonging among members with a Danish background. The member describes that she can sometimes feel a little left out of the club's community. Even though she shares the same interest in swimming as all the other women participating in the swimming class, she is the only one who showers naked and the only one who doesn't wear a scarf when heading home after class, and this makes her feel different.

Furthermore, members from two German clubs stated that they faced new challenges when the teams entered competitions with other clubs. They were confronted with provocations, aggression and sometimes open racism from opposing teams and/or spectators. Referees sometimes also very obviously favoured the other teams with their calls. A Danish football coach assistant pointed out a similar challenge. In his opinion, engaging people with different cultural backgrounds involves the risk of creating a more violent and aggressive environment at football matches. In this regard, the coach assistant emphasised that football clubs working with integration must act consequently in accordance with their values in these situations. This means that they must be ready to exclude players from the match or even from the club to ensure a decent football environment and to maintain the club's and the coaches' good reputation.

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⭘ Summary

Most of the clubs in the sample – selected as good practice cases – have achieved some success in integrating (newly arrived) migrants via specific programmes or measures. The respective initiatives show a lot of variety in terms of whether clubs implement a certain policy programme or start their own initiatives. The respective empirical cases here show that differentiating between clubs that implement a specific "top-down" programme and those that develop their own "bottom-up" initiatives is not useful. In nearly all clubs, integrative work emerges on a step-by-step basis and is driven by a small number of key individuals. Furthermore, we couldn't find any major differences between the clubs from different countries with different sport systems. Therefore, we have presented below a summary of the results as a whole and not the results for the five different countries.

When it comes to the goals and motives for their engagement, the results show that the clubs focus mainly on sports activities that are open for all population groups. However, not all clubs have specific goals with regard to the integration of people with a migration background. For most of the clubs, normative motives are relevant for their integration work. They "feel obliged" to take a social responsibility and to contribute to social integration in their municipality. But there are also clubs that combine normative with functional motives e.g. the recruitment of members or volunteers.

The following organisational capacities are relevant for the implementation of integration programmes: human resources, finances, relationships and network, infrastructure, planning and development. Motivated, enthusiastic, competent and skilled club members and volunteers and, in some clubs, also paid employees are important resources and often the driving forces of initiatives for socially integrating migrant people. Financial resources also play a role in the process of implementing initiatives, particularly specific subsidies and funding. The following network partners and stakeholders can contribute to the integrative work of the clubs: local and regional authorities, regional and national sport federations, local schools, other sports clubs as well as private organisations and sponsors. Furthermore, the availability of and access to sports and training facilities, as well as strategic and long term-planning and "good" communication, support the implementation of sport-based integration programmes and measures. However, if sports clubs lack these resources they will face corresponding challenges when implementing a programme for social integration.

The findings also show that the process of programme participation and introduction of integrative measures can help the clubs to build and develop the relevant resources and improve their abilities for integrative work. In particular, they can get more access to sports facilities and recruit more volunteers and/or paid staff. The volunteers and members acquire intercultural competencies, knowledge and specific experiences and an open club culture can thus be developed. Furthermore, they can build funding opportunities and new relationships and networks as well as improve the reputation of the club.

The implementation of sport-based integration programmes can be described by the following types. Some clubs have already integrative measures and extend and complement the existing programmes. Other clubs intend to solve club-specific problems (e.g. member recruitment) or social problems (e.g. social cohesion in their neighbourhood). A third type can be characterised by the high willingness and motivation of key individuals.

Overall, club members show great openness when it comes to the integration of people with a migration background. However, the awareness of the integration programmes among the members, especially those without a decision-making function, seems rather low. The members are also critical about the integrative effect of measures and they expect some acceptance of general rules or values within the clubs.

From the members' point of view, there also several challenges, particularly with regard to the financing of integration activities, the recruitment of (newly arrived) migrants, discriminatory behaviour and racism, language barriers, as well as the lack of knowledge of specific norms and rules among migrants and refugees. However, members also point out a lot of positive experiences and are aware that without the programmes there would be less integrative work. They also see that migrant people can benefit a lot in the context of sport-related integration work.

Integration initiatives can have both positive and negative consequences for the sports club. The members report on the one hand that integration work can lead to an increase in memberships and the club's reputation and create an image of openness in the public. On the other hand, they see a potential overburdening of the responsible coaches and increasing bureaucratic requirements. Furthermore, integration programmes can increase diversity in the club as well as identification with the club, but also lead to exclusion, aggression and sometimes even racism.

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