

GOVERNING INTEGRATION THROUGH SPORTS

A case study of civil society involvement in welfare policy

Abstract

This article problematises the increasing involvement of non-state actors (in particular Danish civil sports associations) in the conduct of integration policy. Based on a case study the article describes how the involved public authorities and non-state actors represent the problem (and aim) of enhancing ethnic integration through sports. The concept of assemblage is used to highlight the heterogeneity of the rationalities and resources that merged in the specific project. Further, the techniques and practices of governing the specific project will be in focus and the article discusses how non-state actors come to monitor themselves through new public management.

Keywords

Governmentality • assemblage • ethnicity • performance measurement • Denmark

Sine Agergaard^{*1}, Annette Michelsen la Cour^{1,2}

¹ Department of Exercise and Sport Sciences, University of Copenhagen, Denmark.

² Department of Environmental and Business Economics, Danish Centre for Rural Research, University of Southern Denmark

1 Introduction

There is a long tradition of the state supporting and cooperating with sports organisations in Denmark (Kaspersen & Ottesen 2001). From the early 1980s, however, Danish politicians began to take an active interest in involving clubs and civil society more directly in solving welfare tasks (Ibsen & Ottesen 2005: 369). Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, a number of government grants and experimental programmes became available to clubs for local sports projects. During the last decade, the general funds were replaced by more specific, limited, and goal-oriented funds (Ibsen & Eichberg 2006), such as funds for schemes that promoted integration.

Over this period politicians with an interest in integration have turned to volunteer-based sports associations for help. These organisations are seen as bearers of so-called central Danish values and therefore as potential arenas for social integration and informal learning (Agergaard 2011; Michelsen la Cour 2011). In brief, the political expectation is that the cultural adaptation of ethnic minorities to so-called Danish values and norms can be fostered by civil society actors like the Danish sports organisations. These organisations are broadly rooted in Danish society and linked

to the development of democracy in Denmark in the 18th century (Korsgaard 1997, 2001).

In this article we will focus on the project Sporttrack, which is among others financed through a fund set up by the Danish Ministry of Refugee, Immigration and Integration Affairs called: *The voluntary integration and participation in sports and club life*. Even though the financing for Sporttrack is relatively limited (4 million DKK a year), the range of funds are generally considered of great symbolic value as indicators of the political expectation placed on sports associations to become involved in welfare issues (Ibsen & Eichberg 2006). In other words, the fund guides the sports associations towards self-governed engagement in welfare issues without them having to be told explicitly or threatened with withdrawal of economic support. The two major sports associations in Denmark; the Danish Gymnastics and Sports Association (DGI) and the Danish Sports Federation (DIF) receive around £50 million a year from the lottery pools. These associations are umbrella organisations with professional management. Around 15,000 local sports clubs, which are mainly volunteer led, are covered by these two organisations. The DGI, in particular, has grown out of popular movements from the 1800s, in which local community-building was a central part.

* E-mail: sagergaard@ifi.ku.dk

This article describes the ways in which the welfare state policy of integration is governed through assemblages of state and non-state actors (with different resources, ideals and ways of evaluating their conduct) in order to discuss how civil sports organisations take over the governance of certain functions of the welfare state. First, the article will describe the ways in which the issues of enhancing ethnic integration through sports are represented (thought of as a problem) by the involved public authorities and non-state actors. In doing so we are using the concept of assemblage to point out the heterogeneity of different resources and rationalities converged in the project. Second, the article analyses the techniques and practices of governance by monitoring and evaluating the specific project in focus and discusses how non-state actors are led to use the governing techniques of the welfare state: new public management.

2 Civil society involvement in welfare policy: the case of Danish sports

International research shows an increasing connection between the state's support of civil society institutions and an increase in their involvement in solving challenging political tasks through civil society (Carter 1998; Dekker 2009; Evers 2009; Shiels & Grosby 1997). This development is enhancing the political influence of the state on the policy and management of civil society institutions (Pestoff 2009).

In the context of the current discussion it is beneficial to begin with a historical perspective on the relationship between the Danish state and sports associations. Divergent understandings characterise research in Danish sports policy. Some, notably Ibsen and Eichberg (2006), maintain the autonomy of sports associations from the perspective of pointing to long periods with state non-interference, other than increased subsidies. They hereby contribute to the sports associations' self-understanding of being outside government. Other sports researchers on the contrary characterise the relationship between the state and civil actors in sports policy as a relationship of mutual dependence characterised by a high degree of trust and independence, but not autonomy (Kaspersen & Ottesen 2001; Thing & Ottesen 2010; Trangbæk 2011). Thus, Danish sports have never been autonomous but have rather developed in a figuration together with the nation state. Taking this perspective it might be argued that the sports associations have been linked to welfare issues for some time. Still, as Thing and Ottesen (2010) note, qualitative changes in late-modern life and shifts in the balance of power in the figuration may have led to increased political interest in sports (e.g. in relation to public health) in recent years. In addition, there have been reforms of political and administrative strategies that have led to more funds being allocated to decentral public-voluntary partnerships.¹

Thus, even though we find that the figuration-sociological approach to view the interdependence of the civil and public sphere is crucial for research in Danish sports policy (and not least in

accounting for the historical development), we will also consider Foucault's governmentality perspective and the concept of assemblage. With these perspectives in mind we set out to enquire how state and non-state actors not only cooperate, but merge in ways that are affected by shifting political rationalities, in particular the trend towards neo-liberal involvement of private and civil actors in self-governance of welfare policy.

Although widely neglected in international sports sociology, recently governmentality theory has proved useful in describing the nature of the close relationships between governmental and municipal departments on the one hand, and national sports organisations/ agencies on the other hand; pointing to the capacity of state to shape, direct and guide non-state actors (Burke & Hallinan 2008; Green & Houlihan 2006; Lindsey 2010; Piggott *et al.* 2009). In evaluating the governance of lottery sports programmes in the UK, Iain Lindsey points to an increasing level of state intervention in sports. However, rather than being responsible for the development and delivery of public policy the British government is now directing local partnerships through a range of different tools (Lindsey 2010: 201). Lindsey (2010) argues for the relevance of applying the perspective of governmentality for descriptions of governance in the broadest sense of the term and recognises the subtle dimensions of power in governing organisations, systems and the state itself. Hence, it can be argued that the increasing involvement of local partnerships in governing areas of welfare policy may at the same time reinforce the power of the state.

3 Governmentality: problematising the thinking and techniques used in assemblages

Foucault developed the concept of governmentality in his later work (Foucault 1991), and it has been further elaborated by Dean (1999, 2010), Rose (1996, 1999) and Miller (Burchell *et al.* 1991). In his text on 'governmentality' Foucault sets out to identify how the conception of government has changed from the 16th century onwards. Foucault uses the term governmentality in two ways: first, at a general level to identify different rationalities or mentalities of governing, and second, at a specific level to identify the form of government that developed from the late eighteenth century. Contrary to earlier forms of sovereign power this specific form of governmentality focused on the life and health (welfare) of the population. This form of governmentality coincides with the emergence of a political economy; a specific form of knowledge that used statistical measurement to monitor the welfare of the population (Gunn 2006).

From the perspective of welfare policy, studies of governmentality work with the population as a group and with political programmes rather than single subjects. The focus is on government at a distance and liberalism and neoliberalism are seen as governmental rationalities that achieve population goals through indirect means

(Bacchi 2009: 29, 161). Thus, studies of governmentality aim first, to enquire into the thinking and rationality of different policy areas, and second, to examine which governing tools are used in order to implement specific policies. Such tools shape the behaviour of groups and individuals alike. Governmentality is also described as the 'conduct of conduct'; involving a range of techniques and practices (of governing), performed by different actors, aimed to shape, guide and direct individuals' and groups' behaviour and actions in particular directions (Foucault 1991: 102–103; Foucault 2000: 341).

Following the operationalisation of Foucault's governmentality perspective suggested by Carol Bacchi (2009), the way to recognise different forms of government rationalities is through identifying and analysing problematisations. When Foucault uses the term 'problematisation' he stresses the need to question taken-for-granted assumptions and to scrutinise particular forms of thinking (Foucault 1988: 257). In the words of Bacchi (2009), policy is based on the notion that there is a problem to be fixed; policy is a proposal for change. That is, the ways in which political issues are problematised; how they are thought about as problems, are central to governing the processes. In short, we need to move our focus from reproducing the problem-solving approach of policy makers to a problem-questioning approach that recognises that a great deal depends on understanding the problem (Bacchi 2009: 46).

This broad focus on public policy also means that we must look beyond the state and identify other forms of approaches to the problem representation (the rationality; thinking about the problem) and to governing techniques and practices (tools). In this paper the divergent thinking about ethnic integration as a problem by state and non-state actors will be considered along with how their different rationalities (and resources) are joined in the governing of a specific project.

In doing so, the concept of assemblage will prove useful, since: "Government in this broader understanding is 'not a definite and uniform group of institutions' but an 'inventive, strategic, technical and artful set of 'assemblages' fashioned from diverse elements.'" (Bacchi 2009: 25; Dean & Hindess 1998: 8). Assemblage is identified as a strategically employed concept in cultural analysis to address the heterogeneity, the decentered and the emergent, while also recognising the structured and systematic in social life (Marcus & Saka 2006: 101). It follows the (modernist) tradition of applying a middle-range approach to theory, in which theoretical concepts are developed to serve empirical purposes. At the same time it may be aligned with grander theoretisation such as the Foucauldian understanding of problematisation and apparatus, and so be used to address the rationality and tools of governing (Rabinow 2003).

The concept of assemblage has been defined in various ways, one of which relates to the heterogeneity of a form or object in a phase of development or 'becoming' (Marcus & Saka 2006: 102). In other usages of the concept, such as Hayle's, the notion of a systematic, functional relationship between former incommensurables (human and machine) is important (Hayles 2006; Marcus &

Saka 2006: 105). In this article the concept of assemblage is used to address the heterogeneity of the state and non-state actors that are assembled in governing the welfare policy problem of ethnic integration with diverse resources and aims.

Using the concept of assemblage our focus will also be directed towards the productive result of the intersection between different systems (Marcus & Saka 2006: 103). In the case under study, for instance, an assemblage develops between state and non-state actors and their incommensurable rationalities (and not least resources); however, it is at the intersection of these different ways of thinking about political problems and governing (implementing and evaluating) them that new acts of governance emerge. At this intersection we see new public management techniques developing that, when taken on by non-state actors, distance these organisations from the members and civil society interests that were formed to represent them.

4 Methods and material

In line with the governmentality perspective and the operationalisation suggested by Bacchi, the starting point in our analysis will be an analysis of the problematisation of a political issue (Bacchi 2009: 34). Here particular attention will be given to the project funding and the ways in which the integration problem is represented by the different project partners. In doing so, we will enquire into the governmentalities; the ways in which the welfare policy area is thought to be governed (by state and non-state actors).

Further, we will take a closer look at the ways in which public authorities and non-state actors join together their different rationalities and resources in the Sporttrack project, and the techniques they use to implement the decentered welfare policy and monitor and evaluate the project development. In other words, we will focus on a single case study in order to deepen rather than broaden our understanding of the governing of a specific welfare policy area and to address the importance of contextual factors (Stake 1995, 2010).

In Denmark there are various projects designed to promote integration through sports. The one considered here is a project that is designed to educate coaches with an ethnic minority background in order to develop more (and 'appropriate') coaches for sports clubs in socially deprived areas. The Sporttrack project has been chosen as a case, first, because its organisational structure is illustrative of the ways in which diverse state and non-state organisations take up welfare tasks as public-voluntary partnerships involving municipal agencies on the one hand and NGOs (sports associations) on the other hand (Høyer-Kruse *et al.* 2008). Another reason for choosing the Sporttrack project is, that it has been nominated by the Danish Ministry of Refugee, Immigration and Integration Affairs for an award as a particularly good example of the way in which civil society organisations can contribute to ethnic integration.

A range of documentary material about the project has been used in the analysis. First, documents about the political funds and expectations/demands on the project organisers are considered; second, the project description for Sporttrack; and third, the yearly reports on the progress of the project as well as the final report based on performance measurements made by the project organisers. Besides, we have conducted five focus group interviews and six one-to-one interviews with representatives of the involved public authorities and sports organisations, project leaders and employees, cooperation partners and different groups of participants (28 informants were interviewed in total). The materials gathered provide information about how the 'integration problem' is conceived and the techniques used to govern the project.

Focus group interviews offered the possibility of gathering the different parties involved in the project and letting them talk about the aims and the development of the project in ways that enhance the exchange of opinions (Barbour & Kitzinger 1999; Vaughn *et al.* 1996). The interaction among the informants stimulated better understanding of the rationalities of the different partners and the governing tools used in the project, and validated the strength of individual informant's utterances. Still, it has been very difficult to bring together all involved parties (particularly female participants from the coaching courses), and the focus group interview method offers only limited opportunities for gaining insight into the individual participants' backgrounds and how their daily practice has been shaped by the effort. In other words, in line with the perspective of governmentality, attention is drawn towards political programmes and the population as self-governing groups rather than individuals.

5 Rationalities of integration through sports: an assemblage

The organisational structure of Sporttrack can be described as a public-voluntary or a voluntary based partnership.² A regional office of the DGI, one of the two major umbrella organisations for sports clubs in Denmark, manages the project, and other partners include the municipality of Aarhus, Denmark's second biggest town, an interest organisation for sports clubs, and an interest organisation for housing associations; both from the Aarhus area. In other words, non-state actors form the majority in this partnership, but as Geddes (2005) and Andersen (2006) point out, voluntary based partnerships are often the product of governmental initiatives and strategic allocation of resources, such as the public funding in this case.

The starting point for the project was a funding of 900,000 DKK from the Ministry of Refugee, Immigration and Integration Affairs. The funding came from the budget for *The voluntary integration and participation in sports and club life*.³ A further 1,004,500 DKK for the project came from Landsbyggefondens, an independent institution founded by a number of social housing organisations and established by law. The municipality of Aarhus also contributed a half-time

personnel position, which amounted to the equivalent of 600,000 DKK, the DGI contributed 200,000 DKK and Idrætssamvirket (a NGO for sports clubs in Aarhus) gave 70,000 DKK towards the project. In other words governmental and local authorities and housing associations are the major funders of Sporttrack, while the sports organisations have made relatively small financial contributions to the project. Even though DGI is the project manager we shall see that the uneven distribution of resources is important when it comes to joining together the different rationalities of state and non-state actors.

To begin, we will look at the various partners' views on the issue of creating ethnic integration through sports; what are the rationalities of governing that form the background for the different partners' participation in the project? Looking at the written documents about Sporttrack you find the goal of the project described in very general expressions: "(...) to promote the integration of children and citizens with ethnic background other than Danish as well as strengthening the local club life."⁴ In the documents it is not defined in more detail how integration is to be understood. However, materials gathered from a pre-evaluation when representatives from all the partners were interviewed about their understanding of the project aim, reveal that ethnic integration through sports was understood (problematised) in various ways:

"The primary focus was in a way simple: just to make things happen and to start some activities for all our children and youngsters in the area" (authors' translation; representative of Municipality of Aarhus).

In other words, the local authorities see the project simply as a contribution to promote sports as a spare time activity and thereby activate children. It follows implicitly from this that the problem for the municipality of Aarhus is to engage children from so-called socially deprived areas in 'healthy' activities (i.e. children's spare time is to be governed as a welfare problem). The representative also expresses an ownership of 'our' children in the project area; showing a paternal concern with the everyday life of the children.

In comparison the representative from the housing association focuses on the education of ethnic minority coaches leading almost self-evidently to better social integration in the area: "But in my opinion the primary target is to educate hence the project is also about integration" (Authors' translation; representative of housing association). In other words the representative here emphasises that education is the important thing; in line with the social policy idea that education has the potential of improving the future perspective of so-called socially deprived people. In other words, the problem to be governed here seems to be the lack of education and social immobility in the project areas.

Education as an aim is also mentioned by the representative from the interest organisation for sports clubs: "Because when we have educated young people, then they have the potential of gaining access to the sports clubs used by Danish children and youth" (authors' translation; representative of Idrætssamvirket).

Here, it appears important for the representative that the project sets up courses for ethnic minority coaches in order for them later to be connected to sports clubs with ethnic Danish children; that is, cultural assimilation seems to be the effort that should be promoted through the project.

A preoccupation with strengthening local civil integration (rather than assimilation) is expressed by the representative from DGI:

That it (Sporttrack) is not only about becoming integrated with Danes, but also about becoming integrated in the local community (...) to make them able to influence their own small local society (Authors' translation; representative of the DGI).

Here the representative suggests that coach education may be beneficial for local sports clubs. The assumption here is that there is a lack of civil engagement that needs to be governed, which is in line with the aim written in the project description about promoting integration and strengthening the local clubs. However, we shall see that this intention is hardly related to civil society and that the local clubs are not involved in governing the project.

As demonstrated, the perceptions of integration and the aims of the project expressed by the representatives from the organisations behind Sporttrack are disparate; they range from youth policy with sports as criminality prevention to social policy through education, and from cultural assimilation to civil integration. In other words, the project encompasses a multiplicity of ideas, values and aims and in doing so can be understood as an assemblage. The challenge is then to join together (assemble) the different ideas against the backdrop of the different material elements (capacities/resources) the organisations bring to the table. Here the assemblage constitutes an emerging intersection between two open systems (the so-called civil society and the welfare state), which is the productive result of state policy (the initial funding) and contributions from the different partners.

In a focus group interview with the project employees and those individuals from the partner organisations affiliated with the project on a daily basis it became clear that initially there was some confusion over how to fuse together the different elements of the project. However, the Project Manager, together with the half-time employee from the municipality, eventually found a way to sustain a dialogue with the different project partners. A symbolic expression of the idea that this project emerges at the intersection of civil society and the state was the decision by the project management to move the project's office from the local area to the project secretariat of the DGI in the city so that the Sporttrack workers could be closer to other project employees. Hereby the project management was physically distanced from the local clubs that according to the written statement Sporttrack was to strengthen. This move symbolises a change in rationality; namely from the rationality of the civil society, encompassing the networks between the associations, local community and the members, to the rationality of the assemblage; focusing on the cooperation and the exchange of knowledge about

integration as a welfare policy area. Whereas the different rationalities assemble to make the partnership between the involved state and non state actors possible, the local sports clubs are sidelined when it comes to influence in the assemblage. We will return to this below.

6 Governing techniques: new public management

The change from non-state actors being rooted in and driven by a civil society rationality of co-governing, representation and trust based civil relations to become self-governing managers of welfare state policy is found not only in this particular project but also in a rising number of other welfare projects.⁵ This can be understood as a result of the modern trend for 'government at a distance', which is associated with neo-liberal strategies that have been described as a double process of privatisation involving, first, a shift of resources, activities and provision of services from the public to the private sector, and second, a shift of social responsibility from the public to private sphere (Clarke 2004). As Clarke notes, the voluntary, civil, not-for-profit or 'third' sector occupies an ambivalent place in these neo-liberal privatisation strategies – being not-public, being not-for-profit; yet still being expected to behave in a 'business-like' fashion.

Today, new public management has become the main system for governing the public sector in Denmark (Krogstrup 2011); and as we shall see this 'style' has also spread to other spheres. New public management is a hybrid of governing tools that can be traced to powerful organisations such as the OECD, IMF and the World Bank (Røvik 2007). Inspired by the private sector, relative autonomy is given to public (or in this case civil) units that are held accountable (Power 1999). Thus, performance measurement has become an important factor for monitoring or controlling a specific entity.

When inquiring into the guidelines for applying and administering the political funds behind Sporttrack, it becomes clear that the Ministry of Refugee, Immigration and Integration Affairs has encouraged the project partners to conduct effect-evaluation and performance measurement; listing and monitoring the success of the project in quantitative figures.⁶ In this case, DGI as the project manager of Sporttrack, has in its application made a detailed list of the number of participants that should follow the coaching courses (120) out of which 50% are to become leaders and coaches in the local areas, and participate in a number of events for the inhabitants in the project area.

During the project, the employees of Sporttrack went on to collect basic figures on the number of participants in the courses for ethnic minority coaches and their gender, age and location. Initially the idea was to recruit course participants through clubs and schools, but this approach did not work as well as expected. Instead, the project management contacted social workers from the municipality and the housing association and they helped to recruit

children from the network they knew. This resulted in a high number of participants in the course, but they came from a different target group than the one first envisioned.

The data gathered by the project management demonstrated that over a two-year period the project recruited a large number of participants (222) for its courses. The participants were young (14–30 years), of both genders, and came from various (on the whole) socially deprived housing areas in Aarhus. By monitoring these quantitative measures over the course of the project Sporttrack not only demonstrated its self-governed concern with programme-accountability, but also was able to show that it had been successful in ensuring gender equality, participation from areas in social need and engagement of children.

In 2009, Sporttrack was nominated for an award from the Ministry of Refugee, Immigration and Integration Affairs as a particularly good example of how civil associations could contribute to ethnic integration. However, the use of the assemblage-approach, which meant that the majority of the course participants came from social workers' networks (rather than sports clubs) meant that few of the participants went on to become affiliated to local sports clubs as leaders and coaches. The project management set up in-service traineeships at sports clubs for the course participants, but only 27 took advantage of this opportunity. In fact virtually none of the course participants visited the club more than once. So, if the project is evaluated according to the performance measurement standard that said 50%, 111 (or 60 according to the original expected number of 120 participants), of the course participants should become leaders and coaches in local sports clubs after course completion, otherwise the project looks less successful.

However, performance measurement in itself is built on quantitative indicators and does not give access to qualitative information. For instance, what has been the significance of the courses for the participants even if they have not become coaches and leaders afterwards? Which conditions make it likely or unlikely for ethnic minority children to engage in local sports clubs? What is the importance of having or developing feelings of attachment to a club? These dimensions came up in the focus groups interviews carried out with the course participants, along with other issues that may have affected the outcome such as a lack of time due to education, spare time jobs, etc. Although such factors are not peculiar to ethnic minority children as they also come up in discussions about recruiting ethnic Danish children as coaches and leaders (Agergaard 2005).

Still, this project did emerge from the idea that ethnic minority children (as a uniform group) lack something and are to become integrated through sports. The DGI hereby follows the logic of the welfare policy programme, the representation of the leisure of ethnic minorities as a problem, and the categorisation of ethnic minorities as clients in the welfare state. This conflicts with the logic of the clubs according to which, ethnic minorities should be ordinary members, not a group for whom a special effort must be made. The

local clubs do not follow the logic of the welfare policy and have not been involved in the development of the project.

My experience is again and again that the work that we do is kind of lost by the appearance of 'sudden' projects, set up by some social housing committee or the municipality (...) suddenly someone has a pool of money for whatever reason and then we lose a lot of the outcome of the work we have done (...) And then two years later the 'sudden' project closes and the people educated as role models, they are no longer employed as such, and then they give up on being role models and the club closes (authors' translation; representative for a local sports club).

Besides a feeling of not being involved the quote above shows how local sports clubs are mainly run by volunteers whose scarce time, funding and staff make it difficult for them to match up to projects like Sporttrack. Moreover, the local sports club representative draws attention to the experience of welfare projects coming and going in the local area with little long-term attachment.

7 Discussion

The assembled nature of projects such as Sporttrack that are based on a heterogeneity of rationalities and develop as projects through use of governing tools without a long-term plan, is worth discussing. The Danish philosopher Anders Fogh Jensen has commented on the presence of projects not only in sports and other cultural areas but also more generally in modern life. He emphasises the temporary and uncontrollable nature of projects. That is, there is no explicit and already known frame of governing. Instead the project emerges in passage through its conduct (Jensen 2009: 17). Further, Jensen argues that the terms and conditions of developing or attracting a new project become structuring for the project activity.

In other words, the machine-like dimension of the assemblage becomes evident here. New public funds and projects will develop, when others disappear, and there is a group of welfare professionals employed in this project industry who are all formed by welfare state thinking and the problematisation of ethnic minorities lacking integration into Danish society. Extended studies of the different project partners would probably allow for more insight into the variety in their approaches to the project area and their use of a range of governing tools. With the material gathered to date it has been possible to highlight the heterogeneity of institutions and aims, and how these were merged. Also, it has been possible to throw light on how the public resources and guidelines for project evaluation become structuring for the conduct of the project. This leads to civil society organisations using governing tools in line with how they are used in public policy.

From the perspective of governmentality our attention has been drawn towards non-state actors' self-governing in line with the

modern welfare regime. However, resistance towards new public management tools can probably also be found. As Sending and Neumann (2006: 652) point out (for the area of international development aid policy), non-state actors are not only objects but also subjects of government. A central point in governmentality analysis is that government works through engaged subjects rather than passive objects. Here, we have not enquired into the subjectivity of the non-state actors. But when local sports clubs' representatives problematise the conduct of welfare projects like Sporttrack and their lack of involvement in the development of these projects, it may indicate an act of resistance. Here, we see that strategies vary between clubs and that some may be welfare orientated while others may have a more civil society orientation and focus on their existing members and internal matters (Bjerregaard *et al.* 2009: 33).

Since sports appears as a relatively marginal area for integration compared with, for example, the efforts made to promote integration of ethnic minority groups into Danish society through work or education, the analytical material is limited. There are few political documents available about the rationality by which this area is thought to be governed. Here we have focused on the documentary material available about a specific project and focus group interviews with the involved partners. Still, more extensive political material and field work would provide deeper insight. The importance of different local contexts may also become clearer by providing a multi-case study like the one produced by Lindsey (2010), that demonstrates the influence of divergent local contexts on management of political funds.

8 Conclusion and perspectives

From a governmentality perspective the establishment of political grants is symbolic of how non-state actors are guided towards promoting welfare policy. Using Sporttrack as a case we see an illustration of how the welfare policy area of promoting ethnic integration through sports are governed in public-voluntary partnerships, where public authorities deliver the most economical resources and guidelines for project management and thereby affect the governing of the project.

Looking at the rationality behind ethnic integration through sport, it becomes clear that state and non-state actors hold different perceptions of the aims of the project and thereby how the problem area is to be governed. The findings are that the non-state actors' (and in particular the sports associations') rationality of strengthening local clubs through civil integration diverges from the municipal authorities' welfare policy preoccupation of engaging ethnic minority children and children in activity or the social policy interest in education expressed by the housing organisation.

Further, looking at the ways in which the divergent aims and institutions are assembled we find that the project management, led by DGI, tends to orient itself towards the exchange of knowledge about the policy area with other welfare professionals rather than

towards the local community and the civil society they are supposed to represent. In other words, we find that the rationality of the sports organisation is affected by the intersection with the regional authorities. Thus, the tendency is for the sports organisations to work with integration as a welfare project, and to monitor and develop the project by means of performance measurement.

To take this discussion further we need more studies of policy development in specific welfare areas as integration through sports. More detailed studies could also provide further insight into the variety of ways in which specific projects can be composed, implemented and evaluated, and possible ways in which projects can develop at the intersection between different rationalities and governing tools without resorting to state-governed approaches. Lindsey (2010: 211) points out that governing tools must be multi-faceted and flexible to address the diverse local contexts in which welfare policy is delivered.

Adopting a problem-questioning approach we may finally ask, whether the problem to be solved through strategic allocation of public funds is the lack of ethnic integration through sports at a local level, or rather a problem of the heterogeneous thinking of state and non-state actors. Projects like Sporttrack may simply function because they build alliances and confirm the implicit contract between voluntary and public organisations that when considered from a historical perspective, has been a general characteristic of sports policy in Nordic society (Norberg 1998). In other words, the identified assemblage of heterogeneous institutions and ideas merged in the conduct of specific projects may be seen as a subtle development of a Nordic tradition.

Sine Agergaard is a social anthropologist and an associate professor at the Department of Exercise and Sport Sciences, University of Copenhagen. Her research focus is on migration and integration issues within sports. She is currently the head of: 'Scandinavian women's football goes global. A cross-national study of sports labour migration as challenge and opportunity for Nordic civil society', financed by NOS-HS with 600,000 Euro. Agergaard has published a number of articles in peer-reviewed journals such as *Sport, Education and Society*, and *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, and contributed to several books, among others: Maguire, J & Falcoux, M 2010, *Sport and Migration. Borders, Boundaries and Crossings*, Routledge, London.

Annette Michelsen la Cour is a Lecturer at the University of Southern Denmark, Esbjerg Campus, and a researcher at the Copenhagen Business School, Department of Management, Policy and Philosophy. Her research fields are relationships between state, civil society and social network building, formal and informal civil society organisations, policy, social capital and social entrepreneurship as well as evaluation, social work and disadvantaged groups. She has recently published an article on voluntary-based sports associations and the relationship between their welfare political potential

and their integration in a specific local community. Forthcoming is a chapter in an anthology about integration, published by the Museum Tusulanum Press, Copenhagen.

Notes

1. A tendency that can also be detected more widespread in international sport policy (Houlihan & Lindsey 2008).
2. During the last decade(s) public-voluntary partnerships have become the model for cooperation on welfare tasks in Denmark (Weihe 2005). The cooperation on public issues between governmental and municipal organisations on the one hand and voluntary organisations on the other hand has also been characterised as voluntary based partnerships and thereby distinguishes them from commercially and statutory based partnerships (Geddes 2005).
3. The description of the fund financing Sporttrack begins by stating that: "Club life in Denmark contributes greatly to creating social communities and cohesion in the Danish society." (The Ministry of Refugee, Immigration and Integration Affairs' website (update 24 March 2010) and accessed on 27 April 2010 from: <http://www.nyidanmark.dk/dadk/Integration/puljer/>

puljebeskrivelser/det_frivillige_integrationsarbejde_og_deltaelse%20_i_idraets_og_foreningslivet.htm) In other words the expectation is that sports clubs are arenas of social integration that help maintain the idea of imagined sameness according to which the population in Scandinavian societies is considered socially equal and differences in class and ethnicity is downplayed (Agergaard & Sørensen 2010; Gullestad 2002).

4. 'Projektbeskrivelse'. Retrieved 5/1 2010: from www.sporttrack.dk
5. When considering the welfare projects based in funds only from The Ministry of Refugee, Immigration and Integration Affairs the figures amounts to around 400 active projects at a time, and the ministry received almost 1000 applications yearly. [Accessed on 5.9.2011 from http://www.nyidanmark.dk/NR/rdonlyres/4DEC2019-9D2F-4C8B-AE0B-E636FA9ADEA8/0/fakta_om_integrationsministeriets_satspuljer_og_samarbejd-sprojekter.pdf]
6. "During the last years, the Ministry of Refugee, Immigration and Integration Affairs has focused on the need for projects to list clear criteria of success and to undertake measurements of the project effect" (authors' translation). [Accessed on 5.9.2011 from: http://www.nyidanmark.dk/NR/rdonlyres/4DEC2019-9D2F-4C8B-AE0B-E636FA9ADEA8/0/fakta_om_integrationsministeriets_satspuljer_og_samarbejd-sprojekter.pdf]

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