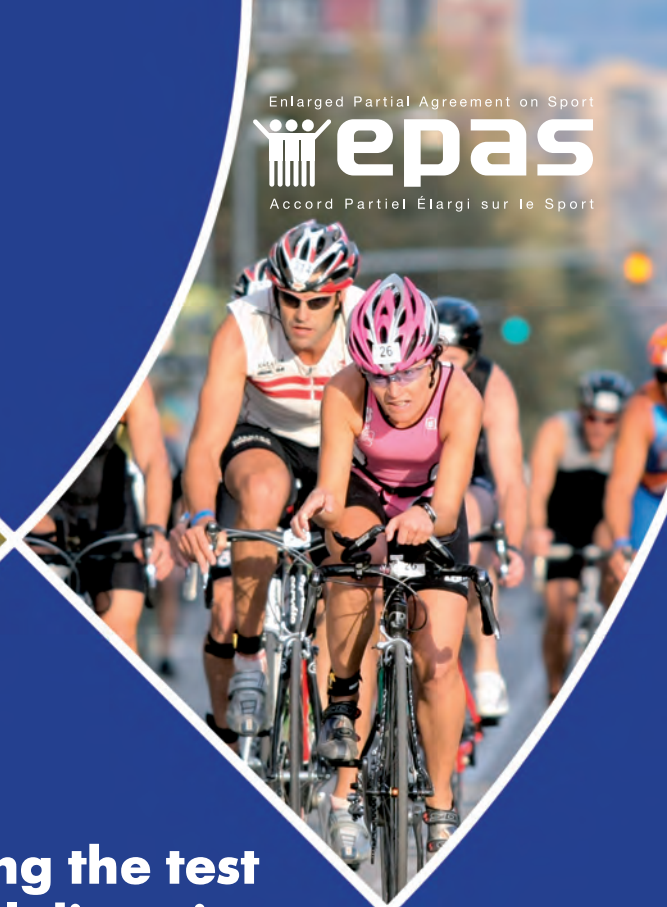


Enlarged Partial Agreement on Sport



Accord Partiel Élargi sur le Sport



Sport facing the test of cultural diversity

William Gasparini et Aurélie Cometti



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Sport facing the test of cultural diversity

Integration and intercultural dialogue in Europe: analysis and practical examples

Edited by William Gasparini and Aurélie Cometti

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Foreword

Integrating migrants through sport: untapped potential

Managing Europe's increasing cultural diversity – rooted in the history of our continent and now amplified by globalisation – has become a priority for Council of Europe member states. In the White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue, published in May 2008, these states emphatically argued that our common future depends on our ability to foster mutual understanding, while at the same time safeguarding and developing human rights, democracy and the rule of law.

Sport is no different in this respect. Played and watched by people from a variety of social backgrounds, it has an educational and socialising effect that makes it an ideal vehicle for intercultural dialogue and social integration. Indeed, when we speak about "integration through sport", there is wide acknowledgement of the positive contribution sport makes to social integration, for ethnic minorities and immigrant communities in particular. This consensus has been highlighted by various opinion polls in Europe and by references in political and institutional discourse. Regular participation in sport is thought, for example, to help young people of immigrant origin to develop key skills and to integrate better into society.

It is important, however, not to take things at face value. Often the only visible evidence of sport's potential to promote integration is the presence of international stars in high-profile, top-level sport, which is not always a true reflection of the situation on the ground. Experience has shown that sport can equally be a setting for extreme nationalism, exclusion and discrimination. In the context of the Council of Europe Convention against Spectator Violence, it has been observed that, unfortunately, racism and intolerance are still rife.

Sport in itself does not necessarily foster tolerance. Nor is it necessarily a factor in social mixing and integration. Harnessing this political potential requires first and foremost real commitment on the part of the associations and institutions that administer and support sport.

It is important, therefore, to look beyond the conventional wisdom and rhetoric in order to understand how certain practices contribute to the integration of immigrant communities through sport. Any such assessment must not only look at the (political and cultural) context but also identify the target groups concerned.

As co-organiser of the European Encounters conference "Sport and Diversity" with the Agency for Education through Sport and the University of Strasbourg,

the Enlarged Partial Agreement on Sport sought to facilitate international discussion on these practices and policies by bringing together policy-makers, journalists, researchers and heads of associations. The experiences presented at these events and the debate that they generate provide valuable insights into the issue of integration through sport and may serve as a guide for future policy.

This activity is wholly in keeping with the remit of the Council of Europe's Enlarged Partial Agreement on Sport, which is to foster the sharing of experience and develop standards that will help to unlock the potential of sport, not least as an instrument for promoting the Council of Europe's core values.

*Stan Frossard
Executive Secretary of the EPAS
Directorate of Youth and Sport
Council of Europe*

General introduction

Intercultural dialogue or integration through sport? European models under scrutiny

Professor William Gasparini, Research team on "The social sciences of sport", University of Strasbourg, France

The European Commission's decision to declare 2008 European Year of Intercultural Dialogue demonstrates that the question of integrating different cultures into European society is more immediate than ever. From the standpoint of the commission, the European Union's (EU) successive enlargements, the growth of migration movements, and interactions with the world at large through economic, cultural, academic and sport exchanges have accentuated the multicultural character of many countries. These features heighten the linguistic, religious and ethnic diversity present in most Council of Europe member countries – including France, which is characterised by its own kind of blending and diversity, an inseparable element of its identity according to the historian Fernand Braudel.¹

Sport, long accepted as an instrument of social integration, is now considered a means of furthering intercultural understanding in an ever more diversified Europe. Like food culture and pop music, sport can be said to possess a potential for interculturalism, because it has contributed, throughout history, to the blending of cultures.

Behind this assumption, however, a number of questions linger. Can sport really be a platform for stimulating dialogue between cultures? Are intercultural dialogue and integration the same kinds of phenomena? Intercultural dialogue presupposes the coexistence of different cultural communities, each of them homogeneous entities which do not naturally mix. Can this be validly argued for all European countries?

How can social cohesion be strengthened in the context of cultural diversity through sport? Sport has a reputation for drawing peoples together in the tradition of Coubertin, but is it inherently integrative, diversified and intercultural or must the political conditions be provided for it to become so?

In order to answer these questions, it seems appropriate to observe at the outset that the recent initiatives of European institutions illustrate the European preference for making cultures engage in dialogue, rather than be integrated in a single "melting pot" through a purposive integration policy at European level.

1. Braudel Fernand (1990), *L'identité de la France. Espace et Histoire*, Flammarion, Paris.

Next, let us consider the meaning of the concepts “intercultural dialogue” and “integration” in the realm of sport? They have multiple, even litigious, connotations, not only defining groups much discussed in the social sciences but also representing national categories that take on different meanings for different European countries. Contrary to the idea that these concepts are naturally transnational and European, their definition and usage are rather the upshot of symbolic battles fought in the European intellectual arena over the rightful European definition of a paradigm for integration through sport.

The third stage of the discussion will compare European patterns of integration through sport – a comparison that should not only provide a basis for building a typology, but also raise methodological and theoretical questions. Faced with these difficulties, how are we to organise European research into sport’s contribution to the integration of migrant populations and social and national cohesion?

As I see it, these initial thoughts should help open up avenues to develop a framework for a reflexive science of European “integration through sport” models.² They also try to get away from ritualistic extolling of sport and dutiful remarks about integration through sport.

1. Intercultural dialogue and integration through sport: a European concern

Sport has only recently become a real social and cultural concern for the EU. As from 1997, the Treaty of Amsterdam (in Declaration 29, appended to the treaty)³ stresses the social importance of sport, particularly its uniting and identity-building role. Sport is also seen as an instrument of social inclusion. Since 2000, numerous projects and events for promoting intercultural dialogue through sport have been funded all over Europe. Examples of projects in the realm of sport range from setting up sports networks to drafting a sport charter for the furtherance of intercultural dialogue, together with “intercultural” street football tournaments, or special initiatives staged by sports clubs to welcome migrants or pursue exchanges with “foreign” clubs in an educational perspective.

2. See in this connection Bourdieu P., “Les conditions sociales de la circulation internationale des idées”, *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, no. 145, December 2002, pp. 3-8, particularly his proposal to contribute to a “science of international cultural relations” on p. 3.

3. “The Conference emphasises the social significance of sport, in particular its role in forging identity and bringing people together. The Conference therefore calls on the bodies of the EU to listen to sports associations when important questions affecting sport are at issue. In this connection, special consideration should be given to the particular characteristics of amateur sport.” Declaration 29 on Sport, Appendix to the Treaty of Amsterdam amending the Treaty on European Union, the treaties establishing the European Communities and certain related acts, *Official Journal No. C 340 of 10 November 1997*.

Sport, as a whole, is also perceived by the citizens of Europe as a possible avenue for furthering dialogue among the various cultures living side by side in Europe. According to several Eurobarometer surveys (at the behest of the European Commission), almost three Europeans out of four regard sport as a means of promoting integration, while 64% of European citizens think that sport would help combat discrimination. Finally, 81% regard sport as an opportunity for dialogue among the different cultures (Eurobarometer survey 2004).⁴ The EU has proposed recommendations and initiatives to that effect since 2007.

Two examples illustrate this accommodation of sport's intercultural and inclusive dimensions:

- the White Paper on Sport, drawn up in 2007 by the European Commission (after two years of work), suggests harnessing sport to social integration. The member countries are asked to focus on aiding access to sports participation for women from ethnic minorities.⁵ Accordingly, the mobilisation of the European programmes and funds is mentioned as a means of enhancing possibilities for social inclusion and integration through sport;⁶
- in 2008 the institutional initiatives and encounters were intensified through the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue. The European ministers responsible for sport adopted a joint declaration on Social Significance and Dialogue in Sport on 17 March 2008; in March 2008 the commission also published the final report on Unity in Diversity, "National approaches to Intercultural Dialogue in Europe"; on 15 and 16 May 2008, an international round table on sport and intercultural dialogue was held in Ljubljana (Slovenia) by the Slovenian Sports Union called "Sport for all as the element of intercultural dialogue"; lastly in December 2008, recommendations on sport and intercultural dialogue were presented at the European Sport Forum in Biarritz.

In a parallel but longer-standing endeavour of its own, the Council of Europe has disseminated the idea of amateur sport as a factor in social integration and inclusion for migrants, since tolerance, dialogue between cultures and peoples, respect for national minorities and social cohesion are among its goals. As early as 1981, the European ministers responsible for sport therefore adopted a resolution on sport for migrants,⁷ convinced that it was

4. Special Eurobarometer 213 (2004), *The citizens of the European Union and Sport*, survey requested by Directorate General of Education and Culture and co-ordinated by Directorate General of Press and Communication, European Commission, November 2004.

5. Commission Staff Working Document, Action Plan "Pierre de Coubertin", accompanying documents to the White Paper on Sport, Commission of the European Communities, Brussels, 11 July 2007.

6. Progress, Education and Lifelong Learning, Youth in Action, Europe for Citizens, European Social Fund, European Regional Development Fund or European Fund for the Integration of Third-country Nationals.

7. Resolution on sport 81/4.

a significant means for “migrants” to participate more in the life of society in the host countries. In May 2003, the European Council recalled the social value of sport for young people, stressing its role in integration. According to the rapporteurs: “Sport is a human activity resting on fundamental social, educational and cultural values. It is a factor making for integration, involvement in social life, tolerance, acceptance of differences and playing by the rules.” The democratic management of Europe’s cultural diversity is also a political priority for the Council of Europe.⁸ The White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue was consequently launched in May 2008 by the ministers of foreign affairs of the organisation’s 47 member states.⁹

As UEFA President Michel Platini recently told the Council of Europe (24 January 2008), sport in Europe has always been a catalyst for social and cultural integration. He considers that millions of children worldwide have become, and continue to become, Europeans by playing football on a muddy pitch, whether in town or country, before they even start school. Thus the sports movement regards amateur sport and especially football as naturally conducive to the blending of cultures and the integration of migrants.

2. European categories by social science standards

For sociologists, “intercultural dialogue” and “integration through sport” alike are categories of social and political debate requiring analysis before they are used in European surveys.

First they are not legal categories, so that “intercultural dialogue” as such does not constitute a specific legal category. Consequently, there is no international, European or national law regarding the matter. It is nevertheless accepted that a constructive dialogue can only exist in an environment ensuring equal opportunities, freedom of expression, security and dignity.

It then falls to the sociologist to investigate “integration through sport” and “intercultural dialogue through sport” as categories of analysis and thought. In the interpretative social sciences, many key words and phrases – “community”, “citizenship”, “diversity”, “integration”, “intercultural dialogue”, for example – are at once categories of social and political practice, and categories of social and political analysis. By “categories of practice”,

8. An Action Plan on Democratic Management of Europe’s Cultural Diversity was adopted in May 2005 in Warsaw by the 3rd Summit of Heads of State and Government of the Council of Europe.

9. The White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue seeks to provide a conceptual framework and a guide for policy-makers and practitioners. To co-ordinate the various activities conducted in this field, Gabriella Battaini-Dragoni, Director General of Education, Culture and Heritage, Youth and Sport, was appointed Council of Europe Co-ordinator for Intercultural Dialogue at the end of 2005. On 7 May 2008, the Committee of Ministers adopted this white paper, the outcome of a process of consultations with the governments of the 47 member states, experts, international organisations, NGOs, representatives of ethnic and religious communities and the general public.

Brubaker (2001)¹⁰ means the categories of day-to-day social experience developed and deployed by the ordinary social agents who take a hand in sport as sports instructors, coaches, club managers, "outreach" youth counsellors, and sports players themselves.¹¹ These categories of practice are distinguished from the categories used by socio-analysts, who take a stance remote from sports experience; these include politicians, scientific experts, journalists and essayists. Being devised by experts, analytical categories are often taken up indiscriminately (that is, without regard to the national and intellectual context in which they were devised) and become categories of practice used in ordinary situations of sport and social training.

a. Interculturalism

Unlike "diversity", "interculturalism" is neither a concept nor a theory, but a practice and a problem field raising debate, which differs according to country.

For some societies, intercultural signifies "multicultural", construed as coexistence of different cultures in the one space. For others it has more of a sense of "cross-culturalism", or "interculturality" construed as a process of cultural interpenetration.

These two conceptions of interculturalism hark back to two models for the integration of individuals into a nation-state: multiculturalism in the first instance and, in the second, a melting pot and national integration.

Next a distinction should be drawn between "factual interculturalism" (existing de facto because each main wave of immigration has given Europe its quota of sports players – suffice it to observe the composition of the national teams), and "purposive interculturalism" presupposing political actuation of intercultural dynamics (through intercultural tournaments, intercultural sports education, or cultural mix in the clubs). Furthermore, interculturalism often becomes associated with terms that specify it in an educational sense: intercultural proficiencies, intercultural learning, intercultural teaching practice, intercultural dialogue.

The premise of intercultural dialogue is that, in the EU, multiple forms of dialogue are needed to bring out both respect for everyone's diversity and sharing of a minimum core of common values. Etymologically the word dialogue, *dia-logos*, means being penetrated by the word of whoever addresses one – so that in an exchange with a person belonging to another culture, part of oneself will vanish and another part will be transformed in the juxtaposition of cultures. That accounts for a dual identity in many children of immigrants (dual nationality and dual frame of reference for their personal and cultural

10. Brubaker R. 2001. Au-delà de l'"identité", *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, Vol. 139, No. 1, pp. 66-85.

11. See Gasparini W. (ed.), "L'intégration par le Sport?", *Sociétés Contemporaines* No. 69 (2008), Presses de Sciences Po.

identity), which may be felt either as an asset or a problem. Modern sport, born in Europe but at present a universal medium of expression, is capable of creating the conditions under which persons originating from different cultures or ethnic groups (whether intra- or extra-European) draw together, coexist, or even interpenetrate. In the context of competitive sport, discovery of another culture may occur, but the exchange may also turn into a “figurative battlefield” (Elias, 1986) where national stereotypes re-emerge. Do matches between two countries or communities then provide the best vector for intercultural dialogue? Examples of sport-based intercultural dialogue schemes in Norway also show that women from Muslim minorities are under-represented. This finding has prompted the Norwegian sports federations to devise specific projects in cities aimed at women of Muslim faith, more in keeping with their origins. The establishment of aerobics or swimming lessons for Muslim women only is an example. In some German schools, physical education teachers offer instruction suited to each pupil culture.

However, by concentrating too closely on the cultural backgrounds of sports players or physical education pupils in schools (given an intercultural educational method), there may well be a risk of creating mental categories and stereotypes by confining individuals to their own group of origin and their own distinctiveness. Current debate in France – concerning swimming pool time slots for women only, as well as in Europe generally concerning exemptions from swimming in physical education for religious reasons – is an example: should one allow co-education, gender equality and secularity to be impaired by accepting identity-linked demands under the cloak of “tolerance” and intercultural dialogue? Provisionally, for want of a common position, each country makes its own response according to its national legislation, cultural tradition and societal model.

b. Integration

The term “integration” applied to sport also invites questions, particularly when used as a political injunction. Its use in France is based on a concept traceable to Durkheim’s thought and to republican ideology, while “cohesion through sport” is the preferred usage in European bodies (Council of Europe and EU). It is also notable that integration is defined according to its national setting and sociological entrenchment, lending it a specific meaning (Schnapper, 2007). Integration is nonetheless a crucial, historic concept of sociology and has a fairly exact meaning: the process whereby an individual enters a human community as an integral part of it. This does not mean that their original identity is completely lost, but rather transformed by contact with the features and the values of the host community. Integration may at the same time signify both a “normative programme” and a “social process”:

- Imposed by the state, integration as a normative programme is the desired outcome of an official policy and becomes an injunction to adapt

to the host society. This is described as a “paradigm” of integration. In this perspective, several paradigms of integration can be discerned in Europe: republican, multiculturalist, discriminatory... but for some countries the absence of any model, pattern or paradigm is also observed (for example, Spain, Portugal, Italy) as up to the 1980s those were countries of emigration.

- Integration as a social process is an interaction between the migrant and the host society, between the “minority” and the “majority” and, like all processes, prone to differing progress according to fields, mismatches, discovery of new patterns, counter-trends, and developments which can be analysed by surveys.

Lastly, sociologists ascertain that the more a migrant belongs to the disadvantaged social classes, the more marked is the integration shortfall, linked with remoteness from the dominant culture. Still, school and associations have always been instruments of integration for children of migrants, and especially sport in a club context. The notion of integration does not actually correspond to any experience, but can guide sociological investigations, even if not directly operative in the research procedures. Thus integration cannot be studied as such, but its various dimensions at a given time can be analysed. As a practice productive of social bonds in the society of settlement, and as a universal form of expression, sport constitutes one of these dimensions.

Freedom with categories of thought such as integration and “intercultural dialogue” can ultimately only be achieved at the price of an effort to think these categories through and make them explicit. They are often taken up just as they are by the political office-bearers, managers and sports instructors without prior analysis. Breaking with these ready-made categories is all the more difficult in that it also requires detachment from the effects of the media, which tend either to maximise “multiculturalism of sport” in high-grade competition (French national football team – blacks/whites/second-generation North Africans), or to highlight “ethno-centricity of sport”.¹²

By analysing these two concepts, it is also apparent that reference to ethnic, religious or national peculiarities may become the easy justification for practices and policies which increase the confusion by using the ethnic bias of social relations more and more as a regulative mode. Tolerance towards “ethnic” clubs may well disperse and weaken the humanist rationale of sport; indeed sports ethics teaches that players must each leave their ethnic ties and peculiarities behind in the cloakroom to appear on the sports field, or in the gymnasium, as an impartial player. At the same time, however, cultural cross-fertilisation and blending can only occur if there are policies to

12. See in this connection Gasparini W., “Le sport, entre communauté et communautarisme”, journal *Diversité*, No. 150 (2007), pp. 77-83, Ville Ecole Intégration.

combat and prevent discrimination in access for all to recreational sport and to responsibilities in sports organisations.

3. Patterns of integration through sport, tested by comparison across Europe

Since the late 1980s, there has been a profusion of comparative studies produced by international agencies (OECD, UNESCO, WHO, EU/European Commission, Council of Europe, etc.). The more globalised societies become, the more they rely on comparative studies. Indeed, international comparison furthers a better understanding of the respective effects which the political context (national, but European too) and the cultures of social groups have on the social phenomenon examined (for instance, sociability in the context of sport, or straightforward sports participation). The comparative method is a way of finding singularity in the obvious through comparison with alien styles of thought and action, which are self-evident to others (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 4). Thus comparison involves rendering comparable certain “units” of analysis deeply embedded in distinctive national histories, categories and languages.

a. Sport and multiculturalism: a European comparative study

In 2003, the European Commission commissioned a comparative study in order to examine the contribution of sport as a means of non-formal education to multicultural dialogue among young people, as well as its role in integrating recent influxes of migrants. Published in 2004, the study on sport and multiculturalism provides insight into how sport was used to lower intercultural tensions in the then 25 member states.¹³

The study was based on the four models of nationality and citizenship that serve to illustrate all approaches employed in the EU: the republican French model, the ethno-nationalist German model, the pluralist British model and the emerging Polish post-communist model. Working with these four models, it identified four traditional political approaches to sports policy in respect of populations with different ethnic origins. Two of these emphasise or heighten cultural diversity and pluralism:

- *interculturalism*: promotion of intercultural exchanges by attaching the same importance to each culture (for example, funding cultural exchanges for sport purposes);
- *separate but equitable development of the ethnic groups* (directly funding associations of ethnic minorities).

13. See the contribution of Ian Henry in this book, p. 59.

Two concentrate on cohesion rather than on diversity, with “unitary” views of national culture:

- *inclusion policies* seeking to integrate groups into the existing national culture (using sport as a means of coping with problems of social exclusion or urban renewal);
- *non-intervention*: populations are deemed homogeneous and there is no need for financing (that is no need to act).

The study makes political recommendations on the greater use of sport to further intercultural dialogue and on issues relating to refugees, asylum seekers and spending of European structural funds. It holds up examples of good practice to the sports organisations serving different cultural communities.

This study shows that there is no single model of integration through sport in Europe. But it also reveals that the concepts employed, such as intercultural dialogue or interculturalism, have become second nature and self-evident whereas the concept of integration is not used. The various European countries’ patterns of integration through sport might nevertheless be considered convergent, owing to European harmonisation in particular. The divergences have gradually given way to convergences, with the historical paradigms exposed to political realism.

b. Convergences and divergences

There is indeed an observable tendency to standardise official mechanisms, stimulated by the sports and social policies of the EU and the Council of Europe. For example, in 2008 the Swiss Federal Council decided to strengthen the measures in aid of migrant integration. In one such measure, the Federal Office for Sport set up a skill centre, with the object of boosting the promotion of sport and physical activities among migrant populations. In Germany, “Integration through Sport” is a programme of the *Deutscher Sportbund* (DSB) aimed at developing sports participation in migrants’ clubs. The principle behind this stance is that a sports club has a special potential for integration in allowing social contacts among sports players and inducing persons of foreign origin to undergo intercultural learning (sport and culture related norms). Clubs also foster voluntary service, which makes for everyday political participation in the local networks. That is what qualifies them as schools of democracy. In Germany and the United Kingdom alike, the questioning of multiculturalism from 2000 onwards led to a more integrationist policy.

The analysis of European publications and assessments concerning integration through sport illustrates the variety of inclusion policies, as described above. It also shows diversity in the responses, as regards the way in which civil society (specifically, the sports and community movements) and state authorities use

sport to create social bonding, pacify difficult urban neighbourhoods and include migrants and their offspring in society.

Germany, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom still have observable policies of community management governing, in particular, multicultural education and the endeavour to instil intercultural skills in sports teachers and instructors. Accordingly, for the German sports movement, sport facilitates dialogue between migrants and the population at large. On those terms, it supports the involvement of Turkish migrant associations in young people's education and the promotion of "intercultural" gatherings. For example, the project "*Strassenfussball für Toleranz*" ("street football for tolerance") fights exclusion of ethnic minorities in sport by proposing football tournaments between teams made up of culturally diverse boys and girls. These are programmes aimed at intercultural dialogue in a multicultural context. It is also notable that in some European countries community-based groupings are permitted, even encouraged, in the voluntary sector, particularly football clubs. According to this concept of integration with a multicultural bias, "ethnic" sports clubs can be seen as a step towards national integration, which would aid participation in the host country's democratic life.

France lacks these forms of official policies as such, but their machinery is subsumed by the generic term "urban policy" or "combating exclusion". These have the function not of practising positive discrimination but of remedying the effects of negative discrimination (social, gender, ethnic, disability-related...). In the case of sport, official schemes of sport-based promotion or integration are directed at town and country districts or populations facing social problems, not at constituted groups or at ethnic minorities. Thus, "ethnic" clubs, like the display of religious symbols on clothing when playing sport in public facilities, are not tolerated, because they uphold the community to the detriment of the individual. Unlike other European countries, France has also been a magnet of immigration since the 19th century.¹⁴ We have formed the principles of our democracy in a country where immigration was one of the social realities. "Modern" sport thus developed in France at the same time as a massive influx of migrants, the passage of the law on freedom of association, the separation of Church and state (1905) and the building of a secular republican state system. So, on the whole, despite instances of social discriminations in admission to sports clubs, migrants and children of migrants gradually blend into the "melting pot of French sport" (Noiriél, 1988). That is why the French national football team often serves as a barometer of the main immigration waves in France (Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Armenian, African and North African).¹⁵

14. Not so, for example, in the case of Spain, Italy or the United Kingdom.

15. See in this connection an article by Beaud S., Noiriél G. (1990), "*L'immigration dans le football*", *XX^e siècle*, 26.

c. European comparison under challenge

Looking at the countries of Europe, comparing the populations concerned with “integration through sport” and urban policies is problematic. First, these policies have neither the same legal status, nor the same scientific definition, in the various countries of the EU (Arnaud, 2005): how can an outright comparison be made between the “ethnic minorities” in the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, the *extracomunitari* in Italy, and the populations of migrant origin in France?

Next, the comparative studies often draw conclusions about the “best practices” registered in the different European countries. This English-language concept embraces the practices, experiences, or mechanisms of education through sport which have succeeded in one country and are suitable for transposition to other countries considered to be lower achievers. These “workable experiences”, from which inspiration may be taken in other contexts, are widely used in the United States. UNESCO and the European Commission have also been guided by them. For specialists in international comparison, however, transfer of experience is unsound. It is founded on the fallacy that models of education through sport exist which could be indiscriminately exported to other socio-political, economic and cultural settings. For instance, is any comparison possible as regards the impact of sport on dialogue between minorities in the countries of the former Yugoslavia¹⁶ and between young French people with a North African migrant background in France?

4. Conclusion

Studying the forms taken by sport in Europe affords an approach to the transformations which the frameworks of social behaviour undergo in a new context of derestricted social relationships and multiculturalism linked to globalisation. Recent initiatives by the European institutions to promote a type of sport conducive to social integration and intercultural dialogue show that sport has its rightful place in European construction. But the debates surrounding sport also draw the sociologist’s attention to the controversies and issues that go beyond the bounds of sport proper. Thus sport as a social phenomenon, according to Durkheim’s definition, accurately reflects the nature of the relations between ethnic minorities and the host society as a whole. These questions are not insignificant, for our sociological convictions partly guide action on sport. There is no doubt that conceiving a society in terms of individuals or community nurtures different and discordant political visions in the countries of Europe.

¹⁶ In the context of the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue, a special award was conferred on a Slovenian-based basketball league official. This prize rewarded the efforts of the league, which has succeeded in mustering different cultures through sport in the former Yugoslavia, insofar as it comprises several teams from Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro. When presenting the prize, Slovenian Minister for Sport Milan Zver said that sport could break down all stereotypes.

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Chapter 1

Cultural diversity in sport examined for inconsistent preaching and practice

Development of Intercultural Skills through Sport and Physical Education in Europe

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As a sport educationalist myself, I am faced with the following question: can sport and physical education in school develop intercultural skill sets? I could answer this question very briefly in the following way: Yes, but...

In the following article I will expand on this very concise answer, based on several years of theoretical and practical work on the theme of sport and interculturality, and with reference to a preliminary remark on our fundamental understanding of "intercultural dialogue" and on the limitations of "integration through sport". Further on I will argue that there is a need for a specific didactic approach and I will introduce an EU project which took on the task of acquiring basic scientific materials for the promotion of intercultural competence amongst sport educators thereby highlighting academic, educational and sport/political perspectives.

Just as you will recognise a pedagogical bias in my argument, you will realise that the idea of intercultural competence and theoretical terminology are derived from a German model of nationality and citizenship. But I hope some of these implications will inspire sports policy beyond national boundaries.

1. Intercultural dialogue and limitations of "integration through sport"

According to an institute for European cultural comparison and research, collaborating with the Council of Europe,¹⁷ intercultural dialogue is "a process that comprises an open and respectful exchange of views between individuals and groups with different cultural backgrounds. Among its aims are: to develop a deeper understanding of diverse world views and practices; to increase participation (or the freedom to make choices); to foster equality; and to enhance creative processes."¹⁸

17. *EDUCULT*, Bericht im Auftrag des Bundesministeriums für Unterricht, Kunst und Kultur Institut für die Vermittlung von Kunst und Wissenschaft, 2008. www.bmukk.gv.at/medienpool/16159/studie_kkid.pdf (11.3.2009).

18. *Ibid.* p. 13..

This definition of intercultural dialogue is related to educational/academic definitions of intercultural education.¹⁹ But is it also compatible with the character of sport?

The ideal image of sport as a promotional tool for integration or a sport that “speaks all languages” cannot be sustained without limitations. The acceptance of individual top athletes with migration backgrounds is not an indicator of equal opportunities for all migrants, in all fields of sport. Competitive sport – according to my thesis – does not promote intercultural dialogue. Competing for a coveted success is therefore barely compatible with developing a “deeper understanding of diverse world views and practices”. However, sport, movement and games can be a particularly suitable field for intercultural dialogue.

Power constellations and structural factors should be borne critically in mind, for dialogue cannot take place under unstable conditions.

Educational work cannot be an alternative to political efforts aimed at overcoming social inequalities. Nevertheless I will confine my argument to the sport didactic perspective.

2. Didactic approach to intercultural education through sports

In every concept of intervention, it is fundamentally important to be aware that – along with the migrant people themselves – their personal histories, internalised cultural and religious laws and concepts and customs regarding social existence should also migrate.

Experiences of strangeness are unavoidable in culturally heterogeneous and plural societies. For both migrant and native populations, it becomes increasingly important to develop specific competences in order to have a constructive interaction with strangeness. Strangeness as a sport didactic perspective means that ascription, discrimination, disassociation and exclusion, resulting from constructions of strangeness, are educationally dealt with.

¹⁹. In differentiated reflections about the concept I am moving, to some extent, beyond the horizon of intercultural education to talk about reflexive interculturality (Gieß-Stüber 2008). This is an educational method that, instead of working on cultural differences, allows a dialogue between cultural contexts and therefore contributes to the treatment of these experiences reflexively, so as to enable an appraisal of individual self understanding and world understanding in a rational and discursive manner. Therefore it is not about absorbing foreigners or foreignness, or adding them as an extension to one’s own self, rather it is about a (critical) examination of social and societal relationships. The learning topic of reflexive interculturality, understood in this sense, is therefore no longer so much about the universality or the relativity of cultures, but rather concerns the social construction of one’s self and what is strange, together with societal preconditions and consequences.

Cultural differences are one possible cause of strangeness experiences. We know, however, from interculturally orientated educational research, that social problems are – in non-republican political traditions – too often superficially culturalised (on the other hand, in France, the implications of a migration background might, in some respects, be undervalued).

Within the construct “strangeness” we do not have to focus on culture and can include overlaps of the effects which result from migration, social life circumstances, gender, and so on (c.f. Diehm and Radtke 1999).

In this paper, the theoretical foundations and didactic concept can only be touched on briefly, so I will limit myself to the principal mindset (for greater detail, see Gieß-Stüber 2008).

When considering the picture of sports education aimed at creating an intercultural dialogue, the development of a physical and motoric dimension does not stand alone in the foreground. Social concerns, value judgments, emotions and cognitions of the pupils are also relevant. Promotion of an intercultural dialogue in and through sport is paramount, rather than the teaching of different types of sport. The diverse content of both international and regional movement cultures is taught in such a way as to encourage the desired social learning processes simultaneously.

Didactic guiding principles result from a theoretical framework based upon the sociology of strangeness, identity theory, social psychology and social constructivist approaches (doing ethnicity, doing gender). These didactic guiding principles include:

1. *Experience of strangeness as a starting point for education*

The encounter with strangeness can be produced methodologically in the most varied ways: familiar movement forms and sport activities can be alienated, or new, unfamiliar movement forms, games, dancing styles and so on can be introduced into the lessons. Pupils realise that their own sport or body culture is just one of many. Commonalities and transcultural elements can be made visible as well as intracultural differences, to which, for example, the different movement cultures of girls and boys belong.

2. *Team tasks as challenges*

Within the context of tasks that have to be solved creatively in teams, conflict-managing skills can be promoted – for example, the ability to see things from another perspective and empathy. Sport games can be developed and varied. In this way, rules can be seen, within a consultation process, to be negotiable and “shapeable” on the one hand, and on the other hand, as a necessary prerequisite for co-operation.

3. *Experience of recognition and belonging*

The experience of recognition and belonging is closely related to the promotion of identity. In sport we communicate with children and young people through verbal and non-verbal messages and evaluations on different levels: emotional, cognitive and social. The goal of a critical analysis with identifications and affiliations can be demonstratively followed in sport.

4. *Reflection on the experience of strangeness*

Intercultural, educational sport teaching aims to develop competences (intercultural skills) which can also be used outside the methodologically generated situations. Reflecting on learning processes and experiences therefore plays an important role.

3. Development of intercultural competence in sport – introduction of an EU project

This was the approach used in the international project which I would like to present very briefly now. Our partners were universities in France (Université Marc Bloch, Strasbourg; Professor Gasparini), Poland (Instytut Kultury Fizycznej, Gorzów WLKP; Professor Grochowski) and the Czech Republic (Univerzita Karlova V Praze; Fialová, Professor Waic). The expansion of the EU into eastern Europe, to Poland and the Czech Republic, Germany's immediate neighbours, which took place in 2004, just as we started our project, gave us valuable inspiration.

The various countries of the EU have different points of emphasis in their goal-orientation within the school subject of sport or physical education. Even if everyday physical education is still concentrating primarily on the teaching of motoric skills in traditional sport types, there is an opening for diverse social learning perspectives in the curricula of all the project countries. For all the participating countries, intercultural education through sport is more or less a new perspective, although in most European states, (sport) educators teach culturally, ethnically and linguistically heterogeneous classes of pupils (Gieß-Stüber et al. 2008). As yet, they have not been prepared for this task in their teaching (Dagkas 2007, Grimminger 2009).

We have taken on this task of developing intercultural competence through sport within the framework of an EU sponsored project.²⁰

During our three years of co-operation, we have studied the links between sport and migration for each individual country, in order to increase understanding of whether, and under what conditions, sport is able to aid integrative processes. During three week-long study workshops with student teachers

20. EU (119019-CP-1-2004-1-DE-COMENIUS-C21), www.comenius-sport.eu.

from all participating countries, we put the current state of theoretical and conceptual discourse to the test.

4. Intercultural competence of sport educators

What do we now understand as intercultural competence within sport?

The intercultural competence of sport educators comprises two overriding facets:

- the ability to interact constructively with differences, cultural diversity and the insecurities that result thereof for educational procedures;
- the specialist didactic-methodological competence to initiate, accompany and reflect on intercultural learning in school sport, with the concrete aim of promoting the pupils' ability to hold a constructive handling of strangeness (intercultural competence).

If we consider the elements of intercultural competence (expert knowledge, methodological competence, personal competence, social competence and organisational competence), then it becomes clear that we are not talking about totally new competences. Rather, the individual "part competences" of sport educational procedures undergo specific enhancement. A mindset that is oriented to promote equal opportunity is a requirement for this educational approach.

I have already spoken about methodological competence (see Didactic approach). At the time of writing, no structured materials or text books are yet available regarding the promotion of expert knowledge within sport. A central concern of our EU project was to fill this gap and to reappraise understanding of the theme "Sport, Integration, Europe", in order that academically based texts and higher education didactic proposals for teacher education are produced and made available. Available publications from the EU project are:

- Blecking, D. and Gieß-Stüber, P. (Hrsg.) (2006), *Sport bewegt Europa. Beiträge zur interkulturellen Verständigung*. Baltmannsweiler: Schneider Verlag.
- Blecking, D. and Waic, M. (Hrsg.) (2008), *Sport – Ethnie – Nation. Zur Geschichte und Soziologie des Sports in Nationalitätenkonflikten und bei Minoritäten*. Baltmannsweiler: Schneider.
- Gieß-Stüber, P. and Blecking, D. (eds.) (2008), *Sport – Integration – Europe. Widening horizons in the intercultural education*. Baltmannsweiler: Schneider.
- Grimminger, E. (Hrsg.) (2008), *Sport – Integration – Europa*. Bibliographie. Baltmannsweiler: Schneider.

The knowledge level of the participating project countries is now documented in these publications from a historical, sociological and educational perspective. The project work and publications adhere to the following structure:

- A. Re-thinking teacher training in an expanding EU.
- B. Modules for teacher education:
 - I. Sport and migration in historical perspective
 - II. Sport and integration
 - III. Sport and regional movement cultures
 - IV. Sport and strangeness
 - V. Sport, ethnicity and gender.
- C. Perspectives in the promotion of intercultural competence among student teachers.

5. Conclusion

In my conclusion, I will address only a few important questions regarding pedagogic, academic and sport/political issues. In many European countries, school and sport politics have given sport an important role to play regarding intercultural and integrative processes. Nevertheless, consistent official guidelines and didactic concepts are lacking.

In our Freiburg project group, we tried to compile a theory-driven concept which we were able to use successfully during practical projects with schools and during the education and training of sport educators and trainers. It is vital that the development of similar programmes, based on theory and empirical evidence, will be brought forward in order to develop sport concepts capable of promoting intercultural dialogue between native and migrant populations, thereby guaranteeing equal participation in sport.

In order to fill in the gaps between lectures and real life, concepts must be tested in scientific intervention studies. We need evaluated concepts.

But, as integration and intercultural dialogue cannot be attained through educational work alone, we need socio-scientific based analyses as well, because societal inequality structures are intertwined with the operating mode of schools and sport systems.

The status and role of sport in school needs to be improved in European countries, in order to be able to contribute to intercultural learning.

We need to:

- lobby for the pedagogic and socio-political importance of school sport;
- update the curricula;
- invest in concept development and evaluation;

- optimise the pedagogic quality of teacher education;

The aforementioned workshops with student teachers from the four participating countries were extremely productive and led to the suggestion of:

- strengthening international co-operation in teacher education.

In this spirit, I would like to close with a quotation from one of our French students:

Even if the workshop is now over, I still notice its effects. During the days immediately after, I often thought about the workshop, I even had a sort of “homesickness”, when I compared the banalities of my daily life with the many, varied experiences I received during the workshop. But after this “emotional phase” I began to call into question the everyday life which I had previously taken for granted. Certain situations and behavioural patterns, which I had previously deemed to be “normal”, suddenly appeared to be “strange”.

So it is true, then, that through working as a group, debating issues, and taking part in sport activities that are suitable for the promotion of intercultural dialogue, we are able to develop a deeper understanding of diverse world views and practices – to develop intercultural skill.

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Cultural blending through sport

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Central to the republican French model, the process of integrating populations of migrant origin has been the subject of debates and controversy for several decades. The concept of integration had its heyday from the early 1990s onwards, but is flagging and giving way to that of “blending” or “diversity”. The virtues and vices of these new concepts lie in their “portmanteau” character, providing a peg on which public opinion hangs complex realities that are hard to define. The relationship with ethnic diversity concerns a nation now aware of the need to reinvent a concept of citizenship more suited to the major changes of this century’s early years and to the cultural realities of the population that makes up France.

1. Sport and intercultural relations

Sport presents itself as an asset, which has gained indisputable value for conceiving regenerated forms of “community living”. Educating through sport, the legacy of the gymnastics lesson that originated in the 1880s, can be seen primarily as instilling republican values. Thanks to a practice that gained ground under the Fifth Republic, and to a marked increase in media impact since the 1980s, sport has gained a prime position in public life, both as a factor in socialisation and as a cultural object. True, many scientific studies have shown that sport offers migrant populations original possibilities to take root in a host society. But there is often a very fine line between sports participation based on separate communities, where exclusiveness holds sway – as illustrated by the Maccabi teams comprising Jews, or the Portuguese or West Indies clubs – and ethnic mixing through sport. It is also true that both participation in sports disciplines and spectator sport can bring divisions and rejection. Still, intermingling through sport can be deemed to occur insofar as the development of international matches, the worldwide dissemination of certain types of sport and the scope for intercultural encounters – not to mention solidarities – provide favourable ground for real opportunities of blending. Significantly, sport has a place of honour in the permanent exhibition and various temporary displays offered at the “Cité nationale d’histoire de l’immigration”, inaugurated in 2007 with the object of showing how France was built under conditions of diversity.

In intercultural relations, the realm of sport does, in fact, hold a complex position that should be selectively approached through several levels of analysis. The role of sport among migrants and even more so its “cultural mediation” function – creating scope for exchange between French nationals

and migrants – has only belatedly attracted attention. Nobody extolled the merits of diversity when Boughera El Ouafi won the gold medal in the marathon at the Amsterdam Olympics in 1928, or when Raymond Kopa was a star of French football at the end of the 1950s. Conversely, for several years now, political discourse and social perceptions concerning the “trouble on city outskirts”, and the civic aspirations of populations of migrant origin, have all been fuelled by the perception of sport as a field where an ethnic mix earns preference and appreciation, whereas in other fields such as political representation, the impediments continue to be powerful. It is not by mere chance that sport and immigration are subjects which, for different reasons, have had incontestable success in the media, prompting public opinion and public authorities to envisage sometimes realistic and sometimes artificial bridges for linking the two dimensions, in the hope of contributing to a social harmony with a complex formula.

2. Young people’s socialisation through sports experience

Whether learned or lowbrow, most of the talk concerning sports participation, the veracity of which is not always verifiable or quantifiable, credits the idea of its “integrative” capabilities. As an institution in a society, expressing that society’s values of courage, solidarity, zest for participation, patriotism and even heroism, sport partakes of the spontaneous or deliberate mechanisms that ensure the society’s perpetuation. By virtue of its function, principles and accepted and internalised rules, it is part of an ongoing process of social construction and identity building, like school, work and formerly the army. But, unlike these three spheres, which are losing momentum as vehicles for values, sport is remarkably buoyant in this respect. Consequently, playing sport is perceived as a good medium of citizenship, one of the last agencies of socialisation where community values are learnt.

Several scientific studies have demonstrated the historical significance of associations in the integration of foreign populations. Sports clubs have indubitably formed a vital link in the chain as a sometimes ethnocentric, but often intercultural point of encounter, offering its members scope for sharing values and customs and cementing relations of complicity, solidarity or friendship. Associations stimulate social bonding, even as they consolidate the process of acculturating young people with a migrant background. Some clubs like L’Olympique, at Noisy-le-Sec, zone 93, run by its general manager Jamel Sandjak, or AS Minguettes, on the outskirts of Lyons, are renowned as “citizen clubs”, combining high-level sporting activity with major social commitment. Other more obscure examples, such as the municipal club of Aubervilliers-Landy, or the La Courneuve club, make intercultural relations their lifeblood.

In addition to the quality of building "sports experience", there is the positive image of a setting conducive to a form of equity which society is deemed no longer capable of securing. Everyone has their chance, the potential – according to their physical qualities or capacities – to assert themselves and, why not, climb the social ladder: sport as a parallel road to success, a fresh chance for persons of humble social origin. Subjected to moral as much as physical discipline, a top-class player enjoys full bodily control in particular, and thus significant self-recognition, effectively counteracting the "summer unrest", idleness and disquiet from which young people in "sensitive neighbourhoods" are supposed to suffer. Sustained by the rhetoric of the many advocates of the sporting spirit, especially politicians and professional people, teachers, instructors and coaches, sport seems to forge a robust personality that helps to shield players from fatal extremes by fostering perseverance, pugnacity and competitiveness, togetherness and respect for others and for rightful authority.

Indeed, before being a blending agent, sport presents itself as a more general force of socialisation, integration or resettlement. Socialisation through sport, if the scope of reflection is extended to other population categories such as the homeless, the unemployed, people with disabilities or prisoners, denotes a process similar to integration, but transcending strictly ethnic issues. This gives rise to a terminological ambiguity that bears out the difficulty of conceiving the true role of sport in the social mechanisms. Confusion persists at the particular level of sport, although at a general level the argument was settled during the 1980s, with "inclusion" concerning the social arena as a whole and "integration" for the more specific realm of migrants' children, and corroborated by the creation of a Higher Council for Integration in 1990. One reason for the uncertainty may relate to the impossibility of distinguishing the categories involved, particularly "young people" and "children of migrants". This imprecision invalidates the integration of aliens through sport; admittedly it is more a matter of socialising a class of young people for whom the questions of ethnic affiliation hardly arise, less still because sport is a physical activity.

Bearing in mind this epistemological stumbling block, the terms "blending" or "ethnic mix" affords a possibility of overcoming the social/racial antithesis to enter a vaguer and more global cultural dimension.

Sports participation as a crucial aid to integration has been spoken of for two decades, whereas until then the process needed no words. The compulsion to express and portray it points to the doubts but, paradoxically, also to a certain resolve in a public mind eager to prove its effectiveness. Finding the remedies to social ills on the playing field is not a new principle. In the 1960s, in the interests of regenerating French sport according to General de Gaulle's request as soon as he resumed power in 1958, participation developed extensively, to give France the sporting elite it lacked, of course, but also to propose solutions for the alarming rise of juvenile delinquency,

especially that of the “leather jackets”. Sports clubs were thus the adjunct of holiday camps and the Catholic or lay sponsorships created from the late 19th century onwards, in training and controlling young people by emphasis on the body and nature in a community-oriented context.

3. Foreigners in French sport and the vitality of the republican model

Basing the analysis on the long term and on top-class athletes, the question of integration through sport sheds light on the trends of French society. Given the development of sport from the early 20th century onwards, it would not be misleading to say that France, more than its European neighbours, has been receptive to sports players of foreign origin.

Far from being the end result of a purposive policy, or even a strategy on the part of the populations concerned, it is rather a self-actuating phenomenon bearing witness to a dynamic quality of the republican model. Here the indicators are peculiar to the historians: participating in official competitions, playing with a club alongside French members and, still more convincingly, wearing the French national team’s jersey, are considered proof positive.

A good number of Italian and Polish migrant workers, and Armenian or Russian refugees, participated in one way or another in national matches between the two world wars, as did Portuguese, North African or Asian migrants after 1945. As well as these athletes we should mention, if speaking of ethnic mix, those from the colonies (natives and Europeans), excelling in certain disciplines such as boxing and athletics. Some sports of distinct popular appeal and accessibility with a universal presence in this respect, such as association football, are more readily played than others, like rugby, cycling, skiing, tennis, golf, riding or fencing, which are more chauvinistic or elitist.

The soccer ball is a barometer of the main migration movements, as the journalist Didier Braun has noted, saying that the French national football team puts the history of a century of immigration in a nutshell. National teams quickly counted in their ranks players with an immigrant background. Hector Cazenave (French-Uruguayan), defender in the great pre-war Sochaux team, was selected eight times for the national team. Gusti Jordan and Rudolph Hidden were Austrians who played for the French rugby eleven as from 1938 after being naturalised. Abdelkader Ben Bouali, born in Algeria, played for Sète, then Marseilles, and was selected for the national team in 1937. A star of the time, “Ignace” (real name Ignace Kowalczyk), the first French international of Polish origin in 1935, came to France with his parents after the First World War under an emigration convention signed between the two countries. The great football star Larbi Ben Barek, who played with the Blues from 1938 to 1954, came from Morocco and charmed the public.

During the 1950s, other footballers with a migrant background took similar courses, highlighted by national team selection, like Joseph Ujlaki who came from Hungary at a very early age, Rachid Mekloufi the technical master from Sétif and Roger Piantoni of Italian origin. But the Pole Raymond Kopa, after working down a mine for several years, was the one who had an exceptional career reflecting successful integration thanks to football: international player 45 times, ranked best player in the 1958 World Cup and winner of three European Cups with Real Madrid from 1957 to 1959, at a time when French football players did not go abroad.

Through the 1980s new talent appeared from elsewhere, such as Fernandez and Manuel Amoros, both of Spanish origin, Jean Tigana from Mali and above all Michel Platini of Italian descent – a landmark figure in French football who, after playing in Nancy and Saint-Etienne, became the dominator of play with Juventus Turin and the French national team.

The archives, giving professional football players the lion's share, tend to leave migrants' rank-and-file play in the shade, particularly in the setting of sports associations. Whether municipal, neighbourhood, corporate or ethnic like the Lusitanos at Saint-Maur comprising mainly Portuguese, or the AS Algérienne at Villeurbanne, they have enabled many migrants, above and beyond competition, to activate networks of social intercourse, ranging from intercultural encounter to get-togethers in one national group.

Locally, the talent or renown of some migrant sports players of good standard have extricated them from factory work and allowed them social advancement: jobs in town halls, salaried status as a sports activity leader or coach. Social history provides suitable tools for gauging the evolution of the process of integration through sport. By combining quantitative and qualitative approaches, with reference to association records in particular, it is possible to assess the forms of intercultural relations stimulated by amateur sport on a day-to-day basis.

The foreign presence in French sport, and still more the representation of France by players of foreign origin, scarcely arouses strong feeling; this state of affairs, arising both from France's tradition as a haven and from its colonial empire, is considered logical and natural.

But receptiveness no longer came naturally after the start of the 1980s; the world of sport was not spared from the crisis of national identity that made the question of immigration central to public debate. What is more, in the same period French sport was emerging from a lengthy slump. The dismay of public opinion, responsive to claims that migrants were inassimilable, found sport – like society as a whole – apparently no longer able to perform the integration which it had hitherto achieved. Doubts were therefore difficult to dispel; the periodical *L'Equipe*, eager to refresh the memory of the French, applied

itself to this task in 1986 during the hard-fought general election campaign, recalling the extent to which French sport had been a force of integration.

In this context the authorities, gradually awoken to the civic demands of the younger generation spawned by immigration, realised the full advantage that sport could have for applying a structured integration policy informed by past experience. Thus, at local level then at a national one, a concerted policy on integration through sport was put in place as from the 1990s, with efficient relays for its implementation in a very concentrated club network, presided over by the Agency for Education through Sport.

4. Conclusion

The concept of blending, in the glow of the French team's 1998 World Cup victory, found its place in sports vocabulary as a signifier of diversity in clubs and in national and regional selections. Far more than football alone, all disciplines are concerned to a more or less intense degree, depending on their popular support or lack of it, and on the culture which they convey. Multiple origins and complex careers are now a hallmark: handball, rugby, basketball as well as individual sports like athletics, judo and tennis have their champions stemming from diversity, who form the tip of an equally variegated iceberg of school and amateur sport. Thus sport is completely permeated by the question of the diversity which it vividly enacts.

Chapter 2

Intercultural dialogue in and through sport: associational practices

Introduction

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In May 2003, the Council of Europe recalled the “social value of sport for youth” while stressing its role in integration. According to its rapporteurs, “Sport is a human activity resting on fundamental social, educational and cultural values. It is a factor making for integration, involvement in social life, tolerance, acceptance of differences and playing by the rules.” The White Paper on Sport, drawn up in 2007 by the European Commission, proposes that actions be conducted in each EU country for “social inclusion by and through sport”. Member countries are asked to pay special attention to aiding the access of women originating from ethnic minorities to sports participation.²¹ In this context, with the stimulus of the European recommendations, many associations have for several years deployed socially oriented sport programmes in the working class districts of European cities.

Three types of association serve urban districts with sports activities in Europe: sports clubs of the traditional kind, affiliated with the sports movement and emphasising competitive sport; sport-for-inclusion associations, mainly pursuing the aims of integration, citizenship and training in social norms; socio-cultural associations, offering sport as part of their social, cultural or denominational activities. However, aside from their use of sport and common goal of cohesion or inclusion through sport, these associations can have different approaches.

According to the national paradigms of integration, these programmes are directed either at populations and ethnic communities deemed excluded or vulnerable, or at “territories of exclusion”. Depending on the national context, a sports club admitting chiefly minorities may or may not be considered a first step towards national integration. In Germany, for instance, “migrants’ integration through sport” became a specific programme of the *Deutscher Sportbund*, from 2006, encouraged by the Federal Ministry of the Interior. In France, however, the sports movement and associations for inclusion through sport carry on programmes in peri-urban areas, without specifically targeting immigrants. Since 2007, the French Olympic Committee (CNOSF) has targeted all young people in sensitive urban areas, irrespective of their ethnic or cultural background. The United Kingdom, epitomising European multiculturalism, has framed community management and equal opportunity policies deployed both in the public sector and in the club sector of the sports

21. Commission Staff Working Document, Action Plan “Pierre de Coubertin”, accompanying documents to the White Paper on Sport, Commission of the European Communities, Brussels, 11.7.2007.

movement. Finally, Norway and the Netherlands allocate financial grants to sports associations that run multicultural projects, motivated by the idea that social integration will be achieved by drawing minorities into these projects.

The texts presented in this chapter illustrate how associations further equal access for all, irrespective of gender, to sports participation. The Council of Europe recommendations have prompted an observable tendency towards the gradual evening out of disparities in the structures for education through sport operated by associations. A transversal view of national sports programmes for education through sport in Europe also indicates diverse responses as to the way in which sports and community movements use sport to rebuild a social bond, actuate dialogue between cultures, pacify neighbourhoods and include migrants in society.

Invitation for integration

– Sports associations and their chances

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1. Introduction

Integration means the experience that different ways of living and traditions are not inconsistent with the equal participation of all citizens in social processes in society.

The aim of organised sport is to involve the non-native population group in sports clubs as a part of the native society. Integration and participation should not mean assimilation, but a permanent communication and learning about each other's common foundations and rules in a society. This is an ongoing process and needs the eternal support of the society. It requires a comprehensive awareness raising (intercultural sensitisation) for all parts of the population living in a single society, especially in sports.

Integration can't be focused only on the non-native population group. Integration also demands the active participation of the native society.

Organised sport has to develop strategies for participation for non-native people, as well as promoting the understanding of each other's cultural stories, thereby giving access to communicative conflict solutions.

The richness of a social structure is its diversity – this is also valid for sport and its organisations. More than any other section of society, sport offers its members the opportunity for different individual developments, as well as diverse possibilities for social learning and a platform for intercultural encounters. The contacts between different social groups in sports are both regular and intensive. The social status of minorities in sport is equal, because the actions of the athletes are focused towards a common goal. But that only happens in situations where people are practising sports together. Competitive sport is less supportive in terms of intercultural learning.

After establishing a definition of integration through sport, this article will give a short overview about the structure of sport and its potential for integration in Germany.

Using past experiences, possible approaches to define the requirements for intercultural learning trainers will be presented in order to launch further discussions.

2. The German context and the current integration policy

More than 27 million people belong to more than 91 000 sports clubs in Germany. This is about 33% of the entire German population, that means every third male and every fourth female is a member of a sports club and taking exercise. The German Olympic Sports Confederation is the biggest umbrella organisation, with 97 member organisations. The associations are organised in three groups: 16 state sports associations, 61 federal Olympic and non-Olympic associations and 20 associations with a special remit, for example, the University Sports Association.

This structure is equipped with a tremendous number of people working on a voluntary basis, for example as board members or consultants.

The motto is: Sport for all!

There are two major sectors in sport – competitive sports and leisure sports.

The leisure sports sector is open to every person in society. That means sports not only for talented people, but for everybody. For healthy, sick, old, young, handicapped, male, female people – nearly every kind of sport is available, on a regular basis, at a reasonable price. Different kinds of sport on offer range from traditional individual and team sports and also new games and sports from other countries.

Sports clubs get financial support from the federal government and from the regional authority. They use the money for building gymnasiums, outdoor sports fields and for maintaining these sports facilities. The sports associations support the further education of sport trainers and coaches and work on the qualitative education of trainers in the 91 000 plus sports clubs.

Germany has 82 million inhabitants, of whom more than 15 million have a migrational background. This corresponds to 18.4% of the total population. In addition to the 15 million people with a migrational background who are already living in Germany at present, we will have another 10 million with a migrational background, according to latest prognostications. These current and predicted developments have led to the effect that the topic of integration has become an inherent part of political planning, even in sports. (DOSB, Lecture, 2008).

The challenges for society and for the non-native population are based on different aspects. The dangers of ethnic segregation and a failure of integration are particularly strong, which leads to uncertain social positions. Non-native people are more often jeopardised by unemployment, and it is, in particular, the poorer strata of the population who will face more difficulties in terms of access to social systems, such as health care, educational establishments and organised sport, for reasons including the language barrier. There is a need to overcome this barrier in order to facilitate access to local networks and communities for non-native people, which is – after all – the pre-condition for

a successful integration and for social protection. The number of non-native people within organised sport is lower than that within the native population. There are also significant differences between the men and women as members of sports clubs. While men in football clubs, for example, are quite highly organised, the non-native female population in sports clubs is plainly less organised.

3. The programme “Integration through sport”

Sport, as it is understood in Germany, has a high socio-political responsibility and it takes this responsibility seriously and in a practical way. As in many other areas, sport is an integral part of integration work.

The German Olympic Sports Confederation has made the issue of integration of immigrants a special working area in their associations and has developed diverse activities to this effect. The programme of integration through sport, co-ordinated by the German Olympic Sports Confederation and supported by the federal government, is based in every statewide sports organisation. In this programme, there are people working as co-ordinators in all states, and also special “cultural agents”, who work in clubs with and for the people who are not familiar with the structure of the country or with the sports structure.

The idea of the leisure sports movement in Germany is to increase the chances of participating within the sports structure. Here are some different ways of taking part:

- as an official on a voluntary basis, who has the opportunity to decide about the sports on offer in a club, or on the target groups that will be focused on in a sports club;
- as a paid trainer;
- as a member, who pays a small fee and can take part in every kind of sport.

Four years ago, the integration through sport programme also started a further education curriculum in intercultural learning in sports, for native and non-native people who are committed to a sports club, like members, trainers, cultural agents, coaches or board members.

4. What constitutes good association practice, ensuring citizenship and equality of access to sports, irrespective of cultural differences?

First of all, written guidelines should specify the criteria for active integration and managing diversity within a sports association. These criteria have to be discussed among the members of an organisation, in general assemblies and in meetings.

Education programmes within sports organisations should set up training courses for intercultural learning for all stakeholders of a sports club. Individual histories – in terms of prejudices, fears and knowledge about foreign people – should be taken into account and worked with.

There should be a culture of openness and tolerance towards cultural differences. This can only be created by meeting and communicating with others. The openness and trust which is needed require courage, curiosity and engagement.

5. How is the intercultural dialogue built in and through sports?

Sport is a really important medium for creating an effective intercultural dialogue. We have to differentiate between competitive and leisure sports. It is easier to achieve intercultural dialogue without a principle of competitiveness.

Space, time, fun, inviting new people, moving together with pre-existing or newly created rules, can loosen people up and initiate encounters. People get new and different impressions of people with different cultural backgrounds and have the chance to adjust their attitudes towards them.

Dialogue is supported by sporting education programmes (for everyone in a sports organisation) which deal with intercultural learning. Sensitisation towards cultural differences is encouraged with questions like the definition of culture, how culture is built, reflecting your own culture, being aware of how prejudices evolve, broadening tolerance towards ambiguity and learning to find solutions within conflict situations.

6. Conclusion

What kinds of answers can the sports movement provide when facing differential temptation?

The following solutions can help to encourage integration:

- To ensure the people (women and men in equal numbers) who work in sport organisations as trainers, coaches, cultural agents, board members are from different cultural backgrounds. They will be role models for their ethnic groups and represent the interests and needs of these groups.
- To offer education programmes in sports so people from different ethnic groups can learn about the concept of sport and discuss it in their country.
- To provide cultural agents to support people, who are new to a country. To translate, to consult, to explain the idea of sport and the structures around sport in the country. To take people to sports clubs and to introduce and accompany them (personal support).

- To install mono-ethnic sport clubs with small member fees and sport courses as a way to start learning about the idea of sport and the way a country's sport and society is structured. Sport courses in these clubs offer an experience of leisure sport in their mother tongue. Being aware that people new to a country have to learn about everything new at once. This is very demanding. These clubs are necessary for gradual access and well-being. These experiences can enable people with different cultural backgrounds to take part and integrate in native sport clubs over time.

What does it need to invite and keep women from different ethnic groups in particular focused towards sporting activities?

There is a need for female as well as male trainers who care about people from different backgrounds and who have time for the process of welcoming people, getting to know each other, of building bridges and trust, who are capable of creating an atmosphere of authenticity. For successful integration, organised sport has to make human resources available.

We have to look at the domestic circumstances of women from different migration backgrounds. Often they look after the children and family and work during the day and at night. They have less time and energy for sports. In this context we have to create easy access to:

- childcare during sports sessions;
- sports courses as a work benefit;
- lower fees for socially disadvantaged members;
- translation services and sufficient time to take sports courses;
- promoting sports courses – word of mouth has great potential;
- creating new points of access for non-native women, like combining sport courses with outside education classes, such as language courses, nutrition consultation or interview training.

The idea and goal is to appreciate sport and movement and to convince non-native women and men to integrate sport in their lives.

In Germany there is a saying, which goes: "Everyone should be motivated to take exercise for life!"

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Sport, an ideal complement to traditional educational institutions

Emmanuel Antz, Association Unis vers le sport, Strasbourg, France

Integration and education through sport are terms that should be handled with care. The mere fact of involving children in a sports activity is not enough to further their education and personal development.

Sport, supervised by an instructor worthy of the name, and aimed at children whose parents fulfil their role of upbringing and move in what could be called a “normal” social and family context, can indeed help enhance skills in community living for example, and the child’s development generally.

On the other hand, when dealing with children from difficult neighbourhoods, different cultural backgrounds, or with a family environment unfavourable to their development, sports participation as such is no longer sufficient.

1. Sport in aid of social bonding in urban districts

The association Unis vers le sport was formed in October 2001, in order to implement programmes of education and inclusion through sport in the “sensitive” districts of Strasbourg and its region, where it carries on educational projects combining school support, cultural activities and recreational sport.

Sport as a means of personal development, empowerment, linkage of districts and a motivating force in civic life: that is the message which the association wishes to convey to young people often lacking signposts.

In an international context, Unis vers le sport in partnership with UNESCO inaugurated an education centre in Mali in 2008, where a large number of children every year benefit from tutoring to improve their school achievement level and daily sports and cultural activities.

At its inception, the chief objective of our facility was to contribute strictly to projects for developing educative sports participation in “developing” countries.

After actioning a delivery of sports equipment to Senegal and Mali, we sent volunteers to the same locations with the task of imparting their knowhow in the field of sports education.

But the association’s real ideological and political watershed came after organising a youth project in Mali, where we took some 15 adolescents

living in the sensitive Meinau and Neuhof districts of Strasbourg who had a reputation of being hard to handle. The project had multiple objectives:

- To enlist young people in a project of solidarity during a period that was already socially troubled, especially in the rough neighbourhoods, in order to make them aware that, despite their difficulties, they could make themselves useful to others.
- Making them aware (without discounting their genuine problems) that other adolescents living in underprivileged countries also had difficulties, most of them having a difficult future course mapped out for them.
- For these projects of solidarity, often characterised by emotionally charged encounters, to be as rewarding in human terms for them as for us.

After a three-week stay with the young people under makeshift conditions, the results far exceeded our expectations.

Work on renovating the local sports facilities was completed on schedule, but above all, commitment to the project was total on the part of the young participants – among whom the ostensibly hardest cases proved the most conscientious workers and the least difficult regarding their conduct.

Though we were unacquainted with the problems of mass housing districts, the project taught us that even difficult young people, once offered a motivating venture, were no worse than others and full of initiative and energy.

Consequently, in 2004 we decided to launch educational and sport-oriented projects locally, defining them with the values we appreciated in sport such as solidarity, respect, pleasure and surpassing oneself.

Our association thus wished to adopt a stance complementing the traditional educational and sports institutions. The main aim of our projects was to use sport as a source of motivation for young people having trouble at school, or at home, thereby instilling in them the high-minded values of sport, which would enable them to develop fully in our society.

2. The “Diambars Attitude” project

Unis vers le sport endeavours to take all these educational and social issues into account in its various projects and notably its programme “Diambars Attitude” initiated in 2008.

Each year, we have taken charge of a number of pupils beginning at lower secondary level (about 11 years old), who have various difficulties, and, on the whole, little or no inclination to do schoolwork. Some have arrived in France very recently and display problems not so much of motivation but more often of expression or adaptation to an unknown environment and culture.

All the boys and girls (the intake is mixed) participate weekly in school support activities initially, followed by sports activities. As part of this project, we liaise

with the schools and the parents continually, in order to provide individual, personalised follow-up as a core component of the project.

At the end of each term, a trip away is planned for young people who have shown significant progress in their behaviour and school achievement.

Thus they are able to attend international sporting events held all over France. For example, the group went to Paris to tour the capital and visit the natural history museum before seeing the French national football team play a match in the Stade de France.

In addition to these activities and with a view to broadening the minds of our charges (besides getting them out of their district), we also offer them monthly visits to cultural sites or locales exhibiting other art forms.

Various educational and instructional tools are used by our special educators. For example, all pupils have a kind of "driving licence" with which to gain or lose good conduct points, depending on how they behave in our programme and at school.

By actively participating in an act of solidarity or of "general benefit", they have the opportunity to recover points.

Only those who have displayed regular attendance and behavioural and academic improvement are invited to attend the end-of-term outings.

To end the year, the whole intake goes somewhere in the vicinity of Bassin d'Arcachon for an eco-civic and sports camp including beginner's instruction in surfing and learning to appreciate the local environment and ecosystem.

Solidarity is another essential underlying value of our association cultivated through this project. Throughout the year, the children in our care take part in actions of solidarity such as taking people with disabilities out for walks.

On occasion they also perform actions of public service like spring-cleaning the forest that borders their neighbourhood.

The goal is for them to realise that, despite their difficulties, they can be useful to others and to the community, but also their gaining awareness that other people are also subject to great difficulties making it harder, or impossible, for them to achieve fulfilment in our society.

Each young person is catered for over three or four years under the programme, and the ultimate goal is to take them for a stay at the Unis vers le sport education centre in Mali, with solidarity as the keynote. A pen pal arrangement has been made between young people of about the same age in Mali and in Strasbourg who share their experiences through the year.

Admittedly the subjects of discussion and other concerns of existence are not the same in different continents, but therein lies the whole wealth and interest of the exchange.

After a full year of operation, the early outcomes are making themselves felt and are proving quite encouraging. The schools, through the agency of their guidance counsellors, have reported significant progress in some individuals to us. Not that school achievement, for example, has become outstanding as a result, since most participants started off with major deficiencies, particularly in written expression. For some, the mere fact of doing their homework and keeping a neat exercise book is already regarded as progress, so that some detachment and relativism are to be adopted in assessing the real impact on pupils.

One of the greatest difficulties in this project is the relationship with parents. We try to meet them regularly to inform them how their child is developing. Some play the game, others distinctly less so. We have observed that some have abdicated responsibility and unburdened themselves of their role of upbringing, completely overwhelmed by their own personal problems. In the absence of a strong relationship with them, the educational impact on the children proves weaker.

3. Conclusion

In conclusion, both at our education centre in Mali and under the projects which we conduct in the Strasbourg area, we naturally propound sports education but, above all, a more general education placing schoolwork first as the fundamental factor of education (after the parents). Playing sport, on the other hand, if taught the right way, serves as a perfect complement to the more traditional institutions of the family and state education for transmitting the civic values indispensable to personal fulfilment in our society.

Intercultural dialogue through sport: where are we, and where do we need to go?

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1. Introduction

Sport is a popular tool and sector in the discussions on integration and intercultural dialogue.

From a political point of view, sport, in terms of its structures and settings, is often referred to and preferred as an important solution to the major challenge of creating intercultural dialogue and enabling integration processes in European societies. However, the popularity and the preferences for using sport in this context is not always enough to secure successful interventions and results.²³

To understand the current situation and future recommendations for creating intercultural dialogue and integration through sport, it is useful to identify some of the trends and characteristics of the scene today. First, interventions and activities are mainly being planned and implemented at micro level (local and national level) without any overall strategies or policies being thought out or put into motion. Secondly, interventions and outcomes are often described through “good practices” rather than through an evidence-based documentation. Thirdly, the voluntary based structures and commitments of civil society organisations (sports associations, clubs, etc.) are often the settings in which the intercultural interventions are being implemented. Fourthly, the existing interventions are often “challenge oriented” (social inclusion or anti-racism), and/or “target group oriented”. Finally, it can be pointed out that the “intercultural learning dimension” of sports mainly resides in non-formal and informal learning settings and processes.

These characteristics indicate the complexities of the current situation. An elaboration of these points is, however, necessary in order to construct a more complete image of both the strengths and weaknesses of the current situation.

22. MSc Social sport science and International politics.

23. Statement from the author.

2. Characteristics of intercultural dialogue and integration through sport

a. Micro-level implementation without overall strategies and assumptions rather than evidence-based documentation

As far as the first and second characteristics are concerned, Europe can well serve as an example. Across Europe, a myriad of local projects within the field of intercultural dialogue through sport are being implemented. The projects are often locally grounded and based on short-term initiatives, with local or national political and financial support. Only a few countries have implemented significant long-term national strategic programmes and projects, such as the German project "Integration through Sport".²⁴

The political, financial and organisational support in this field is primarily based on the assumption that sport promotes social integration. This assumption is political and generally supported by the European citizens who feel the same way. Results of a Eurobarometer analysis²⁵ show that almost three in four EU citizens (73%) view sport as a means of promoting integration of immigrant populations. However, such claims about the use of sport are rarely made with the support of evidence or detailed analysis of how such goals might be achieved.²⁶

b. Civil society organisations: the settings in which the intercultural interventions are being implemented

With regard to the third characteristic of the overview of the current situation, in which civil society organisations are described as the framework within which the intercultural interventions are being implemented, it remains clear that civil society organisations are traditional "doers". Therefore, they are often recognised as providing practical settings for using sport as a tool for intercultural dialogue. Civil society organisations – in this case primarily sports associations with grassroots and social sport perspectives – are mainly organised through the commitment and contribution of volunteers at leadership, management and instructor/trainer levels. The typical NGO management culture is driven by motivation, action and initiatives in flexible settings. They

24. "Integration durch Sport" is a long-term national project implemented by the German Sports Confederation (Deutscher Olympischer Sportbund, DOSB) in co-operation with and supported by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Germany. The project has been running for more than 15 years and has been revised during the project period. For more information visit www.integration-durch-sport.de.

25. *The Citizens of the European Union and Sport*, Fieldwork October/November 2004, published November 2004.

26. *Sport and Multiculturalism*, PMP, in partnership with the Institute of Sport and Leisure Policy, Loughborough University, August 2004, p.19.

are not built upon evidence-based analysis and management. In this way, the “doer level” – the sport associations – directly reflect the political level as they act on assumptions, although the assumptions are based upon personal practical evidence. In a voluntary “doer” organisation, energy is thus mostly put into the activities at hand, with no, or very little, externally originated documentation. The attitude is: “We do it because we know it works.”

Many sports organisations are involved with the question of intercultural dialogue and integration through sport, and this involvement is most likely to increase. In other words, integration and cultural dialogue through sport is on the agenda of the European sports organisations.²⁷ However, only a few organisations are at a certain level of involvement with regard to their work on integration through sport. In other words, integration through sport is on the agenda, but much has yet to be achieved.

In voluntary-based NGOs, such as sports associations, a certain level of involvement is important in order to:

- create an internal and external profile;
- be internally and externally recognised; and
- attract the human and financial resources – for which a certain level of activity is required.

c. Interventions challenge or target group oriented

In relation to the fourth characteristic, concerning the focal points of the interventions, which seem either “challenge oriented” or “target group” oriented, different categories and examples of specific target groups can be described. The major challenges dealt with in the interventions and projects within the sport sector are:

- social inclusion and empowerment of excluded or marginalised individuals and groups;
- combating racism and xenophobia;
- post-war reconciliation.

Within these categories, many local projects have general or very specific target groups and focuses:

- cultural focus – for example, working with inclusion of immigrants from different cultures;
- age group focus – for example, children or young people;
- gender focus.

27. Approximately 70 million Europeans are members of, or directly related to, a sports association, club, etc. (see Maarten van Bottenburg, Bas Rijnen and Jacco van Sterkenburg, *Sport participation in the European Union: Trends and differences*, Mulier Institute, April 2005.

d. Intercultural cultural learning through sport: an informal learning process

The fifth and final main characteristic of the current situation with regard to intercultural dialogue through sport is that of the “inter-cultural learning dimension”, which is mainly based on non-formal and informal learning-settings and processes. This characteristic points to the fact that, although many intercultural interventions and projects through sports are based on generally accepted assumptions and claims, a need remains to qualify the discussion concerning the learning processes that take place within activities concerning intercultural dialogue through sport. I would argue that it takes more than sport and physical activities to facilitate relevant and valuable intercultural dialogue. To enhance the effectiveness of the activities, it takes:

- an objective beyond the sport activity;
- an educative perspective;²⁸ and
- settings where the educative perspective is transformed into action.

The educative outcomes for projects of intercultural dialogue are mostly non-formal and informal learning processes.²⁹ These processes operate well within frameworks such as associations, groups and families and are central learning processes in civil society organisations. In this regard, it is important to stress that learning processes are very different from campaigns, where simple messages are promoted to a broad audience. Campaigns are popular instruments, which also fall within the framework of intercultural dialogue, however the impact of such campaigns is hardly verified. Experiences from other areas, where sport is used as a tool for changing behaviour (for example, promotion of active and healthy lifestyles) show that the impact and effects are clearly related to sufficient and efficient settings. In other words, general campaigns with simple messages and slogans are not effective in themselves. If campaigns are conducted, therefore, they should be closely linked to operations and activities in practical and local settings.

28. Education for sport develops technical competences. This is normally linked to well-defined disciplines of competitive sport. Education by sport uses bodily activity instrumentally in order to obtain certain social goals such as ethnic reconciliation, people’s health or social integration. Education through sport is a way of bodily practice, which creates existential learning between human beings. Popular sport is personal development by bodily encounter, it is “schooling for life” and for creating trust. Here, education is a way of enabling the human being, of encouragement of practice, of people’s empowerment. Source: *Education through Sport: Towards an International Academy of Sport for All*, ISCA 2004, edited by Henning Eichberg in co-operation with Herbert Hartmann, Grant Jarvie, Eigil Jespersen, Jerzy Kosiewicz, Nancy Midol and Tomaz Pavlin.

29. *Pathways towards validation and recognition of Education, Training and Learning in the field of Youth*, Council of Europe and European Commission, 2004.

3. Conclusions and recommendations

Within integration, intercultural dialogue and sport today, most actions take place at a micro-level. At the micro-level there are operational settings, such as sports associations and other types of civil society organisations, which help facilitate the activities within this area. However, local initiatives can clearly benefit from structural, advisory and inspirational support from national and international levels.

To help meet this end, I would propose the following range of recommendations:

- The current trend for increasing attention towards these issues among civil society organisations and sports associations can be strengthened through long-term national programmes and back-up systems for local initiatives.
- These long-term national programmes can create substantial support to local initiatives through conceptual support, management guidance, intercultural learning, networking, inspiration and financial support.
- The creation of partnerships between GO (national or municipality level) and NGO sectors should be stressed.
- International co-operation is also relevant and useful for European-scale challenges – operational organisations and institutions are already available for this purpose. To support this, a transfer of knowledge at both political and implementation level should have special focus.
- National long-term programmes with interventions could beneficially receive cross-border inspiration from European events, networks and co-operation.
- Council of Europe and EU programmes could facilitate national strategies and local interventions.
- European and national campaigns should be directly connected with local implementation settings to increase the effects.
- Focus should reside on realistic overall goals. The participants involved should be aware of the limitations of the tools and settings and accept that results are based on long-term interventions and commitments.
- Finally, actions supported by evidence-based best practices and experiences should be promoted. Evidence is always more trustworthy than assumptions and claims.

Chapter 3

Cultural diversity and sports education policies: responses of local and regional authorities in Europe

Concepts of multiculturalism, interculturalism and their relationship to sports policy

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This introduction is addressed at mapping out policy options in the field of sport and cultural dialogue. This short chapter draws on a study of the then 25 member states which I and colleagues (Amara, Aquilina, Henry, and PMP Consultants 2004) undertook in 2004, on behalf of the EU. One of the significant challenges which this task presented was how to categorise the different policy approaches adopted. In most cases there was little explanation of what the policy goals were of such projects and how they related to policies of integration, multiculturalism and the like. The task of establishing how effective such policies might be inevitably therefore required an account of the competing philosophies of multiculturalism.

In the literature on multiculturalism and policy, perhaps the commonest distinction made is between policies of integration on the one hand and assimilation on the other. "Integration" in this context is defined as the process whereby a minority group adapts itself to a majority society and is accorded equality of rights and treatment; while the term "assimilation" is used in relation to the "absorption" of ethnic minority and immigrant population cultures into the cultures and practices of the host society. Assimilation thus implies both "acculturation" in the adoption of mainstream cultural norms, and "deculturation", the gradual loss of indigenous cultural distinctiveness.

Different concepts of integration and/or assimilation are bound up with the way that different states understand national identity, and these concepts are a product of the processes of nation-building, democratisation, and the experience of international relations, particularly colonial and post-colonial relations. Although the study was of all 25 member states, a decision was taken to focus in detail on France, Germany, Poland and the UK, based on the historically distinctive core concepts of national identity and citizenship with which three at least of these states have traditionally been associated.

The origins of modern French thought in relation to national identity derive from the French Revolution, with the replacement of allegiance to a monarchy with the voluntary adoption of republican values of freedom and equality. Nationalism was an expression of the willingness of groups with differing cultural, linguistic, religious or ethnic backgrounds to accept a common political project, guaranteeing universal rights for all. Acceptance of the political

project, however, also required acceptance of norms of citizenship, organised around a secular and unified notion of French identity.

While the French notion of a national culture depends upon shared political will, the German tradition of nationalism, stemming from Herder and Fichte, emphasises nationhood as shared culture, language and ethos. While shared culture was a product of political nationalism for the French, in the German tradition political nationalism was seen as the natural consequence of a shared national culture. Until relatively recently, the naturalisation of non-Germans (such as the Turkish minority) was an exception to the rule, though social rights (such as access to welfare services) were widely available to immigrant groups. Thus social citizenship rights (rather than political rights of being a German national) were what was available to such groups.

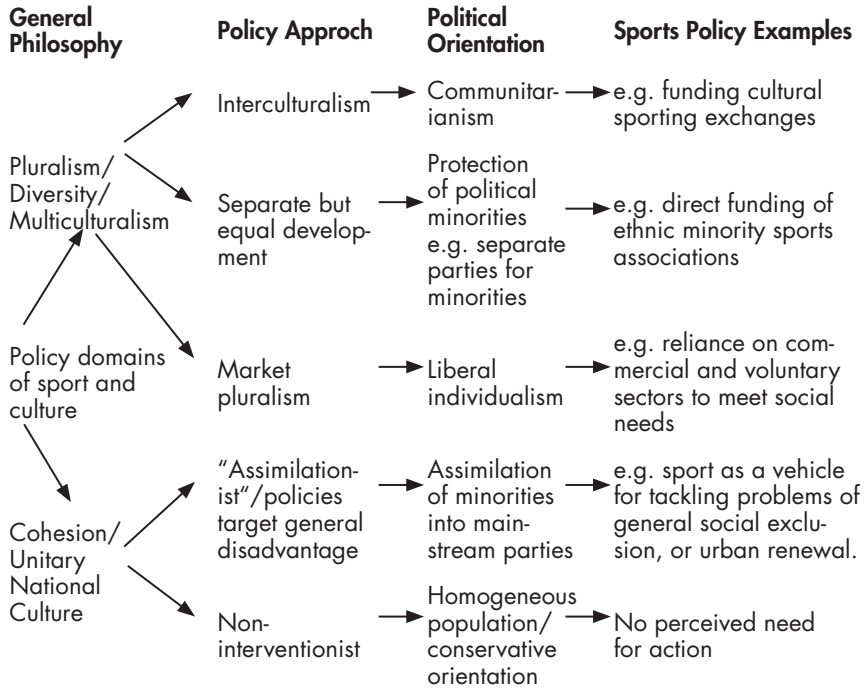
The implication of both of these views of national identity is that “foreign” cultures should not be “accommodated” within the national culture but rather should be assimilated.

In contrast to these two models, the concept of multiculturalism is most clearly associated with the liberal pluralist state which promotes the individual freedoms of its members, fostering the potential for cultural diversity. The existence of national minorities within the borders of the UK state may well have fostered cultural pluralism, but the colonial experience and the associated notion of British subjecthood also fuelled such pluralism with Commonwealth immigrants (at least until the late 1960s) having the right to British citizenship. Political rights in the British context were thus the product, not of hereditary membership of a particular group (as in the German case), or of the voluntary political adherence to the nation (as in the French case), but rather by reference to territorial residence.

While the political circumstances of contemporary Britain, France and Germany may well have shifted from these traditional positions, with the liberalisation of naturalisation rights particularly for second and third generation “foreign” inhabitants in Germany, and the tightening of access to citizenship in Britain, one might nevertheless expect to see a residual propensity to adopt multicultural or integrationist policy stances in Britain with a parallel assimilationist tendency on the part of the German and French states.

The Polish context is somewhat different. Social organisation and thus questions of nationality and citizenship were constructed under very different circumstances and under the communist system, the importance of immigration, ethnicity and of national minorities was minimised. Poland, like other acceding states, was still in the process of working through its approach to citizenship. However, in drawing up its new internal administrative boundaries the significance of national minorities was recognised.

Figure 1 – Ideal Typical Representation of Sport/Cultural Policy Orientations



This schematic representation of the different approaches to national identity and citizenship is significant for the discussion of multiculturalism and sport, and Figure 1 maps out the development of sports policy for minorities onto these competing notions of integration and assimilation and the traditions of national identity and citizenship.

This figure highlights five policy approaches, three of which might be most closely associated with pluralism and multiculturalism and two with assimilationist concerns with social cohesion and a unitary national culture. In each of these policy approaches I want to tease out the values which underpin them, their relationship to mainstream political values and programmes, and their implications for sports policy.

The first of the pluralist approaches is that of interculturalism, a situation which describes the equal valuation placed on cultures which are brought together to produce a new cultural mix. Such a cultural approach is consistent with the politics of communitarianism (Etzioni 1993; Tam 1998). This political position values, amongst other things, diversity as a cultural and political resource.

A typical sports policy associated with such thinking would be the promotion of cultural interchange between sporting groups.

The second of the pluralist approaches refers to what French commentators refer to in a pejorative manner as *communautarisme*, meaning separate but equal development. Such a philosophy is evident in political terms in the protection of political minorities, for example in providing reserved parliamentary seats as quotas. In sports policy terms, this approach would be apparent in a policy of funding ethnic minority sports associations.

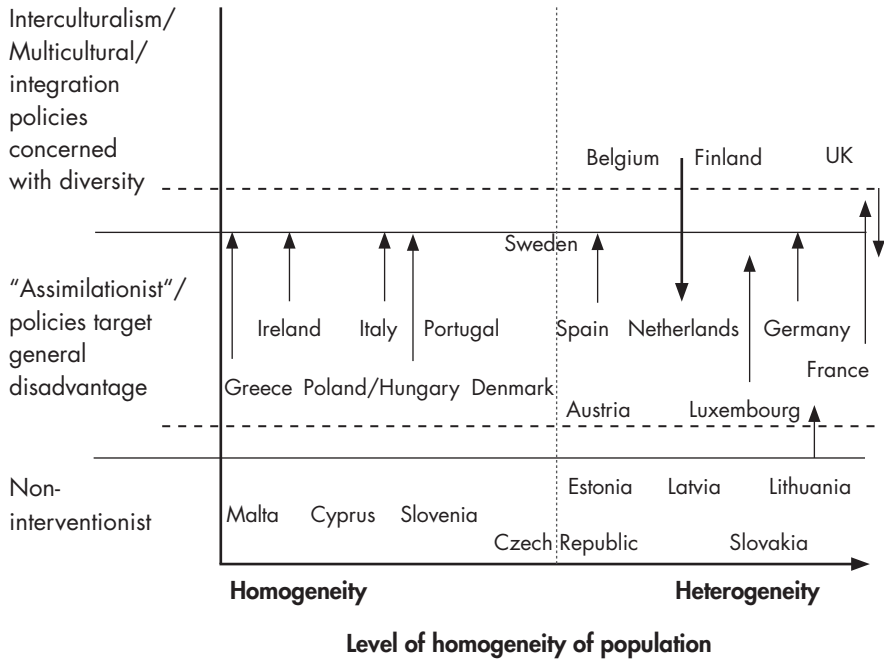
The final multicultural policy approach might be termed "market pluralism", associated with the classical liberal individualism of the Anglo-Saxon model of the state. Sports policy in such a context would involve the fostering of commercial and voluntary sectors as the optimal deliverers of diversity in sporting opportunity.

The first of the two "unitary" policy approaches is described as assimilationist, in that policies are targeted at general conditions (such as social exclusion) and not at serving the needs of particular ethnic minorities. The political orientation associated with this philosophy sees the absorption of minorities into mainstream parties and of minority interests into mainstream policy programmes. Sports policy approaches consistent with this approach address generalist problems, such as the use of sport in combating social exclusion, rather than focusing on specific target groups.

The final policy approach, non-intervention, stems from the perception by politicians of a homogeneous population. Politics in such contexts may tend to be conservative, as is also the case with sports policies, since with a homogeneous population there will be little perceived need for targeted policy developments.

Having mapped out these five ideal types, this allowed us to identify broadly where the policy approaches in relation to sport and multiculturalism of individual nation states of the EU might be located. Figure 2 summarises the results of this process. The figure is organised around two dimensions. On the horizontal axis is the level of homogeneity of the population. This is assessed qualitatively rather than operationalised quantitatively because of the difficulties of finding common bases for conceptualisation and measurement. The vertical axis assigns countries to the categories of multicultural/intercultural, or assimilationist policy. Here again some caution in interpretation has to be exercised, since as Christina Boswell (2003) argues, positions on multiculturalism and assimilation "should not be seen as unified or fixed". Arrows upwards or downwards in Figure 2 imply a tendency for movement towards a change in policy orientation.

Figure 2 – Ideal Typical Location of National Sports Policies for Minorities



With reference to Figure 2, the first group of countries in the upper right hand box have actively embraced (at least in terms of policy rhetoric) multicultural policies and have culturally diverse populations, and indeed two of the three (Belgium and Finland) have two official languages. However, in many respects, this multicultural philosophy is under pressure.

The second group of countries fall in the middle segment on the right-hand side of the diagram, having culturally diverse populations but a history of largely assimilationist thinking. An example from this category is the case of France. Heterogeneous by virtue of immigration, but also with national minorities (Corsican, Basque, Catalan, Breton, Romany), the dominant philosophy is, as we have argued, assimilationist, so policy measures in all domains will be seen as “general” in their target, rather than specifically focusing on given minorities. However, the spatial or social concentration of ethnic minorities in particular contexts (parts of the city, or among groups such as *les jeunes en difficulté*) means that services may be, de facto, delivered largely to ethnic minority elements by virtue of their spatial or social concentration. Lionel Arnaud (1999) illustrates this point excellently in his book *Politiques Sportives et Minoritiés Ethniques* (1999). In general, however, if not in sporting terms, we can see some movement in the direction of multiculturalism in French society.

The third group of countries in the middle left-hand segment of the figure are those with relatively homogeneous populations, but which have adopted some assimilationist policies in sport for ethnic minorities. Both Poland and Hungary in their post-communist guises have given greater attention to issues of multiculturalism, though both are relatively homogeneous (in both cases ethnic minorities make up around 3% of the total population). Both governments have shown some willingness to promote multicultural initiatives in education and culture.

The fourth group of countries, made up of the three small states of Malta, Cyprus and Slovenia, declare themselves as relatively homogeneous, though membership of the EU may add to immigration pressures. Cyprus is something of a special case.

The final group of countries is made up of former eastern bloc states, with relatively heterogeneous populations, but with little or no intervention in relation to sports policy for ethnic minorities. There is nevertheless some variation between states.

In this section of the presentation I have sought first to map out the philosophies concerning multiculturalism, citizenship and national identity and subsequently to clarify the policy implications of those philosophies for sports policy. Secondly, I have sought to evaluate where individual states sit within such a policy map. Without such conceptual "ground clearing", I would argue, it becomes impossible to evaluate policy approaches adopted by various bodies, since the same policy outcome may be evaluated negatively by some (for example those concerned with achieving assimilation) while being viewed positively by others (those concerned with achieving multicultural integration) because of their different policy philosophies and goals. The following sections will move on from the "big picture" to consider the detail of local projects and what they might seek to achieve.

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Sports provision for Strasbourg's residential districts

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1. The social policies of sport in the French context

In France, official policies on sport for migrant populations are absent as such, but there are "urban" policies or "anti-exclusion" policies aimed not at applying positive discrimination but at fighting the effects of discrimination (social, gender-based, ethnic, disability-related, etc.). In the case of sport, official policy instruments for sports promotion, or for integration, are directed at districts, areas or populations beset with social problems, not at constituted groups or ethnic minorities. The principles of the French Republic affirm that France integrates individuals – considered citizens – not communities, whether ethnic, gender-specific or religious.

Thus, at the local government level (town, *département* and region), a territorial point of penetration determines the approach to policies on sport provision. Neighbourhoods belonging to the sensitive urban areas are the priority beneficiaries of actions for sport appreciation and facilitation offered by municipalities, usually in partnership with clubs. This purposive approach helps offer neighbourhood activities to residents, and they value these services.

Sport since the early 1980s has become a true societal phenomenon.

Sports participation today reaches all strata of the population, with these features:

- The educative dimensions linked with the school system and the competitive dimensions linked with organised sport have long influenced official local policies on sport.
- The emergence of recreational sport has considerably altered the local government approach to sport. Indeed, new audiences have appeared, imbued with the idea of healthy sport conducive to the individual's harmonious development.

This transformation of present-day sport has brought about a behaviour modification in the citizen sport players. Atomisation of demand, influenced by the consumer society, has produced a societal pattern of zapping from one provider to another, which is difficult to control through official structures and the sports movement.

Sport has its roots at the local level, with two protagonists – the clubs and the local authorities – as the foundations of French organised sport. After households, the latter are plainly the leading financiers of French sport. This interventionism of the public sphere is unique to France compared to the other countries of (especially western) Europe.

Combined educational and sports policies are henceforth typified by their pluralism. Accordingly, the educational field is placed under the responsibility of the state education service, while the competitive field is covered by the sports movement, specifically the clubs. Finally, the recreational field is often assigned to local government, municipalities in particular.

2. The city of Strasbourg's social action through sport

Strasbourg's action in the third dimension above stems from a purposive long-term approach with a capacity to cater for the changes in demand.

The operational fields of Strasbourg's municipal action are chiefly:

- leisure and spare time;
- health and physical well-being;
- children's and young people's development;
- social prevention and inclusion.

Two sectors have been classified as priority:

- the first is centred on recreation for all groups, in step with societal evolution,
- the other is more focused on the child's development.

During the school year, Strasbourg's approach to sports provision for the residential districts is organised around the following schemes:

- gymnasium activities – 9 000 young people involved, benefiting from 195 hours per week of training periods in gymnasiums;
- assistance under the local educational contract – 25 sessions per week;
- reception of outdoor classes at Baggersee beach – 2 800 pupils per year;
- senior citizen activities;
- activities for people with disabilities;
- water sports facility;
- adventure playground;
- school swimming classes – 17 000 pupils per year;
- introduction to skating – 5 000 pupils per year.

In summertime a concept called “passion sport” allows the districts of the city to be provided with manifold, varied events and activities, staged:

- in swimming pools and lakes;
- in the public parks (Orangerie, Citadelle, Port du Rhin J2R, Contades);
- in the street outside the high-rise housing blocks (Neuhof, Hautepierre, Cité de l’Ill, Port du Rhin, Poteries, Meinau).

Some 20 000 people participate in the functions held in summer as part of the “passion sport” round of games and activities, demonstrating the keen interest of the residents in these physical and sporting activities.

Strasbourg, through the agency of its Directorate of Sport, works to promote sport in the community and its districts. The Department for Physical Activities and Sports, part of the *Service Vie Sportive*, looks after all these actions.

Over 30 sports activity leaders take part in the development of sport in Strasbourg, thereby contributing to a better quality of community life. These staff members were recruited early in the 1990s to look after the security of sports facilities but, over the past decade, they have seen their duties evolve towards more educational and recreational assignments. The change occurred gradually. Training schemes have made it possible to professionalise their work and diversify their skills.

“Sport Inspires Me”: a project of social inclusion through sport in Lisbon

Pedro Peres, City of Lisbon, Portugal

1. Introduction

We live in a time of great technological progress and scientific discoveries which prolong life and increase performance. Nevertheless, this modern society has also contributed to the accentuation of social inequalities, and injustice is more and more a question of survival for the more vulnerable groups.

Globalisation has spread and consequently triggered a process of opposition, between those who effectively mobilise their resources towards a general social participation and those who, due to the lack of them, find themselves unable to do so.

Consequently, exclusion takes the shape of a multidimensional social phenomenon, resulting in individuals not receiving the benefits to which they are entitled as full members of society; this goes against the figure of social integration (Capucha 1998).

In the scope of this approach, and because of its unique character, sport must play a fundamental role, as a vehicle of references and positive values.

Its commonly recognised added value is set down in the White Paper on Sport, for example, where, in addition to acknowledging the strong contribution that sports activities offer, it also suggests that the EU member countries develop initiatives with the aim of promoting social inclusion through sport.

Consequently, authorities must develop actions that promote physical activities, especially for the most disadvantaged groups, though it is equally important that they recognise the advantage of cultural diversity based on one’s respect for identity and culture from the outset.

Physical activity in general must constitute a means to put an end to preconceptions and discrimination. Sport may be the path for multiple opportunities and freedom of expression. In this framework, diversity should be seen as a richness to preserve and explore from a pedagogical perspective, in order to put away the primacy of one culture over others (Arends 1995).

This attitude allows the development of a process of equality and inclusion, where people of different cultures, independently of social strata, gender, different capacities or any other variable, feel comfortable to express their opinions and perspectives, and where they are able to practise sporting

activities from their own culture, but also from other cultures (Houlihan 2000; Kirk and Gorely 2001).

It is in this context that the project "Sport Inspires Me", promoted by the Sports Department of the Municipality of Lisbon, exists.

The following text is a summary of an intervention that is being put into practice in the city of Lisbon, with the objective of promoting social inclusion through sport for children and young people at risk who live in suburban slums.

The introduction shows the scope of the social panorama of the Portuguese capital, followed by a brief description of the project and the intervention implementation strategies. At the end, a conclusive synthesis is presented.

2. Waves of immigration

In the 1960s, due to development centralising strategies including economic ones, large numbers of people from the countryside came to Lisbon, leaving their homes to look for better living conditions. Many of them, however, were forced to live in suburban slums near the industrial areas.

During the 1970s, following Portuguese decolonisation, a new wave arrived from Africa, running away from war and looking for conditions where they could maintain their human dignity. Between 1995 and 2000, following the European Schengen Convention, another considerable increase in foreigners living legally in Portugal took place. In 2005, the highest concentration of foreigners living in Portugal (about 48.6%) was in the Lisbon district.

This influx of population and an unqualified working force accentuated social imbalance and caused serious accommodation difficulties for the ethnic minorities and immigrants, confirming the thesis presented by some authors that those are the groups which experience greater difficulties in finding accommodation in urban areas.

3. Urban intervention

In the 1990s, a special rehousing programme was created in the Lisbon and Oporto urban areas, with the aim of clearing slums. It was possible for families, mainly foreigners and ethnic minorities coming from Portuguese-speaking countries (CPLP) living in slums, to access housing at very low cost or cheap rent.

Nevertheless, much of this programme was not in the economy's interest, due to real estate speculation. It led to a wave of people moving from their original home areas to the urban suburbs where land was less valuable.

Moreover social facilities – such as educational facilities and sport or leisure areas – were not built. This gave rise to discrimination and greater social

exclusion. Too many problems were concentrated in areas already suffering the stigma of being a *bairro social*, that is a neighbourhood for disadvantaged people, where the residents feel oppressed by the word "poverty".

4. Lisbon City Hall – the Department of Sport’s plan of action

Globally speaking, Lisbon’s situation in terms of sports facilities is worrying. Allied to the shortage of training areas is the fact that the very few existing public facilities are getting extremely old and outdated.

Due to some wrong political choices, grass-roots sports clubs are in extreme difficulties, in terms of human and financial resources.

Under these circumstances, the progressive decrease in sports participation is not surprising. Lisbon is one of the cities with the lowest rate of regular sport practice in the EU.

Thus, it became urgent to define and put into practice a plan of action, by taking measures in line with the latest political platform. Namely, a programme was put in place, which includes the increase of available activities for the population, with qualified technical integration, the rehabilitation of the existing sports facilities and special projects for particular groups of the population, like children and young people at risk, the elderly, the disadvantaged and ethnic minorities, with the principle of gender equality.

All these measures were primarily developed in socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

5. The pilot experience – Boavista neighbourhood

Although this neighbourhood already had some municipal sports facilities and some social support had been developed, it also presented all the characteristics of the urban ghettos, which is why it was chosen as a pilot for this project. The social exclusion existing in this neighbourhood brought it to attention, as the conditions of resident families in that area demonstrated serious isolation and lack of adaption. Several apparently senseless acts of violence and vandalism, some of them directed at the existing sports facilities, clearly revealed the complete absence of a sense of ownership. This was also due to the fact that it was not accessible to these young people, so they were not able to practise sport.

a. The objectives

The main objective of the project "Sport Inspires Me" is social inclusion through participation in sport by the children and young people considered at risk. Therefore, one of the general objectives, based on cognitive socio-sporting

activities, was to ensure that children and young people were able to access sport in the municipal facilities. Sport – in terms of sporting activities – is not an end in itself, but a means to develop civic values associated with it, such as the sense of belonging, co-operation, solidarity and fair play. In the end, we hope to make a strong stand against social exclusion, in order to minimise the effects it produces in the social conditions of the Boavista neighbourhood and others are that we will refer to later.

b. Intervention strategies

A methodology of intervention was defined, based on the development of a dynamic partnership with local public and private social entities. Each one specified the contacts who together made up a multidisciplinary team composed basically of technical staff. These people have extensive experience and knowledge of the community, specifically of children, young people and their families and also of the existing social dynamics, which gives them the capacity for social intervention.

The partners also consider that it is vitally important for the development of the project to involve their technical staff in these actions. This first step made it possible to determine a basic group of 10 people. Ultimately, 21 technicians were assigned different roles: psychologists, teachers, monitors, and infant educators, among others, which translated into a multifaceted intervention displaying the most diverse areas of knowledge.

At the outset, it was decided that the sports facilities should be open and that all the children and young people would be provided with a symbolic sporting activity.

This was very important because of the new dynamic it provoked. Subsequently, the team felt the need to improve other conditions to foster sporting activities. It was also necessary to find other partnerships in the area of sport and one physical education teacher to provide regular classes and some other regular sporting activities for the youngest children.

The partnership shared resources maximising the performance of each organisation and working together, always taking into account the added value that comes from the practice of physical exercise and the teamwork for social rehabilitation.

Sports activities shaped the course of actions. The partnership intervention made a major investment in the entertainment pedagogical aspect.

c. The regular activities

The regular activities were divided into three main groups, according to their goals.

General physical education and dance activities were developed, because they don't have their own facilities or technical staff and to promote the participation of children and youngsters, already organised by the partners.

On the other hand, the partnership network was expanded to sports organisations to make more formal sporting activities, such as rugby and table tennis, available, with the objective of stimulating another kind of participation and to compensate for the absence of local clubs.

This initial dynamic involved two sports technicians who live in the neighbourhood. One of those coaches has won several national and international titles for kickboxing and the other is a young coach of an indoor soccer team in Lisbon. So it was decided that these two sporting activities should be developed under the supervision of these role models to reinforce values and to build new positive references, taking advantage of the technicians' influence in the neighbourhood.

All these activities are developed in accordance with the sports season, on specific days and with set schedules.

d. The non-regular activities

Without any pre-established periodicity and taking into account intervention strategies created by the technical staff team, a series of activities were carried out, with the specific aim of creating a feeling of identity and belonging, stimulating self-identity and unifying. In this sense, group activities such as design workshops to create the project's logo were developed, and discussion sessions to enable the participants to define the rules for the use of materials and facilities. Competitions to choose the project's name – "Sport Inspires Me" – were also promoted and among other events, International Children's Day was celebrated with a variety of sports activities.

6. Conclusion

At a time where social changes are huge and there is a lack of positive references, for the young in particular, the words of the former UN Secretary General at the opening of the International Year of Sports and Physical Education are increasingly relevant: "Sport ... is a universal language ... with it we can learn the ideals of teamwork and tolerance".

The project "Sport Inspires Me" aims to capitalise on the potential for positive ideals implicit in sport – its capacity for troubleshooting and solving problems (Rubin, Fein and Vandenberg 1983) and because, among other things, the game works as a cultural transmitter, where ideals and values pass from generation to generation, from adult to child and from child to child (Sutton-Smith 1979).

As a matter of fact, nowadays more than ever, the added-value that represents the practice of physical exercise for social rehabilitation should be kept in mind; on the other hand, the strategy needs the partnership intervention of multifaceted teams using a strong investment in the entertainment pedagogical aspect, where sports activities delineate the rhythm of implemented actions in an equal and culturally diverse atmosphere.

Consequently, and with the monitoring of the technical staff and periodical evaluation, it was possible, for example, to put the activities into practice, with rival groups sharing the same space, creating an identity and a feeling of belonging among the most disadvantaged communities, by fostering the development of new personal and social skills, supported by a fair play environment.

Where so many other programmes had failed, this one looked directly at the problems of exclusion and through an experimental project in one of the most violent neighbourhoods of Lisbon, roots were established allowing this strategy of inclusion through sport to be taken to other disadvantaged parts of Lisbon.

The project "Sport Inspires Me" is currently trying to set out a constitutional right that allows all citizens an equal opportunity to practise sports and, with the simple strategy of including all social strata, all colours, ages and individuals, both male and female, in the same activities, in the same social environment – has diminished tensions, broken down barriers and eradicated some risk behaviours.

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“Neighbourhood Sport” programme in the city of Iași, Romania

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1. Sport for the general public as a social goal

A town which has a football team in the First Division, handball, volleyball, rugby and basketball teams with notable scores and national and international successes in athletics, karate and chess could be said to possess a certain representativeness in terms of sport.

But this distinction stays in the sphere of professional sport and bypasses the amateur sport sector, the one destined to bring out the true values through which players can pursue a successful career in the realm of sport.

A city has the necessary resources to place the popular character of sports events in a context of identity, too. This aspect shows how the community's leaders and residents find ways to co-operate and enhance social life for the whole community through these actions.

Furthermore, a local authority managing a large and diverse community cannot leave unanswered the ever more pressing appeals by groups of citizens for the organisation of spaces which can be used by the general public as sports facilities.

The response must be sustained by a coherent, effective policy so that the pressure of the demands by neighbourhood groups of citizens decreases as time goes by and the citizens are turned into consultants for the social sporting programme.

2. From study to programme

In 2006, the local executive of Iași launched an operation to carry out market research in order to ascertain the community's needs. One of the studies specified was performed on sports and recreation. The study was carried out by a non-governmental organisation and received funding from the Iași local council. The results of the study were surprising, not at all in line with assumptions concerning the movement for individual health in the community of Iași.

The citizens said that on average they had five hours of free time during the week and eight hours at weekends. Fewer than 30% of respondents did open air exercise and only 9% took part in activities in a sports club or an association. Walking, jogging and cycling were listed as the top preferences for sports or leisure activities.

Prior to this study, it was thought that in Iași everyone played football or handball, particularly young people and adolescents, and that adults and the elderly went cycling and walking. This image, current as a paradigm in the community, was founded on the pre-1989 policy during the communist regime when sport was promoted in order to attain the highest calibre, but without providing all the necessary resources. The aftermath of all this also nurtured the image; more precisely, the hundreds of young males who could be seen, particularly in the afternoon during the week as well as at weekends, playing football or basketball in facilities belonging to the neighbourhood schools. The results of the study showed us, first, that we had misread sports participation in Iași and secondly, that there was a strong desire to play sport but few sports infrastructures to use.

Thereupon, the municipality decided to devise and implement a sports and social programme. The experience of Villeneuve d'Ascq, Iași's twin town, was used as a model. The differences between the two towns lay in the ownership of the sports facilities. In Villeneuve d'Ascq they belong to the local authority, but in Iași they are the property of the primary and secondary schools in the neighbourhoods. Consequently, the project team decided to form a partnership with the County School Inspectorate to allow the facilities to be used under the programme.

The "Neighbourhood Sport" programme was launched at the beginning of 2008. Previously, Villeneuve d'Ascq had provided free advice on the conception of the project, and the City of Iași set up a partnership with the Iași Sport Foundation for funding.

The main aim of the programme is to encourage all classes of citizen to participate in the sports activities organised for amateur sport. What is sought is not sporting performance but prevention of juvenile crime through sport and the creation of a new social culture of "learning to live together" in Iași's community.

3. Sport in the neighbourhoods of Iași

For the local executive of Iași, the "Neighbourhood Sport" programme is divided into three strands: development of facilities, promotion of specific sports provision, and presentation of a calendar of sports activities open to the general public.

In 2008 "Neighbourhood Sport" proceeded in seven stages in which young people, adults, children, boys and girls participated.

The programme commenced with a football tournament for students, with very worthwhile matches between the teams of the state and private university colleges of Iași. The programme continued with young people, adults and even the elderly being able to participate in chess, streetball, basketball and

football competitions. Contests were organised in the neighbourhoods of Iași in an effort to attract a large number of people to watch the games. At the end of last year, the organisers counted over 800 participants and almost 5 000 spectators at the competitions. Participants appreciated the diploma and prizes received and the sports equipment provided by the programme, and did not want the activities to stop.

4. Conclusion

The local executive allocated €26 500 for these initial stages. For a town of 320 000 inhabitants, made up of 15 neighbourhoods and served by more than 40 sports facilities in the schools, the funding may appear low. But our programme has begun and now, as if after its first year of infancy, has learned to walk and wants to talk!

By this we mean that in 2009, despite the difficulties arising from the economic crisis, the sports and social programme can maintain and diversify its provision, in order that a number of citizens from the neighbourhoods of Iași may enter the competitions organised with them in mind.

The City of Iași continues to run projects on social development and is busy integrating them. For example, the municipality will link “Neighbourhood Sport” with the project “Social Work for Better Life” supported by the Phare CBC programme, on the deployment of social facilitators in the community of Iași.

“Neighbourhood Sport” signifies that the development of facilities will continue, that sports provision will be diversified, and that the citizens of Iași will find more opportunities for recreation and time together.

Integration through physical activity and sports: the policy example of Switzerland

Jenny Pieth

1. Introduction

What is meant by “integration through sports”? The difficulty of defining this concept is obvious, as there is no universally recognised definition of integration. Some understand the peaceful coexistence of people with different backgrounds by it, others hardly make a distinction between integration and assimilation.

In the article at hand, integration is defined as the effort towards successful common action. Integration also stands for the potential and competence to live independently in society. Integration is an ongoing process that involves everybody and requires the will of everybody to be part of it. To be able to participate in this process and in society, equal opportunities for everybody have to be established. This process is hardly ever without conflicts.

Physical activity and sports, as parts of society, are also involved in the integration process. Not only is the area of sports affected by the dynamics of society, it also has a social responsibility to participate in its development.

The Federal Office of Sports of Switzerland assumes this responsibility by developing integration through physical activity and sports policy and by taking measures accordingly.

Before describing the content and scope of this policy, this article will give an overview of the context, namely the demographic situation and migration and integration policy of Switzerland.

2. Setting the context: migration and integration policy of Switzerland

Switzerland is characterised historically by a relatively heterogeneous population with regard to language, ethnic background and religion. This heterogeneity has increased in the last decades as Switzerland has evolved from an emigration to an immigration country.

Switzerland’s foreign population of 21.3% is high compared to other countries. But one has to keep in mind that this high number is amongst other things a result of the relatively restrictive naturalisation policy.

The model of national identity underlying the migration policy is not defined very clearly. Nevertheless, one could say that the model of national identity is a mixture between the ideal typical French republican and German ethno-cultural model. Its content is French: the identity is based on a common contract and Switzerland is defined as a "nation of will". However, the way the model is implemented is German: foreigners willing to do so cannot join the contract automatically. One needs to be a resident for 12 years minimum and, depending on the community, pass a naturalisation test.

Historically, Swiss migration policy has been characterised by more restrictive and more liberal phases. Today, migration policy is in a selective phase. The policy is aimed at regulating migration in the sense that qualified and educated foreigners and EU citizens are welcome but for unqualified and non-EU citizens access to the Swiss labour market and society is rather more difficult.

The integration policy has developed accordingly. Today, integration is defined in federal law as the establishment of equal opportunities and participation. Long-term resident foreigners should have equal access to the economic and social spheres. Integration is a mutual process that involves the Swiss as well as the foreign population. Integration implies openness, a climate of recognition as well as an effort on both sides. The aim is the peaceful coexistence of everyone on the basis of the constitution, mutual respect and tolerance.

This approach puts the focus on structural integration, for example, equal access to education and the working world, common respect for the constitution. The responsibility for the integration process is shared and includes all areas of society.

As with everything in Switzerland, the integration sector is organised federally. The parliament decides on the funds for integration programmes and projects. The Office for Migration distributes these funds to the cantons, which are responsible for supporting organisations and institutions carrying out projects. The Office for Migration has recently increased its efforts to mainstream the subject in other state agencies and monitor the activities. Among other things, it is within this framework that the Federal Office of Sports has been able to establish its activities with regard to integration through physical activity and sports.

3. Integration in and through physical activity and sports

The Federal Office of Sports is convinced that as well as the political, educational and economic sphere, sports and other leisure time activities play an important role in the integration process. Not only does the arena of sports have a social responsibility to ensure equal opportunities, it also has the potential to integrate and educate interculturally.

Besides the obvious health benefits of physical activity and sport, which promote equal opportunities in the health sector, participating in organised sport offers the potential for building social networks and gaining access to other domains of society. Games and other physical activities can also be a good way to learn values such as respect, tolerance, team spirit, fair play and so on.

However, sport is not a remedy for all society's ills. As in all other areas of society, there is discrimination and segregation. In many associations migrants, and especially female migrants, are under-represented. In addition, they are also under-represented in voluntary work and at the functionary level of associations.

In some disciplines, for example football, basketball and martial arts, migrants are very well represented. This does not automatically mean that there is peaceful coexistence in these clubs. The high level of diversity is generally very positive and enriching. Dealing with it is, however, not always easy and can lead to conflicts.

Since 2009, the Federal Office of Sports has the mandate to address these problems by managing a Centre of Competence in the field of integration through sports. The approach is a combination of the following aims:

- establishment of equal access to physical activity and sports;
- promotion of intercultural opening: adaptation of sports structures;
- promotion of intercultural dialogue and conflict transformation through sports;
- raising awareness for discrimination and racism in sports.

These aims are reached by:

- gaining knowledge – applied research and the development of methods and instruments;
- enabling multipliers – knowledge transfer in education and further education;
- sharing the knowledge, supporting and learning from others – networking, exchange of information and project fund.

This last point needs to be highlighted. Without learning from and supporting each other and co-operating, integration would not be possible. The Centre of Competence of the Federal Office of Sports could not function without the experiences and the commitment of local and regional agencies, NGOs, civil society institutions and associations.

Prior to receiving its mandate, the Federal Office of Sports has already implemented and supported various projects – for example, an initiative to promote movement, play and sports with asylum seekers and a project aimed

at supporting language acquisition in sports lessons for recently immigrated children.

From 2005 to 2007, the Federal Office of Sports carried out a joint project with the NGO Swiss Academy for Development (SAD) aimed at establishing equal access to leisure time activities for children and young people with immigrant backgrounds. The project was based on a participatory approach, working with schoolteachers and local sports instructors to develop the instruction manual *Rencontres en mouvement/Begegnung durch Bewegung*. From 2007 to 2008 a co-operation project with the Swiss Red Cross (SRC) led to the publication of *Le mouvement, c'est la vie/Bewegung ist Leben* in eight languages. The publication is directed at adult migrants. Its aim is to promote their health and physical activity in daily life.

4. Conclusion

The in-depth work and alliances of the last few years have led to the formulation of the more systematic approach by the Centre of Competence for promoting integration through sports that will be implemented during the following four years.

The concrete actions of the Centre of Competence, for example, the development of a manual for sports instructors based on the results of applied research, the development and implementation of courses for sports instructors, teachers and other target groups, the mainstreaming of the concept in existing physical activity programmes or the establishment of an information, knowledge-sharing and networking platform, will be monitored and evaluated.

Depending on the outcome of this evaluation, the programme will be adapted and institutionalised within the Federal Office of Sports.

General conclusion

Conclusion

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Throughout this book, we have been able to gauge the complexity that underlies the concepts of cultural diversity, integration and more precisely, integration through sport. Having realised this, we should be prompted to proceed with caution in our work, insofar as it involves the handling of these concepts, but also to press ahead with reflection on education through sport in Europe.

Above all, the texts of the researchers clearly show that the concept of cultural diversity in education through sport is comprehensible only in the context where it is used. It is chiefly by contemplating a country's history that we can understand how it learns cultural diversity, hence what integration means, and ultimately understand the way in which sport is used for that purpose.

Ian Henry aptly describes the way different European countries have constructed their "models" of integration. From each model, follow the official integration policies and the actions carried out on the ground.

Since their revival by Pierre de Coubertin, the Olympic Games have been the occasion for countries to assert their identity and above all their supremacy. All international competition is moreover an object for political ends – a way to convey messages which are less easily seen and heard outside sport, as Yvan Gastaut explains to us. This brings to mind the 1998 French national football team, encapsulated by the term "Blacks, whites and North Africans" as a symbol of successful integration.

The danger of such utilisation is twofold, not only for policies that may propound sports participation as a solution to young people's difficulties without considering the question of leadership and conditions of participation, but also for the young people who will be led to believe that skin colour and their social origin are not a problem in their society. By driving them to become champions and to think that everything is for the best, countries take the risk of frustrating their youngest citizens, who will not succeed in the endeavour.

Engaging in sport is not enough to integrate society. One of the principal issues raised at the European Encounters "Sport facing the test of cultural diversity. Integration and intercultural dialogue" co-organised by APELS, EPAS and the University of Strasbourg on 20 and 21 November 2008, was to ascertain whether sport was intrinsically integrative, or whether the political conditions had to be created for it to become so. While many field workers and researchers know that sport needs ancillary measures in order to be integrative, public opinion and decision-makers may not know it. Therefore,

every possible occasion to state it should be used. The presentations of the voluntary sector operators in this book all point in that direction. They handle the concept of integration through sport very cautiously. Sport is not immune from criticism, far from it, particularly at the present time when doping, big business or racism tarnish its image and focus the attention of the media. But, above all, the writers provide avenues for what must be done to use sport as a fulcrum for integration, to ensure that its image can become a reality. Indeed, each country in Europe may have a given conception of integration through sport, yet there are some common tools to be used to make sport a facilitator.

Accordingly, the Scientific and Technical Committee of the Agency for Education through Sport has proposed that a definition of education through sport be laid down at European level. It is not a matter of carving in stone what will pertain or not pertain to education through sport, but rather of proposing a standard ideal of education through sport, in Durkheim's sense of the word. To phrase it differently, the objective is to establish an exact "skeleton" of education through sport, which each European country can flesh out in its own way, imparting motion to it according to its own history. The definition would provide a common core on which each country could rely, to be developed subsequently according to its needs or its difficulties. For example, as we have seen in these pages, the concept of integration through sport does not bear the same connotations in Switzerland as in the UK.

That is the first stage, which would make the work easier for all operators in Europe by enabling them to identify with each other as striving in one and the same direction. Thus, they will need to develop networking capacities. Pooling of experience and knowledge is the path to progress for education through sport. That much is vividly illustrated by reading this book. Each writer brings knowledge, answers and/or lines of enquiry, even to readers of their own nationality. The example held up by Ninel Vlaicu Berneaga is most interesting in that respect: Iași, twinned with the French town of Villeneuve d'Ascq, has decided to take inspiration from their project to set up a programme on education through sport. The backing provided by Villeneuve made the programme easier to devise than if Iași had been alone in doing so. That is what the networking of European operators must achieve: exchange with other operators should become a source of inspiration for anyone wishing to propose a civic project with sport as its medium.

As we have seen, education through sport in Europe, and specifically the use of sport to foster knowledge and integration of those who are different, is a reality on the ground. The White Paper on Sport, progress in the question of sport achieved through the Treaty of Lisbon, albeit not ratified, and the adoption of the Enlarged Partial Agreement on Sport by the Council of Europe are all advances at the European level in recognising the social and educational impact of sport. Nonetheless, as Mogens Kirkeby says, comprehensive policies need to be established to that effect for coherence to

exist at European level. The term “policy” applies not only to institutions but also to sports federations. Few of these, in fact, pursue a line of education or integration through sport at the European level. Some federations make ad hoc arrangements of that kind for major championships, but projects need to be developed in the long term for real effectiveness.

One of this book’s many merits is the delivery of scientific contributions. Indeed, the respective worlds of fieldwork and research are all too often mutually isolated, in public opinion as well among the actual operators on occasion. Yet it is necessary to bring them together so that they may enrich each other. The articles presented here by the researchers demonstrate, if there were any need for it, the great value of research for those operating on the ground. It affords a detached view of practices, a better grasp of the scope of education through sport, and an input of scientifically founded knowledge (confirming or refuting suppositions). For researchers, the closest correspondence to the concerns of the operators on the ground should be maintained by proposing research with a direct bearing on them. Conceptualisation and theorisation of practice and experimentation are procedures to be developed for anyone wishing to explore a given field, and what is more the field that concerns us. For often, sport is a subject about which many think they know what is right and wrong, true or false. But it is only by carrying out research and study that the general truths and meanings can truly gain significance or otherwise. Thus it is plainly indispensable to develop European research on education through sport, involving researchers from the different countries in it for a better understanding of both the structural and the casual elements.

This book lends substance to a complex multiple reality, but, above all, it highlights the operators, who give of themselves so that sport may transcend the strictly competitive and spectacular dimension often attached to it. But we are not to leave it at that. Their efforts are to be assisted, particularly by improving the clarity of the possibilities for support that exist at the European level. Since sport has no constitutional recognition as yet, proponents of schemes for education through sport must go through the “youth” or “civic” channels to be supported. Making the possibilities more intelligible will make the operators’ work easier, and work in favour of sustainability of projects. Above all, though, it will allow more accurate pinpointing of the actions in education through sport afoot at the European level, and a better perception of the projects aiding intercultural dialogue.

This publication’s contribution of knowledge calls for renewal of this type of action. By multiplying studies like this and conferences like the “European Encounters on Education through Sport” of 20 and 21 November 2008, it will be possible to advance education through sport at that level. Besides, this is surely a good way to engage cultures in dialogue.

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