
Politikwissenschaft

Running for Europe – European Sports Policy and the Role of Civil Society

Inaugural-Dissertation

zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades

der

Philosophischen Fakultät

der

Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität

zu

Münster (Westf.)

vorgelegt von

Freya Elisa Ostlinning, geb. Brune

aus Dissen

2011

Tag der mündlichen Prüfung: 24. März 2011

Dekan der Philosophischen Fakultät: Prof. Dr. Christian Pietsch

Erstgutachter: Prof. Dr. Annette Zimmer

Zweitgutachter: Prof. Dr. Ralf Kleinfeld

Running for Europe

EU Sports Policy and the Role of Civil Society

by Freya Elisa Ostlinning, née Brune

B.S./B.A. University Twente, Enschede / Westphalian Wilhelms-University, Münster 2005

M.S./M.A. University Twente, Enschede / Westphalian Wilhelms-University, Münster 2006

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (PhD)

Department of Political Science and the Graduate School of Politics
Junior Research Group “European Civil Society and Multilevel Governance”
Westphalian Wilhelms-University, Münster
February 2011

“My area of responsibility also covers sports and relations with civil society. There is one recurring theme throughout my whole portfolio - the citizens and their quality of life. The building of a citizen-friendly environment will be at the centre of all my activities. I believe that sport is a very important educational tool to promote values such as tolerance, fairness and team work.”

(Jan Figel)

Acknowledgements

The dissertation at hand would not have been possible to be completed without the help and support of a great range of people and institutions. First and foremost, I would like to thank Prof. Dr. Annette Zimmer and Prof. Dr. Ralf Kleinfeld for supervising my work with great scientific advice and great patience. In this context I also have to name Dr. Matthias Freise, who deserves special thanks and without whom our whole research group would have been lost in many regards. He constantly guided our group not only with scientific but also with personal advice. Deep thanks also go to my colleagues of the junior research group. We shared special years, many hard times, but also fun times. Great thanks to all other colleagues from the NPM and the Political Institute who have given me important support in different areas. Special thanks go out to Alexia Duten as the colleague and friend without whom the time as a PhD student in Münster would not have been half as bearable.

I also owe deep thanks to my friends and family, most importantly my parents, who constantly guided me with moral as well as financial support. Without them, I would not be where I am right now.

Thank you, to all who put up with me in the times of my PhD, who were there for me to lift me up or bring me down – be it with scientific advice or a good cold beverage and some well needed talks.

Table of Contents

| | |
|-----------------------------------|------------|
| List of Abbreviations..... | vii |
|-----------------------------------|------------|

| | |
|-----------------------------|-----------|
| List of Figures..... | ix |
|-----------------------------|-----------|

| | |
|---------------------------|----------|
| Introduction | 1 |
|---------------------------|----------|

| | |
|------------------|---|
| 1 The Theme..... | 1 |
|------------------|---|

| | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| 1.1 Significance of the Study | 2 |
|-------------------------------------|---|

| | |
|----------------------|---|
| 1.2 Time Frame | 2 |
|----------------------|---|

| | |
|--|---|
| 1.3 Importance of Sports and Civil Society | 3 |
|--|---|

| | |
|--|---|
| 1.4 Research Question and Dissertation Outline | 4 |
|--|---|

| | |
|---|---|
| 2 Development of a European Policy..... | 5 |
|---|---|

| | |
|--|---|
| 2.1 Emergence of a Policy on the EU Agenda | 6 |
|--|---|

| | |
|--|---|
| 2.2 Development in the Policy Process – Becoming a Community Policy..... | 7 |
|--|---|

| | |
|--|----|
| 2.3 The Specificity of Sport: Two Pillars of Sport | 11 |
|--|----|

| | |
|--|----|
| 2.4 Sports Systems: National Specificities | 12 |
|--|----|

| | |
|--|----|
| 2.5 EU Sports Policy – A Time Frame..... | 16 |
|--|----|

| | |
|--------------------|----|
| 3 Methodology..... | 20 |
|--------------------|----|

| | |
|---------------------|----|
| 3.1 The Theses..... | 20 |
|---------------------|----|

| | |
|-------------------------|----|
| 3.2 The Questions | 23 |
|-------------------------|----|

| | |
|--|----|
| 3.3 Data Gathering and Data Analysis | 24 |
|--|----|

| | |
|---|----|
| 3.3.1 Theoretical Analysis: Document Analysis | 25 |
|---|----|

| | |
|---|----|
| 3.3.2 Qualitative Research: Expert Interviews | 25 |
|---|----|

| | |
|--|----|
| 3.3.3 Quantitative Research: Survey..... | 26 |
|--|----|

| | |
|--|----|
| 3.4 Justification of Research Design | 27 |
|--|----|

| | |
|----------------------|----|
| 3.4.1 Documents..... | 27 |
|----------------------|----|

| | |
|------------------------------------|----|
| 3.4.2 Qualitative Interviews | 28 |
|------------------------------------|----|

| | |
|---------------------------------|----|
| 3.4.3 Quantitative Survey | 34 |
|---------------------------------|----|

| | |
|----------------------------------|----|
| 3.5 Overall Research Design..... | 35 |
|----------------------------------|----|

| | |
|---|-----------|
| A Sports, Integration and Civil Society..... | 37 |
|---|-----------|

| | |
|---|----|
| 1 Sports and European Integration | 39 |
|---|----|

| | |
|--|----|
| 1.1 European Integration – From Old Visions to New Approaches..... | 42 |
|--|----|

| | |
|--|----|
| 1.1.1 History of European Integration..... | 43 |
|--|----|

| | |
|---|----|
| 1.1.2 European Integration – Theoretical Overview | 46 |
|---|----|

| | |
|--------------------------|----|
| 1.1.2.1 Federalism | 46 |
|--------------------------|----|

| | |
|------------------------------------|----|
| 1.1.2.2 Intergovernmentalism | 48 |
|------------------------------------|----|

| | |
|---------------------------------|----|
| 1.1.2.3 Neo-functionalism | 49 |
|---------------------------------|----|

| | |
|-------------------------------------|----|
| 1.1.2.4 The Different Debates | 50 |
|-------------------------------------|----|

| | |
|------------------------------------|----|
| 1.1.3 New Terms and Concepts | 54 |
|------------------------------------|----|

| | |
|-------------------------------------|----|
| 1.1.3.1 Multi-level Governance..... | 54 |
|-------------------------------------|----|

| | |
|--|----|
| 1.1.3.2 Inclusion of Civil Society | 57 |
|--|----|

| | |
|--|----|
| 1.1.4 Sub-conclusion on European Integration | 57 |
|--|----|

| | |
|----------------------------------|----|
| 1.2 Sports and Integration | 59 |
|----------------------------------|----|

| | |
|--------------------------|----|
| 1.2.1 Introduction | 59 |
|--------------------------|----|

| | |
|--|----|
| 1.2.2 The Meaning of Sports for European Integration | 63 |
|--|----|

| | |
|---|----|
| 1.2.2.1 System- vs. Socio-cultural Integration..... | 64 |
|---|----|

| | | |
|--|--|------------|
| 1.2.2.2 | Sports and Social Capital | 66 |
| 1.2.3 | Positive vs. Negative Effects of Sports in European Integration | 71 |
| 1.2.4 | Conclusion on Sports and Integration | 75 |
| 2 | Civil Society and its Relevance for EU Integration | 77 |
| 2.1 | Functions of Civil Society | 79 |
| 2.2 | Enhancing Input-Legitimacy – European Identity | 82 |
| 2.3 | Importance of Civil Society integration | 84 |
| 2.4 | The EU and Civil Society | 85 |
| 2.4.1 | 2007-2013 Initiative: Different Policy Fields | 88 |
| 2.4.2 | Europe for Citizens 2007-2013 | 92 |
| 2.5 | Sports as a Special Focus | 93 |
| 2.6 | Conclusion – Civil Society and Integration | 95 |
| 3 | Civil Society’s Role in EU Sports | 97 |
| 3.1 | Sports and Civil Society Organizations | 99 |
| 3.1.1 | Importance of Sports in Civil Society | 101 |
| 3.1.2 | Negative and Positive Effects | 104 |
| 3.1.3 | Democratization | 105 |
| 3.1.4 | Volunteering | 106 |
| 3.2 | European Civil Society and Sports | 108 |
| 3.2.1 | European Sports System and Civil Society | 108 |
| 3.2.2 | Civil Society Sports Organizations on the EU Agenda | 109 |
| 3.2.3 | Sports organizations as Part of European Civil Society | 110 |
| 3.2.4 | Sports Eligible for EU Funding Concerning Civil Society | 110 |
| 4 | Conclusion: Sports, Integration and Civil Society | 114 |
| B EU Sports policy – A Governance Model | | 117 |
| 1 | Nature of the Policy Field Sports | 117 |
| 2 | Sports policy in the European Union – Developments and Documents | 119 |
| 3 | Policy Fields, Actor Constellations and Governance Structure | 127 |
| 3.1 | Competition | 128 |
| 3.1.1 | Competition Policy and Sports | 128 |
| 3.1.2 | Competition Policy Actor Constellation | 130 |
| 3.1.3 | Competition Policy Governance Structure | 131 |
| 3.2 | Culture | 132 |
| 3.2.1 | Cultural Policy and Sports | 133 |
| 3.2.2 | Cultural Policy Actor Constellation | 134 |
| 3.2.3 | Cultural Policy Governance Structure | 135 |
| 3.3 | Education | 136 |
| 3.3.1 | Education Policy and Sports | 136 |
| 3.3.2 | Education Policy Actor Constellation | 137 |
| 3.3.3 | Education Policy Governance Structure | 138 |
| 3.4 | Gender | 139 |
| 3.4.1 | Gender Policy and Sports | 140 |
| 3.4.2 | Gender Policy Actor Constellation | 141 |
| 3.4.3 | Gender Policy Governance Structure | 142 |
| 3.5 | Health | 142 |
| 3.5.1 | Health Policy and Sports | 142 |
| 3.5.2 | Health Policy Actor Constellation | 143 |
| 3.5.3 | Health Policy Governance Structure | 144 |

| | | |
|-------|---|-----|
| 3.6 | Integration / Participation | 145 |
| 3.6.1 | Integration / Participation Policy and Sports | 146 |
| 3.6.2 | Integration /Participation Policy Actor Constellation | 146 |
| 3.6.3 | Integration /Participation Policy Governance Structure | 147 |
| 3.7 | Regional Support | 147 |
| 3.7.1 | Regional Policy and Sports | 148 |
| 3.7.2 | Regional Policy Actor Constellation | 148 |
| 3.7.3 | Regional Policy Governance Structure | 149 |
| 3.8 | Youth | 149 |
| 3.8.1 | Youth Policy and Sports | 150 |
| 3.8.2 | Youth Policy Actor Constellation | 151 |
| 3.8.3 | Youth Policy Governance Structure | 151 |
| 3.9 | Sub-Conclusion | 152 |
| 4 | Differences and Commonness: One European Sports Policy Model? | 153 |
| 4.1 | Interventionist vs. Non-interventionist Model | 154 |
| 4.2 | European Sports Model | 156 |
| 5 | Policy Field Frameworks | 162 |
| 6 | Normative Positions | 169 |
| 7 | Governance Model: EU Policy Field of Sports | 172 |
| 7.1 | Summing up what has been done so far | 172 |
| 7.2 | EU Sports Governance Model | 174 |
| 8 | Conclusion: EU Sports Policy | 181 |

C The Present and Future of EU Sports Policy – Analysis of Differing Views..... 182

| | | |
|-------|---|-----|
| 1 | Introduction | 182 |
| 2 | Policy Issues | 184 |
| 2.1 | Implementation of the White Paper on Sport | 184 |
| 2.2 | Specificity of Sports | 185 |
| 2.3 | FIFA's 6+5 Rule | 186 |
| 2.4 | Doping | 187 |
| 2.5 | Gambling | 188 |
| 2.6 | Conclusion Policy Issues | 190 |
| 3 | EU Sports Actors / Representation of Opinions | 192 |
| 3.1 | EU Institutions | 192 |
| 3.1.1 | European Commission – DG EAC | 192 |
| 3.1.2 | European Court of Justice | 193 |
| 3.1.3 | European Council | 194 |
| 3.1.4 | European Parliament | 194 |
| 3.2 | Main Sports Stakeholders | 196 |
| 3.2.1 | UEFA | 197 |
| 3.2.2 | EUSO | 198 |
| 3.2.3 | Other Stakeholders | 199 |
| 3.2.4 | Olympic Movement | 200 |
| 3.2.5 | European Team Sports | 201 |
| 3.2.6 | European Sporting Federations | 202 |
| 3.2.7 | International Sporting Federations | 202 |
| 3.2.8 | Non-governmental Sporting Federations | 203 |

| | | |
|--|---|------------|
| 3.2.9 | Think Tanks / Press | 206 |
| 3.3 | Informal Networks | 207 |
| 3.4 | Main Actors | 208 |
| 3.5 | Conclusion: EU Sports Actors | 209 |
| 4 | Opinions towards EU Policy | 211 |
| 4.1 | White Paper Publication and Implementation | 211 |
| 4.2 | The Specificity of Sports | 212 |
| 5 | Relationships: The EU and Other Actors | 215 |
| 6 | Football and the Others | 218 |
| 7 | Professional vs. Amateur Sports | 220 |
| 8 | Different National Sports Policies vs. One European Sports Policy | 224 |
| 9 | EU Funding for Sports | 226 |
| 10 | Future of European Sports Policy | 231 |
| 11 | Conclusion: Empirical Findings | 235 |
| Running for Europe – What can the EU draw from Civil Society Inclusion into EU Sports Policy? | | 239 |
| 1 | Conclusion | 239 |
| 2 | Outlook | 245 |
| 3 | Further Research | 249 |
| Bibliography | | 250 |
| Annex | | 268 |
| 1 | Survey Questionnaire | 268 |
| 2 | Survey analysis | 278 |

List of Abbreviations

| | |
|----------|--|
| AC | Advisory Committee |
| ACF | Advocacy Coalition Framework |
| AEHESIS | Aligning a European Higher Educational Structure in Sport Science |
| CAS | Court of Arbitration for Sport |
| CCPR | Central Council of Physical Recreation |
| CEP | Centre for European Policy (Centrum für Europäische Politik) |
| CEV | European Volleyball Confederation |
| CFSP | European Political Cooperation into the Common Foreign and Security Policy |
| CM | Community Method |
| CoE | Council of Europe |
| CoR | Committee of the Regions |
| CULT | Committee of Culture and Education (European Parliament) |
| DG | Directorate General |
| DG EAC | Directorate General Education and Culture |
| DIF | Danmarks Idræts-Forbund (Danish Olympic Committee) |
| DOSB | Deutscher Olympischer Sportbund (German Olympic Committee) |
| DSB | Deutscher Sport Bund (German Sporting Federation) |
| EAA | European Athletic Association |
| EACEA | Education Audiovisual & Culture Executive Agency |
| EAEA | European Association for Education of Adults |
| EC | European Commission |
| ECJ | European Court of Justice |
| ECSC | European Coal and Steel Community |
| EEC | European Economic Community |
| EESC | European Economic and Social Committee |
| EFAA | European Football Agents Association |
| ENGSO | European Non-Governmental Sports Organization |
| ENSSEE | European Network of Sport Science, Education and Employment |
| EOC | European Olympic Committee |
| EOSE | European Observatoire of Sport and Employment |
| EP | European Parliament |
| EPSI | European Parliament Sports Intergroup |
| ERA | European Ramblers Association |
| EU | European Union |
| EURATOM | European Atomic Energy Community |
| EUSO/ESO | European Union Sports Office (former European Office of German Sports, now EOC EU office – European Olympic Committee EU office) |
| EYES | European Year of Education through Sport 2004 |
| FIBA | International Basketball Federation |
| FIFA | Fédération Internationale de Football Association (International Federation of Football Associations) |
| FIFPro | Fédération Internationale des Associations de Footballeurs Professionnels |
| FIG | Fédération Internationale de Gymnastique (International Gymnastics Federation) |
| FIVB | Fédération Internationale de Volleyball (International Volleyball Federation) |
| FOCJ | functional, overlapping, competing jurisdictions |
| GDP | Gross Domestic Product |
| HEPA | Health-Enhancing Physical Activity |
| IAA | International Athletic Association |
| IIHF | International Ice Hockey Federation |
| IOC | International Olympic Committee |
| IR | International Relations |

| | |
|--------|---|
| ISCA | International Sports and Culture Association |
| MEP | Member of the European Parliament |
| MLG | Multi-level Governance |
| NADA | National Anti Doping Agency |
| NOC | National Olympic Committee |
| OECD | Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development |
| OEEC | Organization for European Economic Cooperation |
| OH&S | Occupational Health and Safety Policy |
| OMC | Open Method of Coordination |
| p.a. | per annum |
| PHARE | Poland and Hungary: Aid for Restructuring of the Economies |
| PJCC | Police and Judicial Co-operation in Criminal Matters |
| QMV | Qualified Majority Voting |
| SAD | Swiss Academy for Development |
| SLU | Suomen Liikunta ja Urheilu (Finnish Non-Governmental Sports Federation) |
| SOAs | Spheres of Authorities |
| TACIS | Technical Assistance to the Commonwealth of Independent States |
| TEC | Treaty establishing the European Community |
| TEMPUS | Trans-European mobility scheme for university studies |
| TEU | Treaty of the European Union |
| TFEU | Treaty of the Functioning of the European Union |
| TVWF | Television without Frontiers |
| UCI | Association Union Cycliste Internationale |
| UEFA | Union of European Football Associations |
| UK | United Kingdom |
| WADA | World Anti Doping Agency |
| WEU | West European Union |
| WHO | World Health Organization |
| WWII | World War Two |

Note: In the following, soccer and football both refer to the term of football in a European understanding; the American counterpart will be referred to as American football when talked about.

List of Figures

| | | |
|------------------|--|-----|
| Fig. Intro-2.5 | EU Sports Policy - Time Frame | 19 |
| Fig. Intro-3.4.a | Actor Constellation | 30 |
| Fig. Intro-3.4.b | Interview Mind Map | 33 |
| Table A.2.4.a | Programs under the DG EAC | 90 |
| Table A.2.4.b | Civil Society Functions and EU Programs | 91 |
| Fig. A.3 | Model of the Four Incentive Schemes and Sport | 98 |
| Table A.3.1 | Organization Types | 100 |
| Fig. B.3.1 | Actor Constellation: Competition | 131 |
| Fig. B.3.2 | Actor Constellation: Culture | 134 |
| Fig. B.3.3 | Actor Constellation: Education | 138 |
| Fig. B.3.4 | Actor Constellation: Gender | 141 |
| Fig. B.3.5 | Actor Constellation: Health | 144 |
| Fig. B.3.6 | Actor Constellation: Integration / Participation | 146 |
| Fig. B.3.7 | Actor Constellation: Regional Support | 149 |
| Fig. B.3.8 | Actor Constellation: Youth | 151 |
| Table B.4.1 | Classification based on Chaker | 155 |
| Fig. B.4.2.a | Traditional Pyramid Sport Model | 160 |
| Fig. B.4.2.b | Pillar Model of Sports according to its Functional Differentiation | 160 |
| Fig. B.5.a | The Macro-Level | 163 |
| Fig. B.5.b | The Meso-Level | 165 |
| Fig. B.5.c | The Micro- / Midi-Level | 166 |
| Fig. B.5.d | Policy Set Ups | 167 |
| Fig. B.7.2 | Sports Governance Model | 177 |

Introduction

1 The Theme

Running for Europe – what could that mean? Is it meant in the sense of “running for a country”, as in sports championships, meaning the actual sport of running? Or is it rather meant as in “running for president”, meaning applying for a certain position? When thinking about civil society in the European Union and turning the focus especially on the European sports scene, the expression could symbolize European civil society as a member of a team called “Team Europe”. It could also mean, civil society running for the goal of becoming Europe, taking over the EU, striving for being in charge; or the picture could depict civil society cheering for “Team Europe”. Whatever it stands for, civil society plays a role in the European Union as well as in the area of sports. Hence, the question arises as to what the EU sports scene with civil society involved looks like. Who are the actors and who is involved to which extent? If speaking about a sports team, how is the “team” constructed and what is the goal they are aiming for? Answers to these questions will be found in the thesis at hand.

The picture above makes use of running as a sport. Running is commonly known as an individual sport, exercised by a great number of people throughout the world either on their own or in groups. Thus, the question arises whether the sports persons, being members of civil society, are running for their own sake or for some greater goal. There are different answers to that. People run in order to gain pace and condition, or simply to increase the joy of running. Professional runners in championships represent team runners like in relay running. A great team always supports the runner, which is of great importance for the runner’s success. The team normally consists of a great range of team members in charge of different activities, but all working for the same goal. In some teams, there is more than one favorite runner whose goal it is to win the race. Hence, they do not only compete with other teams but also within their own team.

Considering the EU sports scene, the thesis aims at finding out if and how the principal actors of this scene work together. Metaphorically speaking, can they be compared to members of a team, to competing teams or individual sports persons? Another important question is concerning the role of the EU: Does it pull the strings as an organizer behind the scenes? Is it the team leader or rather another runner on the track for the trophy?

Within Europe, more than 270 million people are engaged in sports activities, which comprises 60% of European citizens (European Commission 2004a). This number is complemented by 700,000 local membership-based civil society organizations active in the area of sports (European Commission 2007e). Hence, sports plays a central role in Europe; one, which moreover is not restricted to the private sphere or recreational purposes, and therefore should be analyzed from a political perspective.

1.1 Significance of the Study

This thesis has been conducted due to the developments concerning sports in the EU. During the last decade, sports has increasingly become an issue on the EU agenda, and a European sports policy has been developed with the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty in 2009. Before the ratification, the EU had no legal basis in the policy area of sport, however, sports issues have been dealt with under other policy areas. Economic policy is the most important area where sporting rules and EU law collide. Other policy areas where sports has become a topic are, among others, culture, education, gender, health or youth and others. Thus, sports can be depicted as an annex policy to other policy fields, and played a role within EU policy without yet having a legal basis.

Several pre-developments have taken place and preconditions have been fulfilled in order for such a policy to be able to function. A White Paper on Sport was released in 2007, as the most important EU document on sports so far. Attached to the White Paper was an action plan¹, pointing out the intended actions to prepare for an EU sports policy in the future and to foster sports in the European sphere. These developments, together with the growing importance of civil society within the EU, have been the core reasons for the production of this dissertation.

In addition to the political developments in the European Union and the overall appearance of sports in society, the dissertation is embedded in the junior research group “European Civil Society and Multilevel Governance”, which provided the framework for the thesis. The group deals with the multilevel policy process of the European Union and the inclusion of civil society. The second cohort of the group started in April 2007, covering four topics, all dealing with different policy fields, their emergence and development in the EU policy framework, especially focusing on the role of civil society in the respective policy fields.

1.2 Time Frame

Since the political developments in the area of sports in the European Union are current and thus changing, the scope of the dissertation will be set to a certain time frame: The publication of the White paper on Sport in November 2007 will be taken as the beginning, while the signing of the Lisbon Treaty will be set as the ending point of the time frame. However, it has to be kept in mind that the last interviews were conducted in June 2009, and thus before the ratification of the Treaty. To give the dissertation a suitable time limit, the main part of the thesis is going to refer to EU sports policy as not having a legal basis, but facing a legal basis in the imminent future. The concluding section of this dissertation will give an outlook on the current events in European sports policy as well as providing an

¹ Pierre de Coubertin

outlook of the future. The most current incidents and developments will also be highlighted and elaborated in the conclusion.

1.3 Importance of Sports and Civil Society

Sports has been part of societal life for millenniums, even way back to the ancient times. Inquiries of the lifestyles of native inhabitants of Latin America have shown signs of sporting arenas, and the old Greeks have started the Antique Olympic Games over 3000 years ago. Historically, the meaning and reason for sporting activity has changed. While the main cause for exercising games in ancient times was competition, the health aspect of exercising has also been acknowledged and further developed. Sports has become a social issue where people meet, strengthen their bodies and foster their health. A great part of doing sports is still connected to competition and the pursuit of winning. However, besides the professional sports being exercised in championships and competitions locally and internationally, sports has developed another side: the sports for all. Competitions can also be carried out locally or just for fun. However, more importantly, people get to meet other people, to interact and/or to stay healthy. In addition to club life and doing sports in a group, a great range of individual types of sports have appeared, where people tend to do their sport on their own, outside of organized institutions such as sports organizations, like running, roller skating or swimming. Nevertheless, the number of sports organizations and clubs in Europe still is decisive, and the individual sports are also often exercised in groups and not *only* individually. In a special Eurobarometer survey on Sport and Society carried out in 2004, the importance of sports in society and its decisive role becomes obvious. A great percentage of EU citizens is doing sports regularly. There are 38% saying they do sports at least once a week, and a great number of citizens describe sports as being important in their life (see: European Commission 2004a).

If a policy field is entering the EU agenda, this might be on the one hand, in the case of sport, due to the given reasons, mentioned above, and the EU seeing the importance of the respective policy field in society. Sports has gained increasing importance in societal life, while at the same time a need for regulation in sports has emerged in the EU – legally. However, if the EU institutions push some issue on their work plan, they also often do this only if the EU is able to profit from it. Hence, the EU might have seen profitable sides of sports for its policy processes, as well as for the process of integration. On the other hand, a policy issue can be placed on the agenda due to the interest of policy actors. They consider some profit from the EU dealing with the issue. Thus, bringing a topic on the agenda can take place either from an EU institution initiative and/or from an actor initiative outside of the EU institutions. However, for the policy issue to be placed successfully within the EU policy process, both sides have to be able to profit from an EU competence in that area.

As mentioned previously, in addition to sport, civil society has gained importance in the EU. Civil Society meaning a “societal sphere between state, economy, and private life populated by voluntary associations, networks, and non-governmental organizations” (Kocka 2002b, p.16). The EU, as well as the civil society actors themselves, is striving for more inclusion of civil society in the policy process. As underlined by Fritz Scharpf, in order to have a better democratic basis and be legitimate, there is a great need within the EU framework for not only output legitimacy, but also input legitimacy, which is the need for civic participation (see: Scharpf 1999). Civil society comes in as an important matter that creates a platform for citizens to gain knowledge about the EU, as well as to actively engage in the policy process. Sports then depicts an important part within civil society, connecting a great number of people as has been pointed out above. Hence, the two concepts are very important for the study.

The EU is a unique state formation, which has at its core the preservation of peace in Europe, as well as economic prosperity. In order to reach those goals, the EU is trying to create a knowledge based and economically stable Union, and thus is trying to strengthen the European integration process. For this cause, different policy fields are gaining importance on the agenda, which shall lead to greater integration. After having developed several policies into community policies, e.g. economic policy in terms of trade or free movement of persons, additional policy fields will follow. With the Lisbon Treaty entering into force, it will bring about great changes concerning further policy fields being dealt with under EU law. Before, they were dealt with under the exclusive competence of the Member States. Sports will be one of the affected policy fields.

1.4 Research Question and Dissertation Outline

Given the above thoughts, sports being an important part in social life, as well as sports entering the EU agenda, additional to the need for civil society inclusion in the policy process, the dissertation at hand is dealing with questions concerning the EU integration process and the role of sports actors, especially focusing on actors from civil society. One of the main goals of the thesis will be the presentation of sports policy developments in the European Union, pointing out the most important events, documents, and authors. Hence, before presenting the methodology and the structure of the dissertation, chapter two of the introduction will give an insight into the emergence of a policy field on the EU agenda in general as well as its development into a community policy. Subsequently, sports as an emerging EU policy and its way on the EU agenda will be introduced, adding questions that will be raised throughout the thesis concerning sports as a policy field and its characteristics. Moreover, the introduction of the dissertation will give a broad overview of the different national sports policies, the national specificities and their impacts on an EU level policy

approach. The chapter will also elaborate on the most significant differences, and subsequently portray a possible mixture of policy characteristics from the different Member States. This part of the introduction will then present a time frame of EU sports policy in order to give an overview on what has happen throughout time and where the main milestones took place. The introductory part concludes by explaining the methodological approach as well as overall structure of the thesis. The research question will be presented here in detail. In addition to the presentation of the research question, the chapter will introduce the research structure and the methodology used in order to be able to test the given theses and to find the desired answers to the questions raised.

Part A will then establish its theoretical background in the form of a theoretical trilogy. In this part, the thesis deals with EU integration and the value and role of sports as well as EU integration and the value and role of civil society. This is done before bringing both topics together in a chapter elaborating on civil society and its connection to the issue of sports in the EU as well as its possible value for European integration. The second part (Part B) of the dissertation will turn towards the core topic of European sports policy by explaining and determining the development of sports policy in the European Union, and presenting the current incidents within the given time frame. Following, the third part (Part C) of the thesis will then present the empirical findings made during the research conducted. The different views of the actors involved in EU sports policy will be presented in order to draw a complete picture of sports policy in the European Union as well as to present future developments. The thesis will be concluded by a recapitulation of the ongoing developments, taking into account the findings on the role of sports and civil society in the EU integration process. An outlook on the future of EU sports policy will be given as part of the conclusion.

2 Development of a European Policy

Since the study at hand deals with sports in the European Union and the remarkably young policy field of sports in the EU, an approach is made to describe the development of this policy field. However, before going into detail concerning sport, the emergence of EU policy fields and their set up and development in general will be portrayed first.

The EU has started out as a cooperation of states, combining economic as well as security interests of the states that came together to form this special union. In the beginning, there was no such thing as any community policy. However, there were agreements between the founding fathers rather to follow their interests and to abide by it in order to secure peace and to reach a more stable economic entity on the continent of Europe.

During the development of the European Union and the ratification of different treaties, the EU gained more and more policy fields that became community policies,

meaning they were under control of the European institutions. Several policy fields have become mere community policies, which the EU institutions are exclusively in charge of. Some examples are Common Agriculture Policy, Common Fishing Policy, Common Trade Policy, Economic and Monetary Policy as well as Competition Policy. In these fields, the Member States have transferred all sovereignty rights towards the EU institutions and thus they are also known as “common policies” (EC Treaty). They constitute the first pillar of the EU structure.

Another set of policies can be found in the first pillar. However, these policies are not mere community policies, since the Member States have not transferred all rights to the EU. Thus, they are so-called joint policies with shared competences. The principle of subsidiarity here plays a central role; meaning that the EU institutions only step in, in case measurements cannot be taken on any lower level (local, regional, national) (European Union 2001, Art. 133, 6). Examples of such policies are Employment Policy, Education Policy, Health Policy, Youth Policy, Cultural Policy et al. The EU carries out a complementing, supporting and coordinating role towards the Member States’ actions. This kind of EU policy will be of major importance in the course of this thesis, since sports has been developed into such a policy with the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty (European Union 2007, Art. 165 (ex 145 TEC)).

To mention the two additional pillars of the EU structure: The Common Foreign and Security Policy form the second pillar, while Justice and Home Affairs build the third pillar. As can be stated, regulative policies, as they appear in the first pillar, are clearly dominant among the different types of policies in the EU. Additionally, within the group of regulative policies the focus mainly lies on the establishment of functioning market regulations (Knill 2005, p. 182)

Now, several questions arise. First, how does a policy field enter the EU agenda? Second, how does it then become a policy in which the EU is playing a role concerning policy measures, or even become a community policy?

2.1 Emergence of a Policy on the EU Agenda

As stated above, a policy can emerge on the EU agenda twofold: either the EU itself has a great interest in being in charge of this policy field and regulating issues of the field; or other interest groups would like to see the field being dealt with on EU level and thus push the matter onto the agenda of the European institutions. Hence, either a policy field enters the agenda via lobbying or via an EU interest in the matter, e.g. economical, legal etc.

Considering the policy fields that are already established, a variety of ways on the agenda can be observed. Environmental policy, for example, “did not develop in the EU as a

coherent area with agreed-upon objectives and clearly defined boundaries” (Lenschow 2004, p.141). Different Commissioners developed “green initiatives” making use of their exclusive initiative right. The establishment of environmental product standards was closely connected to single market rules, such as the free movement of goods. Furthermore, the policy entered the EU agenda because of the need to deal with certain environmental disasters. Environmental activists also played a major role here; they tried to place the issue on the agenda of the European Union. The EU immigration and asylum policy entered the agenda through a special European summit. However, the need to deal with such issues had been already laid down in the Treaty of Amsterdam with the formulation to bring about “the area of freedom, security and justice” (Guiraudon 2004, p.160). The policy got a new direction with the terrorism attacks in the USA in September 2001. Hence, it becomes clear that significant events can also place a policy on the agenda or form it to a certain extent.

It nevertheless remains difficult to identify consistent policy takers and shapers due to changing interests and initiatives. While one policy is pushed by one Member State, another policy lies more in the interest of another one. The same holds true for different stakeholders and commissioners. However, when a policy issue has found its way on the agenda, it needs to be further developed so that it does not leave the agenda again shortly after. How this takes place, which measures have to be taken and how policies in the European Union develop into community policies are explained in the following subsection.

2.2 Development in the Policy Process – Becoming a Community Policy

Once a policy appears on the EU agenda, how does it become a community policy but not a mere interest of the European institutions? Once the topic is brought up via controversial court decisions, via extensive lobbying from interest groups active in the policy field or via work groups within the institutions themselves, a similar procedure in almost all policy fields follows. While lobbying, as explained above, takes place and work groups are formed, official EU documents discussing the topic of interest are released. After conferences and work groups discussions have released several internal as well as public documents, the issue will also be most likely mentioned in treaty declarations if a new treaty is released. This can be monitored along the EU treaties concerning a great number of policy fields. In addition, general declarations outside of the treaties are released. An example is the “Copenhagen Declaration on the European Identity” of 1973, adopted by the nine foreign ministers of that time, focusing on European cultural policy and expressing the Member States’ wish to underline that they have common values.

If a policy field has emerged in the European policy scheme, the EU institutions can choose two ways to move forward in the process of addressing the policy issue and pursuing the needed measures. As mentioned previously, the EU can choose for regulative or

distributive policy and thus choose the respective instruments. Regulative policy instruments are taken in cases of communitarized policy fields, while distributive policy instruments appear in policy fields where Member States still own major sovereignty rights. The first is in need of legal instruments, and the second is rather enforced via financial means. However, although financial instruments first seem to be a more giving policy, they can also create pressure on the Member States as described in more detail later on.

When a policy is successfully placed on the agenda, the measures to be taken have to be formulated. For new European law, different procedures have to be followed. These procedures are laid down in the treaty articles. First, EU law can be formulated via the *co-decision procedures*, as is the case in educational policy (Art. 149, Art. 150 EUT). In this case, the Commission formulates and then gives its proposal to the Council and Parliament, which together issue the regulations (see: Balzer and Humrich 2008, p. 279). If Council and Parliament do not find an agreement, the proposal is “put before a conciliation committee, composed of equal numbers of Council and Parliament representatives” (European Commission 2010b). It then goes back to Council and Parliament, where a law is agreed upon. However, conciliation is very rare and most decisions are taken in the first or second round. Another procedure can be found in the so-called *assent procedure*, meaning that the “Council has to obtain the European Parliament's assent before certain very important decisions are taken” (ibid.). This procedure is very similar to co-decision, with the difference that the Parliament can only accept or reject. The third procedure prevalent in EU decision making is the *consultation procedure*. Based on a Commission proposal, the Council has to consult the Parliament, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions. In this case the Parliament is able to approve the proposal, reject it or call for amendments. If the latter takes place, the Commission will consider the demanded adjustments and if accepted send an amended proposal to the Council. The Council can now either adopt the proposal or apply further amendments. As in all procedures, the Council has to adopt the proposal unanimously.

The co-decision procedure is defined in Art. 294 TFEU and is applied in most policy areas. Up to the signing of the Lisbon Treaty, it covered more than 80 areas under the first pillar (European Commission 2010a). Sectors where the procedure applies are internal market, free movement of workers, education and culture. In contrast, the assent procedure is mainly applied when finding agreements with third countries or in the case of the joining of new Member States. Consultation, which is the last procedure described above, is used in areas such as agriculture, taxation and competition. The procedure that needs to be applied is appointed in the treaty.

In many cases, the wish to bring a policy field to the agenda and to develop it into a community policy does not only come from the interest group area, but as well from the

European Union itself. The EU realizes that there is a need for further integration, which is only possible with a stronger stand of the institutions. This includes a great transfer of rights not only concerning the economic areas. It also includes other areas of society where society can be strengthened through the development and fostering of common values as well as the creation of a physically as well as mentally well-equipped society. Hence, the transformation of diverse policy fields from national policies into community policies can create a win-win situation for the European Union and its institutions as well as for the interest groups active in the field.

The policy field in question will be discussed in different settings, such as hearings with stakeholders, informal meetings and working groups. Another hint towards a developing policy can be given via the work plan of the current presidency. They often put one of their core interests into a developing policy field, which is currently of high interest to several stakeholders and to the European Union.

If a policy field has been discussed within a variety of working groups, Committees are launched that deal with the topic. The topic ultimately becomes a unit in the associated Directorate General (DG); in other cases a DG for the specific topic is set up. For example, in the case of environmental policy, the DG Environment was created, while the DG Health and Consumer Protection combines different policy approaches. Work programs and explicit recommendations depict another step towards a community policy. The release of a White Paper then stands for the ultimate step before integrating a topic in the treaty framework. As soon as a new policy is integrated through its mentioning in a sole article in the treaty, the policy turns into an EU concern from a mere national matter. After this stage is reached, the measures to be taken should be determined in order to pursue the Union's interests and in order to reach the desired goals concerning the policy.

Some articles appear to be more specific than others. In some policy areas the Union is very explicit concerning what regulations are to be followed, and what measures are to be taken in case of a breach of the regulations. Concerning the free movement of goods for example, the treaty says, that

"[t]he Union shall comprise a customs union which shall cover all trade in goods and which shall involve the prohibition between Member States of customs duties on imports and exports and of all charges having equivalent effect, and the adoption of a common customs tariff in their relations with third countries." (TEC, Art. 28(ex 23))

Another example can be illustrated by agriculture and fishing policies, where the treaty as well calls for the implementation of a common policy, together with explicitly defining the meaning of agricultural products². Furthermore, in some cases very strict guidelines are

² The treaty reads as follows: "'Agricultural products' means the products of the soil, of stock farming and of fisheries and products of first-stage processing directly related to these products. References to the common agricultural policy or to agriculture, and the use of the term 'agricultural', shall be

given out concerning the implementation and organization of the policy on local, regional, national and European level. Other policy areas, as pointed out above, remain within the Member States' scope and mere recommendations are defining the implementation and organization of the policy. Additional policy areas are first dealt with in a vague context, before the treaty provisions later on get more precise. For a common defense policy: while the Nice Treaty suggested "that the progressive framing of a common defence policy *might* eventually lead to a common defence" (Gaspers 2008), the Lisbon Treaty says that it "will lead to a common defence, when the European Council, acting unanimously, so decides" (TEU Art. 42.2).

Concerning the policy areas where no specific regulations are put down, in many aspects the so-called soft-laws are applied, within which the Open Method of Coordination (OMC) plays a major role. In these cases, it is also hard to predict how the court is going to decide concerning a certain law suit, since legal framework conditions are not defined in detail. The court needs to decide case by case and future decisions can rely on former cases. Out of such law cases, more specific regulations can develop, since law cases often define certain matters and thus regulations concerning the policy in question are created.

Another special characteristic, after a policy has been introduced in the treaty, is the fact that following a support program for that policy can be released. Without the legal basis, such a program cannot be put into action due to the missing agreement of the Member States to foster this area of activity and to provide for it financially. Thus, as the different EU support programs show, a policy that has been incorporated in the EU legal framework is also equipped with a support program. Such support programs, especially those concerning the support of civil society in diverse policy areas, are explained in more detail in Part A, Chapter 2.4 of the thesis. Hence, support programs in the different policy fields not only depict a giving policy, but also create pressure on the Member States in charge of the policy. There is a need to foster the policy within the Member State as well as to move in the direction of mainstreaming in order to create more equal policy structures within the different Member States; thus, a need to move towards an EU policy scheme in the respective matter.

In summary, an EU policy enshrined in the EU Treaty can be implemented in two ways: On the one hand, the EU can make use of regulative policy instruments, binding the Member States to take certain actions and to carry out certain actions under specific measures. On the other hand, the EU institutions can lead a more distributive policy. They distribute goods towards the Member States and citizens. Concerning sports in the European Union, one can observe both ways. While sports as an economic activity is bound to EU competition law and thus falls under regulative policy schemes, a great part of sports can be

understood as also referring to fisheries, having regard to the specific characteristics of this sector." (TEU, Art. 38(ex Art 32 TEU))

connected to distributive policies, especially when considering the entering into force of the Lisbon Treaty and following a mere EU sport program. It could also be assumed that since sports as an economic activity does fall under competition law, it does not touch sports policy any longer.³ Hence, sports policy as such, not being an economic activity, would then be handled within the EU policy arena with distributive policy instruments only. However, sports has to be divided in two main strands and the Lisbon Treaty underlines the specificity of sport. In the following, the two faces of sports will be presented and discussed under the above raised questions.

2.3 The Specificity of Sport: Two Pillars of Sport

After having described how a policy field emerges on the EU agenda in general and the different approaches the EU institutions can take towards the development of a policy field, the focus will now be laid on sports in particular. Sports is dealt with in the European policy scheme in a unique manner. As will be explained in more detail throughout the thesis, sports consists of two main strands: professional and sports for all. Although the two strands complement each other and are related, especially concerning the EU sports system, with regard to policy they have very distinct features. Sports became a topic on the EU agenda due to economic interests, since it first appeared through different law suits regarding labor and employment law; hence, sports as being part of European economic policy. It was made clear that as soon as sporting activity appears to be an economic activity, it will be bound to EU law. Since this only applies to professional sports as well as people employed in the sports sector, it is very distinct from the areas of sporting activity where sports is carried out due to non-economic reasons, such as health-, culture- or enjoyment-related.

A second point to be mentioned can be found in the locations where sport is carried out. A great variety of sports clubs exists within the EU Member States, which can be described as non-profit and non-governmental organizations. However, these clubs carry out professional sports as well and thus cross the border between being for-profit and non-profit. Furthermore, other locations where sport is carried out exist. Commercial fitness clubs, health centers, or areas where sport is carried out individually without any institutional backing increasingly gain importance in the European Union. Thus, dealing with the term sports in the EU is neither always bound to non-profit associations nor to for-profit institutions.

Economic issues concerning sporting activities do not only go beyond employment issues, but also touch areas such as media rights or gambling. Both are very important areas in sports as well as to EU law. The sports for all sector, and thus the sports sector afar from

³ Here areas in question are where sport touches labor law, tax law etc.

economic interests, appears on the EU agenda on a different scheme. Thus, it is approached with different instruments and due to different reasons.

Sports in the European Union is twofold and has two faces: the big business/professional one and the sports for all/grassroot one. While the first can be described as being an economic activity, and thus touched by European economic law, the latter rather touches areas such as culture, integration, health, education and other areas. Part B of the dissertation gives a detailed discussion concerning the different policy areas where sports is part of, in the EU policy scheme, and how sports is being dealt with and approached in the different policy areas. One could even argue whether sports for all is at all part of an EU policy, since the Member States still have the sovereignty rights, and that it is being mainstreamed. However, since the EU deals with sports for all in the diverse policy fields related to it and funds sporting activities in the area of sports for all, the thesis at hand will consider sports for all as a matter of EU policy as well. Furthermore, the EU intrudes in sports for all areas as well through measures of taxing or dealing with volunteering, as it is an essential element of sports in the European Union.

Nevertheless, the two pillars of sports are very distinct and have to be looked at from different perspectives when dealing with sports and European Union policy. As it is already the case on Member State level, professional sports and sports for all are two very distinct areas. One could even speak about a developing disjuncture of the two sides of sport. However, within the European sports system and when dealing with sports clubs as actors on the European scene, a certain connection and mutuality between the two exists. The importance of this will be discussed in the course of this thesis.

Another crucial point the dissertation is going to discuss concerning sports in the European Union is the question on whether sports in the European Union develops into its own policy field, since professional sports is becoming part of competition law; meanwhile the sports for all level is being subordinated to a variety of policy fields depending on the matter touched. Hence, the question arises, whether there is even a need for a mere sports policy or can it be dealt with under other policy fields?

Before tackling such questions and going into detail concerning the methodology of the thesis at hand, the chapter will delve into national peculiarities and sports structures on the national level.

2.4 Sports Systems: National Specificities

As has been shown, sports in the European Union has two aspects: the professional – the big business side; and the sports for all – the small business side. As the Lisbon Treaty gave a legal basis to sports in the EU, and also before sports as an economic activity has been bound to EU law and several European Court of Justice (ECJ) rulings have taken place, one

has to differentiate also between the two sides concerning the sovereignty rights in the matter. The professional side of sport, which is sports as an economic activity, can be subordinated to competition policy and thus the EU has sovereignty rights over this area. The other face of sport, which is the sports for all side, remains within the scope of the Member States that also maintain the sovereignty rights over this area. Nevertheless, the European Union voices its interest in sports for all matters and its great desire to support sports for all activities and activities with non-economic nature, in order to strengthen societal values of sport. Hence, the direction this side of sports goes to can be described with the keyword of mainstreaming. The EU wishes to create mainstreaming measures. Areas where the EU does intrude are for example financial support, through which the EU can also have great influence on the Member States and the sports stakeholders. However, as the Member States maintain sovereignty rights in different sporting areas, one has to take a look at the national differences in order to be able to judge whether mainstreaming is possible.

There is a great number of sports clubs, as well as physically active citizens, in the European Union: A special Eurobarometer survey discovered that 40% of the European citizens are doing sports on a regular basis. However, the Member States' sports policies differ in many ways. Some are more engaged in sports than others; some even have different definitions of the term sport, which itself leads to different approaches towards the matter by the government. Concerning the differences in physical activity of the citizens, one can say that the Northern Countries and the Netherlands seem to be the most physically active. Finland and Sweden are at the top (72%), while the "citizens of Mediterranean countries and the 12 new Member States tend to exercise less than average" (European Commission 2010c, p.10). The greatest shortfalls can be observed in the countries of Bulgaria, Greece and Italy, where only 3% of the interviewees answered to be regularly physically active. The possibilities of being physically active also differ from country to country. A clear cut can be drawn between the old and new Member States. While in the old Member States three fourths of the survey participants see possibilities to exercise sports in their surroundings, only 56% see those possibilities in the new Member States. Concerning the places where sport is exercised, the most popular answer is the outdoors, with the exception of Greece, Malta and Romania. On the way to and from home, school or work is another popular place to exercise, followed by fitness centers which appear to be most made use of in Sweden, Cyprus and Denmark. Sports clubs are important areas for exercising in Germany and the Netherlands; and sports centers are used the mostly in Finland, Italy and Sweden. (ibid.) There are 12% of the overall respondents who are members of a sports club. Other places to do sports can be found at work, school or university. A great range of places where sport can be exercised exists – thus also a great range of places where the government can intrude.

In the Northern countries, for example, the state is very close to the sports sector. In the state of Denmark for example, sports depicts a part of culture. Thus, it is also incumbent in the Ministry of Culture. Concerning public support, sports receives funding, and all public sports facilities have to be free of charge. However, the finances for the sports sector evolve mainly from the tax or from gambling. The sports for all section receives the highest amount of funding, and all sports organizations enjoy full autonomy. Denmark has three main sports federations, which all have a pyramid structure. Concerning civil society and sport, one can say that civil society activities are valued as highly important for the sector. While in some countries sports is a governmental matter (centralized), in others it is organized decentralized and a sectional affair. In Germany, for example, each “Land” has its own sports ministry. Only the elite sports support is settled with the Federal Ministry of the Interior, and some aspects are also dealt with through the Federal Ministry of Education and Research. However, the main competence lies with the federal states.

In the Western World, sport, after appearing in a military sense, has been mainly evolved out of educational institutions such as schools and universities, and later on it developed into something elite in many cases – sport became a privilege, rather than a right. Nevertheless, all countries at a certain point in time strove for a different development, that sports should be something accessible to all people. To achieve this idea, great governmental intervention on national as well as local level is necessary. Here one can see the great discrepancy between Western and Eastern Sports Models (see: Riordan 1981), and this is where Communist sports people felt assaulted when being confronted with the Western sports world. Since sports was of major importance, the former Soviet countries were characterized through a very close state control, but also through support of the sports sector. Although these situations are in transition, great differences between the sports world in the Western and Eastern world are still evident as shown also in the above mentioned figures of the Eurobarometer.

The comparison shows that sports is organized diversely in the different European regions. As a fact one can say that sports in “all European countries is primarily organized in clubs” (Brusis 1999, p.11). However, the comparison of the different national sports systems and structures appears to be difficult, first due to different definitions of the terms. Even the terms of ‘club’ cannot be compared directly. The same holds true for expressions like ‘voluntary work’ (see: Heinemann 1999, p.18f.). Furthermore, statistics that were established in the different European countries are hard to compare due to varying definitions and methods, as well as different points in time when the statistics were calculated. Thus, only limited statements can be made about sports in Europe considering the comparison between the different sports models.

However, some general comparisons and statements can be made. While the English term “sport” and the English model of sport connected to it seems to have spread over the rest of continental Europe, the German term of ‘Turnen’ goes back to other traditions and thus a different definition of physical exercise. As Heinemann points out, the sporting culture in Europe can be assumed to have been generated by three different origins. The first can be found in the English definition of sports, being strongly dependent on competition and the wish to succeed over others. Secondly, the German tradition of ‘Turnen’ stands in contrast to the English ‘sport’, not concentrating on competition but rather on a healthy body, strength and skills. Besides physical education and thus a healthy body, the German tradition emphasizes the importance of “the intellectual as well as moral education” (Cachay 1988; Jahn and Eiselen 1816). The Swedish tradition can be seen as the third origin of European sport. The tradition builds on a form of training the body in different parts, comparing sports to a model of a machine.

All three origins of sports can be found in national sports structures nowadays. France seemed to have built their sports system first on Swedish gymnastics and later on included the German tradition. While France widely neglected the English model, the Spanish tradition started to incorporate the English model to a great extent. In Italy, sports can be described as highly politicized. Denmark’s sports structure as of today is based on Swedish as well as German traditions. Moreover, Germany today has departed from the traditional model of ‘Turnvater’ Jahn⁴, especially after the strong Allied influence after WWII. Thus, an Eastern and Western model can be differentiated as pointed out above. All sports systems have connection points at a certain point in time. As Gertrud Pfister underlined above, sports systems are consistently changing due to political and economical circumstances.

Very diverse models exist, which go back to even more diverse traditions. Today, there are differences in the organization and definition of sport, how a club is organized and what is described as voluntary work in sports. Citizens exercise in different extents and the places sport is being exercised also vary from region to region. When taking a look at European sports today, it appears that besides the national differences that are hard to decipher, other rather vertical fragmentations have to be made.

The differences pointed out above represent the sports structures on a national basis and thus create a horizontal fragmentation. However, it has to be pointed out that a differentiation of the national sports systems is rather difficult. This is due to the three

⁴ Ludwig Jahn developed a new form of physical education at the beginning of the 19th century. In Germany he is also known as the “Turnvater Jahn” (Father of Gymnastics Jahn) due to his great achievements in the field. He developed a combination of exercises that consist of gymnastics, running, jumping, throwing, climbing, swimming, wrestling, playing and hiking. Thus, it is a form of physical activity that comprised almost everything. Out of this, a public movement evolved that later led to the founding of the first gymnastics associations.

different levels of sports within a national context: (1) the professional level, (2) the sports for all level, and (3) the educational level. The first part comprises the professional sports clubs and associations on the national, regional and local level, which when an economic activity, as discussed previously, the EU institutions are in charge of. The sports for all level is part of the professional set up, since sports clubs and associations on national, regional and local level as well include amateur sportspersons. Hence, the professional and sports for all level are interlinked. The sports for all level in most cases profits financially from the professionals, while the latter is dependent on the first for support, accountability and acknowledgment. The third level mentioned, the educational level, includes all educational institutions dealing with sports such as schools and university that provide sports facilities. This level is mainly dependent on and thus influenced by the state, while the other two levels in some countries are organized independently from any government influence, in some they are also connected to the government system. While the educational institutions are controlled by regions in some countries, they are within the field of activity of the state in others.

It becomes clear that the Member States still have very diverse sports systems, which are hard to compare. However, one of the main approaches of the European Union is to go into the direction of mainstreaming in order to create similar structures throughout the Union. A description of a European sports model is discussed in more detail in Part B, Chapter 4 of this thesis.

2.5 EU Sports Policy – A Time Frame

In order to give a short overview, the following graph illustrates the main incidents that have taken place in the course of the development of European sports policy. It includes the most important events in the EU policy process in general such as Treaty ratifications and others. The incidents mentioned here will appear throughout the thesis as important landmarks and stepping stones in the course of bringing sports on the EU agenda and developing it into a policy within the European Union framework.

Sports entered the EU agenda through a Court decision, namely the Walrave / Koch judgment⁵. For the first time, sports became a matter of European law since sporting regulations depicted a violation of existing EU legal regulations. Subsequently, the ECJ decided that as long as a sporting activity appeared as an economic activity, it may fall under European law. Thus, rights were enforceable in front of the European Courts despite any existing sporting regulations. However, a final judgment was not enforced due to a last minute withdrawal of the case. The rules were changed so that the pacemakers will be able

⁵ As will be explained in more detail later on

to choose a team disregarding nationality. Nevertheless, the Court stated its opinion as pointed out above.

This incident, and many more to follow, turned out to be of vital importance for the sporting community of Europe, since several sporting regulations were no longer non-challengeable due to the Court decisions. In a reaction of a German football official towards a Court decision concerning European football, it read that “in the near future the whole system will break down” (Reimann 2005).

Sports entered the agenda as a clear economic matter from the side of professional sport, where sport is carried out as an economic activity. However, as described above, sports plays a further role on the European agenda. This other aspect consists of a more social value of sport, which was first mentioned in the Adonnino Report 1985. The European Sportforum that took place in 1991 was a first attempt to bring together all sides of sport: the European institutions, the professional sports people as well as organizations from a grassroots level sports background. During the next years, other court decisions followed which again brought about great discrepancy between sports stakeholders and the EU institutions. As the sports stakeholders tried to get involved in EU policy and closer cooperation developed among the IOC, Team Sports and the European Commission, as well as the first Members of Parliament took a stand for sports matters, it became clear that sports had to be dealt with from diverse perspectives in the EU framework. Hence, the next Treaties included declarations where sports was mentioned as a topic to be tackled. The Helsinki Report on Sport, published in 1999, depicted another milestone regarding the development of sports in Europe. The social and educational function of sports and the need to fight against doping were mentioned. Besides these topics, the Helsinki report also spoke about the legal aspect of sports and the need for sporting regulations to comply with existing EU law.

The sporting world hoped for the acknowledgement of the specificity of sport by the European institutions in order to be able to carry out the different sports on a professional level in terms of their regulations. Some Court decisions fostered this hope (e.g. Meca-Medina⁶).

In 2004, the European Year of Education through Sport (EYES) is considered as a great acknowledgement by the European Union towards the social functions of sport. In the course of the program, a great amount of sports projects were carried out and funded by the EU.

The development of sports on the European agenda culminated in the publication of the White Paper on Sport. Here sports is also regarded as having two aspects: the economic dimension on the one hand, the social value of sports on the other. Closely connected in time

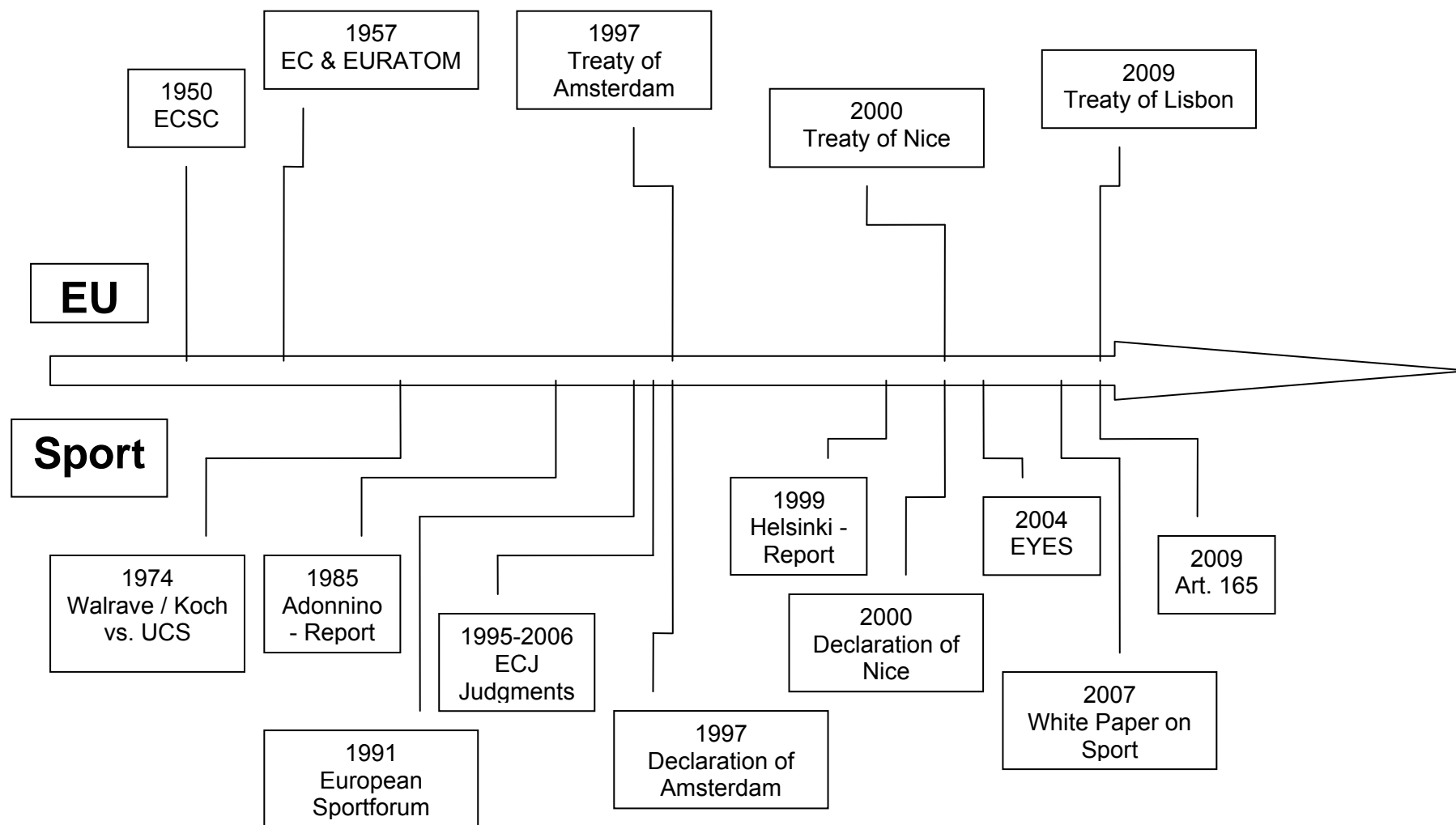
⁶ Will be explained in more detail in Part B, Chapter 2.

with the publication of the White Paper and the associated Pierre de Coubertin Action Plan, the European Member States started to sign the Lisbon Treaty, which also included an article on the matter of sports (Art. 165 (ex 145 TEC). This treaty article brought about hope as well as frustration – and entered into force in December 2009, after a negative referendum in Ireland, which was turned into a positive one in October 2009.⁷

The following graph gives an overview of the main occurrences in time as described above. It starts with the launch of the European Communities in 1950 on the European development side and the first legal judgments in sports by the European Court of Justice on the sporting side. A more detailed summary of the developments will be given in Part B, Chapter 2 of the dissertation, when talking about sports policy in the European Union and its set-up.

⁷ A more detailed overview of the developments in sports policy in the European Union will be given in Part B, Chapter 2

Fig. Intro-2.5 EU Sports Policy – Time Frame



Source: based on (Klaus 2010)

3 Methodology

The methodology applied in this dissertation in order to test the given theses is the core of this chapter. This study aims to answer the main research question:

What will future EU sports policy look like? What role does civil society play?

Several theses have been composed with the aim of narrowing the main research question down and of facilitating the choice of the research methodology. The theses will be partly answered in the course of a literature analysis in the following chapters, and they will be proven with the help of the methodology explained. In addition to the theses presented and discussed, the dissertation is based on a set of questions raised throughout the empirical section. The main empirical methods are semi-structured, qualitative interviews, which were based on these questions, and which lead to the creation of a detailed picture of the current and future EU sports policy scene. Besides these qualitative interviews, other methods have been applied as well. Each method will be portrayed and analyzed where the method is applicable. Subsequently, a justification for the methods follows.

3.1 The Theses

Connected to the main research question are a variety of theses, which have been tested in the course of the research. The theses will be presented and explained briefly.

3.1.1 *Sports enhances integration.*

The question at base of the first Part of the study at hand is whether sports is able to enhance integration (societal as well as European integration) and if yes to which extent. This will be the topic of Part A, Chapter 1. It will be determined through an extensive literature analysis.

3.1.2 *EU sports policy can have a positive effect on EU integration.*

Following the preceding thesis, the second thesis arises. After determining the use of sports for integration in general, the next targets European integration and seeks to prove the sports' ability in having a positive effect on the Union's integration process. This will be partly evaluated and shown in the second part of Chapter 1, Part A, also as part of a literature analysis.

3.1.3 *Civil Society strengthens European integration.*

Chapter 2 (Part A) will then turn towards the topic of civil society and its role within the EU. It aims to prove the thesis that civil society is able to contribute to the strengthening of European integration.

3.1.4 *Civil society plays a decisive role in the policy field of sports.*

After determining the general role of civil society in the EU, the following chapter of Part A will discuss the question if civil society plays an important role within sports, and thus within EU sports policy. Furthermore, this thesis will elaborate on the question which actors interact with the EU, who are the strongest actors, and whether civil society is able to influence European sports policy.

3.1.5 *Transnational EU sports projects enhance European integration.*

Transnational civil society projects can be accounted as one of the essential instruments of European policy concerning civil society. Thus, the fifth thesis turns towards the inclusion of civil society within sports policy and covers the main instrument, namely the future EU sport program, coming into being after the signing of the Lisbon Treaty. Proof for this thesis will be drawn from the literature, as well as from the interviews and the survey conducted.

3.1.6 *Sports is gaining importance on the EU Agenda.*

The thesis states that the topic of sports has gained importance on the EU agenda during the past years or even decades. Whether or not this thesis holds true will be tested with a document analysis of Part B of the study, showing in which EU documents sports appears and whether or not the appearance of the topic has increased recently. Furthermore, the interviewees' answers of the qualitative interviews are analyzed with the thesis above in mind.

3.1.7 *Sports is an annex policy to a variety of policy fields.*

The thesis claims that sports does not appear as a detached policy field within the EU, but that it rather appears as annexed to a great variety of other policy fields. If this holds true, and how this can be explained in practice, will be another core element of the second part of the thesis (Part B). The main foundation of proof will be given through a document analysis.

3.1.8 *Sports can draw merits out of being annexed to other policies.*

Whether or not the sports sector is able to benefit from the fact of being annexed to other policy fields is the task to be proven in the eighth thesis. This will also be evaluated when talking about the emergence of European sports policy (Part B), as well as within parts of the interviews conducted.

The main part of the theses deals with the literature and document analysis chapters of the dissertation (Part A and B). The qualitative and quantitative research section then comes in for the description of the actual policy field of sport, the current developments and the role of civil society. The interactions of sports stakeholders, the role of the EU institutions, and civil society organizations are part of the interviews. It includes the stakeholders' opinions towards the EU, differentiation between professional and amateur sport, and the various views about a future EU sports policy. Thus, Part C is entitled "*The Present and Future of EU Sports policy – Analysis of Differing Views*".

The above listed theses build the base for the main research question. The necessity for a European sports policy only comes into being, if there is a use for it. If the theses can be tested correctly through the literature analysis and in the two subsequent Parts of the dissertation (A and B), it can consequently be applied to the core question how a future EU sports policy might look like: who is in charge of what, who are the main actors, which topics are of interest and to whom, as well as what will the future of an EU sports policy be like. Furthermore, the whole dissertation will show why civil society actors play a decisive role within sports in the EU, and in which way civil society can profit from an EU sports policy. It also includes how the EU can profit from the inclusion of civil society in the EU sports policy process. This will be dealt with in the concluding chapter.

The methodological base of the study consists of three elements: document analysis, semi-structured qualitative interviews and quantitative survey. However, the latter will not be taken into account to a great extent due to short comings in the project evaluated in the course of the survey.

In the document analysis, EU documents, current press-releases and ongoing discussions on the European and sports scene were scanned and analyzed. This methodology was chosen in order to present the current EU legal documents prevalent for the policy area dealt with in the thesis. Moreover, it aims to draw an up-to-date picture of the European sports scene. Semi-structured interviews with experts from the field were carried out with the aim to get deeper insight in the policy field and the ongoing processes.

The survey was conducted in May 2008 in the course of an EU funded civil society project. The project participants were surveyed regarding their views on the project and their opinions about the EU and sports in general. The project was meant to be a sports project, but turned out to be a student exchange without the inclusion of sport, and is thus no longer the source of methodology as intended in the beginning. Nevertheless, the answers given in the questionnaires are presented in the annex, since they show a small section of EU funded civil society projects and can hence serve as an example.

3.2 The Questions

Besides the above introduced theses, the empirical work of the dissertation was based on a set of questions elicited during the interviews that were conducted with various actors of the European sports arena. The questions were raised in order to be able to draw a better picture of the sports scene, and to determine some facts and opinions about the present as well as future of sports in the European Union. Since up to the signing of the Lisbon Treaty sports had not been an official EU policy field, due to a missing legal basis, the literature also lacks a great variety of detailed work about the topic. The actors related to sports in Europe are getting more and more involved in the policy of the EU. Moreover, the EU's work in the area is increasing and thus changing. Hence, there is a definite need for a detailed description of the emerging policy field and the current developments. This is to be achieved through the interviews that are built on the questions explained below.

3.2.1 What are the Policy Issues of sports in the EU?

The interview analysis starts with the definition of the main policy issues in the EU concerning sport. The different appraisals of the interviewees will be presented. The main topics mentioned will then be discussed, giving background information as well as taking into account the interviewees' opinions. In an additional part, two topics are identified as the main topics dealt with and most important to the study. Hence, these two topics are examined in more detail. The views of the sports stakeholders and of the commission are analyzed, the importance of the topics for the field of sports in the EU is defined and its future developments are discussed.

3.2.2 Who are the actors on the European sports policy scene? Which are most important?

The document analysis chapter is dealing with the policy field of sports and the historical developments and facts and figures. In addition it lists the actors on the field, and thus has been an indicator for the interviewee selection. During the empirical research, the question was raised which actors the interviewees would depict as most important on the scene. The different actors are listed and discussed concerning the opinion of other sports stakeholders about them. Furthermore, it is analyzed why they are described as most important.

3.2.3 How are the relations between the actors on the scene?

After having analyzed the most important actors of the EU sports scene, the relations between the actors are dealt with in the subsequent section. The appraisal of the interviewees, financial dependencies and analysis of the interviews regarding the beliefs and attitudes of the interviewees towards each other are taken into account.

3.2.4 *Is Football stronger than the smaller actors?*

Football appears to be one of the most important actors due to its financial assets. Because of its public reputation, it appears to be a very active stakeholder on the European scene. Some fear that football is a mighty actor, overruling others, and having a great influence on the developments of EU sports policy. This fear is discussed and analyzed on the basis of the interviewees' opinions about football and its influence, especially taking into account the UEFA interview. The relation of football towards other sports stakeholders as well as to FIFA/UEFA and between the two, which are the two biggest sports governing bodies in football, and the relations with the Commission are examined.

3.2.5 *Can professional sports and sports for all be dealt with separately?*

In the course of the study, the EU's differentiation between the social role and the economic dimension of sport has been related to the differentiation between sports for all and professional sport. In this section of the empirical work, it is analyzed whether these differentiations can be made in the eyes of the interviewees. Their opinions and thoughts about the issue are explored and compared, in order to find an answer on how to deal with the difficulty of combining both sides of sport, while having to separate them in certain matters.

3.2.6 *How important is EU funding for sports?*

EU funding is an important instrument concerning citizen participation and civil society projects. Hence, the issue of funding in sports is a very important one in this dissertation. The EU plans to set up an EU sport funding program for the next funding period after Lisbon is ratified and thus a legal basis is created. The heights of this budget and the interviewees' opinion about it are two of the topics analyzed in this section. Furthermore, the need for such funding program and other ways of funding for sports projects are also examined.

3.2.7 *How can a future EU sports policy look like? What is wished for?*

Last but not least, the empirical research considers the future visions of the different sports actors in the EU. In addition, their desires for a future sports policy are explored in order to be able to draw a picture of possible future developments in the policy field at the end of this thesis.

3.3 Data Gathering and Data Analysis

Since the research methodology is divided, all three forms of research will be explained in the following. The different forms will be defined according to current research literature, as

well as going into detail about the way the different forms of research were applied in the dissertation at hand.

3.3.1 Theoretical Analysis: Document Analysis

A document analysis describes the scanning and analyzing process of official documents, text, film, video or other “objects, from which one can draw a conclusion of human thinking, feeling and acting”, meaning that the object can be interpreted (Mayring 2002, p.47, translated by author). Documents depict objectification of their creator’s psyche (see: *ibid.* p.47). In the study, documents used were EU documents dealing with EU policies, mainly sports, press online publications and network newsletters.

The documents used here are described in more detail in Part B, Chapter 2 of this thesis in chronological order. Examples are different ECJ decisions concerning sporting matters, the different EU treaties including amendments and declarations attached to the treaties. Furthermore, documents of interest can be found in Parliament resolutions, reports and presidency conclusions. In addition to the EU documents, press releases of sports stakeholders, official statements and conference proceedings will function as document bases to the research at hand.

After scanning the EU documents that deal with EU and sports, as well as going through the press releases, online newspapers and following scientific network newsletters, a constellation of actors within the scene was established. This is done in order to select possible interview partners for the semi-structured interviews. In this regard three clusters could be built: representatives of EU institutions, representatives of sports organizations and think tanks. The middle category could then be divided again in three levels: local, national and European/international. It aims to present a picture of the EU level. However, since local and national representatives appear to not be involved in the EU policy process to a great extent, the interviewees chosen are mainly from the European level. The only national sports representatives included can be found in the National Olympic Committees that are all united in the European Sports Office based in Brussels and all refer to this institution as their speaker in European matters. The sports world as a whole, especially on the European level, appears to speak with one voice, united in the aforementioned Sports Office. Thus, only very few other institutions had a differing voice to present. Since sports in the EU is a relatively new controversial topic in the European Union, only a limited number of think tanks dealing with the matter could be spotted.

3.3.2 Qualitative Research: Expert Interviews

The main first hand empirical source of this thesis can be found in qualitative semi-structured expert interviews. This method was chosen as the main empirical data source due to various merits. First of all, the expert interview often provides a significantly shorter way into the field,

including an “unrivalled dense data acquisition” (Bogner and Menz 2005, p.7), in comparison to other methodological approaches such as monitoring or quantitative studies. The policy field of sports in the EU does not yet exist as such, and is thus not yet very evident neither in the institutional sphere of the Union, nor in the sports world outside of Brussels. Moreover, the expert interview appeared to be the most suitable device to gain an insight into the newly evolving field.

In order to define the term expert in the field, the actor scene of sport in the EU was analyzed through the above mentioned document analysis. Hence, it was possible to point out the most important actors of the field. Persons of high knowledge of the scene, or at least of one side of the scene (Sports and/or EU), have been chosen as interviewees. Thirteen interviews can be counted as full length. The relatively low number can be accounted to the aforementioned lack of different actors in the Brussels sports scene, as well as to the difficulty of reaching sports governing bodies throughout Europe via phone and mail. Since the majority of interviewees from the same field had presented quiet similar answers, it was chosen not to conduct any more interviews. This is due to the conviction of the author; after rechecking with reliable sports persons of the scene, a suitable picture of the European Sports policy has been successfully drawn with the rather small number of interviews; being complimented with the document analysis.

3.3.3 Quantitative Research: Survey

As pointed out above, the quantitative survey conducted in May 2008 dealt with an EU funded project. The project idea and implementation came from the Baltic Sea Forum⁸, a registered association that built up a network of different institutions (cultural, economical, political, personal etc.) around the Baltic Sea. Their aim is to foster a closer cooperation of the cultural, economical and political scene around the European inland sea. The “business lotse”, a private think tank, consultant and project initiator, functioned as the driving force in the project realization, and thus the idea for the “Baltic Sea Round 2008” was born. The main idea was to organize a relay around the Baltic Sea that connects all different states and their people in one sporting event and discusses current topics and problems prevalent in the region (of cultural, economical as well as political nature) along the way. Due to certain shortfalls in the project organization and a lack of additional sponsors, the project was not carried out as expected. In the end it was a mere exchange of students originating from four riparian states around the inland sea: Denmark, Finland, Germany, and Sweden, were included. It excluded any running, but the students rather taking bus and ferry from one university to another. Nevertheless, the aim of an exchange of ideas and lively discussions was fulfilled and a follow up including sports is planned.

⁸ www.baltic-sea-forum.org

The survey was carried out through written questionnaires among all participants of the project. This constitutes one type of quantitative research method. The questionnaire was structured as follows: all questions were followed by predetermined answers in a given order, and can thus be described as fully structured (see: Diekmann 2004, p.374ff.).

After the overview of the different research methods are applied from a theoretical perspective and from the practical perspective of the actual research undertaken, there should be a justification for the different methods. Thus, the next part will deal with the reasons in applying the given specific methods.

3.4 Justification of Research Design

This section provides justification of the different methods and the overall research design. The methods will be analyzed again separately concerning their value and their specific applicability for the desired outcomes with the research conducted. Then the overall research design as a combination of the different methods will be justified.

3.4.1 Documents

Sports is a very young policy field. Some believe that without a legal basis, it would not have been a policy field of its own yet. After the signing of the Lisbon Treaty, opinions have changed, but it still remains crucial whether sports can be fully depicted as an EU policy field. Nevertheless, a lot of activity has taken place lately in sports in the European Union, which has not yet been dealt with in a great variety of literature. The most current developments can be found in several EU documents, such as the White Paper on Sport or committee statements. Furthermore, EU documents are reliable sources in analyzing the current developments. Additional documental sources can be found in speeches of different politicians as well as conference proceedings, dealing with the topic from different perspectives (political, scientific). For these reasons, the document analysis plays an important role in the research at hand.

The choice of documents used in order to reach a high value of perception can be based on six criteria as defined by Mayring (Mayring 2002, p.48): (1) In the form of the documents, EU documents can be seen as reliable since they are official documents. Newspaper articles are not as reliable; however, they express the opinion of the author and/or the press institutions and thus mostly reflect a public opinion about topics of public interest. (2) Concerning outer characteristics, EU documents, press releases and online articles represent a form which is readable as well as interpretable. (3) The inner characteristics refer to the content, which can be valued as of interest for the matter of the dissertation concerning the documents used. (4) The cause of the creation of a document also plays a role. In this thesis, the documents were intended to function as public and

internal information, regulations, directives, or as a mere opinion formulation. Thus, they are of value for the analysis conducted. (5) Whether or not the document at hand is close to the object that it shall document represents the fifth criterion for the value of perception. Since all documents used directly deal with sports policy or EU policy referring to sports, this criterion can be seen as fulfilled. (6) The last criterion to be tested is the origin of the document, in order to prove whether this document derives from a reliable source. In the case of EU documents, the source can be described as reliable, since the EU website and the Commission publications are supervised and creditable. Online publications such as press articles are reliable as well. The articles used in the study at hand were downloaded from trusted and reliable websites.

The document analysis, however, only functions as empirical data in order to define the framework conditions of the policy field of sports, to be able to describe the field better, as well as to identify the main actors. The actor identification was also necessary for the interview conduction.

3.4.2 Qualitative Interviews

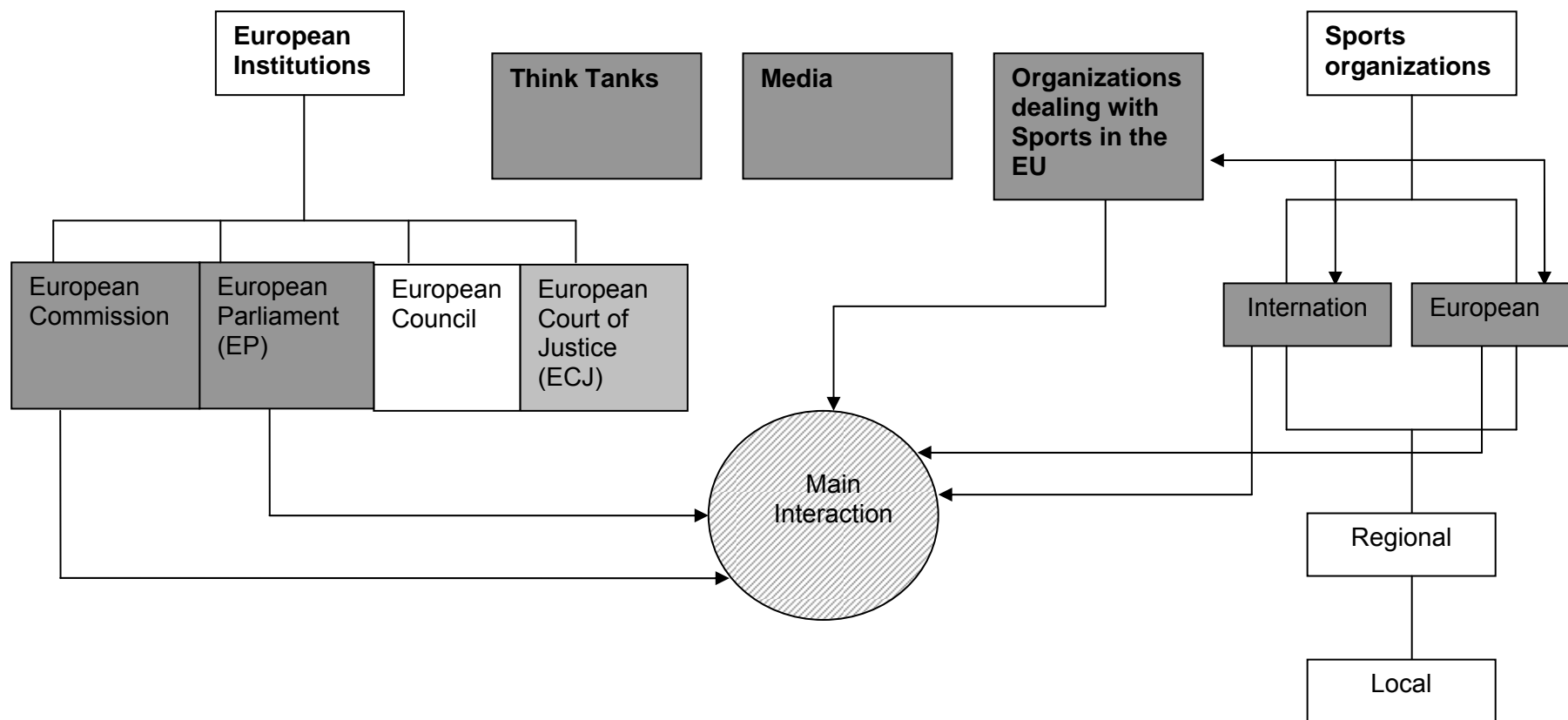
The qualitative interviews build the main base of the empirical research; hence, they were carried out in the study. The source was chosen due to the rather newly evolving field of sports policy in the European Union. They were conducted with experts from the core field with different backgrounds. The interviewee identification took place via the document analysis and the creation of an actor constellation, through which the most important actors related to the policy field of sports in the European Union were identified. Experts can be considered as a so-called “medium, through which the social scientist is going to gain knowledge about the circumstances of interest to his/her research” (Gläser and Laudel 2006, p.10). The experts need to have a special, sometimes even exclusive, position within the social context of the research. Thus, the interviewees chosen are all connected to the policy field. They are active in different areas of the field and have been chosen through an actor constellation. They are all experts in their field of activity and/or interest, and thus qualify as experts in the sense for expert interviews. Most of the interviewees are employees of EU institutions or big sports organizations, and are thus directly related to the field with special insight knowledge.

One has to refer to the dichotomy of sports, concerning the prospective interviewees and sports stakeholders. On the one hand, the sports for all side has to be recognized and represented; on the other hand the professional side of sports, including professional sports organizations, is the focus of this research. Certain organizations cannot be assigned to one specific side of sport, since they are working with an overall sports theme.

Interviewees were chosen from the main activity fields of EU sports policy. Five main groups have been identified, where actors are involved. The first group is composed of the

(political) EU institutions; the second one can be found in the various sports organizations. Besides these two main groups, three other fields of actors are connected to the topic of EU sports policy: think tanks, the media, and organizations directly working on EU sports policy or dealing with sports in the EU. The following illustration shows the actors involved in the field, the main groups and sub-actors, before going into detail about the interviewees chosen.

Fig. Intro.3.4.a Actor Constellation



Source: own compilation

Among the EU institutions, some are involved deeper in the topic than others. The institution with the greatest involvement is the European Commission with the DG Education and Culture and its Sports Unit, as well as other DGs dealing with sports as an annex policy field, e.g. DG competition, DG Health and Consumers et al. Furthermore, the European Parliament can be seen as connected to EU sports policy due to the interests of certain Members of Parliament (MEP), and special working groups dealing with sports related topics. The European Court of Justice as well deals with sports issues, mainly if annexed to other policy fields, such as questions of worker's rights and other concerns. In the big business side of sports, the ECJ even depicts the most important institution, as it decides over very crucial issues of the policy. The fourth European institution, the European Council, also deals with sports issues when taking decisions and adopting declarations concerning the topic of sports policy in the EU. Within the institutions, interview partners were chosen from the two main bodies involved in the field of sports: the European Commission and the European Parliament. The DG Education and Culture, a representative of the agency in charge of the supervision of funding programs, and MEPs from three different countries engaged in sports topics were selected. The ECJ and Council have been left out due to practical reasons as difficulties in the interview arrangement. Moreover, the main opinions and information needed from these institutions could be extracted from official documents.

The second main group, the sports organizations, comprises a much larger set of actors. First of all, the sports organizations can be divided in international, European, national, regional and local. In addition, most of the sports organizations on all levels are fragmented concerning their field of sports activity. Interviewees here were chosen from the international and European level only since they are the ones directly involved, and from where information are trickling down to the lower levels. Some national or even regional and local sports organizations get connected to e.g. the European Commission regarding special topics, as well as they are receiving EU funding. However, the bigger organizations are directly involved in discussion rounds on EU level. The International and European Olympic Committees (IOC/EOC) play a major role in this regard, as well as the European team sports, with UEFA and FIFA as highly involved actors. Thus, interviewees can be found at UEFA, the EOC representative in Brussels, one international team sports representative and a European individual sports representative. Furthermore, the European Non-Governmental Sports organization (ENGSO) and its youth equivalent (ENGSO Youth), as well as the international sports for all association (TAFISA) have been interviewed to complete the picture. Brief telephone interviews have been conducted with representatives of German regional sports ministries.

The main organization dealing with sports in the EU has been identified as the European Sports Office, whose head represents the EOC in Brussels and has been interviewed in his different functions.

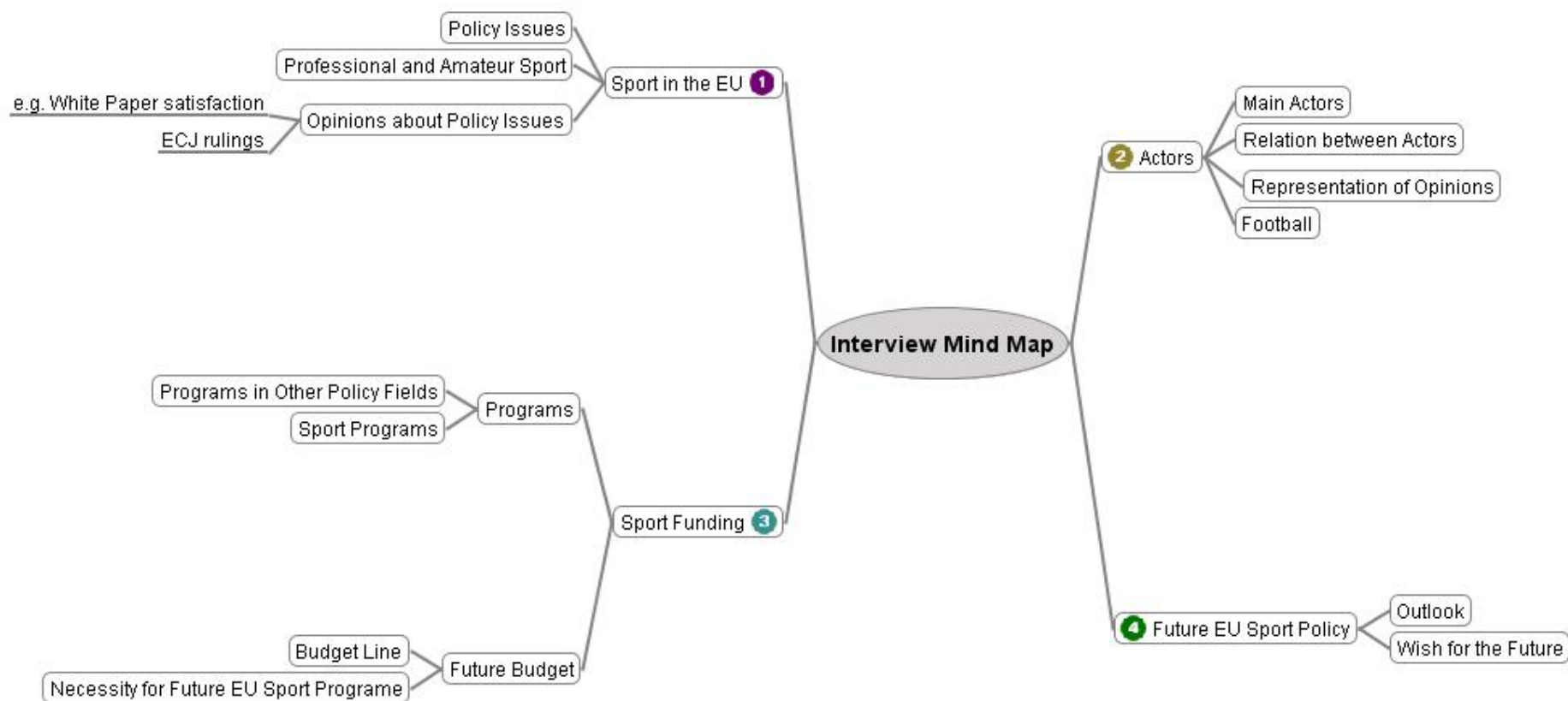
Two Think Tanks dealing with EU policy have been chosen: One is the Center of European Policy (CEP), which stated not to deal with the topic of sports in the EU in detail and thus not being able to be interviewed on the topic. The other one is the think tank Sport et Citoyenneté, which deals with the involvement of citizens and sports in the EU.

The last group of actors, the media, has not been interviewed, but rather scanned for information, mainly through online publications. The two main sources to be named are “Play the Game” as well as the internet platform Euractive.com.

A detailed overview of the interview partners can be found in the annex.

As discussed above, the interviews were conducted as semi-structured (except one interview via mail, which was structured but still with open questions), and either carried out via phone or face to face. The interview content was built alongside the thesis and questions presented above. The four main clusters of questions tracked were: (1) Sports in the EU, (2) Actors, (3) Sports Funding, and (4) Future EU Sports Policy. In the interview analysis, these question clusters were again divided into nine subordinate questions, answering the questions and thesis as stated in this methodology. The cluster “Sports in the EU” comprises the question concerning the current policy issues as identified by the interviewee. This leads to the second query in this set, which asks for the interviewee’s or the official organization’s opinion towards certain EU sports policy topics, such as the White Paper on Sport implementation. A third question in this cluster dealt with the connection between professional and amateur sports, and the possible problematic nature of different national sports policies. The second set of questions, titled “Actors”, asks for the analysis of the main actors in the field, as well as the representation of opinions concerning bigger and smaller actors. Furthermore, the relationships between the different actors were queried. Football as a special actor and the interviewee’s opinion towards their involvement and relations was reviewed as well. Further question sets can be found in concluding questions dealing with EU funding possibilities for sports projects and the shape and wish for a future European sports policy. The first one asks on the one hand for current funding possibilities under other EU policy schemes, and the installment of a special sport program; on the other hand the interviewees’ opinion about the intended future budget is asked for. The last set of questions focuses on a future outlook and the interviewees’ view of how a future sports policy should be, as well as the personal wish for such a policy. The following mind map will illustrate the given sets of questions as explained.

Fig. Intro.3.4.b Interview Mind Map



Source: own compilation

As seen above, the interviews were structured along the guidelines visualized in the mind map. Hence, the interviews were non-standardized and consisted of a set of open questions. These types of interviews are recommended

- “if an interview has to deal with various differing topics, which are defined through the objectives of the study and not through the interviewees;
- if the interview needs to survey specific, definable information” (see: Gläser and Laudel 2006, p.107, translated by author).

Both statements are applicable when conducting expert interviews. On the one hand they are conducted as a communication process, on the other hand as a social science method for data collection. The only exceptions arise if standardized answers are needed in order to create quantification from the interviews. Then a more standardized questionnaire needs to be applied. Furthermore, the interview has to be more open if the focus lies on narrative aspects. The interviews at base of this thesis will function as communication processes, dealing with various topics of the sports policy processes in the EU. In addition, they survey specific information about the organizations’ relations towards the EU, informal meetings and others. Hence, the semi-structured open interviews had to be applied in order to study the given theses and questions of this dissertation project.

3.4.3 Quantitative Survey

The quantitative survey carried out in this study functions as an example for an EU funded project. Quantitative methodology is applied in order to be able to make a statement concerning statistical facts about the examined object. In the case at hand, the examined object is the EU funded project. In order to be able to analyze the participants’ preferences and characteristics, and thus to produce connections between these characteristics and the participation in the project, the survey was conducted.

The quantitative method can be described as a census of the project “Baltic Sea Round” since, as pointed out above, the questionnaires of the survey were handed out through the project to all participants with a response rate of 65.55%⁹. Since the quota of returned questionnaires lies above 2/3rd of the universe, and when compared with certain characteristics of the universe (nationality, age, sex), it could be concluded that the sample is representative (Schöneck and Voß 2005, p.69ff.).

If the survey aspired to make general statements about EU funded projects in general, it would not be representative as a sample survey. This is because the range of respondents does not apply to any given sample selection method, such as (1) arbitrary sample, (2) quota sample, or (3) sample of typical cases (ibid. p.72ff.). Hence, the given

⁹ The universe of participants was 90 and 59 questionnaires were turned back in.

survey merely functions as an example of EU funded civil society projects. A brief analysis is found in the annex.

The fact that the project was no longer carried out as a sports project, the survey does not stand in the center of the dissertation at hand. However, it rather describes what the participants of the Baltic Sea Round are taking out of such projects. Their views concerning sporting issues can only serve as an example on what people participating in an EU cross-border project think about sport, but will to no extent be representative due to the sample chosen in comparison to the variety of the universe of participants of EU projects.¹⁰

3.5 Overall Research Design

The dissertation at hand bases on a threefold research design. The documents are taken as information sources in order to describe the landscape of the developing sports policy in EU framework. Furthermore, a quantitative study of an EU funded civil society project called “Baltic Sea Round” functions as an example project. Lastly, the core method used to test the given theses and answer the questions raised as for the aim of the dissertation can be found in qualitative semi-structured expert interviews.

It is often useful to rely on mixed methods in order to be able to draw a complete picture of a policy field. The documents and surveys used as primary and secondary sources are mainly used to lay out the basis and be able to explain the frameworks of the policy field of EU sports, identify the actors of the arena, and get an insight into the main issues dealt with. The survey will be dealt with on the side of this thesis and will not be taken into great consideration when describing sports, its actors, policy issues and civil society inclusion, but rather function as a mere example.

After a threefold literature analyses (Part A) giving a theoretical base to the dissertation, the second part consists of the description of the policy field of sports through document analyses (Part B), before the empirical methods will be applied in Part C of the dissertation. The theoretical base will discuss the history and theoretical approaches of European integration, introducing sports and its role concerning integration in general and European integration in particular. Subsequently, civil society and its role within the European Union will be presented, as well as its interface with sports. A correlation will then be drawn between sports, civil society and European integration. Part B presents EU documents in order to give an overview of the European sporting landscape, especially concerning the development of a European sports policy. Part C will present the empirical findings of the qualitative research. The qualitative interviews, conducted among a variety of

¹⁰ In the Baltic Sea Round participants were only students in four countries, while the universe of EU project participants consists of a great variety of people with different occupations, working within all 27 EU Member States.

sports actors in the EU, as well as on the national and international sphere, will be the main source of information in order to be able to analyze what is going on in EU sports policy at the moment. It includes who is involved and to what extent, what is talked about, and by whom and what kind of relations exist between the different actors on the scene. In this context, it will be discussed which role civil society actors play in the policy process of sports in the European Union.

A Sports, Integration and Civil Society

The first part of the thesis (Part A) will present a set of literature analyses that explains the coherences between European integration, sports and civil society. Due to the scientific positioning of the dissertation in the field of EU governance and civil society research, as well as the aim of surveying the role of civil society in an emerging EU sports policy and the benefits for either the EU and/or the civil society sector, the following elaborations will give an additional base to understand the consistencies. This Part will test the first set of theses laid out in the methodology (3.1.1/3.1.2/3.1.3/3.1.4/3.1.5) and thus clarify, whether sport enhances integration, whether EU sports policy can have a positive effect on EU integration and whether civil society strengthens European integration. In addition, the following part will lay a focus on civil society and analyze whether civil society plays a decisive role in the policy field of sports in the European Union. In conclusion, the thesis whether transnational EU sports projects are able to enhance European integration will be addressed.

The EU is a complicated and changing concept in various ways. It consists of a great variety of actors, politics, polities and policies. As this dissertation has been devoted to the peculiarities of the European Union concerning one specific policy: sports policy, which will be the subject-matter of Part B, and a certain kind of actors active in this area: civil society, these two core concepts will be the base of the following chapter. The Union has undergone great changes, and integration can be seen as a central keyword describing those. Integration can be seen as a normative concept; however, in terms of the EU it can be rather depicted as an ongoing process. This fact becomes clear in the development of the different policies and the coherent political changes. For a long time, sports policy has not been a central matter within the EU and up to now no legal basis exists concerning this matter. Nevertheless, a lot has been going on in the area of sports and EU: political documents were elaborated and published, institutions were brought to life dealing with the topic, and actors have been involved in the process of developing an EU sports policy for the future. The form of appearance of this policy is yet unclear, including the involvement of stakeholders in the future. For this reason, the study at hand deals with the topic in order to shed some more light on the complex developments and relations within the sphere of European sports policy. The first step on this journey will involve the conceptualization of the European integration process and the role that sports plays. Moreover, the chapter will examine sports with regard to European integration, before describing civil society and its role concerning European integration.

Sports, integration and civil society are not only the core concepts of this chapter, but also depict the base of the whole dissertation. European multi-level governance and the integration process are some of the essential elements of the research. Thus, an

introduction into integration theory appears to be necessary as a basis, as well as the presentation of multi-level governance as one essential approach in more detail. Then the chapter will lead over to sports and integration. Sports policy also comes in as a principal object of research in the course of the dissertation. Thus, the correlation between sports and integration, whether such a correlation exists, to what extent and what this can mean for European integration and sports policy, are of essential interest in the following sub-chapters and concluding remarks of Part A. In addition, the concept of civil society, and hence third sector research, and its correlation with sports and integration will be analyzed in the last subsection of this chapter. Civil society depicts an important actor in the European arena, whose importance is rising during the last decades. Sports is one of the greatest fields of activity within the third sector and civil society plays a decisive role when it comes to the fostering of European integration in a great variety of research. Hence, a connection between the three concepts can be assumed, and will be analyzed in the following.

1 Sports and European Integration

“What we have to do is reinvent the idea of Europe.” (Peter Mandelson in: Cendrowicz 2005)

Sports and *Integration* are the two keywords that will be the core of the following chapter. In order to be able to refer those keywords to each other as well as to analyze whether or not both of them together even build a valuable concept, the understanding of the two terms in this context are clarified first.

Concerning the theoretical background of European integration, various theories exist. First of all, the meaning of integration has to be clarified, before then discussing the different theories regarding a political set-up such as the European Union. As Beate Kohler-Koch and Martin Schmidberger put it: “Integration is the (...) peaceful and voluntary combination of societies, states and national economies across existing national, constitutional and economic borders” (Kohler-Koch/Schmidberger 1996, in: Kohler-Koch et al. 2004, p.28, translated by author). Thus, the main goal behind European integration is to bring together the different peoples residing within the EU borders, and to create a geographical, political, cultural and economical unity.

In everyday society, when hearing the word “integration”, people first and foremost think about migration streams, people from different cultures, ethnic and religious backgrounds within a new environment. Furthermore, integration can be understood as the integration of handicapped people - healthy children playing together with children in wheelchairs. In feminist thinking, it might mean the integration of women into the public sphere, traditionally dominated by men. However, all these pictures come to the conclusion that someone is integrated into a certain kind of society, where she/he seems to be/is a minority.

Concerning the EU and the term of integration, the picture of a person being integrated into a social group the person seems to be different to becomes blurred. The point is, all are Europeans – so why is there a need for integration? Despite the fact that all are Europeans, all are very distinct as well. The EU desires to join its peoples, to bring them together at one table, and to let them move and reside freely wherever they wish within the borders of the Union. Furthermore, its aim includes not only the protection of national diversity, but also the overall support of the EU and its processes. The EU itself would give another definition of integration within its context. Integration can be understood here as the process of joint decision making; as a Union which grows closer and closer politically, legally and economically despite the inherent diversity. “Integration aims at ‘building an entire whole’ – nothing else implies ‘to integrated’” (Bendel and Haase 2008).

The second term in this chapter holds a great variety of definitions. The EU consists of 27 Member States and 23 official languages. Almost each language contains a different understanding of the term sports. Of course, all meanings are similar to a certain extent. However, they vary in what is included and what is not. Is chess or fishing part of sports? Are passive activities such watching sports TV included? Furthermore, within some languages, sports is only referred to professional sports, while others also include going to the park for a walk. This also depends on the associated culture, which even means that the meaning does not only differ between languages but between nations or cultures speaking the same language. *Sports* might be a different concept and have a different understanding for an Austrian than it has for a German. Likewise, it even might have a different understanding for someone coming from the Bavarian Alps than for someone coming from Austria's capital, Vienna.

Nevertheless, the purpose of this chapter and the dissertation at hand in general is to narrow down the understanding of the term *sports* to one definition. For this cause, sports in the following will include all kinds of physical activity, such as all professional activities, as well as sports in all areas. As the above phrase of *physical activity* implies, this does not include mental activities. However, individual sports and activities that do not have a professional counterpart and are mainly carried out in the private scene are also included. Some examples are going for a walk, skating with friends, and everything without any relation to competition as long as they involve any physical activity. Concerning the EU and its contact points with sports, activities not directly related to physical activity have to be included, e.g. watching sports on TV. TV rights and related topics are issues of great importance when speaking about the European Union and sports. However, concerning civil society and sports, the main focus lies on physical activity.

Once defined for the purpose of this dissertation, it will be discussed how these two terms go together. When searching the internet and typing "sport & integration" in one of the most famous search engines online, there are 12.5 million websites in the result. In taking the search one step up towards the academic search pendant, still a total of 204,000 websites are received dealing with those two terms.¹¹ A closer look will reveal something that brings us back to the problems of defining sports and integration. About 99% of the websites concerned with these topics deal with the phenomenon of sports being a tool for integration when talking about the integration of minorities into society. A great variety of studies exists (a lot of them very recent), which show the great ability of sports to help integrate people. The question remains, how do we know that sports can also be a valuable tool to be applied in order to foster European integration?

¹¹ Search engines meant: www.google.com and www.scholar.google.com.

There are two ways to understand European Integration. It can either be grasped as a normative concept or as an empirical phenomenon. Normative concepts can be found in the various theories described later, in order to understand European Integration from a theoretical perspective. As an empirical phenomenon, integration can be described twofold, in terms of positive as well as negative integration. While the first means the reduction of rules and regulations due to the creation of super ordinate authorities, and thus the reduction of regional inequalities, the latter refers to decreasing barriers between units, e.g. countries. Concerning European integration, theorists mainly refer to it as an example of negative integration, due to the tremendous reduction of frontiers, yet the consistent existence of national sovereignty rights, and thus less power with the higher authorities than needed for the connotation of positive integration. Nevertheless, the increasing transfer of sovereignty rights from the national to the supranational level can be valued as an attempt to increase the level of positive integration. The signing of the Lisbon Treaty marked another major step towards this direction.

Along the process of European integration, the EU makes use of different instruments in order to foster and accelerate the process. Examples therefore are the common market, which led the necessity for the Member States to jointly exercise their sovereignty; economic reforms and support programs concerning structural funding, in order to establish economically successful regions within the EU territory; or digital information pages as well as discussion platforms with the aim of informing the Union's citizens about the current political instances as well as to give the citizens the opportunity to participate in the ongoing political debate. Furthermore, the EU makes use of different activities, in order to reach its citizens in forms of various support programs such as in culture, education, health or youth policies as well as in sports policies. As will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter, up to the signing of Lisbon there was no legal base concerning sports policy and thus the EU could not take direct actions. This circumstance changed after the signing of the Lisbon Treaty – to which extent is yet unclear. Nevertheless, the EU has already supported actions in the field of sports before Lisbon since its sports policy's character is annexed to a great variety of other policy fields, which partly have already been legally incorporated in the Union's legal agreements. Thus, the EU is making use of sports in order to accelerate the integration process and to influence the process in its interest. Whether or not sports depicts a useful instrument will be further examined in the following chapters.

The chapter at hand will first discuss European integration. The historical developments will be presented including the different existing theories. As a second part of this chapter, the general phenomenon of sports and integration is discussed. Various studies and their analyses will be portrayed in order to give a better understanding of whether, how and why

sports can be useful in the process of integration. Subsequently, in order to bring both parts together, the meaning of sports for European integration will be shown through the presentation of positive values in sports and the transfer of sports and integration in the local societal context towards the European context of integration.

1.1 European Integration – From Old Visions to New Approaches

In March 2007, the European Union has celebrated the 50 years anniversary of the ratification of the Treaties of Rome; 2008 is announced the European year of Intercultural Dialogue, and on May 9th the EU's citizens celebrate the Day of Europe. The Union has a lot to celebrate – time to look back on the developments of European integration. Insights are gained from a historical perspective, and also from the examination of changes regarding theoretical views of integration.

In terms of historical developments, the European Union experienced great transformation during the last six decades. The Day of Europe is based on the Union's beginnings with French foreign minister Robert Schuman's vision in 1950: a French-German cooperation concerning the coal and steel production. Subsequently, the EU went through positive times of southern, northern and eastern enlargement, various treaty ratifications, but also experienced more critical times with referendum rejections regarding the ratification of a European constitution. There were also diverse discussions about Turkey as an accession country, or disagreements about military involvement in conflicts in the Middle East. With ten new member states, the enlargement of 2004 was the greatest expansion the European Union underwent, and this increase did not come to a halt yet. In 2009, the EU had to deal with the great task to reach unanimity on the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty, which was rejected through the Irish no-referendum in 2008.

Concerning theoretical understandings of integration in general and European integration in particular, views changed according to cultural, political, and economical developments. Theories of international relations (IR) work as a basis for classical integration theories. Varying perspectives are defended by different theoretical scholars; from realistic views, e.g. putting the state in the centre of all action, over liberalist views, focusing on the dichotomy of intergovernmentalism vs. federalism, up to the juxtaposition of institutionalism and functionalism. Constructivism was one of the new ideas of the late 20th century, trying to combine different perspectives. If a theory is endowed with the prefix *neo*, it represents a new perspective on already existing ideas. During the last years, the term multi level governance evolved and developed into one of the core theories when it comes to the process of European governance and integration.

The European Union – the main idea behind this unique state formation was the avoidance of new wars between nation states within Europe. At the dawn of the Union, the well-discussed term of European integration came up for the first time and was later accounted to a great variety of theories (see: Lindberg and Scheingold 1970; Mazey 1996). There are two strands to be considered when talking about European integration: the historical one – meaning what happened in reality; what did the Union develop in and what changes did it undergo, and the theoretical part. Different theorists saw the Union's developments from varying perspectives and gave differing prognoses about its future. Furthermore, the different theories have diverse opinions about the main actors in the European stage. The historical part will be used to give a short insight into the EU's history, and to better allocate the evolvement of the different theories to the development over time. In the following, an overview over the main theories and their defenders will be given before setting them in relation to European integration and to each other.

1.1.1 History of European Integration

When speaking about the historical development of the European Union, the onset can be seen in Robert Schuman's vision of joining the French and German coal and steel production under one organization (the so-called "Schuman Plan"). Schuman believed that all other countries should be offered the opportunity to join this cooperation as well and, thus, Schumann saw this as the foundation for a European federation (see: Schuman 1950). As a consequence, the Treaty of Paris was signed in 1951 to establish the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). However, before Schuman's vision, two organizations were already present in Europe after the end of WWII (both founded in 1948): the West European Union (WEU) and the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC, later OECD), the former standing for military cooperation, and the latter pursuing economic objectives. The foundation of these two organizations was a sectoral integration approach. One year later, a more ambiguous plan was implemented on May 5, 1949 with the establishment of the Council of Europe, which, however, always maintained a more marginal role in the EU's history, since its character was to be all-embracing and its range of duties too complex (see: Dinan 2005).

Six years after the sectoral integration of the Schuman Plan, two more communities were added. This happened when the six so-called founding fathers of the Union: Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands signed the treaties of Rome to launch the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM). During the following decades, the scope of duties of the communities was expanded towards the Common Agriculture Community (1962), the Customs Union (1968), European Political Cooperation (1970), the creation of the European Council (1975), and the European Monetary System (1979). The Single European Act

(1986) established the single-market program and at the same time extended the Community's competences in various fields: environmental policy, economic and social cohesion, research and technology policy, as well as in the field of social policy.

"[...] In the next two years, we will make the process of European integration irreversible. This is a really big battle but it is worth the fight [...]." (Former German Chancellor Kohl)

One major step was taken in 1992, when the Treaty of Maastricht was signed, and all three communities were merged under one umbrella: the European Community (EC). The treaty contained key issues concerning the economic and monetary union, as well as the transformation of the European Political Cooperation into the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). Furthermore, the Treaty of Maastricht comprises the launching of intergovernmental cooperation on justice and home affairs (see: European Commission 1992). Since this time, the EC functions as the roof over a three pillar system. The first pillar, also called community pillar, comprises economic, social and environmental policies; in this pillar supranationality plays the biggest role in comparison to the other pillars. The second pillar concerns the CFSP, while the third stands for "Police and Judicial Co-operation in Criminal Matters" (PJCC). The two latter pillars are mainly organized still in the range of intergovernmental principles. In 1997, the Treaty of Amsterdam broadened the Communities' competences in certain aspects of justice and home affairs (see: European Commission 1997). The Euro as the Union's single currency was introduced for the first time in 1999 with the launching of a common monetary policy. Two additional years later, the Nice Treaty reformed the EU institutions as well as the decision making procedures in some important aspects. It includes changes to the voting procedures concerning the number of votes and the introduction of Qualified Majority Voting (QMV), the number of MEPs to keep the European Parliament (EP) a manageable size, as well as changes regarding the set up of the Commission (see: European Commission 2001b).

"The successful development of our continent will rather be based on the principles of inclusion, balancing of interests and active participation in European integration."
(Gerhard Schröder in: *cnn.com* 2002)

In 2002, the European Convention started its work with its appointed chairman Valéry Giscard d'Estaing¹². The Convention was concerned with the future of the European Union, namely with topics such as "Europe in the world", "The expectations of citizens", or "Enlargement of the European Union", and it completed its work on July 10, 2003 with

¹² Former French president (1974-1981).

submitting the draft Constitutional Treaty (see: European Convention). One year later, the Constitutional Treaty was agreed upon and signed by the EU leaders. After two no-referendums in France and the Netherlands, the Constitution project was abandoned and the EU leaders agreed on and signed a new treaty in Lisbon on December 13, 2007. One major goal set in the Treaty of Lisbon is the merging of all three pillars into one legal personality: the European Union (see: European Commission 2007d). However, the ratification of Lisbon was first rejected with an Irish no-referendum in June 2008. A new referendum was held on October 2nd 2009. Its outcome was greatly awaited since it was to tell a lot about the EU's future, particularly on the integration process. The referendum turned out positive and thus opened the door for the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty and a great range of new developments concerning the political set up of the European Union.

“Historically we are a region of disintegration. EU enlargement could reverse this process and lead to integration so we no longer think so much only in terms of nation states.” (Djindjic 2001)

Besides the political developments and the various treaty consolidations, the Union also grew geographically. The first enlargement took place in 1973 with the accession of Britain, Denmark, and Ireland. In 1981 Greece joined the Union, and 1986 Spain and Portugal followed. In the fourth enlargement round 1995, Austria, Finland, and Sweden became EU members. In 2004, the European Union experienced its greatest geographical expansion, yet, with the accession of ten new member states: Czech Republic, Cyprus, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia. Bulgaria and Romania were, until now, the last two states to join the Union in 2007. Current candidate countries are Croatia, the former Yugoslav Republic Macedonia, and Turkey.

“We've got to demonstrate why European unity and integration, our vast single market, our single currency, equip us with the strength to embrace globalization.” (Peter Mandelson in: Cendrowicz 2005)

After this rough historical abstract, this sub-chapter will turn to the theoretical view of European integration. As Antje Wiener and Thomas Dietz point out, theory of integration can be divided in three phases: “1960s onwards: explaining integration; 1980s onwards: analyzing governance; 1990s onwards: constructing the EU” (Wiener and Diez 2004, p.7). Hence, integration first mainly dealt with the way to explain integration as such, before having a closer look at the political systems in general and in the EU in particular and the way it works. In the third stage, as proposed by Wiener and Diez, integration theory turns

towards the concept of governance and the “social and political consequences” (ibid. p.7). The EU has undergone great changes concerning its political and geographical composition and had to struggle with various difficulties. As will be pointed out in the following, a great variety of points of views exists theoretically also. A theoretical overview will first present the classical theories of integration: federalism, intergovernmentalism and neo-functionalism, before coming to new integration approaches, multi-level governance in particular.

1.1.2 European Integration – Theoretical Overview

The European Union has undergone various stages concerning its political setup, its goals and its geographical expansion. Simultaneously, the theories about the Union’s future have changed and different views have been discussed. In the following, this sub-chapter will give an overview over the main theories of European integration, before putting theories and historical development in relation.

Theorists have diverse views about European integration and its development. Federalism and functionalism argue for the containment of the nation state, while transactionalism rather sees the need to stabilize the nation state. However, the most important theories regarding European integration can be found in federalism, neo-functionalism and intergovernmentalism. The first means that sovereignty is divided between a central government and smaller political units (e.g. states or provinces). In the context of the European Union, representatives of this theory favor more sovereignty for the institutions than for the nation states. Neo-functionalism was brought up by Ernst B. Haas and depicts the institutions as the driving forces (see: Börzel 2006), while the latter, proposed by Stanley Hoffmann, sees governments as the main decision makers in supranational decisions on European level. As the political and geographical situation has changed, so have the theories. Today new approaches are discussed when talking about European integration, such as the multi-level governance approach. It points out the interdependence between supranational and intergovernmental decision levels and also sees the importance of national as well as international non-state actors. Some authors of this theory are Beate Kohler-Koch, Michéle Knodt, Lisbeth Hooghe and Gary Marks.

1.1.2.1 Federalism

According to J. Wayne Baker, the idea of federalism can be traced back to the thoughts of early Protestant Reformation. He argues with Daniel J. Elazar’s opinion that “the basis for the development of modern federalism was the covenant theology of early Protestantism” (Baker 2000, p.25; Horowitz 2001). In this regard, the theorists Heinrich Bullinger and Philippe Duplessis-Mornay can be both considered as influential figures of protestant reformation times. Heinrich Bullinger’s concept of the covenant contained four of the five core elements of federalism: (1) society formation as a result of agreement, (2) agreement is

necessary because of the characteristics of human nature, (3) the importance of the community, (4) the community has to be ruled by a higher power. The only important point of federalism which is not mentioned in Bullinger's system are checks and balances (see: Baker 2000, p.27). Philippe Duplessis-Mornay argued accordingly to Bullinger. His main argument against tyranny was based on the existence of a religious as well as political covenant. The former refers to the agreement between God, the King and the people, the latter meaning the agreement between the King and the people only, but including the King's confirmation regarding his accountability towards the people (see: *ibid* pp.27ff). However, as mentioned above, the principle of checks and balances between the actors involved is not mentioned in Bullinger's remarks. The next important theorist to be named in this matter is Johannes Althusius, known as "the father of modern federalism" (Hueglin 1999) and the first to directly point out the connection between religious concepts and political federalism. Furthermore, Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and Jean Bodin dealt with the sovereignty of the people vs. state sovereignty and the balance of power and thus, further developed the idea of federalism in the 17th century. This idea was continued by the philosophical works of Charles de Montesquieu and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Two centuries later, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon published his readings on "The Federal Principle" (Proudhon 1863). However, at the beginning of his career, he expressed different thoughts and mainly wrote on the principles of anarchy, meaning "a regime in which social order is established in the absence of all government" (Simon 1973, p.21). The State was to fade away and thus all forms of government. The main belief of post-revolutionary times was the idea of the perfect society, which needed no rulers. Proudhon agreed with these assumptions. Nevertheless, later on he changed his line of thought and realized the importance of government and that "the State was absolutely and eternally necessary for social life (...)" (*ibid*. p.23). Instead of abolishing the concept of government, he rather saw the need to "accept the State and then try to restrict and balance its powers" (*ibid*. p.23). In his main work, as mentioned above, Proudhon deals with the struggle how to combine the "exclusive reign of commutative justice" and the "restoration of the State" (*ibid*. p.25). The answer he gives lies in the contractual balance in the federal system he proposes. From his point of view, a federal system is not a system of hierarchy, but rather a system of unity where the relations between the institutions or the State and the people are balanced and in equilibrium. Despite Proudhon's perspective, he still has to face criticism. Some scholars might be of the opinion that the community should not be equal to its parts, but should rather stand superior above all. Furthermore, Proudhon himself sees the danger in the existence of great states. Smaller ones he depicts as "peaceful in nature and incapable of aggression" (*ibid*. p.29), but bigger ones he assigns the characteristic of constantly longing for territory expansion. Thus, the early federalist theorists already argued over different points of view.

However, one has to keep in mind that federalism in the nation state and federalism in terms of the European Union are a different kettle of fish. Strong federalism in the nation states means, that the federal units like the Länder in Germany, have more power than the central government (see: Mainwaring and Samuels 1999). In contrast, proponents of EU federalism are in favor of more sovereignty rights for the European institutions over the nation states. However, before going into detail about federalist tradition in the European Union and the debates going on between the different theories, this sub-chapter will now turn to the theoretical developments of Intergovernmentalism.

1.1.2.2 Intergovernmentalism

The theory of intergovernmentalism, with Stanely Hoffman as one of its most important proponents, awards the main power in the political system to the state actors; in case of the European Union: to the member states (Hoffmann 1966; Hoffmann 1986). Hoffmann developed this theory in the 1960s, “marking a counterpoint to neo-functionalism” (Schimmelfennig and Rittberger 2006, p.76).

Aside from the national governments, other actors on stage, e.g. NGOs, social movements or economic groups, only have minor functions, such as a reviewing or advisory function. In international systems the opposite is found in supranationalism, where the states transfer all sovereignty rights towards a higher body and decisions are taken at the supranational level. When turning towards the European Union and European integration, intergovernmentalist theorists are of the opinion that the member states hold the most power, and all power increase at the European level results from decisions on the national level. Another main characteristic of intergovernmentalism is the belief that all decisions are taken via majority vote or unanimity. For the EU, this means that decisions are taken in the Council of Ministers with binding effect and no additional voting on the national level. Andrew Moravcsik developed the theory of liberal intergovernmentalism, including theoretical views of a variety of authors, such as Keohane or Putnam. This new approach argues in line with intergovernmentalism, saying that all supranational power increase results from decisions taken by national governments. Moreover, it includes that power can only be increased, if national governments cooperate which they only do if having similar interests. Concerning these interests, Moravcsik believes that economic interests are very important in the European integration process (see: Moravcsik 1993).

Geoffrey Garrett and George Tsebelis are two critics of intergovernmentalism. They circumstantiate their view with an analysis concerning policy preferences and power indexes. One could assume that all Member States have the same ability to influence decisions in the Council, due to their ability to form coalitions with each other when pursuing the same interests. One can assume that preferences are randomly distributed across the European Union – however, they are not. While Germany and the UK, according to their

votes in the Council, should have the same chances of influence, the UK often appears as isolated, while Germany in many decision making cases has a great variety of coalition partners (see: Garrett and Tsebelis 1996, p.275ff.). Furthermore, Garrett and Tsebelis argue that the decision-making process is influenced by other institutions. It includes the national governments, mainly the European Commission and the European Parliament, which do not act as mere servants of the member states. In the co-decision procedure, “[t]he Council has to select a proposal that will not be rejected by the Parliament” (ibid. p.294). This proceeding then benefits member states with preferences in line with the Parliament. Thus, Garrett and Tsebelis believe that decision making in the Council is influenced by the Parliament in this case and not vice versa. Both argue according to institutionalism. As mentioned above, large differences can also be found when opposing intergovernmentalism with neo-functionalism.

1.1.2.3 Neo-functionalism

The theory of neo-functionalism was first brought up in the late 1950s and early 1960s by the works of Ernst B. Haas and Leon Lindberg (see: Haas 1958; Lindberg and Scheingold 1971). Haas, who built on the works about functionalism of David Mitrany (see: Mitrany 1965; Mitrany 1966), believes that a process of integration can start when certain preconditions are fulfilled, such as an “open industrial economy, a pluralistic society, and a democratic political system.” In the beginning, the theory was developed in order to explain regional integration in Western Europe and “places major emphasis on the role of non-state actors” (Schmitter 2004, p.46). Nevertheless, states remain important actors in the political process, “[t]hey set the terms for the initial agreement, but” as Schmitter states, “they do not determine the direction and extent of subsequent change” (ibid. p.46). State actors transfer sovereignty rights towards central institutions to overcome conflict. Hence, decisions will be highly influenced by other actors than the states such as social movements, trade unions and NGOs. Furthermore, Haas says that political integration can be reached through the shift of “loyalties, expectations and political activities” towards new supranational institutions, which would then create a “new political community, superimposed over the existing one” (Haas 1958, p.16). Besides the shift towards non-state - and supranational actors, one of the main ideas behind the idea of neo-functionalism of Haas and Lindberg can be found in the phenomenon of spill-over effects. In the beginning, they were of the opinion that integration in one sector would be followed by integration in other sectors. Economic and social integration could result in political integration. Jean Monnet had a similar idea of European integration, when he hoped for furthering the process of EU integration out of the integration in other sectors. However, Ernst B. Haas later on forbore from the theory (Haas 1975), as political results, namely the empty chair policy of DeGaulle in 1965, proved neo-functionalism obsolete in certain aspects. Subsequently, it was agreed upon that “a general theory of integration was unsuitable and in the EU context misguided” (McGowan 2007, p.6).

Some scholars nevertheless stick to the theory of neo-functionalism and further developed the idea of spill-over effects as well “concepts such as spill-backs” (ibid. p.6). Neo-functionalism experienced a revival in the 1980s with the opening of the single market. A new form of the theory can be found in the 1990s supranationalism, brought up by Stone-Weet, Sandholtz and Fligstein. The main difference to neo-functionalism is that the authors of supranationalism did not describe integration as inevitable under certain circumstances. Nevertheless, as far as the interplay of states, supranational institutions and non-governmental actors are concerned, they agreed with the neo-functional approach.

Most importantly, the theory of neo-functionalism has undergone main changes, has been redeemed and has been brought up again. What remains essential, in the eyes of McGowan, is its view on the role of state actors and the shift towards a more centralized structure. Furthermore, the role of non-state actors and the development of the theory of spill-over effects are to be named (McGowan 2007, p.7). Other scholars disagree with this view. One of them is Andrew Moravscik, who believes that neo-functionalism is in no way capable of describing the structure of the European Union and the integration process. He holds the view that all main changes in Western Europe have been produced on the national level and, hence, he does not see how neo-functionalism would be able to explain these processes. McGowan dissents this view, and says that neo-functionalism can best be applied to the European economic integration process and can also be adapted to all other areas of European integration (ibid. p.14).

Nonetheless, neo-functionalism had and still has to cope with differing views concerning its applicability. It depends on the way the structure of the EU is interpreted, whether or not the theory is still able to explain the processes going on, or whether it was mainly suitable for regional integration in the 1950s/1960s in Western Europe.

1.1.2.4 The Different Debates

Federalism vs. intergovernmentalism in the European Union

In the European Union and federalism, one has to start with the Union’s establishment. Most of the founding fathers had a federalist vision, meaning that they wished for one European polity above the individual nation states. Furthermore, federalism in the EU means that responsibilities are divided between a higher authority and the member states. In some areas, the central authority has exclusive decision rights; in others the principle of subsidiarity is applied. With the ECSC and the later established European institutions, e.g. the Commission, the Parliament, or the European Court of Justice (ECJ), many areas have been dealt with in an international sphere and decisions have been taken from above in various aspects, such as safety and border controls, work, currency or environmental regulations. However, despite these international developments, supranational decision making and the application of the principle of subsidiarity, there are some who disagree and

see a rather different future for the EU. They are of the opinion that while some areas can be handled in this manner, others should rather be dealt with on an intergovernmental basis. The main argument for intergovernmental negotiations instead of supranational decision making is the fear of transferring national sovereignty rights to higher institutions, and thus losing national rights. In the following, this loss of national self-determination and control, is often set equal with a loss of democracy and hence, a democratic deficit.

There are two main opposing arguments: for certain developments, especially economically, the Union needs to integrate further and in this respect, intergovernmentalism will become ineffective, due to differing opinions of the member states and thus, a difficulty to find joined decisions. The main proponent of this view is Germany, which itself has a federal system, and smaller states with the aim to control their bigger neighbors. Intergovernmentalists, on the other hand, believe that democratic legitimacy can only be achieved through the member states. The desired establishment of a directly elected Commission President comes in, which would then be legitimated through the citizens' direct vote. France and Great Britain, both with a rather centralized tradition, are the main holders of the intergovernmentalist view.

However, federalism as well as intergovernmentalism both argue for a rather input-oriented reform in order to create higher legitimacy rather than to reach legitimacy through output-reformation. The former is of the opinion that the EU can only overcome its democratic deficit through the installation of a state formation, and simultaneously through the strengthening of the European Parliament. Intergovernmentalists do not have such strong views, but rather say that the EU is not of such a great need for legitimation in the first place, since it will never reach a status similar to a state. Nevertheless, democracy builds the basis for any kind of legitimacy for further integration of the European Union. However, low interest and knowledge in European topics and developments by the EU population, highly visible in low voter turnout, becomes a great problem, when speaking about democratic legitimation. Thus, both approaches plead for higher civic participation, but presume the democratic nature of the EU per se, without questioning any structural preconditions of democracy, such as collective identity.

Neo-functionalism vs. intergovernmentalism

The debate between two theories has been going on since the 1960s onwards. Neo-functionalists and other theorists have sought to explain the process of European integration between the 1950s and early 1960s, before intergovernmentalism took over afterwards and had a different view of the process. While neo-functionalism depicts a rationalist approach, meaning realist, liberalist and institutionalist views, intergovernmentalist can be set equal to constructivist perspectives (see: Pollack 2000). What unites the two theories is their belief that institutions do matter. The difference is in the question “*how* institutions matter”(Pollack

2000, p.14). For neo-functionalists, institutions depict the “rules of the game, that provide incentives for [...] actors to pursue certain strategies in pursuit of their (exogenous given) preferences”, while intergovernmentalists award the institutions a “more important and fundamental role” and are of the opinion that they “constitute actors and shape not simply their incentives but their preferences and identities as well” (ibid, p.14ff.). In other words, the first describe institutions a subordinate function only provides incentives, while the latter say that institutions also influence the actors’ preferences. As Christiansen puts it, “[b]ringing the study of rules and norms into a constructivist framework of analysis may be the application of Giddens’ structuration theory to European integration” (Christiansen et al. 1999, p.539). Christiansen talks about the idea of Giddens, wherein individuals’ actions are also influenced by social structures. In line with intergovernmentalism, he is of the opinion that traditions and institutions shape actors’ behavior and action.

When it comes to the question why European integration is advanced, neo-functionalism argues with the phenomenon of *spillovers*. The Member States have cooperated with their neighbors in certain areas, such as taxes, wages or currencies, due to economic incentives that arise out of the initial cooperation and/or are the initial reason for the cooperation. As a consequence, neo-functionalism points out that due to the mentioned spillovers, Member States lose their importance and supranational institutions gain importance, as emphasized above. In contrast, intergovernmentalists such as Hoffmann underline a different view. He believes that nation states have been very important actors within the integration process for two reasons. First, they had the legal sovereignty and secondly they were the only democratically legitimate actors (George and Bache 2001, p.12ff.).

As nation states still obtain a great amount of power, the intergovernmentalist perspective had to be revised, which then turned into a more liberal intergovernmentalist view in terms of Andrew Moravcsik. As discussed above, Moravcsik believes that the European integration process was brought forward through national preferences. This perspective rather sees supranational institution as tools of the Member States to pursue their interest, and the states’ sovereignty is strengthened through EU membership. The core distinction between neo-functionalism and intergovernmentalism is found here. The former emphasizes the role of the supranational institutions and the move of sovereignty from the nation states towards the EU institutions. Meanwhile, the latter and notably its liberal manifestation, sees great power within the nation states that only make use of the supranational institutions in order to reach their own interests.

The questions remaining from this ongoing debate are whether the EU will rather develop into a more federalist state formation or whether the nation states will keep the main

sovereignty. Whose interests are really pursued, the ones of the European institutions, or the ones of the Member States?

Federalism vs. (neo-)functionalism

Some authors consider the two approaches of federalism and neo-functionalism as the only “real” theories of European integration research. However, some speak about the disability of functionalism by referring to the so-called “Eurosclerosis” of the 1970s, while others cite the “Euroeuphoria” of the 1990s to explain the disability of federalism in contrast (see: Karolewski 2000). Among the representatives of federalism and intergovernmentalism are Friedrich, Hoffmann and Taylor, while the functionalist perspective is mainly represented by Mitrany and Tranholm-Mikkelsen. Karolewski also sees the need to stabilize the nation state, particularly concerning the functions the nation state had to fulfill regarding the EU eastern enlargement of 2004. As a network partner, the nation state needs to gain strength, in Karolewski’s eyes; nevertheless he also saw that the states might develop in new forms (see: *ibid*, p.9).

Both theories can be regarded as the so-called “pretheories” of European integration. They have “neither been falsified nor fully supported by developments in the process of European integration” (Faber 2006). As was pointed out above, scholars such as McGowan absolutely agree with neo-functionalism describing the European integration process, while others such as Moravcsik see the main integration process taking place on the national level.

The main difference between the two core theories, federalism and functionalism, can be found in the two terms “function follows form” vs. “form follows function”¹³. While the former is directly connected to federalism, the latter rather describes the theory of functionalism. Federalism on the one hand states that in order to create certain policies and political functions, institutional framework conditions have to be established first. Functionalism on the contrary, rather sees the establishment of policies and functions as the foundation out of which networks and the institutional organization will evolve. Neo-functionalism argues in line with its predecessor, while including more actors, such as non-state actors who are also involved in the integration process, whereas federalism neglects these actors. Furthermore, when talking about European integration another important fact to be pointed out is the often cited impossibility to adapt the two theories to the processes prevalent in the European Union. The former is because the EU does not constitute a federal state if compared to nation states, the latter due to the regional limitation of the EU. Many theorists regard that functionalism can only be adapted to global cases. As mentioned

¹³ The terms originate from design/architecture theories, where a certain function can either arise out of a special form given to e.g. furniture or spaces or vice versa.

earlier, neo-functionism was propounded by Haas. In contrast to functionalism he included additional actors and the acknowledgement of the significance of the creation of supranational institutions that can be compared to the institutions of the European Union.

The three classical integration approaches, federalism, intergovernmentalism and functionalism, offer three main remedies to increase legitimacy. They are (1) the strengthening of the nation state, (2) the strengthening of the European institutions, mainly the European Parliament, and (3) higher civic participation. However, all three proposals can be assigned ineffectively. As a result, each reform of the EU may in one way weaken another part of the desired legitimacy. Thus, the EU is in need of new approaches regarding further integration. These new approaches should account for the special characteristics of the European Union, its set-up, its citizens, member states and institutions. New approaches can be found e.g. in the network – or policy analysis, the interdependence theory or many others. In the last decade, the multi-level governance approach came up, offering one possible solution for the EU's integration dilemma. This approach will be discussed in the following.

1.1.3 New Terms and Concepts

In the late 20th century, new approaches of integration, the so-called New Governance-Paradigms, were set up by different schools. Among those new concepts, one can find terms such as “multi-level governance, multi-tiered governance, polycentric governance, multi-perspectival governance, FOCJ (functional, overlapping, competing jurisdictions), fragmentation (or SOAs), and consortio and condominio” (Hooghe and Marks 2001b, p.4). What all these different approaches have in common is their tendency to see governance as moving away from the state as its center, either up towards supranational institutions, down to regional jurisdictions or towards “public/private actors” (ibid. p.4). In relation to the EU, the multi-level governance approach directly comes into view as one of the most discussed and latest ideas in the debate about European integration.

1.1.3.1 Multi-level Governance

As pointed out above, one of the New Governance-Paradigms can be found in the multi-level governance (MLG) approach. The core difference between the classical theories and the new approach is the objectives dealt with. While the classical theories are interested in the main actors, what they do and in which way they fulfill their actions, MLG questions the form of governing in the European Union. In addition, one common feature of the new approaches and thus also of MLG is that they shift the location where governance takes place away from the state towards other institutions or jurisdictions. The MLG approach includes the fact that the EU is a state sui generis of a unique kind. One can also divide theoretical integration theories into two phases. While the first saw the EU “as an

international organization similar to others (e.g. NATO, OECD, UN)", the second phase was rather a revision phase of the first. In conclusion, the EU is rather "a unique sui generis international organization both to the nature and the extent of its development" (Bekemans 2008, p.1). As pointed out above, MLG can be assigned to the second phase. Furthermore, in the shift away from the state as a center, MLG takes into account the great variety of actors involved in the decision making process and hence in forms of governance of the EU. Actors to be named here are the EU institutions which hold a supranational role, local municipalities, the nation states, and not to forget a great variety of non-state actors from the public and private sphere. As defined by Bache and Flinders, multi-level governance can be described as a concept where "decision making at various territorial levels is characterised by the increased participation of non-state actors" (Bache and Flinders 2005, p.197). Not only does MLG deal with actors who have not been included to that extent before (non-state actors), but also overcomes the traditional divide between levels and rather highlights the increasing points of contact of the different levels: supranational, national, regional and local. The actors from the different levels are "interrelated in territorially overarching policy networks" (Bekemans 2008, p.2).

Lisbeth Hooghe and Gary Marks describe MLG as twofold: there is a Type1 governance as well as Type2 governance (see: Hooghe and Marks 2001b; Hooghe and Marks 2003). The main characteristics of Type1, as described by the two authors, is that it bases on the theory of federalism, "which is concerned with power sharing among a limited number of governments operating on just a few levels (Hooghe and Marks 2001b, p.5). Furthermore, they list the key features as:

- *"Multi-task jurisdictions*
- *Jurisdictions with mutually exclusive territorial boundaries*
- *Limited number of jurisdictions*
- *Limited number of jurisdictional levels*
- *Quasi-permanent jurisdictional system" (ibid. p.5ff).*

Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye deem that Type1 governance does not shift governance totally away from the nation state as the core actor, but rather sees its sphere of action supplemented by other actors, such as supranational and local institutions or public/private set ups and organizations (Keohane and Nye 2000, p.12).

Type2 governance, in contrast, has a more loose system. The jurisdictions are not as limited as in Type1 governance and their functions are more flexible. Its characteristics are most familiar to neoclassical scholars, but federal and intergovernmental aspects can be found here as well. The core features named by Hooghe and Marks are:

- *"Territorially overlapping jurisdictions*
- *Large number of jurisdictions*
- *Many jurisdictional levels" (Hooghe and Marks 2001b, p.7ff).*

In the special case of the EU, a combination of both types can be found. In some aspects the EU needs and has very flexible jurisdictions, while others are still rather rigid. However,

from Hooghe's and Marks's point of view, "some salient features of EU architecture appear consistent with Type2 governance" (ibid. p.10). Some jurisdictions overlap territorially, a great variety of European agencies or the possible flexibility concerning the member state engagement in further integration. In conclusion, while the EU has to deal with a great part of Type2 governance characteristics, Type1 features can appear as well. Hence, the EU turns again into a special form of governance system, which needs a very unique way of governing. There is a high number of different actors included in the policy making process. Moreover, the instruments used in order to reach the desired policy outcomes have to be specially set up for the unique state formation called European Union.

The Open Method of Coordination (OMC) depicts one of the essential policy instruments of multi-level governance, concerning policy fields, which have not yet been communitarized. Since this holds true for a great variety of policy fields, there has been a great need for an instrument that allows for political forthcoming without having to assess strict regulations via community policies, but to be able to act in a suitable manner. Thus, the OMC can be seen as an important integration device. When Wolfram Lamping talks about the new post-national welfare state, he introduces three different pressures as to how European integration affects the welfare state. The first type of pressures is the "direct positive pressures of integration", which is a positive initiative by the EU to develop common social standards on EU level. Secondly, the "direct negative pressures of integration", which stands for negative integration policies in order to implement and create single-market compatibility. The third form of pressures is called "indirect pressures of integration", which is explained as flexible adaptation abilities of the national welfare states to the (either feared or real) multilayered effects of integration. Lamping then adds a fourth category of pressures with the OMC. This fourth category differs from the other pressures insofar as the OMC is used in order to reach explicit spheres of activity for the EU, which are situated outside of the treaty mandate (Lamping 2008, p.601). The OMC can be further depicted as providing "some leeway for flexible adjustment" (Zimmer and Freise 2008, p.31), which allows for relatively free organization schemes on all levels (national as well as local), without conflicting with the policy goals on the EU institutional level .

One of the greatest dilemmas of MLG is the rising transaction costs as a result of multiplicity of included actors. As Fritz Scharpf puts it, "As the number of affected parties increases (...) negotiated solutions incur exponentially rising and eventually prohibitive transaction costs" (Scharpf 1997b, p.70). Solutions to this dilemma by both Types of governance are for Type1, that costs are limited due to the limitation of jurisdictions, while Type2 is limiting possible spillover effects through the bundling of tasks for the jurisdictions, "so that each government is solely responsible for a particular policy" (Hooghe and Marks 2001b, p.13). In conclusion, a combination of both types is the most cost efficient solution. It

would then result to a co-existence of jurisdictions with limited tasks and jurisdictions with a multi-task function.

To sum up what MLG means for European integration, it describes the EU as a political system that consists of various levels, including a great variety of actors at all levels. Within the MLG approach, the EU can be portrayed as having two dimensions. It is composed of three (or even four) levels of government: European, national, regional (and local), which represents the vertical dimension. However, there can be a multiple actors involved within the same level, representing the horizontal dimension.

1.1.3.2 Inclusion of Civil Society

In order to bring European integration further, governance concepts need to shift to a combination of Type1 and Type2 multi-level governance. As mentioned before, MLG means the inclusion of non-state actors, which also becomes an important device in order of further development of multi-level governance concepts. Civil society's role concerning European integration has increased during the last decades, although the term as such has been prevalent already in Aristotelian concepts. Civil society's appearance in modern times can be dated way back to the 1970s. This was the time when civil society movements emerged as opponents to ruling authoritarian regimes in Eastern Europe and Latin America. Subsequently, a discussion began about the inclusion of civil society in multi-level governance arrangements and thus into the EU. In this context policy arenas where civil society plays a decisive role have to be identified. It includes whether, how and to which extent they can be of any use for the forthcoming of multi-level governance arrangements and their legitimacy.

1.1.4 Sub-conclusion on European Integration

The EU has undergone great changes throughout its almost 60 year history. It developed from the ECSC into a complex state formation, today consisting of 27 Member States, with further states waiting to qualify to join the Union. The economic cooperation and the demand to create a peaceful community within Europe, has advanced to political cooperation, created a Single European Market and has released diverse legal documents with binding character. The Member States have agreed further upon several decisions and recommendations in policy areas not (yet) communitarized, of which some will probably never change into community policies, and have found instruments as how to guarantee their implementation. Different theories exist concerning the power distribution and chances of influence. Some theorists see the nation state as the supreme power, from which all power increase on the supranational level emanates. Others see the supranational level as the supreme level, which is already able to overrule the national states in some concerns. Again other scholars put the institutions at the core of the state formation, and subscribe the

highest power to them. However, as new theories develop, other actors join the stage, and receive their power share as well – the non-state actors. Moreover, the new approaches underline the influence emerging from a variety of levels: local, regional, national, European and even international. Thus, the multi-level governance approach was introduced. Decisions are not only taken at the supranational level. Although the institutions are gaining importance, the recommendations and decisions taken without being legally binding are just as important in many respects. Equally important are the non-state actors on all levels – especially the ones residing on the lower levels, creating a legitimacy the Union is in a great need of. Out-put as well as in-put legitimacy have to be assured, of which the inclusion of civil society plays a major role. The Union has to develop economically as well as politically in order to provide a safe and economically stable place for its citizens. Nevertheless, the citizens play a decisive role in this development as well. Lindahl puts this as follows: “(...) the relation between people and constitutions is always two-way, not merely one-way (...)” (Lindahl 2000, p. 253).

The three classical integration approaches, federalism, intergovernmentalism and neo-functionalism, have different perspectives regarding European legitimation. They are input-oriented, output-oriented, or identity-oriented. The new forms of European integration, such as the multi-level governance approach, in contrast hold the view that all three above mentioned perspectives are significant in attaining a legitimized EU. Thus, besides input- and output legitimacy (see: Scharpf 1999; Scharpf 2000), European identity comes in as an important factor when speaking about integration approaches and the aim to create higher legitimacy (see: Thalmeier 2005). As Lindahl points out, the core behind the European Union should not be found in the sovereign nation states, but rather in the people who constitute the Union. However, Lindahl does not speak about the need to create one European identity that stands above the national identity, but about the importance of the people and their feeling towards the EU. “(...) European integration is not about eventually being able to say ‘We Europeans’. Instead, European integration, beginning with the Treaty of Rome, is the ongoing debate about what it means to say ‘We Europeans’” (Lindahl 2000, p. 251). Thus, as discussed above, besides the state and the market, there is the so-called *third sector* – civil society (explained and analyzed in more detail in the following chapter). A great part of this sector can be found in clubs and societies, of which sports depicts the third favorite activity of European citizens’, as stated by a special Eurobarometer survey (European Commission 2004a). Furthermore, in 2004 it had been estimated that the area of sports generated 407€ billion, “representing 3.7% of the EU GDP and 15 million employees” (European Commission 2007c). Sports depicts one policy area with rising importance in the EU, which can be seen as a policy “heavily populated by third sector organisations” (Zimmer and Freise 2008, p.35ff.). Thus, sports can be seen as an important factor when identifying

areas of civil society with a high ability to influence the citizens and in the European integration process.

1.2 Sports and Integration

This subsection presents a connection between sports and integration. In the process of fostering European integration, the EU can be seen under different political concepts, such as multi-level governance. Sports can be found on all levels from international to local. In addition, a great number of people in the EU are physically active. Sports is able to reach a great variety of people, from young to old, from handicapped to absolutely healthy, from shy to outgoing, covering all ethnical backgrounds and any other differences can be imagined among the Union's citizens. Thus, the connection between sports, as one future policy area of the EU, and European integration will be made in the following. First of all the link between sports and integration in general will be drawn, before going into detail about what sports can do for the EU's forthcoming regarding European integration.

1.2.1 Introduction

“Sport is low cost social work.”

(Heiner Bartling¹⁴, translated by author)

The social value of sports has been discussed in various studies and by different scholars. The majority of the researches has come to the opinion that sports has a positive effect on the social abilities of the exercising people, and that it has a preventive function as well. Nevertheless, there are also critical voices who regard the value of sports concerning social abilities in a less bright light and point out the downsides of sports.

Some positive propositions are raised by persons from diverse backgrounds. President of the State Federation for the Promotion of Sport of Lower Saxony Wolf-Rüdiger Umbach declared that sports has a high educational value, especially regarding marginal groups.

“Sports has a high educational value, is able to integrate marginal groups in society without any difficulties. Club members are not unruly and no extremists. Athletes do not through destructive organizations on refugee asylums; they do not belong to any drug related activity.” (Umbach in: Pilz 2002, p.1, translated by author)

Alongside these lines, other voices also announce sports to have a positive value for the development of society. Manfred von Richthofen, former president of the German sporting federation depicts the German sports clubs as the number one integration factor. “In our society, sports clubs are the number one integration factor. Doing sports in a community and in a club conveys tolerance, conflict manners as well as rule acceptance” (von Richthofen

¹⁴ Minister for Internal Affairs, German State of Lower Saxony (1998-2003)

2004, translated by author). Furthermore, sports is credited as an immunization to different social grievances, such as social conspicuity or youth criminality (Welt and Pfeiffer as in Pilz, 2002). The German Sporting Federation declares that like no other area of society, “sports represents chances for individual development, as well as a variety of possibilities for social learning and a stage for intercultural encounters” (Deutscher Sportbund 2001, translated by author).

However, as pointed out above, sports can also have its downsides. Critical statements exist concerning the often praised values of sport. Thus, it is but proper to consider possible negative effects of sports. Dieter Schnack and Rainer Neutzling have analyzed the effect of sports. They have found out that sports toughens and gives strength to the body. Sometimes, it furthers the inclination towards violence and leads to meritocratic thinking, which does not always lead to positive outcomes. The meritocratic thinking might lead to a strive towards winning over others, and thus it might lead to a lower tolerance towards violence in order to defeat others. Nevertheless, the scholars also regard sports as a potential channel of violence and thus function as a control device for aggression (see: Schnack and Neutzling 1991, p.185f.). Hence, two opinions exist: on the one hand, scholars point out the risk of sport, when it results in a mere “cult of the body”, when physical ability becomes the most valuable asset. In this regard, additional negative side effects of sports, such as the use of doping, unfairness and cheating, are likely to develop (Singler and Treutlein 2000). Diverse doping scandals, unfair play or wrong referee decisions, as well as dishonest behavior of football players due to secret agreements with sponsors are in the news quite frequently. On the other hand, scholars such as Schnack and Neutzling underline the potential of sports to channel and control certain aggressions. Especially the martial arts are made use of in order to limit aggressions in life outside of the ring (Lenk and Pilz 1989; Pilz 1982).

Among others, two arguments can be found for the nevertheless positive values of sports. Most studies ascribing negative effects to sports depend on either a special section of sports, wrong implementation or the wrong motives to do sports. Secondly, although sports may not have as high positive results as it is praised for, the studies that ascribe positive effects to sports outbalance the negative ones. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, sports can be made use in various ways of integration: helping handicapped to integrate, ethnic minorities, older people, people who just moved into a new community and others. Sibylle Hornberger, while not denying the possible negative outcomes of excessive sporting activities¹⁵, speaks about the positive functions of sports in psychiatric working fields (Hornberger 1997, p.102ff.):

¹⁵ e.g. children-high-performers sports / considerable risks for the cardiovascular system due to excessive individual sporting activity

- Health value
- Experience value
- Social value or respectively societal integration through sport
- Personality development

For the purpose of integration social value plays the most important role; hence, it will be examined closer. In the study conducted by Hornberger et al. in 1993, they came to the conclusion that the “Bewegung, Spiel und Sport” (movement, play and sports) offers evaluated were able to increase two types of well-being: the individual well-being and the psychosocial well-being. The former stands for the personal “feeling of being able-bodied, being in good shape, agile, capable of acting and capable of experiencing”, while the latter means the feeling of being integrated into already existing networks, or to feel the need to set up new networks (ibid. p.128, translated by author). Hence, certain sports projects can evoke an increase of integration and network building, besides having positive effects on the personal well-being, health - and social values. Moreover, Hornberger, Hien and Kuckuck find out that the value of community seems to be higher than it was expected prior to their surveys. “For some interviewees, the ‘joint action within the group’, the ‘feeling of belonging to a group’ or a team, was explicitly part of their well-being” (Hornberger et al. 1997, p.175, translated by author). The above mentioned surveys had been conducted with people with different mental handicaps. Thus, the results are valid for this certain group of people. They have also been surveyed concerning the question whether they could be part of a “normal” sporting association after having made the sporting experience with the offers of the project conducted. The main concerns could be found in their fear of not being as fit as others, but a part of the interviewees could well imagine joining a sports club, which can be seen as another indicator for the integrative function of sports projects.

Several years ago, the Hessian culture ministry has published a report on the integrative function of sports concerning students with special needs and learning disabilities. In the course of the Hessian analysis, Svea Speike-Bardhoff highlights that sports participation can help diminish disappointing experiences in other areas, as well as fear of contact and isolation (see: Speike-Bardhoff 1992). The analysis emphasizes that in many cases the normal physical education at educational institutions is overstrained when dealing with students with special needs, and rather supports their isolation than their integration. Thus, certain framework conditions have to be met in order to be able to foster integration of such students. If the prerequisites are created and additional general dealing with motion development is accomplished, several positive outputs can be achieved. Examples are more joy in motion and a positive impact on the ability and willingness to learn, as well as the development of active personalities (ibid. p.23). Besides these rather outdated studies, several projects are also launched today. A project to be named is carried

out by Handicapped International, who in 2008 released a sports project dealing with handicapped people in Tunisia (see: Handicapped International 2008).

Nevertheless, one has to admit that it used to be difficult for people with handicap to do sports as freely as others, but a development towards better framework conditions on the international sphere can be observed (see: EurActiv 2007). December 7, 2007 was called out the day of people with handicaps. At beginning of 2008, a new international organization was founded called “Adapted Physical Activity International Development”. Another indicator for the development towards sports and integration of handicapped people can be seen in the growth of the Paralympics, which was held, e.g., 2008 in Peking. However, work remains to be done in this field. A lot more can be achieved due to the positive values sports can have on the abilities of handicapped.

Besides the integration of handicapped, Volker Scheid introduces three other areas where sports has been taken as a device for integration (Scheid 1995; Scheid 1997):

- Social work for the youth
- Sports for emigrants
- Sports for prison inmates

Despite the positive outcomes of different projects in the above mentioned areas, Scheid points out that sports can only have a supporting function, while the framework conditions as well as the sporting comprehension of the participants play a decisive role.

It can be observed that an increasing number of sports clubs has created integrative groups and has set integration of different minority groups as an objective. In 2001, with a succession in 2006, the German Olympic Committee has published a program called “Integration through sports” (DOSB 2006). The program aims at the integration of immigrants and is considered as a follow up to a program carried out in 1989 entitled “Sports for all – Sports with emigrants”. While the integration of people from different ethnical backgrounds lies at the core of the program, other types of integration have been included as well, such as the integration of handicapped people, especially focusing on the youth, or the integration of women in sports structures (DOSB 2009). Besides the German example, sports clubs from other EU Member States have also started to make use of sports in order to strengthen integration. The Polish Sports Association for Social Integration ‘Barka’ (Sportowe Stowarzyszenie na Rzecz Integracji Społecznej ‘Barka’) focuses on integrating and raising “the level of development and education of people threatened with social exclusion” (see: SASI BARKA 2005). Meanwhile, the French program “Sports Education Insertion – National Resource Pool” (Sport Éducation Insertion – Pole Ressource National) supports regional projects in the area of sports in order to strengthen the social value of sports for education and integration (see: CREPES de franche comté 2009). Another German example is brought about by the city of Stuttgart, a self-named European capital of

sport. Another program called “Integration through Sports” has been set up in 2007, which covers a great variety of integration areas from integrating migrants to handicapped integration. It also includes fostering social abilities among the youth. A great number of sporting associations in the state of Baden-Württemberg are supported, which have all launched projects under the guidelines of the program (Landeshauptstadt Stuttgart - Department of Sport 2007).

However, not only national governments and institutions deal with the topic of sports and integration, but also international organization are working for the awareness of sports being an effective instrument to reach certain social goals in society. The International Sports and Culture Association (ISCA) has committed itself to “Sports and Culture for All”, and also depicts sports as regulating social behavior and creating a feeling of belongingness (ISCA 2009c).

There have been quite positive results of different integration projects making use of sports as an integration device. However, there are possible negative effects of sports and a limited ability of sports in integration and interdependence with other conditions. As observed, sports is able to impact certain areas of the society in a certain way, such as producing a sense of team work, creating a healthy society and integrating minority groups. Hence, besides the negative effects sports can have, there are positive effects sports projects can have on integration.

1.2.2 The Meaning of Sports for European Integration

The chapter will now turn towards European integration and the possible links to sport. As was laid out before, sports can affect people in their behavior and draw them closer together. However, what does this mean for European integration? In order to reach a further integrated European Union, the institutions apply different forms of governance. One form is multi-level governance, which is the inclusion of all policy levels and taking into account all actors. Civil society inclusion plays a decisive role here, while sports plays an important role in civil society. The question of integration always comes to the conclusion of citizen participation and inclusion. Sports depicts one of the greatest citizen movements, not only due to the natural and visual link between sports and moving, but also due to its great popularity among a great range of citizens and its ability to move the masses.

As mentioned previously, there are possible positive values sports can have regarding the integration of different minorities into society. What does this mean for the European Union? The Union also features a great number of minorities, and thus there is the need for a successful way of integration in this regard. People with disabilities, ethnic minorities, migrants and others all need to be integrated in order to be able to set-up a healthy European society.

However, the integration of minorities is not the only matter central for a stable and increasing European integration process. The EU wants to create a knowledge-based, healthy, peaceful, politically and economically stable entity, which is in great need of citizens who are able to be the basis for the above mentioned desires. Thus, the health of its citizens is one concern, besides the aspiration to create a society that is able to combine its diversity in unity. In order to reach this goal or to follow the path into this direction, various instruments can be used. Whether or not sports can and will be one of it will be the core of the following parts and of the thesis at hand in general.

1.2.2.1 System- vs. Socio-cultural Integration

“Immigration-societies are not only dependent on the integration through common, political and economical institutions (“system-integration”), but reach additional integration and cohesion through similarities of language and culture as well as through the abolition of ethnical demarcation (“socio-cultural Integration”).” (Heckmann 1997, p.7, translated by author)

As the citation points out, there are various ways on how to increase and foster integration levels. Two main types of integration approaches have been identified by David Lockwood in 1964 (Lockwood 1964). First, there is the so-called system integration meaning political and/or economical integration. This type of integration can be found in the theories by Stephen Woolcock who locates the “notion of institutional integrity at the macro-level” (Phillips 2006, p.148), or Coleman’s definition of social capital, which also corresponds to Putnam’s social capital definition. On the other hand, there is the social integration, which rather relates to Bourdieu’s social capital understanding. Lockwood pointed out that the main difference between the two concepts is that the first deals with the relationship between the actors, while the latter deals with the relationships between the parts in a social system. While system integration concentrates on the macro-level, social integration rather plays a role on the micro-level (civic integration), as well as in meso and micro-social level networks (social cohesion). In Nicos Mouzelis words,

“(…) social integration refers to co-operative/conflictual relationships between actors, whereas system integration refers to compatibilities/incompatibilities between ‘parts’ that are always viewed as institutionalized complexes portraying different degrees of durability/malleability (Mouzelis 1997, p113ff.)”

Further Mouzelis states that:

“[f]rom the social-integration perspective the focus is on concrete actors and their relations/interactions in time and space. From the system-integration perspective the focus shifts to institutional complexes as a virtual order of rules/norms which, in Giddens’s terminology, are instantiated only when actors draw upon them in order to act or interact in specific situations. (ibid. p.114)”

Mouzeli also compared Habermas's and Giddens's conceptions of system and social integration to Lockwood's, but came to the conclusion that Lockwood's distinction was "the most successful of the three" (ibid. p.117). However, Markus Perkmann reviewed Mouzelis's statements and concluded that while Mouzeli is right in some perceptions, he must be corrected in others. He agrees "with Mouzelis's criticisms directed against Habermas and Giddens", but argues "that even a reformulated version of Lockwood's notion is still not satisfactory" (Perkmann 1998, p.492). Perkmann underlines the fact that "system and social integration do not merely co-exist as two independent viewpoints but [that] they are entangled and intertwined" (ibid. p.504).

As for the European Union, this seems to hold very true. As analyzed earlier, the European Union depicts a special state formation. It consists of a variety of levels with different actors included on all levels. The Union has the horizontal dimension with different actors on one level, as well as the vertical dimension, one set of actors engaged on different levels. Therefore, not only are actors on the micro- and/or meso-level intertwined and act with each other and can hence foster integration, but also institutions as parts of the system interact with actors from other levels as well as with each other. Subsequently, different parts of the system interact, while actors interact on one level.

Sports' value for integration can mean that sports can play a role in social integration; wherein, actors in sports interact, create networks and co-operative/conflictual relations are produced. On the other hand, sporting institutions from different levels: international, European, national, regional and local institutions interact and impact each other and with other actors on all levels. Hence, one can say that sports can have a twofold effect on integration when following Lockwood's definition of system and social integration. According to Perkmann, they are somehow intertwined. In order to impact European integration, two ways can be identified. First, sports projects on the micro- and meso-level are able to influence integration, which can be interpreted as the need for the EU to support such projects financially as well as legally. If sports is a functional device creating positive outcomes for integration, such projects can be the right motor to influence the European Union's development. Secondly, an important role also is played by the interaction of institutions on different levels, e.g. international sporting federations with European institutions, and the impacts of European institutions on national governments and institutions concerning sports. The free movement of workers or European citizenship has affected a great range of actors and policies. The EU can generate a second effect here. Actors are interlinked, and the decisions taken by the European institutions in the matter of sports are very importance for a great range of actors on all levels.

Furthermore, the effects can be produced in two directions. One concerns a top down approach: what the EU can do for the individual. As pointed out above, if sports has

the ability to integrate minority groups into society, the support of sports projects on the micro- and meso-level can be of great benefit for the individual. Out of this, a bottom up effect can evolve, since a more stable, healthy and interconnected society is brought about. This has an effect on the Union's legitimacy as well as acknowledgement, and thus impinges on the macro-level.

1.2.2.2 Sports and Social Capital

“Leisure, whether sport, arts or socialising, does not have to be valued only because it can create employment, generate income or improve health, but because it brings different people together.” (Blackshaw and Long 2005, p.244)

As introduced above, social capital has become a keyword in the civil society and third sector debate during the last three decades. The term arose in studies by Robert Putnam, whose concept of social capital can be seen as having rather positive connotations, while the more European view, taken e.g. by such theorists as Pierre Bourdieu, sees this phenomenon more critically.

Social capital describes how social interaction between citizens can have implications on either the individual, groups and organizations or the wider society (Seubert 2009). Thus, the concept appears to be able to describe the effect of social interactions in sports associations to the citizens of the EU, the sports organizations themselves or the European society as a whole and hence European integration. There are different opinions and theories on where and to what extent does social capital affect. They will be explained briefly by contrasting the differing theories of the three main scholars Putnam, Coleman and Bourdieu. Subsequently, the latest studies on the debate will be documented before going into more detail about the value of sports concerning social capital.

Robert D. Putnam can be described as one of the main scholars who is in charge of bringing the term social capital in discussion (Field 2003). His definition of social capital can be summarized as follows: “features of social organization, such as trust, norms, and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated action” (Putnam 1993a, p.169). Putnam's core perceptions about social capital arose from a study undertaken in Italy. He later transferred his ideas about the phenomenon to the society of the United States, where he saw a great decline of social capital due to the trend towards individualism. This trend was captured in the picture of his famous title “Bowling Alone”, heading an early journal article and later on one of his main works about social capital (Putnam 2000). For Putnam “social capital is a good thing and (...) its collapse is a bad thing” (Field 2003, p.5). In his view, social coherence is connected to networks and trust, which can be generated in associations as social capital, which will then increase the quality of civic engagement and can thus lead to good governance. Regions with “strong civic

engagement” are described as “successful regions”, where “democracy works” (Putnam 1993b). In this context, Putnam also points out the connection between social capital and economic development, when citing several studies which he says have shown the importance as “a vital ingredient” of social capital in economies around the world (ibid.). However, he also points out that the biggest successes were measured where civil society associations crossed “ethnic or other cleavage lines” (ibid.).

James Coleman’s definition of social capital is a more neutral one, which states that also a close consolidation and connectivity within networks can create closer alliances between the people and could lead to higher civic engagement. For him social capital generates certain actions, which can then lead to certain outcomes that would most probably not be reached without it. However, the value of these outcomes for the individual, the group or society in general is not determined (Coleman 1990).

The third theorist of social capital, Pierre Bourdieu, agrees to an extent with Coleman’s views. His theory however concentrates more on an agent possessing social capital, which has two main characteristics: group membership and networks as well as mutual cognition and recognition. The former means that the volume of social capital depends on the size of the network the agent is embedded in and the contacts established by the agent. The latter stands for the importance of symbolic capital (honor, prestige or recognition), in Bourdieu’s term, which plays an important role when establishing effective social capital (Bourdieu 1983). He points out that social capital coexists with economic and cultural capital and that it can be used by individuals or groups to advance their interests. From his point of view, social capital can be reproduced and converted into other forms of capital. Bourdieu has probably the most critical viewpoint of the phenomenon when linking it directly to the power struggle among agents. His theory is less positive about social capital creation but underlines the risk of the production of social inequalities (Bourdieu 2005).

Sandra Seubert as well discusses whether social capital depicts a chance or rather a risk for social integration (Seubert 2009). First of all, she raises the question whether or not civil society is only fostering those who are already privileged in cultural and economic terms. Furthermore, Seubert points out that it is unclear whether social capital can still be seen as a collective good, since it seems to be indistinct who can profit from it. The exploitation of social relations appears to be a risk of social capital. In this context, Seubert indicates that it is rather open for whom social relations are functioning as capital: for individuals (micro level), for social groups (meso level), or for society as a whole (macro level)? (ibid. p.23). In her eyes, social capital can have three dimensions. It can either be a “relation resource” of individuals in order for them to meet their personal goals. It can as well be a collective good of a group, with a value for the group members as individuals and the whole group. As a collective good, it might also have external effects beyond the group’s

borders. The last assumption is connected to the question whether social capital can also function as a society resource, which can exist detached from direct interactions (ibid. p.23). This is in line with Putnam's interpretation, but regarded as critical by Seubert. To define the value of social capital, Seubert brings in the notion of structural and cultural social capital, also introduced by Putnam. Social networks, the existence of formal and informal social relations, depict the structural dimension. Meanwhile the creation of social norms and the generation of trust within the networks that could then foster general trust in society is described as the cultural dimension of social capital.

After his first work "Making Democracy Work" (Putnam 1993a), Putnam accepted the criticism concerning his positive connotation of social capital and his assumption that it could be generated in various places of networking, especially in neighborhood -, sporting - or musical associations (Putnam 2000). In order to differentiate between so-called negative and positive effects of social capital, Putnam introduced two forms: bonding and bridging social capital. The former stands for bonds between homogenous groups, while the latter rather depicts networks between differing social groups. Bonding social capital can thus have negative effects on society, since it forms exclusive networks. Some examples could be radical groups, groups with violent motives, and groups specifically for one ethnic group excluding others. Bridging social capital in contrast can be rather described as inclusive because networks are formed across diverse groups. Thus, this form of social capital is described as having positive effects on society.

Bonding social capital can have negative manifestations, such as "sectarianism, ethnocentrism [or] corruption" (Putnam 2000, p.22), while bridging capital is seen as the super ordinate concept of the positive effects of social capital. It contributes to the overcoming of social cleavages between different ethnicities, sexes or social classes (see: Braun 2001). However, Sebastian Braun points out that Putnam does not give sufficient evidence for the mechanisms and places how and where bridging social capital is generated. Putnam underlines the positive value of team sports concerning social capital, neglecting the fact that various studies have disproven those positive connotations (Braun 2001; Bröskamp 1994).

Sandra Seubert presupposes that social capital, especially depicting it as a collective good of the society as a whole, depends on "ambitious framework conditions" (Seubert 2009, p.26). Seubert says that social capital *can* generate collective action and be a resource of integration; however, the risk of social capital fostering exclusion due to its possible character as a "club good" (ibid. p.26), and its unequal distribution can lead towards an increase of social inequalities, as also emphasized by Bourdieu (Bourdieu 1983). Nevertheless, Seubert also underlines that she does not see social capital as a private good that can be gathered and made use of for individual profits only.

As one can see, several theorists emphasize the different functions social capital can have as well as different parts of society who can profit from its generation. It can have positive as well as negative effects, which should not be overseen. A different interpretation of what social capital is, where it is generated etc. can be found among the rising number of theories of the topic. However, analyzing the various views, it becomes clear, that it depends on the framework conditions connected to the social capital creation, which effect, and on whom, social capital can have. The fact *that* it has an effect on society cannot be denied. After an overview of social capital and its effects on society, the specific topic of sports as one field of action where social can be produced is now presented.

Different scholars point out the dark side of social capital, also connected with sports. As already mentioned above, sports can have some negative effects for society, concerning e.g. doping, gender inequality, human rights, mass media or merely the notion of “victory at all costs” (Kamberidou and Patsadaras 2007, p.26). However, those dark sides concerning sports are mainly linked to professional sports, such as media rights, doping scandals, or exclusion depending on gender or nationality. Negative effects can also be produced in a sports for all area, such as the abuse of ergogenic aids¹⁶, or the public being affected by the use of the media when broadcasting major sporting events. The main risk of the production of negative social capital within the sports for all level can be seen in the increasing individuality and the possible exaggerated pursuit of winning. However, the general sports for all level is not likely to produce such negative effects as emphasized by critical scholars of Putnam’s theories.

Ørnulf Seippel transfers the whole social capital debate to the context at hand: possible effects of social capital in voluntary sports organizations. In his context this means, “the social relations will be those emerging from participation in voluntary sports organizations; the implications are social trust and political interest” (Seippel 2006, p.170). Seippel distinguishes between two types of organizations: organizations based on vertical and horizontal relations. The latter “hold most social capital of the kind that is important for generalized trust and political interest” (ibid. p.172). Thus, sports organizations need to be horizontal in order to be able to generate positive social capital. An additional distinction can be found between isolated associations or associations that are connected to other associations, and hence also their members. Isolated associations can even have negative effects concerning social capital, while connected ones “are more conducive to democratic effects” (ibid. p.172). Sports organizations are mainly isolated organizations and thus, it can be assumed that they are not as productive concerning good social capital as other associations. Some studies analyzed this assumption further and have come to interesting

¹⁶ Ergogenic aids are any sort of external influence that improves performance. This can range from mechanical, over psychological, pharmacological to physiological aids.

results. Mark Warren concludes that sports organizations are better equipped than other voluntary organizations in the generation of social capital in certain aspects. However, the social capital generated through sports mainly affects general social commitments such as trust instead of more political outcomes, for instance voting (Warren 2001). In a study about Scottish sports and its ability of social capital generation, Grant Jarvie concludes that “(...) [S]port cannot sustain social capital on its own but it can make a valuable contribution to communitarianism and a reinvigorated sense of civic engagement (...)” (Jarvie 2003). Ørnulf Seippel has carried out a study on sports clubs in Norway, where he examined social life in connection to club membership. He compared members of sports clubs only with persons who are members of sports- and other associations, and as a third group those who are members of other clubs only. His examination has brought him to the assumption that being a member of a sports organization has a positive effect on social commitment as well as political interest; however it has less positive effects than being a member of other voluntary organizations or being a member of several organizations (including sports). The study shows that a sports organization membership “has a marginal, though significant, effect on some political attitudes and activities” (Seippel 2006, p.178). The main effect concerning social capital in being a member of a sports organizations lies within generalized trust. It can also affect political outcomes, albeit not to such an extent as being a member of other voluntary organizations or different kinds. However, the effect on both social commitment and political interest appears to be non-dismissible according to Seippel’s study (ibid. p.176ff.).

In line with Warren, Seippel does not see such a significant effect on political interests connected to a membership in a sports organization. However, the effect on trust and social capital in general seems non-deniable. There is a great percentage of sports organizations in the European Union. Considering the number of members and the importance of the sports sector overall in comparison to other areas of activity of civil society associations, it becomes clearer why there is a need for a European sports policy. Hence, its structure lies at base of this dissertation and the following chapters.

In order for sports to be able to contribute to European integration and to create *positive* social capital, bridging social capital has to be generated. Sebastian Braun argues that the idea of bridging social capital also reflects the increasing individuality of modern society, since individuals strive for their personal development and thus widen their social networks. This leads to fostering of the individuality as well as fostering social integration (Braun 2009, p.85). Tony Blackshaw and Jonathan Long discuss the value of leisure concerning social capital. Both have a critical outlook on Putnam’s positive analyses. However, they point out that under certain circumstances leisure can have an important effect. Respect appears to be one of the keywords for them within networks that shall

produce positive social capital. Furthermore, in line with the bridging capital idea, Blackshaw and Long also talk about the necessity for leisure activity networks to “cross cultural divides, and in a way that can generate mutual respect” (Blackshaw and Long 2005, p.255). They also underline that leisure activities such as sports can be a key player when it comes to positive social capital generation due to their ability to “communicate across those cultural boundaries” and at the same time are “respectful of the differences that separate them” (ibid. p.255).

The issue of sports being able to create negative effects, not only in terms of negative bonding social capital but also outside of the social structures, was repeatedly mentioned. Furthermore, the positive connotations prevalent for team sports have been disproven in various ways. The same holds true for European integration and sports and the different impacts sports can have depending on the form and framework conditions given. In conclusion, it has to be considered that there are possible risks inherent to social capital, and that its impacts on society depend on the circumstances and framework conditions given. Putnam’s theories obviously leave out those downfalls of the phenomenon, but have nevertheless shown that social capital does exist. It can be generated through networks and associations and it can have quiet positive effects on society, the individuals’ activities, civic engagement and good governance. Thus, while taking account of the possible negative social capital generation, the bright side of social capital should not be neglected and be overshadowed by the dark assumptions of critical theorists. Hence, the negative possibilities should also be considered. Social capital and sports as such can have negative effects within society. However, does not necessarily need to have such negative effects. Positive values and effects can be produced through sporting activities and networks and associations connected to sports.

1.2.3 Positive vs. Negative Effects of Sports in European Integration

As underlined before, sports can not only have positive effects. Although several theories and opinions exist, it can also lead to disintegration and downfalls for society. Friedrich Heckman indicates that sports organizations, which act along ethnical borders, can create conflicts among the different groups.

“Divided organization in sport, working along ethnical affiliation, increases detachment and social distance. Sports meets lurk to develop into social conflicts, into conflicts in order to define the hierarchy between the groups, into conflicts with which all possible political, cultural, economical and psychological conflicts and tensions are carried out and increased. Ethnical sports organizations, whether association or team, thus counteract integration, the social and cultural convergence between migrants and locals.” (Heckmann 1997, p.8, translated by author)

However, Heckman also highlights the fact that if the demarcation between groups is avoided, sports can have positive effects. Thus, he sees a great need for an open structure

of sports organizations so as to avoid negative outcomes as discussed above. “Openness of the entry-society is an essential condition for integration. Concerning sports it means openness of the membership, no discrimination concerning team-formation, and disposition to also vote for migrants as association officials” (ibid. p.8, translated by author). In the context of the EU, sports projects conducted under EU patronage or sports projects within the EU in general with the aim of having positive effects on EU integration may need to be projects that do not exclude certain groups. Nevertheless, this approach depends on the project conducted and its objectives. If a project wants to integrate minorities into society in general, the target group cannot be the minority alone. However, if one target group shall be brought closer together, e.g. from different ethnical backgrounds or different EU Member States (e.g. young people, old people) or if the main objective lies within fostering the health conditions of the participants, the non-exclusion of certain groups can be less important as pointed out above. Of course, when talking about European integration, the target in general should be laid on EU citizens as a whole.

In his studies concerning the value of sports for social work, Gunter A. Pilz defines three dimensions sports can have. First he speaks about the natural dimension, meaning the dealing of someone with his/her own body while doing sports. Hence, health and integrity play the most important role. Secondly, Pilz brings in the personal dimension of sports, in which sports serves as a means to develop one’s own dignity, and expresses human creativity. As a third dimension Pilz refers to the social dimension of sports, where humans meet each other. Sports combines interaction and competition, cooperation and rivalry. (Pilz 2002, p.3) These three dimensions express where sports can develop social chances. However, the risk of sports endangers human dignity if the purpose of doing sports is interpreted incorrectly. If sports culture is turned into “culture of the body”, “culture of victory” or even “culture of violence”, where achievement potential becomes the highest good, winning is the deepest desire or where the desire to win is expressed through violence, then the aim of doing sports is carried out in a very risky manner (EKD/VEF 1999). In this context, the difference between sports culture and the culture of sports has to be discussed. While sports culture means the reality of sports, the culture of sports rather depicts the values and ideas of sports, which have to be preserved and realized. Thus, Pilz is of the opinion that instead of taking for granted the ability of sports to connect, educate and integrate people, sports rather *needs to* connect, educate and integrate (Pilz 2002, p.4). Different studies exist that disprove the positive values sports has represented in various eyes (Brettschneider and Kleine 2001; Locher 2001). However, the criticism brought about mainly concerns sports clubs and associations and their positive picture, and most of them want to disclose what the real picture behind looks like. The question can be raised why such high expectations have been put upon the clubs. Despite the negative examples brought up by the studies

mentioned, sports still has a great range of positive values that can be found all over our society, and is also identified by the people. The aforementioned special Eurobarometer survey conducted in 2004, entitled “The citizen of the European Union and sport”, will be examined in more detail in another chapter later on (Part A, Chapter 3). The question was also raised as to how the citizens would evaluate sports as a means for integration, where the outcome reads as follows: “Close to three in four European Union citizens (73%) view sports as a means of promoting the integration of immigrant populations” (European Commission 2004a, p.9). For European sports policies, there has been a development from the early 1980s onwards. The Council of Europe has also identified sports as contributing to integration, alleviating the participation in social life, and supporting tolerance and acceptance of differences (Report Sportforum Europarat).

The precedent remarks all correspond to integration concerning rather the amateur sports person. However, another part of integration when talking about sports has to be mentioned shortly in this respect, regarding professional sports. Immigration history concerning sports is twofold. On the one hand there is the perspective of the amateur sports person, as discussed above and will be discussed in the following; on the other hand a great number of professional sportsmen and –women has been immigrated due to their proficiency (see: Gasparini 2008). There are prominent names who have changed their location of residence in different types of sports, especially in football and other high-profile team sports, including gymnastics, athletics, table tennis and others. William Gasparini points out that the immigration of elite sports people stands in contrast to the “normal immigration” which often has a negative caption. The immigrant coming for sporting reasons, as well as actors, singers or comedians, draw a picture of a successful, powerful and interesting person coming from another country. A great number of professional players have helped develop the national teams in France, Germany, Great Britain and other countries into successful teams and have contributed in an important way to winning championships or gold medals. However, this regard also provokes negative voices within the EU. For football in particular, but also other team sports have to deal with the difficulty of creating successful teams while at the same time guaranteeing equal competition between rich and poor clubs, complying with the European workers’ rights (free movement etc.) and abiding by the sporting laws. This difficulty will be discussed in more detail later in this thesis, when turning towards professional sports and the difficulties occurring in the European context (Part B). As a last point concerning the integration of non-national professional sports people into the national society, there is a possibility of the ability to function as idols, and thus having a positive effect concerning prejudices or xenophobia. We will now turn away from the positive or negative impacts the immigration and integration of non-national professional sports persons in a national context can have, and turn back to

European integration in general and the integration within society outside of the professional sports world, meaning professional sportsmen and -women. When talking about European integration, the impacts on society from sports for all will play a more important role throughout this dissertation. Nevertheless, the professional sports world has an impact on European integration, and will thus not be left out totally.

In 2006, Petra Gieß-Stüber and Diethelm Blecking examined the positive values of sports concerning intercultural competences, especially concerning the enlarged European Union that reflected the results of a project¹⁷ funded under the EU Comenius program¹⁸. The project at the base of Gieß-Stüber's et al.'s analysis focuses on the development of the integration of sports into education institutions' curricula in order to establish intercultural competences. Modern sports has been dispersed throughout Europe by migrants, and many types of sports are developing transnational. Thus, Gieß-Stüber and Blecking are of the opinion that it is plausible to ascribe sports an important role concerning the social and political integration of the European Union (Gieß-Stüber and Blecking 2008).

As has been pointed out, sports is not always able to create a better understanding of *the other*, or reduce prejudices and xenophobia. It depends on the context sports appears in and how it is dealt with. As a saying goes, "Sports does not know any boundaries. Sports speaks all languages." While a great number of sports people says this holds true, others disagree and see great differences between types of sports in different cultural backgrounds. Sports does speak a great variety of languages, but some are not understood the same in all places. To make use of sports as an integration device, special sports structures and projects have to be developed. In order to create successful sport-didactical concepts for intercultural learning, Gieß-Stüber underlines a variety of topics that lend themselves to reaching the desired objectives:

- Forms of movement, games and sports from different cultural sectors
- Games from different countries
- Dance
- Physical theatre
- Experiential and adventure education
- Regional movement cultures (see: Gieß-Stüber 2008, p.239, translated by author)

The above listed topics only function as example and depict in no way the only possibilities to create intercultural competence. Furthermore, not only projects carried out by educational institutions are able to foster integration and understanding of others. Sports organizations as well as institutions from other backgrounds (youth, health, culture etc.) on local, regional,

¹⁷ "Entwicklung interkultureller Kompetenz durch Sport im Kontext der Erweiterung der Europäischen Union" ("Development of intercultural competence through sport in the context of an enlarged European Union")

¹⁸ See: <http://www.comenius-sport.eu/>

national and international level are just as able to create projects. They are able to impact integration in a positive way – meaning all forms of integration as previously discussed.

In conclusion, dealing with sports as means for integration has to be handled with care. Sports does not always have positive outcomes, hence one should be aware of that there are risks. Sports is no panacea to every social problem and the only way for integration. Nevertheless, the values sports does have should not be played down because they are there. As Otmar Weiss and others put it, in some aspects “(...) not doing sports costs more than doing sports. In addition, some benefits of sports activity, such as physical, mental and social-wellbeing, cannot be quantified but increase the positive end results” (Weiss et al. 2004, p.10). Sports has a social and preventive function – it only depends on the way sports is conducted. If sports projects take place in the right context and with the right aim, they can create great things: connection between the people, awareness for fairness, group feeling and team work, a feeling of belongingness as well as awareness for one’s health. Thus, sports can be of great use when trying to meet certain goals. The European Union needs to be able to interfere and support sports as a means of integration with its social values for society.

1.2.4 Conclusion on Sports and Integration

The EU has undergone different stages of integration throughout history and a great variety of theories exist as to where and which way the EU is taking. However, the unique set up of the EU makes it difficult to be put into one certain theory prevalent for states and their development. The EU consists of various layers with a great range of actors included. In order to guarantee the EU’s legitimacy, actors on different levels have to be involved in the governance process. Not all policies have yet been lifted up to the supranational level, and thus a great number of policies is still been dealt with at the national or even local level. This again demands for a governance setup taking into account all levels. Furthermore, different theorists have analyzed the importance of non-state actors in a multi-level governance set up, who especially in sports seem to play a decisive role. Turning towards sports – a policy field with great potential and recent development on the European level; integration depicts a well-discussed and surveyed topic within the scope of sport. Thus, the question arose as to which extent sports and European integration might correspond as well. Although the impact of sports projects on the integration of minorities into society and the positive values of sports in general on the people has been critically reviewed and appears not to be as positive as often praised, it nevertheless can have very positive effects when taking place in the right context, with the right aims and supervision. In the same way, sports can be made use of as having a positive impact on European integration in various ways.

As was stated in the Sport&EU Workshop in 2007 by Borja García, “the study of sports and sports policy in the European Union needs to deal necessarily with a multiplicity of

actors and venues. This is due to the very nature of sports and the EU as multilevel, international and multidimensional system of governance” (García 2007). García further believes that the relation between the EU and sports governing bodies such as UEFA has to change “from confrontation (...) to co-operation for the good of the game” (ibid.). The new involvement of the EU in sports matters can have very positive effects on the sports governing bodies and on the sports movement in general. However, as pointed out several times above, EU governance means involvement of a great variety of actors on multi levels, which especially holds true concerning sports. Besides the EU institutions, and national governments and institutions, civil society plays a very decisive role in this regard.

2 Civil Society and its Relevance for EU Integration

The European Union (EU) depicts a state *sui generis*, meaning it is neither a federal state nor a mere state federation. As of now it consists of 27 nation states, and even more are to join the Union in the near future. The individual Member States have transferred sovereignty rights to the EU institutions in various areas; however, in a wide variety of policy fields, the EU is still struggling with different Member State laws in order to find a way of enhancing European integration.

Furthermore, the EU is facing critique concerning the debate about whether or not a democratic deficit (meaning e.g. a lack of transparency, accountability, as well as a lack of legitimacy) does really exist. While various scholars identify certain failures in the Union's policy processes, its set up, and the attitude of the people towards it, others deny such problems, or do not see the nature of the problem. However, the EU itself discusses such drawbacks in several papers and identifies a need to address various disputed aspects.¹⁹ The five most argued democratic shortfalls regarding the European Union can be identified as follows: (1) A loss of national power and sovereignty, (2) Too weak of a European Parliament, (3) No direct European elections, (4) Great distance between the EU and its voters (institutionally as well as psychologically), and (5) "Policy drift" from voters' ideal policy preferences (Follesdal and Hix 2005, p.4ff). As an opponent of the democratic deficit debate, Andrew Moravcsik points out the needlessness of democratic discussions for international organizations such as the EU, the International Monetary Fund, the World Trade Organizations, or the United Nations (Moravcsik 2004, p.336). Moravcsik as well as Giandomenico Majone argue "that the EU is in fact as democratic as it could, or should be" (Follesdal and Hix 2005, p.4), and that "(...) there is little evidence that the EU suffers from a fundamental democratic deficit" (Moravcsik 2002, p.621). Robert Dahl argues in line with Moravcsik and Majone when saying that international organizations are not capable of supporting democratic set-ups and decisions (Dahl 1999). He sees great difficulties concerning international organizations if people from different national backgrounds have to make joint decisions on an international level. The critical voices, such as Majone and Moravcsik, see the basis for the democratic legitimacy of international organizations through the national parliaments; and thus, do not see a need for a discussion about a possible democratic deficit on the international level. However, other authors dissent those critical views and identify democratic shortfalls. Follesdahl and Hix disagree with the view of Majone and Moravcsik, and see a need for "(...) political contestation and more trustworthy institutions" (Follesdal and Hix 2005, p.21). Furthermore, they argue that the EU has to

¹⁹ EU programmes, e.g. „Active European Citizens“: TEXT, see: http://europa.eu/scadplus/glossary/democratic_deficit_en.htm

create institutions which produce policy outputs in line with the peoples' preferences (ibid. p.22). Of course, one can agree with Majone and Moravcsik in certain cases; however, it is a fact that the European Union's elections have a low voter turnout which some set equal with low interest in the political process of the Union. As described by Georg Lutz, such low turnout can result from low legitimacy and low identification with the ruling organization (Lutz 2006). Fritz Scharpf also sees a great necessity for the EU to create input legitimacy in addition to output legitimacy. The latter means the legitimization through the fact as to whether "the political process supports the general welfare in line with the public spirit effectively" (Scharpf 1999, p.16, translation by the author), in other words "effective problem-solving" (Risse 2004, p.2).

Several scholars would state that input legitimacy, greater transparency, participation, and the creation of a European identity will contribute to the enhancement of EU integration. Moreover, the EU identifies these keywords as essential in its latest civil society programs. With the intention of minimizing these deficits, the EU is constantly building up a dialogue with the civil society in its Member States and beyond. The first programs to support civil society and to start a mutual communication were the *Tacis / Phare* or *Tempus* programs of the EU, which were launched in the 1990's. Here, the focus lays on the support of civil society organizations in the Eastern European and Asian States, in order to encourage the transformation process those countries were going through after the fall of the iron curtain.²⁰

Besides those support programs, the EU furthermore broached the issue of civil society in several papers and treaties, such as in Nice, the White Paper on "European Governance", Laken declaration and others. Civil Society becomes a topic not to be underestimated on the European Agenda. Not only civil society as a generic term, but also within its organizations, the topic of sports gained importance within the European Union. The area of sports started out with very little room in the Union's paper work, but has been granted higher significance as a means to let people interact across borders.

The main aim of this sub-chapter is to give an overview of the current literature dealing with the importance of civil society integration in the EU policy process. In addition, it will be shown whether or not this can lead to further European integration and to the chance to diminish the democratic deficit. Hence, it will analyze whether civil society plays an important role when enhancing European integration in order to lead over to the next chapter bringing together the two concepts of sports and civil society in the EU. Moreover, it will underline the connections between the concepts and the necessity for the EU and its institutions to concentrate on them. The (hypo-)theses to be proven here are:

²⁰ Further information about TACIS, PHARE and TEMPUS under: http://ec.europa.eu/external_relations/ceeca/tacis/ and <http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/en/lvb/e50004.htm> and <http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/de/cha/c11020c.htm>.

- The EU suffers from a lack of transparency, legitimacy, and accountability (democratic deficit).
- If the people of the European Union participate more actively in EU policies and politics, the democratic deficit can be diminished.
- The support of projects will help bring the European Union and its institutions closer to its citizens.

Supporting Civil Society projects, especially in the policy fields of sports, can enhance European integration and hence, reduce the lack of transparency and accountability.

First of all, in order to address the aforementioned theses, the term civil society as used in this dissertation will be defined. Following this, its relation to democracy and a democratic set-up of the EU will be discussed. The democratic difficulties of the EU and the possible solutions through cooperation with civil society will be pointed out as well. After taking a glance at European identity and enhancing input legitimacy, the sub-chapter will deal with the importance of civil society integration in the EU policy process, before going into detail about the current facts: What has been done to integrate civil society?, What functions does civil society fulfill?, etc. In this context, the sub-chapter is going to analyze which functions are *identified* by the EU, which functions *can* be fulfilled through civil society, and which functions *does* civil society fulfill in reality. In addition, the current EU program “Active European Citizens 2007-2013” and its theme will move into focus before zeroing in on sports as a special area in the civil society debate.

2.1 Functions of Civil Society

In order to clarify the term civil society, this sub-chapter will start out with an attempt of defining what civil society can stand for. Numerous definitions exist and some even contradict each other, while others complement each other. Since it would go beyond the aim of this writings to give the various definitions and possible meanings, the chapter at hand will limit the term civil society and give a definition to work within the following: Civil Society is situated between the state and the market and can be seen as a special actor on the political sphere, with raising importance. As defined by Jürgen Kocka, civil society depicts a “draft of human co-existence” (Kocka 2000, p.26, translated by the author). According to Kocka this has been the case during enlightenment and has changed over time like in the times of Alexis de Tocqueville (as will be discussed in more detail later on). The term has been defined varyingly through the influence of different groups. While authors such as Kant and Tocqueville coined the term as having a positive connotation, it obtained a critical meaning during times of Hegel and Marx. (Kocka 2004) However, in the following, Kocka’s definition of civil society as a “societal sphere between state, economy, and private life populated by voluntary associations, networks, and non-governmental organizations” will

be taken as a basis (Kocka 2002b, p.16). In addition, the European Economic and Social Committee states that civil society translates into “the sum of all organizational structures whose members have objectives and responsibilities that are of general interest and who also act as mediators between the public authorities and citizens” (EESC 1999, 7.1, footnote 3). Hence, civil society moves between the public and the private sphere, set up by different associations, acting as a protection of the citizens against the state while at the same time helping the state to enhance integration. Civil society also plays an important role in strengthening democracy. There are always certain limits and difficulties when trying to define civil society and dissociate different forms of it by assigning it to different areas, such as the third sector, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), non-profit organizations (NPOs), trade unions, and others. Thus, a better way of dealing with it is to work with the functions it fulfills. There are four main functions as determined by Lauth and Merkel: (1) Protection of the individual; (2) Release for the state; (3) Building and strengthening of democracy; and (4) Articulation of interests (Lauth and Merkel 1998). These functions will be discussed in more detail later on. Democracy is the essential element of all four functions. For this reason, the democratic function turns out to be the most important when dealing with civil society. Another set of functions of civil society was formulated by Larry Diamond who said that civil society has to (1) check government power, (2) develop participatory skills and practices as well as democratic values, (3) recruit and train leaders, (4) disseminate information, and (5) provide channels for the expression of interests (Diamond 1994). If the two sets of functions of Lauth/Merkel and Diamond are compared, similarities can be observed. Diamond also underlines the need for civil society to protect the individual towards the government, to strengthen democracy, and to articulate the public interest. Democracy plays an important role in the opinion of Diamond as well.

Speaking about civil society and democracy and in this context about civil society as a means for democracy, Alexis de Tocqueville should be considered. His book “Democracy in America”, published 1835, dealt with the topic. One of the most important features he identifies in his book is the concept of equality. All people having the same chance to influence the policy process and, like the Athenians idea, the concept that “every citizen had regular and demanding public roles to play” (Ferejohn 2005, p.8). Thus, Tocqueville, as well as Habermas or Rousseau, are talking about the advantage of equality and the positive connotation of majority rule, which in their eyes “is likely to reach good decisions where those are defined by some normative theory” (ibid. p.10). Here one can make the notion that democracy is about shared expectations and behavior. Tocqueville writes about his thought on people working for one common goal. After traveling through the United States, he has the vision of a community that is in contrast to individualism and egoism. It is a vision of civil society shaping the political process apart from the state (Tocqueville 2000).

Furthermore, Tocqueville speaks about the revolutionary times which demand a change of thought regarding society, politics, and the individual. He thinks that “extensive, but distinct and settled limits, to the action of the government” have to be laid down (ibid. p.873). He speaks about the need “to enable individual man to maintain whatever independence, strength, and original power he still possesses; [and] to raise him by the side of society at large, and uphold him in that position” (ibid. p.873). Tocqueville advocates a higher emphasis on the people than on the results of politics, “that they would set less value on the work, and more upon the workman” (ibid. p.874). Merkel and Lauth also underline Tocqueville’s thesis that in democratic regimes “civil engagement within society supports the efficiency of the government as well as the democratic quality of a democratic political system” (Lauth and Merkel 1997, p.18, translated by the author).

“Civil society can (...) develop a different concept of state in order to help it in its democratic function founded on the rule of law” (Eisele 2005, p.6). Such civil society will keep a distance to the state while at the same time still be liable to state law. Eisele points out that this form of civil society can be described as the “ideal type” (ibid. p.6). However, in Central and Eastern Europe, civil society actors and their tasks are different than the ones prevalent in the Western communities. Havel and Klaus (1996) describe Eastern European concepts as carrying a strong idealistic impetus, being a strong counterpart to the state and its institutions. According to Bunce (2000), this can be drawn from different historic developments. While “in the west, political society (...) grew out of civil society, and both were foundational for democratic development (...), in the east, political society arose later and largely in reaction to oppressive states and western ideas (...)” (Bunce 2000, p.211).

The European Union does not give a definition of the term civil society. “There is no commonly accepted or legal definition of the term ‘civil society organisation’” (European Commission). However, concerning the EU, the concept of civil society definitely gained popularity after the fall of the Soviet Empire. It can be seen as the demand for deliverance of all civil associations from state control and paternalism. (Fetscher 2006) Today, the European Commission states that “(...) civil society organisations play an important role as facilitators of a broad policy dialogue” (European Commission 2002). According to Lauth and Merkel, civil society can fulfill four different functions in order to strengthen a democratic political system. (Lauth and Merkel 1997) The characteristics of these functions base on studies by different authors. The first function is the protection function (**1. Individual Protection**), meaning protection of the individual against governmental arbitrariness. This function goes back to the studies of John Locke. Secondly, civil society can function as releaser of the state through assumption of performances (**2. State Release**). Pluralism theorists, in favor of this function, see the possibility of the reduction of social cleavages through a dense and reciprocal communication network built up through civil society

(Truman 1951, Lippset/Rokkan 1967, Putnam 1995, in: (Lauth and Merkel 1997, p.19ff)). The third function is influenced by Alexis de Tocqueville, saying that “civil society associations and coalitions are the school of democracy” (Lauth and Merkel 1997, p.19ff.) **(3. Democracy Building)**. Hence, through the accumulation of acceptance, trust, honesty et al., civil society stands for the protection of democracy against authoritarian attacks and temptations. Last but not least, as a fourth function, civil society “enhances interest articulation and –aggregation, through the building of pre-political pluralistic interest networks (...)” (ibid. p.19, translated by the author) **(4. Interest Articulation)**. Critical theory influences this concept of civil society with authors such as Keane (1988a), Rödel (1989), Cohen/Arato (1992), or Habermas (1992) (in ibid. p.19ff.). This function aims at the possibility to take part in the agenda setting process, to articulate interests, and the possibility for participation. Aside from the discussed functions and the fact of not publishing a clear-cut definition of civil society, the EU has certain ideas about what civil society shall stand for or which functions it can fulfill for the political process within the Union. In the following, European identity formation and the enhancement of input-legitimacy of the EU will be discussed. Afterwards, the relation of civil society and the EU and the way of dealing with civil society in the European context will be made established.

2.2 Enhancing Input-Legitimacy – European Identity

As pointed out above, the EU is a special set-up of states and has to deal with various difficulties regarding its decision-making process. It increasingly struggles with legitimacy deficits and enhanced disenchantment with politics of Europe’s citizens. Low voter turnout in the European elections, as well as two no-votes regarding the ratification of the EU constitution, points out the poor reputation of the EU among its citizens. This can be ascribed to the difficulties concerning the finding of consensus, the question of responsibility, transfer of sovereignty rights, low transparency, too humble flow of information from Brussels to the citizens, and a low degree of identification. In the context of the prevalent legitimacy problems, Fritz W. Scharpf talks about two arguments: the input- and output-orientated legitimacy – *sovereignty by the people* and *sovereignty for the people* (Scharpf 1999). The former combines the two forms “participation” and “consensus”, and thus deals with the integration of the citizens as well as the finding of a “solution for the benefit of all” (see: ibid. p.17). However, in this regard the EU’s composition and its specialties lead towards another complex legitimacy problem. While a collective identity is prevalent in a national state, and hence abets a majority decision, the EU lacks such collective identity. According to Scharpf, the “justification of the dominance of the majority” represents the “central problem of input-orientated theories of democratic legitimacy”, in particular if one takes into consideration “the problem of the masses” (see: ibid p.17ff). In contrast to the

input-orientated legitimacy, the output-orientated perspective deals with the “ability to solve problems (...), which are in need for collective solutions” (ibid, p.20). In this matter, Scharpf does not presume a collective identity, meaning that coexistence of varying identities can be possible. Merely necessary is a “stock of common interests, which appears to be adequately big and substantial to justify institutional arrangements for collective action” (ibid, p.20). Anssi Paasi argues in a stronger sense when saying that “(...) Regional identity joins people and regions together, [and] provides people with shared ‘regional values’ and ‘self-confidence’” (Paasi 2001). In addition, Paasi states that common identity will support “mutual involvement and community action” (ibid. p.22).

Josef Schumpeter’s argument is in line with the output-oriented theories, as he focuses on the elite as being selected in order to represent good political leadership and to come to accepted decisions (Schumpeter 1950). In contrast to Schumpeter, Pateman argues that participation of citizens will lead to a learning process and result to an emergence of good democratic citizens (Pateman 1970). Hobbes, Locke, and Montesquieu are in line with Schumpeter, also in favor of a selected leadership, without too much citizen involvement, due to a fear of chaotic and uncontrollable circumstances. In the eyes of Rousseau (Rousseau 2000), the natural state of peace, freedom, and equality of human beings had changed towards a society of inequalities, egoism, and competitiveness (Lutz 2006, p.28ff.). Rousseau is of the opinion that a shift from the institutional perspective towards “democracy as self-government of the people” can change these developments (ibid. p.29).

Regarding all the varying views on citizen involvement and sovereignty rights, the EU depicts a unique entity. Hence, several scholars have thought about feasible ways of organizing the political process. Beate Kohler-Koch talks about the noteworthiness of the European Union in comparison to the nation states or state federations. A de-bordering of the national governance can be observed, which influences the “ability to organise solidarity and loyalty” (Kohler-Koch 2005, p.9). Furthermore, Kohler-Koch argues that “political participation has been devalued both by the weakness and the strength of governments” (ibid. p.12). This means on the one hand that “governments [on the European level] have to share their power with member state governments” but on the other hand, “they can escape parliamentary control” (ibid. p.12). From her point of view, political participation is still limited to the nation state level and the identity formation has only vaguely been touched by the European level. Citizens still feel more closely connected to their nation. However, European and national identity are not mutually exclusive but can, according to Kohler-Koch, “live in peaceful coexistence” (ibid. p.13). Hence, although European governance has made national boundaries more permeable, it does not yet depict an obstacle for national coherence, as trust in fellow citizens is still stronger than trust in other European citizens. In

other words, “in each policy field, governing Europe will be a constant struggle to achieve unity in diversity” (ibid. p.14). Thus, in order to achieve greater advancement on the European sphere, participation and integration of civil society has to be strengthened. As Beate Kohler-Koch underlines, “part of the endeavor should be to develop theoretically and methodologically sound approaches to measure the democratic value added by civil society participation in European governance” (ibid. p.15).

2.3 Importance of Civil Society integration

In order to obtain an enhanced legitimacy, as well as in national states, a mixture of input- and output-orientated legitimacy has to be prevalent in the European Union. The EU underlines the participative democracy and European identity in different reports, treaties, and in the current draft constitution; however, in reality, neither one is achieved. In order to make certain changes regarding European governance, the EU is currently dealing with various forms of new modes of governance, such as the Open Method of Coordination (OMC), the Partnership Principle, or the European Social Dialogue. As Stijn Smismans says in the words of Scott and Trubek (Scott 2002), new governance is characterized via keywords such as “experimentation and knowledge creation, flexibility and revisability of normative and policy standards” as well as “diversity and decentralisation leaving final policy-making to the lowest possible level” (Smismans 2006, p.5). Smismans is of the opinion that “more heterarchical, horizontal, and flexible modes of governance do not necessarily imply more participation and inclusion (...)” (ibid. p.5). In the context of a case study concerning the Occupational Health and Safety Policy (OH&S), he argues that under the Community Method (CM) it is due to the work of the Advisory Committee (AC) that satisfaction about the organization of interest group participation is reached. This is not because of the involvement of the European Economic and Social Committee (EESC). Under the new modes of governance, Smismans does not really identify great improvement in the context of participation. He analyzes the European Social Dialogue as providing added value to the OH&S on the one hand, but as creating further confusion on the other, compared to the CM. Even the OMC, the most cited example of new modes of governance, particularly participatory, is facing certain criticism in the eyes of Smismans. He says that although civil society involvement can be observed, in reality, merely high civil servants and EU officials are involved, instead of creating “a broad transparent process of public deliberation and decision-making, open to the participation of all those with a stake in the outcome” (ibid. 18ff). Thus, Smismans concludes with his main argument that although the main civil society actors are part of the decision making processes under the CM, they still experience major shortcomings under the new modes of governance.

Concerning the new term governance and its relation to civil society, Annette Zimmer argues that governance depicts the way the interplay of polity, politics, and policy functions in the real world. Governance “stands for an increase of participation in processes of policy formulation and implementation and thus for a deepening of democracy” (Zimmer 2007, p.4). However, governance has to deal with a certain caveat concerning the problem of legitimacy. A “lack of transparency, the impossibility of a straightforward corrective in the hands of the citizens, the limited access to governance constellations, the lack of representation of public interest groups, and finally the top-down perspective of many governance arrangements” (ibid. p.4) are some of the shortcomings still identified under governance arrangements. Hence, Annette Zimmer argues that “good governance’ therefore needs a lively public sphere and thus an active civil society” (ibid. p.5). The actors on the political stage have been dilated beyond state actors towards various actors such as parties, lobbyists, market actors, and civil society, all having a say in certain matters. The 1980’s showed an increasingly “highly educated citizenry” while the “international arena of globalization gave way to the emergence of ‘governance without government’” (ibid. p.5ff). An increasing emergence of civil society organizations then led to the thinking about an increased inclusion of civil society in order to reach “a deepening of European democracy and for the fostering of European integration” (ibid. p.8). Zimmer sees civil society as providing “the possibility of linking governance with participatory democracy” and as possibly “providing the potential of tackling the notorious democratic deficit of European polity making” (ibid. p.17).

During the last years, the EU endeavored to embed the integration of EU citizens into the current polity, as well as to foster civic engagement and exchange between the different citizens of the Union. In this matter civil society and its institutions play a special role. Beatrice Machiavelli, former president of the EESC, also sees great potential in civil society. She said, “[i]t is civil society organizations that will enable Europe to overcome the democratic deficit” (Machiavelli 2000, p.36). One need not go as far as Machiavelli, but a rise of civil society in the EU’s political framework can be observed.

2.4 The EU and Civil Society

The need to support civil society within Europe was first made visible after the collapse of the Soviet bloke. Since the Eastern states were in a transformation situation, the European Union launched different support programs to enhance the democratization process and to foster the transformation the East European states had to go through. Support programs in this matter were the *Tacis* and *Phare* projects, the latter meaning “Poland and Hungary Action for Restructuring of the Economy”. As the name implies under this measure Polish and Hungarian institutions were supported in order to help them through the transformation

process. Its main focus is on the revival of the economy in those two countries. The *Tacis* program (Technical Assistance to the Commonwealth of Independent States) was launched in 1991 that provided grant-financed technical assistance to 12 countries in Eastern Europe and Central Asia. The measure as well started out with merely economic aims, but has been further developed throughout the last decades. In 1998, the *Tacis Lien* program was released, depicting a “Link Inter European NGOs Program”. Under this program, co-financed by the European Commission, the development of NGOs is at the focus, mainly NGOs in the New Independent States and Mongolia. The measure was further developed in 2001 when the *Tacis IBPP* program was set up – “Institution Building Partnership Program”. Besides business partnerships, the *IBPP* program aims at stimulating citizens’ initiatives and the strengthening of social sector organizations. In addition to the mentioned programs, the EU gave out various other sub-programs under the *Phare* and *Tacis* measures, which will not be discussed here in detail.²¹

The outset of civil society support programs can be seen in the fall of the iron curtain and mainly concentrated on the support of Eastern European states and the development of cooperation between old and new Member States. Furthermore, the start-up period dealt with economic problems being prevalent in the post-socialist transformation states. The programs for civil society support also aimed at enhancing democratization. In the meantime, the focus has been widened towards European integration in the EU as a whole and beyond.

Besides such support programs that were started out with the aim of alleviating the political transformation in the Eastern bloc, in 1999 the European government of Romano Prodi also discussed and underlined the importance of civil society in an EU context. In his speech “Towards a European Civil Society”, Prodi emphasized the importance of civil society and the necessity for its integration into European processes. “It is [...] essential that the values and aspirations of Europe’s diverse civil society be properly represented in our policymaking process” (Prodi 2000). The need for citizens’ support of the European Union as well as vice versa is particularly highlighted. In Nice 2000, the Council of Ministers pointed out “the importance of improving the democratic legitimacy as well as the transparency of the Union and its institutions, and to keep track of those processes, in order to give the Member States’ citizens a better understanding of the European Union” (Council 2004). In 2001, the European Commission published its “White Paper on European Governance”, which functions as a basic document for civil society integration in EU policies. The Commission states that “Democratic institutions and the representatives of the people, at

²¹ For further information on Phare see: http://eur-lex.europa.eu/smartapi/cgi/sga_doc?smartapi!celexplus!prod!DocNumber&lg=en&type_doc=Regulation&an_doc=1989&nu_doc=3906
For further information on Tacis see: http://eur-lex.europa.eu/smartapi/cgi/sga_doc?smartapi!celexplus!prod!DocNumber&lg=en&type_doc=COMfinal&an_doc=1997&nu_doc=239

both national and European levels, can and must try to connect Europe with its citizens.” This is declared as “the starting condition for more effective and relevant policies” (European Commission 2001c, p.3).

Civil society becomes more and more important on the European agenda. The EU has set up different institutions and programs to include civil society organizations in the policy process of the Union. The Economic and Social Committee (EESC) was established in 1957 in the Treaties of Rome as a tool to “involve economic and social interest groups in the establishment of the common market and to provide institutional machinery for briefing the European Commission and the Council of Ministers on European Union issues” (EESC 2007a). Subsequently, its functions were reinforced in the various EU treaties. According to the treaties, the EESC depicts the institutional representation of the many economic and social areas of civil society (EESC 2007b). Today, the European Economic and Social Committee can be described as building a bridge between Europe and organized civil society. In February 2004, the so-called Liaison Group was set up as part of the EESC. The aim of the group was to enhance stronger cooperation with European civil society organizations and to build up networks as well as political dialogue. Hence, cooperation is strengthened and civil society organizations get improved chances to influence the European policy processes.

Civil society fulfills certain functions in the EU context. In addition to the functions of civil society analyzed by Lauth and Merkel (Lauth and Merkel 1997)²², Sittermann and Zimmer see “a strong point for intensifying dialogue and consultation between civil society and the European Institutions in order to achieve both, to tackle the ‘lack of democracy’ in European public policy decision making and to further European integration” (Zimmer and Sittermann 2005, p.10). When having a look at the Commission’s “White Paper in European Governance”, four main functions can be identified from an EU perspective. The EU is recognizing civil society as a means of:

- expertise,
- “(...) the Economic and Social Committee should be more active by developing opinions and exploratory reports in order to help shape policies at a much earlier stage (...)” (Commission 2001, p.15)
- to enhance social welfare,
- “Civil society plays an important role in giving voice to the concerns of citizens and delivering services that meet people’s needs.” (ibid. p.14)
- to produce discourse,

²² Functions identified by Lauth/Merkel: 1. individual protection 2. state release 3. democracy building 4. interest articulation (see: p.6)

- “(...) the Institutions and Member States also need to communicate more actively with the general public on European issues.” (ibid. p.11)
- to foster integration and cooperation within Europe.
- “(...) integrate the people of Europe, while fully respecting individual identities.” (ibid. p.32)

The Commission’s White Paper on European Governance puts five political principles at its basis: openness, participation, accountability, effectiveness, and coherence. In order to achieve those principles, the EU involves civil society in various aspects with the above listed functions. The EESC makes use of civil society as means of expertise by involving different organizations and their skills and knowledge in various fields of actions. Furthermore, a great variety of civil society organizations fulfils the function of social welfare; e.g. churches or different charities are in charge of social services, such as care of the elderly, childcare, or hospitals. Discourse with the Union’s citizens is produced through various actions of civil society organizations, and shall be enhanced through the newly released EU support programs. The same is the fact for the function of integration and cooperation. Transnational cooperation projects of civil society organizations reduce prejudices, enhance cooperation across borders, and thus, foster transnational integration. EU civil society programs in various areas seek to diminish prejudices across Europe, to enhance dialogue among its citizens, and to reduce different aspects concerning the democratic deficit. Hence, support programs in different policy fields are implemented. The following elaboration deals with the current funding period 2007-2013 and various programs implemented during this period which are supporting civil society actions in different policy fields. The special policy field of sports has already been briefly mentioned in the policy sections of Part A of this dissertation and will be dealt with here in more detail.

2.4.1 2007-2013 Initiative: Different Policy Fields

One of the most important EU institutions to enhance participative democracy and the exchange within civil society through various projects can be found in the Directorate General Education and Culture (DG EAC) in Brussels, directorate of the European Commission. Regarding its mission, it seeks “[t]o reinforce and promote lifelong learning, linguistic and cultural diversity, mobility and the engagement of European citizens, in particular the young” (DG-EAC). In order to work on its mission completion, the DG EAC is active in six main policy fields: Education and Training, Youth, Culture, Citizenship, Multilingualism, and Sports. However, all mentioned areas are somehow mutually interlinked and cannot be strictly divided. A certain project under one measure might as well be adoptable for other fields of activity as well. If a program for the support of the youth is given out and an organization is planning on implementing a sports project including young people, it might as well be able to apply for a grant under the youth measure with the sports

project. The latest program released by the European Commission is the 2007-2013 initiative, valid in all areas dealt with by the DG EAC. Table 1 will give an idea of the great variety of programs currently running under the above areas. Of course, all programs have a different volume of in- and output. The budgets are highly differential. The *Phare* program had a budget of over 10 billion € (1.5 billion p.a.) in the period between 2000 and 2006 (Commission 2007c), while under the *Tempus* program approximately 50 million € p.a. will be granted to various projects, period 2007-2013 (Commission 2007d). A newly launched program for lifelong learning embraces various educational programs (Comenius, Erasmus, Leonardo da Vinci, Grundtvig, Erasmus Mundus from 2009 onwards). Its budget is 13.6 billion € in the period 2007-2013, hence, approximately 2 billion € p.a. (Morhard 2004, p.4). The “Europe for Citizens 2007-2013” program has a total budget of 215 million € (= 30.7 million € p.a.) (EAEA 2007). Besides the budget differences, the programs also cover different geographical areas. While the *Phare* program is mainly focused on the Poland-Hungary area, the “Europe for Citizens” measures can be applied in all EU Member States.

Table 2 shows which programs address the different functions of civil society as identified above. Several programs aim at fulfilling diverse functions, being more or less ambitious in or the other. Almost all programs address all four functions to a certain extent. However, table 2 focuses on the main goals the programs are addressing. The table's classifications are based on the four functions of civil society: expertise, social welfare, discourse, and integration/cooperation. Programs such as *Tacis* and *Phare* included projects that deal with different areas, such as legislative reforms, infrastructure, or nuclear technology. Thus, such programs needed the support of experts in order to install certain projects in the recipient countries. Furthermore, educational programs such as Grundtvig or Comenius, also focus on an exchange of expertise. However, *Tacis* and *Phare* aim at improving welfare situations in the focus societies as well. Discourse is one of the essential elements in various education and exchange programs, such as Leonardo or Erasmus, as well as the New CULTUR program 2007-2013 and the Europe for Citizens 2007-2013. Integration and cooperation, as the fourth function, holds true for various programs as well; especially for the last mentioned.

There is no clear cut between the different programs and their functions, but one can only roughly assign them in order to reach a certain classification. Many programs aim at fulfilling more than only one function.

Table A.2.4.a Programs under the DG EAC

| Area of Activity | Education and Training | Youth | Culture | Citizenship | Multilingualism | Sports |
|------------------|--|---|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|--|
| Programs | Comenius Program Erasmus Program Leonardo da Vinci Program Grundtvig Program Tempus Erasmus Mundus EU/USA Cooperation EU/Canada Cooperation | Youth in Action Program 2007-2013 European Year of Intercultural Dialogue 2008 | The New Culture Program 2007-2013 | Europe for Citizens Program 2007-2013 | Lifelong Learning Program 2007-2013 - Key Activity: Languages | No specific current program European Year of Education and Sport 2004 |

Source: DG EAC http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/education_culture/index_en.html, own compilation

Table A.2.4.b Civil Society Functions and EU Programs

| Civil Society Function | Expertise | Social Welfare | Discourse | Integration / Cooperation |
|---|---|--|--|--|
| EU Programs and Actions for Civil Society | Tacis Phare Tempus EESC Comenius Program Grundtvig Program EU/USA Cooperation EU/Canada Cooperation Lifelong Learning Program 2007-2013 - Key Activity: Languages | Leonardo da Vinci Program Tacis Phare Tempus Lifelong Learning Program 2007-2013 - Key Activity: Languages | Erasmus Program Leonardo da Vinci Program Youth in Action Program 2007-2013 Europe for Citizens Program 2007-2013 The New Culture Program 2007-2013 European Year of Intercultural Dialogue 2008 Erasmus Mundus EU/USA Cooperation EU/Canada Cooperation Comenius Program Grundtvig Program European Year of Education and Sport 2004 | Erasmus Program Leonardo da Vinci Program Youth in Action Program 2007-2013 Europe for Citizens Program 2007-2013 European Year of Intercultural Dialogue 2008 Erasmus Mundus Comenius Program Grundtvig Program European Year of Education and Sport 2004 |

Source: DG EAC http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/education_culture/index_en.html, own compilation

Year 2007-2013 describes the next grant period of the European Union. Programs within this period can be found in various fields. Hence, programs for the support of civil society are discussed. The program of interest can be found in the citizenship field, named “Europe for Citizens 2007-2013”. The European Commission (EC), the Parliament (EP), and the Council of the EU together set up the program in order to fund a wide range of activities and organizations “promoting active European citizenship” (Commission 2007a-b, p.12ff.). The program aims at involving EU citizens and hence civil society organizations in the process of European integration. The predecessor of the program ran from 2004 to 2006 and has, according to the EC, already been intensely evaluated and analyzed.

2.4.2 Europe for Citizens 2007-2013

As shown in Table 2, the “Europe for Citizens 2007-2013” is found under the function of enhancing discourse and integration/cooperation. The general objectives of the program constitute in providing the citizens with the “opportunity to interact and participate in constructing an ever closer Europe, which is democratic and world-orientated, united in and enriched through its cultural diversity, thus developing citizenship of the European Union” (ibid. p.4). Furthermore, it aims at developing a sense of European identity and fostering a sense of ownership of the European Union among its citizens. In addition, tolerance shall be expanded as well as mutual understanding shall be fostered through the promotion of respect, cultural and linguistic diversity, and the contribution of intercultural dialogue. Projects under the Citizenship Program have to be set up as cooperation of civil society organizations from different Member States in order to achieve exchange of views and to create more points of contact between civil societies across Europe.

Current programs for the above mentioned areas under the DG EAC all fall under the 2007-2013 grant period. Moreover, the programs mentioned under the area of culture, education and training are part of the initiative concerning the promotion of an intercultural dialogue and lifelong learning. Under the 2007-2013 measure, different actions take place:

- Action 1 – Active Citizens for Europe
 - Town-twinning
 - Citizens’ projects and support measures.
- Action 2 – Active Civil Society in Europe
 - Structural support for European public policy research organizations (think-tanks)
 - Structural support for civil society organizations at European level
 - Support for projects initiated by civil society organizations
- Action 3 – Together for Europe
 - High-visibility events
 - Studies

- Information and dissemination tools
- Action 4 – Active European Remembrance

General as well as specific objectives can be found in the program guide of the “Europe for Citizens Program”. The general objectives are the following:

- *“giving citizens the opportunity to interact and participate in constructing an ever closer Europe, which is democratic and world oriented, united in and enriched through its cultural diversity, thus developing citizenship of the European Union.*
- *developing a sense of European identity, based on common values, history and culture;*
- *fostering a sense of ownership of the European Union among its citizens;*
- *enhancing tolerance and mutual understanding between European citizens respecting and promoting cultural and linguistic diversity, while contributing to intercultural dialogue.” (Commission 2007a-a, p.4)*

The specific objectives state that people shall be brought together transnationally through an exchange of experience and dialogue about opinions, shared values, and common history. Furthermore, the focus shall be put on “bringing Europe closer to its citizens” and “encouraging interaction between citizens and civil society organizations from all participating countries” (ibid. p.4). As another special objective, the supported projects shall enhance dialogue between citizens from old and new Member States of the Union. One field, in which projects under the above measures can take place in order to achieve the desired objectives, is found in sports and will be dealt with in detail in the following.

2.5 Sports as a Special Focus

Sports depicts a special field concerning civil society integration in EU policies, as discussed in more detail in the following sub-chapter. There are hundreds of different activities in the area of sports. However, sports is among the best devices to bring people together. Individuals from different ethnic backgrounds, different ages, sex, and abilities can act together. Sporting activities often mean team-building, working together for one goal. It is an area in which most of the European citizens are active. An increasing importance for the support of sports in the EU is observed. A brief digression on sports in the European Union will be further presented in Chapter B.3. before going into detail on funding possibilities for sports projects in the EU.

Part B of this dissertation presents the topic of sports in the European Union and the development of a sports policy. To forestall and recover the main facts already given in the introduction of the dissertation at hand, a short overview will be given. The topic was first dealt with due to the so-called Walrave-Koch and Bosman judgments. The Walrave-judgment took place in 1974. For the first time, sports was mentioned here as an “economic activity” and both judgments dealt with the free movement of labor (Art. 2 EC Treaty). In the following, sports was included in the conclusions of the Adonnino-report (1985), dealing with

European citizenship and the strengthening of the consciousness of European citizens via sport. The treaty of Maastricht²³ (1992) also emphasized the central meaning of sports in an added official declaration. The treaty of Amsterdam²⁴ (1997) included a declaration concerning sports and in 1998 the Helsinki Report on Sports was published.²⁵ This report underlined the importance of the preservation of the existing sports structures in Europe as well as of the social function of sports within the society framework (Commission 1999). The treaty of Nice²⁶ (2000) additionally mentioned that sports shall be supported and preserved. As pointed out above, in 2003, Council and Parliament agreed on the organization of the European Year of Education and Sports, which took place one year later. The draft constitution (June 2003) as well talks about sports in Art.III-182 (Title III, Part V: Support measures of the Union), particularly on the educational and social role of sports. In different EU institutions, sports has been included through the establishment of the Department of Sport within the Directorate General Education and Culture. The European Commission signifies sports as part of the European identity (Commission 2007b). In addition, the Parliament introduced the Committee on Culture, Youth, Education, the Media, and Sports.

Sports plays an educational as well as social role within the EU, fostering integration and social inclusion (*ibid.*). Up to the last years, sports was indeed mentioned in all the official documents and talked about as a means to enhance integration and cooperation, but nevertheless, there was no real action taking place in the area of amateur sports. It was only lately when the EU started to introduce different transnational programs supporting sports organizations and their projects. The European Year of Education through Sports (EYES) was only one example where sports was brought up high on the EU agenda, besides mentioning it in terms of a professional activity. In July 2007, the EU published the White Paper on Sport, which enhances the importance and support for sports projects across the EU.²⁷

Through such projects a vast majority of European citizens can be joined. Sports has the “potential (...) to bring people together, to cross boundaries, break down barriers, making the playing field simple and often apolitical, allowing antagonistic groups to interact and exchange, at both international and grassroots levels” (SAD 2007). Since sports mostly takes place in groups, people interact. In sports associations, people from different educational, ethnical, and religious backgrounds come together and meet each other, which might break down some barriers they are facing in everyday life when meeting ‘on the street’. Furthermore, people from different age groups interact when being active in sports

²³ <http://www.eurotreaties.com/maastrichtfinalact.pdf>

²⁴ <http://www.eurotreaties.com/amsterdamtreaty.pdf>

²⁵ <http://www.sportanddev.org/data/document/document/78.pdf>

²⁶ <http://www.eurotreaties.com/nicetreaty.pdf>

²⁷ http://ec.europa.eu/sport/whitepaper/wp_on_sport_en.pdf

associations. Sports events not only take place at local level, but at international level as well. In this case, people get a great opportunity to get together with people from different nationalities and act together. What is most important here is question the how amateur sports is dealt with, where all people are able to engage, also internationally, not only professional sports actors.

Sports depicts an important field in civil society in the European Union. This is evident in the various funding programs where sports is mentioned as an activity in the different policy fields. The specific funding possibilities for sporting activities in the EU will be dealt with in more detail further in the study (B.3.2.4). The following conclusion will sum up the prevalent ideas about democracy in the European Union and the role of civil society, as well as resuming the aforementioned theses. The latter will be put into relation with the reviewed literature in order to give an opinion about whether or not EU support programs concerning sports projects can render the self-imposed mission of enhancing European integration. Civil society's role for EU integration is summarized before discussing a more detailed interlink between sports and civil society in general and in the EU in particular. Hence, funding is one aspect dealt with.

2.6 Conclusion – Civil Society and Integration

Democracy lies at the heart of the European Union. As various scholars identify a democratic deficit within the EU's set up and see the reduction of this deficit in the introduction of input legitimacy, participation of European citizens becomes more and more important. The EU and its institutions themselves are broaching this issue in various documents and especially in their newly released programs in the funding period 2007-2013, e.g. "Europe for Citizens 2007-2013". Citizens shall be encouraged to take action, shall make their voices heard, and foster European values in order to enhance European integration. Civil society organizations are asked to organize events, to cooperate transnationally, and to reach a great variety of citizens within the Union and its neighboring countries. In this respect, sports projects can be identified as an important means to reach the goals set up by the EU and its citizen program.

After assessing the civil society debate in Europe and the latest programs to support civil society organizations, the theses of the beginning are now related. The EU suffers from a lack of transparency and a lack of accountability (democratic deficit). Despite the fact that some authors do not see a great need for the EU to worry about being too less democratic, some other authors do. However, it cannot be dismissed that the EU definitely has to cope with great skepticism of its citizens and low voters turn out. Hence, in certain areas, the EU and its institutions have to work for a more transparent and open policy process and more citizen participation. This is in order to foster input legitimacy, greater accountability and

acknowledgement. If the people of the European Union participate more actively in EU policies and politics, the democratic deficit can be diminished.

As highlighted above, participation of the Union's citizens and more transparency will contribute to higher acceptance and understanding regarding the policy process. Hence, the EU will gain legitimacy and thus, reduce its democratic deficit in certain areas. The support of sports projects will help bring the European Union and its institutions closer to its citizens. Sports depict a special field of activity with high rates of participation among EU citizens. Furthermore, sports is an area that is supported through various EU programs and constantly gains importance on the EU agenda. Thus, sports can be seen as eligible to enhance participation and dialogue between the EU and its citizens. Supporting civil society projects, especially in the policy field of sports, can enhance European integration and, hence, reduce the lack of transparency and accountability.

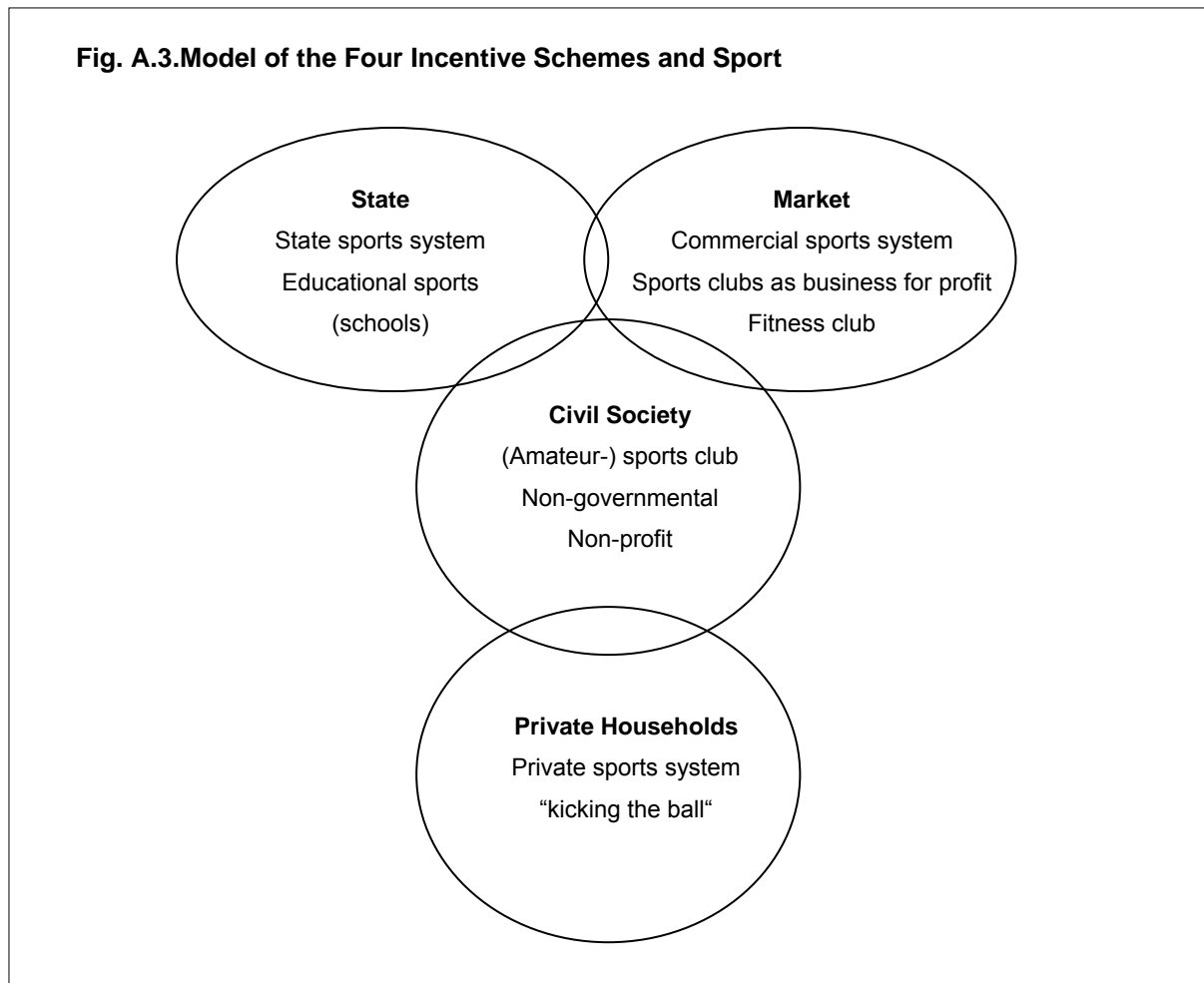
From the above listed theses, it is assumed that civil society projects supported via EU programs such as "Europe for Citizens 2007-2013" will contribute to European integration and the subsequently mentioned problems. As underlined previously, sports depicts a special field regarding this contribution and plays a special role when talking about EU support for civil society activities. Hence, the following section points out the connection between the two concepts and their ability to foster European integration.

3 Civil Society's Role in EU Sports

“Sport is an essential part of the lives of millions of European citizens” (European Commission 2008b)

As was previously described, sports can play a decisive role concerning integration in general and European integration in particular. Furthermore, civil society is an important actor within the European Union, increasing its influence and activity during the last decades. After these findings, the connection between sports and civil society is discussed, especially having a look into civil society's role in EU sports. As was pointed out in the course of this thesis, a great range of people are involved in activities of the third sector. Considering non-governmental organizations and areas where citizens are actively participating, a variety of organizations, associations, meetings, and clubs arouse. It also becomes obvious that sports represents one of the greatest areas where citizens participate in public life. Having a look at civil society's role and the functions fulfilled by civil society, it can be stated that sports organizations are very well able to fulfill those functions, such as developing democratic skills, formulating interests, or disseminating information. As the Survey on Volunteerism in Germany (Freiwilligensurvey) underlines, sports has great connecting-powers; it allows for a great range of collective activities, and represents a central asset of civil society (see: Lausch 2007).

Dieter Jütting developed a system of the modern society including sports in order to identify where sports and civil society connect. He differentiates between the state, the market, and private households and adds civil society as also described in the precedent chapter, where the differentiation between state, market, and the third sector is analyzed in more detail. Jütting's model will help place sports within civil society, and functions as the basis for the following discourse.



(based on Jütting 2005, translated by author)

As illustrated in the chart, sports appears in different areas of society. It is dealt with by the state through educational institutions- physical education in schools, universities, and others. Secondly, the market is a place where sports plays a role in forms of business dealing with the topic such as sports centers and fitness clubs that make profit. In the private arena, people exercise informally, e.g. meeting others for an informal game of football, inline skating, or jogging. The fourth arena sports is a part that can be found in civil society in forms of sports clubs (amateur and professional). The importance here lies in the notion of non-governmental and non-profit; only those organizations or parts of organizations are counted among civil society that are not state owned and do not make profit from their activities.

According to the definition of civil society given in the above chapter and the knowledge about the European sports system, it is clear that sports *is* part of civil society. This will be analyzed in more detail in the following. Furthermore, it will be determined whether sports depicts an *important* area within civil society. The focus here lies on civil society in general. The connection between sports and civil society organizations or rather sports organizations as civil society organizations will be examined. The possible negative and positive effects of sports on civil society are analyzed before the value of sports

organizations for democratization as one essential function of civil society. Another important point in this section can be found in the keyword of volunteerism, as a decisive element within the sports sector. We will then turn towards sports and civil society in the European Union, focusing on the integration of sports and sporting civil society in the European system and on the agenda as well as the aspect of EU funding for sporting activities, before coming to the concluding remarks of this chapter.

3.1 Sports and Civil Society Organizations

In addition to Jütting's considerations about sports and civil society, and the placement of sports organizations within the four incentive schemes, a definition of what sports organizations are and which different types exist is given. Subsequently, it is related to the European scene.

A definition of sports organizations is given by Slack who says that “[a] sports organization is a social entity involved in the sports industry; it is goal directed, with a consciously structured activity system and a relatively identifiable boundary” (Slack 1997, p.5). As Gómez, Opazo, and Marti point out, Slack's definition involves a great variety of sports organizations: “public, private and voluntary organizations; for-profit and not-for-profit organizations; organizations producing sporting goods, delivering sports activities, creating competitive sports opportunities, or broadcasting sports events; and many, many other sports organizations connected in one way or another to the sports industry” (Gómez et al. 2008, p.2). Most of the organizations mentioned above have in common their dedication to the promotion and development of sports, and they are all “associated with sports activity, (...) differing in their goals and means” (ibid. p.4). Gómez et. al differentiate between three types of sports organizations: governing bodies, sport-providing entities, and sporting event organizations. The following table shows the different organization types, specifies their mission, main goals, main activities, and gives examples.

Table A.3.1 Organization Types

| | Governing bodies | Sport-providing entities | Sporting event organizations |
|----------------------|--|--|--|
| Mission | Promote sports at all levels in a given territory and sports discipline. | To satisfy a community's motivation to practice physical activity and socialization through sports activities. | Represent, promote and safeguard the interests of all actors participating in the competitions they produce. |
| Goal | Govern the sports, ensuring its promotion and development at all levels, monitor the administration of sports, guarantee the organization of regular competitions as well as the respect for the rules of fair play. | Design and offer sports activities, both at a recreational and competitive level, and at individual and team programs, oriented towards official competitions in order to achieve sporting success and social integration. | Design a regular competition system ensuring the contest among rival teams or individuals in a given sports discipline and under the same ethic codes. |
| Main Activity | Govern one or more sports disciplines. | Deliver sports programs. | Generate competition opportunities. |
| Examples | National Associations, Federations, National Organizations, Olympic associations/committees | Clubs, community centres, fitness-centres, university sports programs | Leagues, associations, circuits, tours. |

(based on Gómez et al. 2008, p.5)

Those organizations, among these three organization types, that are not-for-profit and not state connected, such as public schools, can be considered as civil society organizations in the sense of this thesis. Furthermore, the study at hand deals with civil society sports organizations rather than sportive civil society. The latter can also be found in sporting student groups, which can fulfill certain civil society functions, but are, however, not counted as civil society sports organizations due to their attachment to a public university. In order to gain a better understanding of what civil society sports organizations are in the sense of this study, a description of the above found typology is presented in more detail. In an alter chapter they will be set in relation to the European scene.

Governing bodies promoting sports are normally dedicated to a specific sports discipline. They can be found on different levels, such as the national, European, or even international. Their main goal is to guarantee the governance and promotion of their sports discipline, as well as the administration of the sports as such and the organization of competitions in the field. Examples for sports governing bodies are the Olympic Committees, from national over European to international, as well as federations in charge of either one specific discipline. An example is the Union of the European Football Associations (UEFA), which deals with the discipline of football in a European context. Some governing bodies also cover a variety of

disciplines combined under one umbrella, such as the International Gymnastics Federation (FIG), which deals with all different types of gymnastics²⁸.

Sport-providing entities aim at guaranteeing sporting facilities, institutions, and activities for the society in order to provide a satisfying amount of possibilities to do sports, either for physical activity or for socialization reasons. The organizations found here often take over government duties, such as providing sports centers for the public that are not run by the state. Furthermore, the activities of sport-providing entities are limited to the local level. They do not only focus on a competitive level, but also offer sports programs on a recreational level. This can be fulfilled by clubs and community centers, which can be counted as part of civil society, as long as they are not-for-profit and not state connected. Additional institutions that fall under this category can be found in universities and fitness clubs. While the first is normally connected to the state due to its attachment to a public institution, the latter is run for profit. Hence, the last two examples do not fall under the definition of civil society sports organizations.

The third category given by Gómez, Opazo, and Marti, the sporting event organization, describes the types of organizations that promote and organize sporting events, mainly in terms of competitions. The categorization by the above mentioned authors is rather difficult, since a great variety of sports governing bodies is also in charge of organizing competition events. Thus, if the sporting event generates profit, the part of the organization in charge of the event cannot be fully counted as part of civil society. The main reason for the differentiation between sport-governing bodies and sporting event organizations can be found here. The administration of sporting events is often closely linked to commercial activity, such as broadcasting rights, ticketing, and merchandising. Hence, the sports sector and the entertainment sector are interlinked in this category. The activities are not solely linked to sporting activity, but rather to the organization of the event and the profit made.

A great variety of sports organizations exists. Not all organizations are eligible as civil society organizations; however, a great number are.

3.1.1 Importance of Sports in Civil Society

When talking about civil society and sport, the questions raised are whether sport is important within civil society and whether civil society plays an important role within sports. Both can be true: Civil society benefits from the sports movement since “[p]hysical activities, especially sports, are often focal points for civic engagement” (Harris 1998, p.146). Examples for such civic engagement can be found in different activities, such as a great range of

²⁸ Gymnastic disciplines e.g.: gymnastics for all, rhythmic, artistic (women: vents of uneven parallel bars, balance beam, floor exercise, vault; men: floor exercise, pommel horse, still rings, vault, parallel bars, high bar) trampoline, aerobic, acrobatic.

people volunteering in the sports sector as coaches or managing sports associations, community fun runs used to raise money for a good cause, or sporting activities that bring people together. On the other hand, the civil society movement plays an important role for sports when it comes to financing or the involvement of the citizens in the sports sector. Both sides profit from each other. There is definitely a correlation between civil society and sports. Most sports organizations are civil society organizations in Europe, and as pointed out before, a great number of people are engaged in the field of sports. As Harris puts it, “[i]t is clear (...) that sports and exercise can engage people directly in communal endeavors that are part of civil society” (Harris 1998).

In Germany, 90,000 sports clubs are organized under the umbrella of the German Sport Federation. Within the German association landscape, sports has the biggest group with 40% (see: Ebermann et al. 2006). Sports organizations in Germany have a democratic set up and the main work is carried out through volunteers. The same holds true for other European countries, such as France with 24.5% of associations located in the area of sports. It is the biggest group among the different associations with 12 million volunteers working in that sector (Ministère de la Jeunesse 2006). Other countries with a great sports sector and a high number of sporting volunteers are Belgium, Denmark, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Sweden, et al. (see: Baglioni 2009; Domaradzka 2009; Gaskin and Smith 1995; Norberg 2009).

A correlation between civil society and sports can also be observed when looking at the functions fulfilled by civil society organizations and comparing them to sports organizations. As was discussed in the precedent chapter, Lauth and Merkel point out that civil society needs to protect the individual against government arbitrariness but has to function also as a state release in certain matters. Furthermore, civil society organizations shall build up democratic values and thus strengthen democracy. As a fourth function, interests shall be articulated through civil society activities (Lauth and Merkel 1997). Sports organizations are able to protect the individual against the government, especially when turning towards national and international associations, representing the sports person’s rights against the state. In addition, sports organizations take over state functions in certain matters e.g. membership financed sports clubs taking care of the sports offers in the municipalities. Thirdly, people are able to develop democratic skills and values through their work in committees in sports clubs and the exchange with others. Last but not least, sports clubs articulate the interest of their members towards the government on local as well as national and international level, and information is disseminated towards the members. Besides the functions sports organizations can and do fulfill, the most important feature of sports organizations when brought into connection to civil society is the ability to activate people. As Lincoln Allison points out, one characteristic of sports is “its capacity to activate people who

could not be activated in any other way” (Allison 1998, p.714). Furthermore, Allison emphasizes the possible ability of sports to contribute to civil society through specific sporting values transferred by sporting activities. Allison mentions here the “importance of competing while retaining respect for opponents, the ability to express and suppress, [and] the ability to acknowledge that there is something – the good of the game - beyond our immediate ambitions and an ultimate willingness to accept authority (...)” (ibid. p.714). Such abilities of sports have also been underlined above, when discussing the value of sports for integration. Umbach pointed out the educational value of sports (see: Umbach in: Pilz 2002, p.1), and Hornberger speaks about other positive functions such as health, experience, and social values created through physical activity (see: Hornberger 1997). Sports can carry a variety of values into society, but it can be questioned where these values are achieved. Are they really still achieved in civil society surroundings or rather in outside spheres such as the market or the private area?

What is observed in the 2004 Eurobarometer Survey, despite the European organizational structure in the field of sport, is that a great percentage of European citizens tend to exercise outside of any sporting facilities. There are 51% of the interviewees who do not do sports in clubs, fitness centers, or sports centers, but rather make use of the nature or other facilities. Hence, it could be concluded that the private household arena is more important than the market or civil society arena for sports. However, the answer with the second highest response rate was the sports club with 16%, which again represents the importance of clubs in Europe, and thus the importance of civil society as a provider of sports facilities. (see: European Commission 2004a, p.10ff.) While the sports clubs’ response rate is relatively high in Germany, Denmark, and the Netherlands, some of the southern European states show greater importance regarding their fitness centres. Comparing these results with the Eurobarometer carried out in 2003, there is a certain trend towards doing sports elsewhere in contrast to exercising in a sports club in Europe as a whole. Thus, it is evident that sports clubs seem to lose their importance, and individual sports that can be exercised outside of any club facilities are on the rise. Nevertheless, exercising sports and club life are still essential elements in the EU Member States due to the high number of people who are actively involved in sports and the great percentage of sports clubs in the European countries in comparison to other regions in the world. Nevertheless, the private arena becomes more and more important.

Ørnulf Seippel has carried out a study in Norway concerning “the position and influence of sports as part of civil society” (Seippel 2007). He describes sports as functioning “as an arena for social cohesion, bonding and/or integration”, as well as fostering “political interest and general trust” (Seippel 2005; Seippel 2006; Seippel 2007). He also points out that “sports represent the largest category of voluntary organizations in many European

countries” (ibid. p.69). However, through his study, Seippel comes to the conclusion that Norwegian sports is a great part of civil society, but does not have as much influence as expected in comparison to other parts of civil society. What he can emphasize as positive for the area of sports, is the development of the field through the last two decades, which shows that social networks and influence have increased.

Sports is an essential element in society, but the influence the sector can have on society in comparison to others is still doubtful. Sports can also have negative effects, as was already discussed concerning the topic of integration. Sports as an essential part of civic engagement is presented in the following section.

3.1.2 Negative and Positive Effects

As was pointed out before, in the section of sports and integration, sports can also have negative effects. First of all, “opportunities for physical activities are not equally available to everyone” (Harris 1998, p.146). Certain minorities or groups in society do not have the financial assets or the ability to participate in sporting activities due to inequitable social arrangements. Secondly, sports is often connected to ideologies of domination – racist or sexual themes in sporting events or the heavy focus on the physical appearance. This leads to problems concerning dieting especially with women in the professional sports sector. A third disadvantageous nature of sports and exercise can be found in the striving for success, and thus the constant strive to dominate others. These possible negative effects do not go in line with the normal positive connotation of civil society.

Despite the possible negative effects of sports, Janet Harris names other positive examples where sports was able to foster civil society through certain programs in the U.S. An example is a program by Miller, Bredemeier, and Shields, who have made use of sports and other physical activities in order to strengthen moral education of youngsters, or programs carried out by boys and girls clubs throughout the U.S. These also improve social skills in youth (see: Harris 1998). Furthermore, as Harris puts it “[b]eyond these examples, there are almost limitless possibilities for shaping physical activity programs to contribute to reinvigorating civil society” (ibid. p.148).

Sports can contribute to different areas of society, as expressed by Sports England in their aims and outcomes: Sports England seeks “to change the culture of sports and physical activity in England in order to increase participation across all social groups leading to improvements in health and other social and economic benefits and providing the basis for progression into higher levels of performance” (Sport England 2004, in: Brookes and Wiggan 2009, p.403). A study on Sports England and the overall public value sports, via interviews and a document analysis, was able to identify seven changes taking place. They are “(1) Increasing participation in sports and active recreation, (2) Improving levels of performance, (3) Widening access, (4) Improving health and well-being, (5) Creating safe and stronger

communities, (6) Improving education, and (7) Benefiting the economy” (ibid. p.404). Thus, the study shows that sports in England is able to create different functions of civil society, as listed above.

We can lead back here to the EU policy fields and sports as an annex policy. This will be presented in more detail in Part B of the study. As Brookes and Wiggan have analyzed, sports contributes to more participation and helps the people to get access to the policy process. Furthermore, sports fosters health and well-being and improves education. Last but not least, sports can be regarded as an economic factor. As compared to the policy fields where sports plays a role within the EU policy process, the values mentioned above are corresponding. Hence, the EU can profit from integrating sports issues in the different policy fields due to sports’ positive impact on participation, access, health, education, and economy. On the other hand, the sports sector is also able to profit from this correspondence. This is due to high benefits in forms of funds that can be achieved as well as a higher stand and acknowledgement of the sports sector in the EU policy process.

Two special factors when talking about sports and civil society in the EU will be looked at in more detail in the following section. Democratization and volunteering represent two positive effects that sports contributes to.

3.1.3 Democratization

One of the functions of civil society as underlined above can be found in the fostering of democratic values and thus the enhancement of democratization. Civil Society appears in less and bigger extents all around the world; the different cases have shown its influence on democracy. Lincoln Allison deals with three case studies, where civil society has proven to contribute to the process of democratization (Allison 1998, pp. 716ff.). As case studies, he mentions Georgia, Thailand, and South Africa. As he points out, all three countries have very different stages of civil society inclusion in their state system.

If civil society in general is able to promote democratic values and to foster a democratic system, and if sports is one decisive part within civil society, it seems to be obvious that sports organizations are able to strengthen democracy as well. In the cases of Georgia, Thailand, and South Africa Allison, however, it does not find this as entirely true. For the case of Georgia, sports has been carried out under the Soviet rules. Nevertheless, Georgian sports was able to keep a national enthusiasm when played within the Soviet Empire borders. After the fall of the iron curtain, sports appeared to be very weak, as appeared civil society as a whole in Georgia. Still, “civil society in the [whole] Black Sea ENP countries (Republic of Moldova, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Ukraine) remains weak (...)” (Harvard University 2007). Allison accredits this development in sports mainly to the lack of grassroots sports and low financial assets for sporting activities. Similar developments can be observed in Thailand. While civil society is stronger than in Georgia and sports is not

declining, a grassroots level is missing as well. In both countries, sports is rather ruled by an elite level of sportsmen, and thus has less civil society level sport. South Africa, in contrast, presents a different picture. Its civil society is described as strong and some believe that civil society was the main reason to overcome the apartheid. However, the high criminal rate of the state has to be kept in mind, which downplays the positive picture of South African civil society again. Nevertheless, civil society in South Africa is strong in many aspects and has brought about important changes. In addition, the sports system of the state is a lot stronger than the one of Georgia and Thailand. South Africa presents itself as a strong sporting country, being able to put on different important sports cups²⁹. South African sports organizations have successfully influenced the political system in the state. The phenomenon of sports being able to change society towards non-discrimination has also been described by John Carlin, when describing the story of white and black rugby teams being united by Nelson Mandela in the Rugby World Cup of 1995 (Carlin 2009). Hence, South Africa has proven to be a positive example for sports being able to influence the democratization process of a country. However, the examples show that sports is not able to represent civil society as a whole. In some cases, such as Thailand or Georgia, it is weaker than the rest of civil society; in others, like South Africa, sports plays a powerful role.

Sports can easily be connected to politics, as has taken place in different occasions such as the Olympic Games 2008 in Beijing, where the sporting event had become a platform for political views and opinions of sportsmen and –women as well as a great media discussion about political conflicts. Other examples further back in time can be found in the “boycott of the 1980 Moscow Games”, or the exemption of Israel from the Asian Football Confederation between 1974 and 1976 (Houlihan 2000a, p.218ff.).

If sporting civil society shall be able to contribute to the formation of democratic values and bring about changes in society, certain framework conditions have to be fulfilled also. A connection to established western civil society is of great help, as well as a solid grassroots level and civic enthusiasm for sporting activities. If these conditions are met, sporting civil society can be a great support for the democratization process of a country or a region, as shown by different examples.

3.1.4 Volunteering

Volunteering is an important part in the sports sector since a great variety of tasks are fulfilled by volunteers. Sports clubs around the world could not function as they do right now without the great number of people engaged voluntarily. Otherwise, they would need to increase the membership fees in order to guarantee a working club life.

²⁹ 1995: Rugby Union World Cup, 1996: African Nations Association Football Cup, 2010: Soccer World Championship

As the European Commission points out, “[t]he significance of voluntary activities in the organisation of sports has been a persistent theme in the EU's dealings with the sports sector” (European Commission 2009d). Hence, the Commission has acknowledged the importance of the topic of volunteering in sports, as was already made clear by the Aarhus Declaration on Voluntary Work in Sports, agreed upon in 2003 (see: European Commission 2003). The declaration expressed the significance of voluntary work in sports for the cultural and social life in the European Union, and underlined therefore the importance for the preservation of this the role of volunteers in the sports sector. However, the Commission has also identified a growing difficulty concerning voluntary work in the EU due to social and legal changes, and the increasing commercialization and professionalization of the sports sector. Different approaches in the EU framework deal with these changes in order to find solutions for the non-profit side of sports in the EU and their need for volunteering. A “Study on Volunteering in the EU” was carried out by GHK-Consulting between March and November 2009 as commissioned by the DG EAC and contracted by the Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency (EACEA). The general objectives of the study can be summarized as follows:

- *“Reach a better understanding of national, regional and local realities of volunteering in the EU;*
- *Identify ways in which way the volunteering sector could contribute to the strategic objectives of the EU;*
- *Help determine the scope of possible future initiatives at European level aimed at promoting volunteering;*
- *Raise awareness of the possible benefits of supporting volunteering; and*
- *Serve as an information tool and a resource base.” (van Nierop 2009)*

More specifically, the study seeks to describe the structures of the voluntary sector in the Member States. Moreover it aims at identifying common trends, differences, needs, and challenges to be able to give recommendations on how to take care of the needs of the voluntary sector above national and regional level to the EU level.

As the survey points out, volunteering is an important element of European society. Due to a lack of Europe-wide research in the sector, the study approaches this topic across 27 EU Member States. In a presentation of the first results of the study, Petra van Nierop underlines that sports “constitutes the largest voluntary movement in Europe” (ibid.). This is the reason why the study includes a specific section on volunteering in sports in the EU, and wants to give recommendations for this specific sector to the EU level, where the EU could get engaged and support the sector. The final results of the study have not been published within the time frame of this thesis and can thus not be included. However, the focus of the study gives proof to the importance of the volunteering in sports in the EU, and the need for problem solutions from an EU perspective in the voluntary sector.

The International Sport and Culture Association (ISCA) is as well emphasizing the importance of volunteering in sports (see: ISCA 2009b). Furthermore, the European

Association of Sport Employers (EASE) defines the characteristics of the sports sector as having a wide range of not-for-profit organizations run by volunteers. As underlined above with the Commission's words, EASE sees a growing difficulty concerning volunteers due to an increasing professionalization of the sector (see: EASE 2009). This problem is also dealt with in the White Paper on Sport, under 2.4, where voluntary activity is described as "the basis for the organisation, administration and implementation of sports activities in all EU Member States" (European Commission 2007e). The Commission sees the great need to preserve the amateur level of sports, where voluntary work is absolutely necessary, and which is able to promote a great range of values through sports, such as "local democracy and active citizenship" (ibid.), necessary for the flourishing of the European Union. Furthermore, the voluntary sector in sports provides a socio-economic value.

All the above findings lead to the conclusion that voluntary work in European sports plays a decisive role and is more than necessary for the production of essential values in the EU. Despite the growing commercialization of the sector, the need has been identified to preserve voluntary work in sports, especially to guarantee the free access to sporting facilities for all citizens at low costs.

After having identified the importance of sports within civil society and vice versa, a conclusion of how sports is embedded in European civil society is presented. The European sports system will show how civil society works in the EU. The current EU agenda concerning sports will show the topics currently dealt with concerning civil society in this policy area. A rough overview of EU funding for sports in civil society follows.

3.2 European Civil Society and Sports

From above, it can be concluded that sports plays an important role in civil society and vice versa. Since civil society in general is included in the European policy process and is gaining importance, the following will determine where civil society sports organizations influence EU sports policy and EU policy as a whole. The European sports system and civil society's role will be broadly examined including the civil society sports organizations on the EU agenda. Most importantly, it will be defined where and in which form sports organizations appear in European civil society, and the correlation between civil society sports organizations and EU funding.

3.2.1 European Sports System and Civil Society

The European sports system is described further as a system of promotion and relegation, in contrast to the North American club system, where the clubs with the greatest financial assets normally stay in their own league. Moreover, in the EU, all professional clubs have a grassroots base. Hence, sporting associations reach from local to national, and in most

sports, you can also find a European and international organization institution. In some cases, the international association of a certain sports is also in charge of organizing European issues, such as European championships or representing the sports towards the European institutions. Section 3.3.8 has already discussed the European Sport Model and underlined the specificity of this model in comparison to other regional sports systems. However, the question remains whether one really can identify *one* European Sport Model, but it is certain that European sports has some specific characteristics as pointed out above. Since sports organizations have been identified as part of civil society, and in Europe sports is mainly organized on a club basis, this brings about another specialty about European sports.

3.2.2 Civil Society Sports Organizations on the EU Agenda

Chapter B.1. has shown that civil society as a topic entered the EU agenda during the Romano Prodi presidency. Furthermore, the EU has strengthened the importance of civil society inclusion through a variety of support programs mentioning civil society as important actors to foster certain regions, and to increase economic situations across Europe. Moreover, they support, among others, cultural activities in the European Member States as well as in the accession countries.

Sports as a policy issue has been put on the agenda first via legal cases concerning sports as an economic activity. The professional sports was the main factor addressed and dealt with. However, sports for all and the values transported through amateur sporting activities have as well been recognized by the EU and its institutions, being part of several reports, such as the Adonnino report (1984) or the Helsinki Report on Sport (1999). During the last decade, it is evident that the social value of sports has been recognized since sports was included in several funding programs of other policy fields.

The most important paper released concerning sports and its importance on the EU agenda can be seen in the White Paper on Sport and the associated Pierre de Coubertin Action Plan. Other reports and conference proceedings followed after the European Sport Forum in Biarritz. Hence, sports became an issue in the policy process of the European Union.

The Treaty of Lisbon will depict an essential EU document raising the issue of sports on the EU agenda due to its mentioning in the treaty. Further developments are still open whether this will lead to a better standing of sports and thus further support for the sporting sector; and especially, it is still questionable who will profit from sports as mentioned in the treaty: the professional sports sector, amateur sport, the EU institutions, all three, or even none of them?

3.2.3 Sports organizations as Part of European Civil Society

In the European sports scene, some governing bodies are UEFA and FIFA; one regulates football on the European and the other on the international level. Furthermore, there are various European federations, as well as some international ones, if no European counterpart exists. Most of them are dedicated to one sports discipline, such as volleyball, basketball, or ice hockey; however, others cover a variety of disciplines under one umbrella association, such as the European Athletic Association, which is in charge of all athletic disciplines or the European Gymnastics Federation that covers all types of gymnastics. The same holds true of the International Olympic Committee as well as its European counterpart, which deals with all sports disciplines defined as Olympic disciplines and the organization of the Olympic Games and issues associated with this matter. National sports federations fall under this category that is in charge of the administration of sports on the national level, including national competitions. The organizations listed under sports governing bodies are covered by EU sports policy, especially if getting in conflict with governing EU law. In this aspect, they fulfill being subject to EU law and sports being dealt with as an economic activity. In other cases, the organizations dealing with sports are not subject to EU law, but rather deal with sports as a means to an end than as an object of regulation. Sports is made use of as a tool in order to reach a certain goal, such as creating a healthier society, reducing racism, or building a European culture.

Sports is hence part of the European policy process and the organizations named here and throughout the thesis can be described as civil society organizations. As Habermas names sports clubs as one type of organization within civil society (Habermas 1992, p.453), sports is a very important and grant part of the third sector in several nations. In addition, the European Union sets high value on the integration of civil society and its diverse associations and organizations, while sports also rises on the EU agenda. Therefore, sports organizations incorporated in the European policy process and touching the European sphere are essential parts of European civil society.

The following section discusses the current funding programs existing in the EU for the sports sector. It deals with the social role of sports since the amateur level is the main level which receives funding from the EU. The outline of the funding programs will go back in time to the beginning of support programs in sports, and come up to today's main funding possibilities for sports projects in the European Union.

3.2.4 Sports Eligible for EU Funding Concerning Civil Society

“To a national government, international sports presents not only problems (spectator violence, defection of athletes, doping et.al.), but also means opportunities to achieve political objectives.”
(Houlihan 2000b)

Since the EU still lacks a jurisdictional basis for sports, it cannot take supranational judgments and decisions in all matters, especially not where sports does not cover the area of being an economic activity. Great sports associations dealing with sports as economic activity, such as FIFA, UEFA or other athletic associations are, however, not really in need of EU support since their profits record are high anyway. Nevertheless, the importance of sports for all, the non-economic part of sports should be considered, where not as much money is made.

Sports means health, community, exchange, and culture. Sports is not only a way of *competing* with each other, but also of being active *together*. Sports for all means that *ordinary* people, male and female, from different ethnicities, disabled, and young and old come together to do sports. In the action plan, under the headline of the societal role of sports, the EU formulates the goals of public health and physical activity, as well as education and training, social inclusion, and the fight against racism. These objectives might be reached through sports for all rather than through economic driven sports actions. In its latest support programs, the EU stresses the fact that projects are highly valued which take place transnationally. Some support programs even only except transnationally organized projects, with the objective of bringing together people from different nations. As stated in the Europe for Citizens Program under the specific objectives, they “shall be implemented on a transnational basis” (European Commission 2007a, p.10).

Within transnational sports projects, in the scope of sports for all, EU citizens can learn from each other, get to know each other’s culture, compete, but also start as mixed teams. They can rebuild their own community and perhaps start to realize how similar they are in some fields, how diverse their views are in other fields, but also get close as EU citizens all together. In the following, the current funding possibilities will be explained, under which sports projects can receive EU funding.

“FUNDING POSSIBILITIES FOR SPORTS IN THE EU

Although there are no specific EU sport programs, there is a large number of EU grant programs from which sport may benefit. Sport projects can be funded indirectly under programs relating to Community policies dealing, for instance, with health, youth, education, environment, regional policy etc. It is thus possible to demonstrate sport's valuable contribution to various Community policies. However, pure sport events, such as championships, competitions, traditional international sport events etc. cannot receive any funding at all.”
(ENGSO Guidelines)³⁰

The EU hitherto has no such thing as a legally based sports policy. Thus, the EU until now has not released one specific sports program where sports projects can receive funding just for the fact of being sports projects. However, many other funding possibilities exist and more

³⁰ ENGSO Funding Possibilities for Sport in the EU. In. www.engso.com.

and more programs also include the mentioning of sports projects, as one possibility to apply for funding.

In the mid 1990's the EURATHLON program was set up, which specifically sponsored sports actions and ran from 1995 to 1998. This project was already brought into force to foster understanding between citizens and to support sporting activities across borders in order to reduce racism, violence and exclusion, and to strengthen equality between men and women. Along the program, several worries became loud, that there was “no legal justification for EU expenditure on sports per se, since sports had not been incorporated in the founding treaties (Henry 2003, p.338)”. In the following, the program was discontinued in 1998, when several EU officials were under investigation for using funding means in other policy areas without legal justification. Since this time, the EU has not given out any specific sports program. However, as pointed out above, other programs provide a great range of chances for sports projects to receive funds.

A great range of civil society support programs are funding sports projects throughout Europe. As was pointed out in Part A of this thesis, besides national sport programs, the EU is also giving out funds under different policy programs, where sports has become an increasing field of activity. Different structural funds that support regional policy offer scopes for sports projects, which point out regional strengthening as one objective. Among the programs are the INTERREG funds, LEADER, EQUAL, or URBAN. In addition, the DG Education and Culture has given out a great variety of support programs in different policy fields. Sports fits in most of them, such as the educational support programs like LEONARDO DA VINCI, SOCRATES, COMENIUS, or GRUNDTVIG. Furthermore, the DG Education and Culture is giving out funds in the YOUTH and CULTURE program. Both offer great possibilities for sports projects to apply for funding. Gender policy depicts another area where funding for sports projects is possible, as well as current health programs, where sports also plays an important role. Year 2004 was announced the European Year of Education through Sports (EYES 2004), which also offered possibilities for sports projects to receive funding, as long as they remained in the scope of education. Thus, EYES cannot be seen as a mere sports program, since the aim of enhancing education was clearly in the focus.

Among the latest released programs by the DG under which sports projects apply are the CULTURE and the “Europe for Citizens” program, both running in the funding period 2007-2013. In 2008, the latter released a subsection for sports as a specific focus for the year 2008 in its program guidelines (European Commission 2007a, p.13).

Besides the funding activities under other policy fields, the EU has started programs focusing on sports projects exclusively, such as the EYES or the intended sports program

that takes place after the ratification of Lisbon³¹. The EYES was concentrating on educational projects connected to sporting activities, in order to create a more knowledge based society in the European Union. As mentioned above, civil society programs such as “Europe for Citizens 2007-2013” also added the topic of sports as one activity eligible for funding, and thus directly encouraged sports organizations to apply for financial support. The focus here is on the strengthening of civil society and active citizenship. As underlined by Janet C. Harris in 1998 for American civil society, “sports and exercise could contribute much more to civic engagement” (Harris 1998, p.147). The EU has also seen the importance of sports within civil society and within other policy fields, and is thus supporting such activities. Harris also speaks about the potential of sports in revitalizing civil society and hence foster societal change. However, she is pointing out the main influence of sports on micro-level societal changes instead of macro-level approaches, due to the majority of sports projects taking place on a face-to-face level. Moreover, Harris emphasizes the need for sports projects to take place on different levels, between people from all ages and across society, in order to contribute to the revitalization of civil society. As was pointed out further in the part about sports and integration and as seen above when discussing the possible negative and positive effects of sports on civil society, certain preconditions have to be met for sports to be of use for society.

Despite the missing legal basis, before the signing of the Lisbon Treaty, the EU had set out a future budget line for an EU sports program, which was said to start in 2009. In 2010 the official EU website is giving out calls for proposals in order to implement Preparation Actions (DG-EAC 2010a). On October 6, 2008, the budget line, recommended through the Commission, has been confirmed by the EP. Furthermore, the committee increased the budget volume from 1.5 to 6 Million Euros for the year 2009 (see: EU Büro des Deutschen Sports 2008). It is planned to spend parts of the budget for anti-doping campaigns, support of the Special Olympics as well as for the organization of the Mediterranean Games³².

Currently, sports projects can find funding possibilities under a variety of programs which are listed on the Commission’s website as well as on the website of the ESO. Different policy areas as underlined in Part A of the thesis included sports as an area of activity in their funding programs such as the Youth program³³, Life Long Learning³⁴, Regional Policy,

³¹ See chapter A.2.4.1 for further information on current EU programs.

³² The Mediterranean Games are games, similar to the Olympics, taking place between Africa, Asia and Europe, in order to join the cultures surrounding the Mediterranean Sea. The first games took place in 1951 in Alexandria, Egypt. For further information go to: <http://www.medgames.org>

³³ see: DG-EAC (2010b). Youth in Action Programme Guide. In European Commission (Ed.). Brussels.

³⁴ See: European Commission (2007b). Lifelong Learning Programme. In: Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency Education (Ed.). Brussels. http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/llp/index_en.htm.

Together for Health³⁵, or PROGRESS³⁶. Hence, sports organizations do have the possibility to receive funding when taking the time to search in other policy fields. However, the discussion remains whether this is rather a positive opportunity or a handicap, because then sports projects can only be funded if they contribute to causes other than the mere sports factor. There are opportunities that exist. It can be seen as a positive fact that sports is able to receive funding under such a variety of programs, especially since it is being recognized and supported by the EU in sporting activities. Furthermore, the nature of sports can be seen as always related to other policy fields, if achieving positive outcomes such as a healthy society, anti-discrimination, youth fostering, cultural exchange, etc. Hence, it might be logical to annex sports to such a variety of other policy fields and thus also to other funding programs, instead of building up a mere sports program. Nevertheless, sports stakeholders could be of the opinion that the creation of such a program is further supporting the acknowledgement of sports and its importance in society as well as for further EU integration.

Evidently, without the Lisbon Treaty and the subsequent legal basis for the policy field of sports, there had not been a legal way for the set-up of a mere sports program. However, as seen above, the EU has arranged for the signing of the Treaty and decided on a sports budget. Since the Treaty was signed and ratified in 2009, the way is open for a mere sports program. Whether the budget volume meets the policy's necessities will be discussed elsewhere.

4 Conclusion: Sports, Integration and Civil Society

European integration is no normative concept but rather constitutes an ongoing process. The EU is changing frequently concerning geographical borders, involved actors, high policy issues, and the legal framework. In order to foster legitimacy and acknowledgement, the Union has to consider different ways of governing. In addition to output legitimacy, meaning the creation of effective outcomes in terms of "goals that citizens collectively care about" (Scharpf 1997a, p.19), the Union also has to secure input legitimacy, meaning citizen involvement, in the policy process. Hence, citizens and thus civil society actors play an important role regarding the legitimacy of the EU. Not only due to the need for input legitimacy, but also due to other functions fulfilled by civil society, such as the protection of the individual, release for the state, strengthening of democracy, and the articulation of interests. Another point concerning the European integration process can be found in the new modes of governance, which is created to adapt to the changing situations of the Union

³⁵ See: European Commission (2009a). Acts whose publication is not obligatory, *L 340/1*.

³⁶ See: European Commission (2009b). PROGRESS programme. In. Brussels. <http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=327&langId=en>.

and its Member States. Governing does not only take place on the European level, but also includes a variety of other levels and actors. Consequently, a multilevel governance approach is necessary in order to cope with the set-up of the European Union and the ongoing integration process.

Sports can be described as one special element of civil society that involves a great number of citizens world wide as well as within the EU borders. Sports even depicts the biggest civil society movement in several European countries. Moreover, despite sports transferring a number of positive values such as health, social or personal development values, sports turns out to be a useful device to foster integration in different settings, e.g. inclusion of handicapped people, as well as other minority groups. This integration value of sporting activities however can only be guaranteed if exercised in the right environment and if meeting certain preconditions. Regarding EU integration, sports can be used in a twofold way, creating socio-cultural as well as system integration, in addition to the value of sports in terms of social capital production. The production of bridging instead of bonding social capital is important due to the risk of sporting activities provoking rather a segregation of society than a consolidation. Such negative effects can be observed in different sporting areas. Topics such as doping, racism, or violent actions shed a dark light on sports in the European Union. Nevertheless, as pointed out above, if the right preconditions are met, sports is very well able to produce positive values in society and thus function in a very positive way for integration processes.

Within the EU Member States, sports is performed in different schemes. While the State organizes one side of sport, the market, private households, and civil society organizations also create set ups dealing with sporting activities including a great variety of organization types. The private and the market scheme are raising in terms of private fitness clubs or sports exercised outside public and private sporting facilities. Due to the importance of civil society for the European integration process and sports as an essential element within civil society and vice versa, additional to the values possibly transferred through sporting activities, fostering of this scheme can be seen as a need for the European Union.

Concerning the tested theses, one can say, that sport does enhance integration when carried out under certain framework conditions. Furthermore, sport can have a positive effect on European integration. Great elements of physical activity and activities attached to sports are as well elements of European integration and are able to draw the peoples of Europe closer together. Nevertheless, it has to be underlined that this only holds true if the activity does comply with certain rules. Civil society also plays a decisive role concerning European integration. In this regard, topics such as transparency, information flow and citizen participation have to be mentioned. In addition, the document and literature analysis has shown that civil society plays a major role when it comes to sports in the European Union.

After coming to these conclusions, Part B gives an overview of the developing European sports policy and the scene surrounding it. The policy fields connected to sports in different ways, the actors involved, Member States' influences, as well as a rough presentation of the opinion scheme of different actors concerning some sports related issues will be the objectives of the first chapters. The theoretical basis presented in Part A, dealing with three concepts: integration, sports and civil society, will now be complimented with a basis of sports and the EU.

B EU Sports policy – A Governance Model

This chapter now dives into the area of sports in the EU by analyzing the current structure and processes in the developing policy field of sport. It will be shown that sports in the EU can be seen as an annex policy to a great variety of policy fields, and that there are diverse connections among different policies when it comes to sports. Besides the EU level, the national level also plays a decisive role since sports policy is not and probably never will be a communitarized policy. Hence, the impacts from the Member States and the different sports policies in Europe are presented. The policy field frameworks will be analyzed and an overview of the outlook and the actors active in the field will also be presented. Furthermore, normative positions as drawn from secondary data are presented in order to give insight in the opinion schemes prevalent in EU sports policy. In conclusion, the findings will be summarized. The emerging EU policy field of sports will be portrayed, which designs a governance model of sports in the EU. Thus, the following chapter will deal with the questions on how EU sports policy's predecessor is embedded in the EU structure right now, as well as the question on what would EU Sports Policy might be with a legal basis.

1 Nature of the Policy Field Sports

“European Union funds meant to help a poor region of Italy are set to be spent sponsoring the Italian national football team.” (Mason 2008)

What sounds like a joke is the bitter truth. In September 2008, the Italian soccer world (note: Italy as the current world champion) had to fight great reproaches. EU finances from structural funds that were meant for regional support were bypassed into tourism promotion. Hence, the Italian region of Calabria became a paying “partner of the Italian national soccer team” (Eichler 2008).

In this case, regional funding has been used as a facade in order to receive sports funding – and even for a field that is in no need of any additional financing whatsoever. However, for non-profit sports clubs who are in higher need for financial means to fulfill their daily work – where do they receive their money from on EU level? They also have to broaden their view, side step to other policy fields and invent a good “story” that fits their desire of sports AND the policy field under which money is granted. Besides funding, sports is also part of various policy fields in order to reach certain goals set out for them.

Sports has not yet been included in the EU legal framework and thus lacks a legal basis to set up a support program as well as a governmental framework of its own – thus, sports is not an independent policy field and has not yet developed its own logic. So far, sports actors have to put out their feelers in many directions as where to receive support and

money from, and where to receive legal support as well as community decisions in their matters. Sports is linked to various other policy fields in many different ways, and can also be found in EU documents that actually deal with other areas of action. As mentioned above, sports can be linked to structural funding, competition policy, health, integration, gender or youth. Sports policy within the EU policy arrangements can be considered as an “annex policy” to other policy fields according to the issues tackled. Thus, depending on the respective policy field, the governance arrangements change, including the actor constellations. In addition, the logic of actions alter.

Furthermore, the European Sports Policy faces a very diverse set-up of national sports policies, which have to be combined under one roof. In some EU Member States, sports is a public policy, while in others the topic is highly de-centralized and organized through non-state actors. Thus, some scholars identify two main models in the European countries: the interventionist and the noninterventionist one (Chaker 1999). Others form clusters out of the national sports policies such as the Northern- the Eastern- the Southern- or the German model, depending on tradition and set up.

Sports in Europe is a very specific topic that can be viewed from very diverse angles. This chapter will give an overview of the most important events and developments around sports in the EU, and draw a picture of a prospected EU sports policy. As pointed out above, sports is not only divided into the professional and the amateur sports world, but is also annexed to a great number of other EU policies. Within the EU, sports is a great economic factor but it has to fulfill a societal role. Civil society is part of this great field of activity, especially in the amateur world. For the future of the EU, sports could be very important in order to foster integration through the possibility of creating an active society and strengthening all the positive values that sports implies³⁷. Thus, a future EU sports policy will be important. What this may look like will be the content of the following pages.

The introduction of the study at hand gave a short insight into the appearance of sports in the EU agenda and presented a time bar which illustrated the main occurrences in EU policy in general and the mile stones in EU sports in particular. After the theoretical outline which analyzed the theoretical conjunctions between integration, civil society and sports, this part will now deal with today's set up of sports in the European Union. After starting out with a more detailed description of how sports became a topic in the European Union, it will discuss the different policies sports on EU level can be related to, and following also name the actors important in each policy field. Each field will be dealt with individually, and the differences in actor constellation will be explained. In addition to the actors involved, each field will be examined concerning its governance structures. The next step will be to recall the national specificities of sports structures as presented in the introductory part, before presenting a

³⁷ E.g. a healthy society, team spirit, integration, reduction of prejudices and active citizens.

characterization by André Noël Chaker and a presentation of the European Model of Sports. Subsequently, the changing framework conditions sports has to be put under, depending on the respective policy field and the respective matter dealt with concerning sport, will be presented. Normative positions within the EU will depict the next part, which formulates the different positions prevalent in the EU by the very diverse actors on the topic of sports. The chapter will end in a concluding section by sketching a governance model for the EU policy field sports.

2 Sports policy in the European Union – Developments and Documents

The fifth thesis laid out in the introduction of the study at hand will be tested in the following. Whether sports is gaining importance on the EU agenda and how has been developed throughout the past years. How sports became a topic on the European agenda can be nailed down to a very economic reason. When sports regulations and EU law breached and that led to a court decision, the European Union and the sports stakeholders all of sudden had to realize that sports is indeed a topic to be dealt with. Many papers and works concerning EU sports policy name the Walrave / Koch vs. UCI as *the* hour of birth regarding EU sports policy. This case took place in 1972 and dealt with a law suit by two motor-cycle pacemakers active in cycling track races against the International Cyclist Union³⁸. The latter had released out a new rule stating that pacemakers and their respective cyclists had to be of the same nationality. This rule was challenged by the two named Dutch pacemakers who wished to continue to work for non-Dutch teams. When having a look at applicable EU law, it becomes quite clear that such a rule breached several effective Treaty provisions: prohibition on nationality-based discrimination (Art. 7), presumption of free movement of employed workers (Art. 48), presumption of free movement of self-employed workers (Art. 49) (Craig and Burca 2008, see: p.743ff.). If this case was between a legal person and a government, the law would be binding since it would be vertically directly effective. However, the question arose whether it would as well be effective horizontally between persons and companies / organizations and whether it would be effective in the sports sector. After going through different stages, the case was brought to the ECJ which concluded that it would be both vertically as well as horizontally effective³⁹. Furthermore, the court decision included for the first time that “[t]he practice of sport is

**Walrave and Koch vs UCI
(Case 36-74 [1974] ECR 1405)**

In this case the Dutch pacemakers Bruno Walrave and Norbert Koch went to court against the International Cyclist Union, after it brought out the new regulation that cyclists and respective pacemakers had to be of one nationality. The ECJ decided that this decision is breaching EU law concerning Art. 39 and 49: free movement of workers.

³⁸ In this special discipline of cycling track races, also called standing-races, the cyclist drives in the slipstream of a pace maker on a motor-cycle.

³⁹ Case 36-74 [1974] ECR 1405, 17-19

subject to community law only in so far as it constitutes an economic activity within the meaning of article 2 of the treaty” (Case 36-74, 1). Hence, sports in the European Union was suddenly part of the single market if representing an economic activity, and treaty clauses not only applied to regulations issued by public authorities but to regulations issued in order to regulate employment and provision of services – no matter whether released by public or private institutions. This was big change in the sports world of the European Union and brought about great complications in the sports governing bodies concerning their regulation systems as well as several new cases brought in front of the ECJ (see: Henry 2003, pp.519ff.). Similar cases followed, such as Doña, Bosman, Lehtonen, Deliège, Simultenkov or Meca-Medina, to name only a few.

After the first law cases concerning sporting activity and breaching EU law (Walrave/Koch 1974, Doña1976), also the societal value of sport was first mentioned in an EU document: the Adonnino report. This Report was originally called “Report on a People’s Europe” and was published in March 1985 by an Ad Hoc Committee to the European

**Adonnino Report
(COM 85)**

The “Report on a People’s Europe” was the result of an Ad Hoc Committee lead by Pietro Adoninno. It dealt with issues concerning the life of the people of Europe and had the goal to arrange for less obstacles in order to make citizens’ life less irritable, and thus, for the EU to gain more credits in the eyes of the citizens

Council. The Committee was lead by Pietro Adonnino whom the report was later named after. Its content dealt with topics relating to the 'people's Europe', such as (1) freedom of movement for Community citizens, (2) freedom of movement of goods, including transport services, (3) administrative formalities for border-area traffic, (4) wider opportunities for employment and residence. The report was published in order to formulate the “goal of easing rules and practices” which lead to “an irritation of the Community’s citizens” (Ad Hoc Committee on a People's Europe 1985). This goal is highly important in making the Community more credible in the eyes of its citizens. Sports appears as one aspect of the report mentioned as means to enhance European citizenship. However, after this mentioning of sports concerning its social value for the development of a peoples’ Europe, the economic side of sports came on the agenda again through further law suits.

The Bosman case⁴⁰ depicts another important one in the course of sports becoming a topic on the EU agenda and will thus be briefly explained. In 1990 the Belgian professional football player Jean-Marc Bosman would have liked to transfer from his original club FC Liège to the French second league club Dunkirk after his contract ended. The new club demanded a transfer fee of 800.000 Dollar which FC Lüttich did not agree to pay and thus did not release Bosman. In the following, the case was brought through all instances. After five years the ECJ decided in favor of the plaintiff due to the grounds of Art. 39. Hence, another court decision stating that sporting activity can be bound to EU law. Ian Henry states

⁴⁰ Case 415-93, ECR I-4921

that the Bosman case did not only concern the free movement of workers but also quotas of foreign players. It “successfully appealed against a UEFA and French Football Association ruling which limited the number of foreign nationals playing in professional teams in domestic or European competition” (Henry 2003, p.520). These quotas were said as well to restrict the freedom of professionals within the EU.

With the Treaty of Amsterdam sports for the first time found its way into the EU’s legal agreements when mentioned in the declaration on sports attached to the treaty. The declaration includes the conference’s emphasis on

**Amsterdam Declaration on Sport
(Treaty of Amsterdam, Declaration 29)**

The declaration was attached to the Treaty of Amsterdam. For the first time sport was mentioned in an amending treaty of the European Union. The declaration mentions the societal function of sport, especially underlining the role sport is playing concerning identity shaping and cooperation among the citizens.

“the social significance of sports, in particular its role in forging identity and bringing people together.” Furthermore, the conference calls for a closer exchange between EU institutions and sporting associations and underlines the need to give special consideration to the characteristics of amateur sports. (see: European Union 1997) Although the declaration had no binding force, it was an important step concerning sports policy in the EU. Following the declaration’s intent, another report was published emphasizing on the societal function of sport: the Helsinki report on sport. It was published by the European Commission to the European Council in December 1999 in Brussels upon invitation by the European Council after recalling the declaration on sports of the

**Helsinki Report on Sport
(COM(1999) 644 final)**

As a follow up to the Amsterdam declaration on sport, the Council called for another document concerning the societal function of sport and to preserve and define current sport structures. Besides the societal role of sport, the report mentions the economic potential of sport, as well as underlining the possible risks concerning the economic dimension as well as the legal uncertainty.

Treaty of Amsterdam within the Council meeting in December 1998. It was created in order to safeguard “current sports structures and maintaining the social function of sports within the Community framework” (European Commission 1999c). It recognized the social role of sports, underlined the need to enhance the educational role of sports and acknowledged the increasing conflicts between European law and sporting regulations. Concerning the important functions of sports, the Helsinki Report mentioned the increase in spectator numbers of sporting events, as well as the increase of employment in the sports sector. However, it also pointed out the possible risks with the increase of financial potential of the sector. Concerning the legal aspects, it underlined the need for clarification of the legal situation between sports regulations and EU law. Finally, the need for convergent endeavor was brought up in order to secure sports structures within the EU on different levels and to come up with possible solutions to preserve the social function of sports and to guarantee good governance in sports in the EU. Thus, the social side of sports was recognized by the

European institutions and the first ideas about funding programs concerning sports projects developed.

After the developments on the social role of sports, the legal side was uplifted again. More cases were brought to the ECJ, which deal with sporting activity and sports rulings, or sports governing bodies' behavior accused of breaching EU law. Some example cases are the so-called Deliége or Lehtonen cases. The first concerned a "high-level, but 'amateur', Belgian judoka complaining that she had been refused selection by her national federation for an international tournament participation in which it was necessary for her to be selected by that

Deliége vs. Ligue francophone de judo et disciplines associées ASBL, Ligue belge de judo ASBL, Union européenne de judo (C-51/96) and François Pacquée (C-191/97)

In this case the amateur Judoka Christelle Deliége went to court against the different judo associations, due to her non-selection for an international tournament. Her national federation had limited the number of participants and she saw this limitation to be unlawful. However, the ECJ decided against her, stating that a sporting organization is able to limit the number of participants if necessary if there is a need inherent.

federation for the Olympic Games" (Harris 2000). Her non-selection was due to a limitation of participants by her national federation. In this case the ECJ decided that an organization is able to limit the number of participants if there is "a need inherent in the organization of such a competition"⁴¹. Furthermore, the court stated that national federations have a "large measure of discretion" (Harris 2000) in deciding whether a limitation is really inherent. The organizations' experience in the sports matter is a ground enough to limit the number for a tournament. The Lehtonen case in comparison dealt with the transfer of a Finnish professional basketball player into the Belgian league and different transfer deadlines prevalent in the Belgian league at that time. The ECJ disagreed that there were justifications for such differing deadlines, as they restricted the free movement of workers and the court did not see any reasoning for the differences. However, the court did approve transfer deadlines themselves as long as they are necessary measures for the sport concerned and "did not go beyond necessary"⁴².

While in the cases of Walrave/Koch, Doña (1976) and Bosman the ECJ acknowledged the specific characteristics of sports, the separation between economic and social activity was made clear. It was the first bound to EU law. The cases Deliége and Lehtonen (both in 2000) in contrast established sports specific limitations. The ECJ referred to the Declaration of Amsterdam (Parrish 2003b, p.254f.). Subsequently, sports seemed to become more specific from other economic activities concerning EU law. However, what also has to be underlined when comparing the different cases is the fact that the ECJ did rule over sports cases on the one hand, but not all dealing with sporting activity being strictly economic activity on the other hand – although the Walrave judgment had made clear that

⁴¹ Joined Cases C-51/96 and C-191/97

⁴² Case C-176/96

“the practice of sport is subject to Community law only in so far as it constitutes an economic activity within the meaning of Article 2 of the Treaty”. Since in the *Deliège* case the respective judoka was an amateur sportsperson and did not receive any remuneration, it could be questioned whether her activities “could be qualified as a provision of services within the meaning of Article 49 EC” (Colomo 2006, p.2). However, the court expressed “the fact that an association classifies its members as ‘amateur athletes’ has no consequences on the application of Articles 39 or 49 EC” (ibid. p.2). Furthermore, the Court laid down that Treaty provisions do not affect rules that are of “purely sporting interest” (*Walrave* case). This means that such rules would fall outside the scope of the EU Treaty as long as they are proportionate – if not so, it still could be challenged under the Treaty provisions of Articles 39 or 49:

After the first cases had been decided with reference to the Amsterdam declaration on sports, also the Treaty of Nice was followed by a declaration on the matter elaborating about the value of sports in great length. As Richard Parrish argues, “[t]he Nice Declaration, although legally even ‘softer’ than Amsterdam, is an important development in that it

Nice Declaration on Sport

The Declaration concerned the specific characteristics of sport and its social function in Europe. It was seen as a great breakthrough by various sport stakeholders as for the first time sport and its societal function was mentioned in such a lengthy and elaborate way on highest political level.

not only serves to guide the application of EU law to sport, but it also further hardens sports policy in the EU” (Gardiner 2001; Parrish 2001, as cited in:). Parrish additionally acknowledges the scope and length of the declaration, saying that it shows that sports is “now discussed at the highest political levels in the EU” (ibid. p.186).

As the Nice declaration on sports depicted an important step forward in the development of EU sports policy, the EU had also set up a central and recurring event: the European Sports Forum. The EU hoped to get together a wide range of sports stakeholders with the EU institutions representatives in order to create communication and exchange concerning the current and crucial issues of sports in the European Union. The first meeting in this vein was called European Sports Forum and was initiated by an idea voiced in the European Olympic Committee in 1991. The National Olympic Committees met with umbrella sports organizations and the Ministries competent in sports matters. In addition to these sports stakeholders, the first meeting in Brussels in 1991 as well as the following ones included representatives from the EU Commission, the European Parliament, the Council of Europe, the European Sport Conference, the EOC, ENGOS and a few not member countries of the EU. (Sport in Europe 2006) The Forum was used as an advisory board towards its members and was held annually until 2003 when the last Forum took place in Verona. Due to only little effective results arising from the Forum, it was agreed to not continue with the Forum as such. As a follow up, in 2005 the EU Commission installed a Consultation

Conference on sports and the EU; first, under the headline: “The EU & Sport matching expectations”, and second in 2006 entitled “The Role of Sports in the EU”. Both conferences were held under three main question areas, where communication between the participants was wished for and action should be taken.

The consultations showed great dissatisfaction from the sports stakeholders with the legal situation of sports in the European Union and the consequent uncertainty. As different legal practitioners agreed, the ECJ judgments show that there has not been any unification of case law, different measures have been taken and uncertainty existed. Thus, some scholars called for simplification as well as unification of ECJ case law in order to clear the legal situation concerning sporting activity in the European Union (Colomo 2006, p.8). Hitherto, this situation combined with the Union’s wish to support the social value of sports led to the most important step in the development of sports in the European Union: the publication of the White Paper on Sport in 2007.

The White Paper on Sports was published in July 2007 in Brussels. It starts out with a citation by Pierre de Coubertin stating: "Sports is part of every man and woman's heritage and its absence can never be compensated for." It depicts a result of a great range of hearings, discussions, meetings and consultations among the European institutions and sports stakeholders’ representatives. It further marks a great milestone towards a European sports policy

**White Paper on Sport
(COM(2007) 391 final)**

A White Paper is published to give an orientation concerning political questions of one policy field.

The White Paper on Sport was published in July 2007 and included the current issues regarding sports in the European Union. It was divided into six parts, discussing different aspects of sport, such as the economic dimension, societal role, organization of sport and a follow-up.

The White Paper depicts a great milestone within the developments of EU sports policy.

as it represents the first official document dealing with sports in the European Union and the possible actions to be taken in this matter. The White Paper is divided into six parts: (1) An introduction, (2) the societal role of sports, (3) the economic dimension of sports, (4) the organization of sports, (5) a follow-up, and (6) the conclusion. Part 2 deals with various aspects concerning sports in social life, such as physical activity enhancing public health, the fight against doping, sports as part of education and training, the promotion of volunteering and active citizenship through sports, the potential to increase social inclusion, integration and equal opportunities, the fight against racism and violence, as well as sharing values with other parts of the world and supporting sustainable development. The economic dimension in contrast rather deals with the market aspects of sporting activities. The economic impact of sports shall be measured and public support for sports shall be put on more secure footing. The fourth part also deals with the economic aspects, as it elaborates on the needed actions concerning the organization of sports touching a great amount of market aspects of the matter. The specificity of sport depicts one of the most important aspects of the White Paper,

as well as the free movement and nationality, transfers of players, players' agents, the protection of minors, corruption, money laundering and other forms of financial crime, and media rights. The follow-up then declares that the European Commission is going to install structured as well as social dialogue for sports matters in order to secure better communication between the institutions, sporting organizations and athletes to be able to tackle the challenges of sports governance in the EU.

Together with the White Paper on Sport, the Commission published the so-called Pierre de Coubertin Action Plan, stating the intended actions taken by the EU institutions concerning sports. In line with the White Paper, the action plan was also divided into four sub-sections: (A) The societal role of sports, (B) The economic dimension of sports, (C) The organization of sports, and (D) Follow-up.

**Pierre de Coubertin Action Plan
(COM(2007) 391 final)**

The Pierre de Coubertin Action Plan was named after the founder of the Modern Olympics. It was attached to the White Paper on Sport, formulating the main actions to be taken concerning sports in the EU. Its structure reflected the White Paper division. Actions are to be taken by the EU institutions, as well as by the Member States and sport stakeholders.

The actions lead from more established support for social values transferred through sports, such as volunteering, social inclusion and the fight against racism inter alia, over the development of statistical methods concerning sports and its economic impact, to the combat of discrimination, the protection of minors and further cooperation with stakeholders as well as between the Member States. (European Commission 2007a)

As a follow up of the White Paper Publication another step towards strengthened dialogue between the EU institutions and sports stakeholders could be observed. A follow-up document was released in September 2007, which points out the need “to give sports stakeholders a say in European policy making”. Furthermore, it discusses the great complexity of sports in Europe and calls for the Commission to organize further exchange between the stakeholders and the institutions (European Commission 2007a). Furthermore, the EU called for more intense structured dialogue complementing the already existing dialogue structures (consultation conferences, hearings, White Paper) between the parties. Under the Slovenian presidency of the European Council, in

**Parliament Report on the White Paper
(A6-0149/2008)**

After the White Paper publication, a European Parliament Committee published a resolution, expressing the MEPs view on sporting issues. The resolution underlined the importance concerning the economic dimension as well the societal role of sport for the EU society. Further, they called for stronger acknowledgement of the specificity of sport, while agreeing with the Commission's view to protect minority as well as workers' rights in line with existing EU law.

March 2008, the EU sports ministers adopted a joint declaration on Social Significance and Dialogue in Sport. Others involved in the declaration were the NOCs of the Member States as well as EOC and the European Commissioner responsible for sports. They acknowledged the actions taken so far by the European institutions as well as pointing out the social

significance of sports in the European Union. Overall, the declaration outlined the direction of a future EU Sports Program (European Commission et al. 2008).

In May 2008 the Parliament plenary voted on a motion for resolution on the White Paper on Sport. This resolution took into account all previous documents, especially welcoming the publication of the White Paper on Sport, and formulated the Committee's satisfaction with the Member States' official recognition of sports in the Lisbon Treaty. Moreover, the Committee asked the Commission "to have due respect for the specificity of sports by not taking a case-by-case approach and to provide more legal certainty by creating clear guidelines on the applicability of European law to sports in Europe" (European Parliament and Committee on Culture and Education 2008, p.9). The resolution further underlines the need for sports governing bodies to be in charge of their sports and sporting regulations as long as they are appropriate. However, the Committee as well agrees with the Commission's view on the specific characteristics of professional sports and competitions, since professional sports persons can appear to be employees in the sense of EU law (ibid. p.10). Besides elaborating on the economic dimension of sports, the resolution also takes into account the societal role of the matter and asks the Member States and sports governing bodies to "actively promote the social and democratic role of fans", as well as requesting the Commission "to promote stronger involvement of non-governmental sports organisations in the dialogue between the Member States and the Commission" (ibid. p.10). After the general acknowledgements and wishes of the Committee, the report on the resolution points out different areas where it wishes actions to be taken by either the Commission, the Member States or sports stakeholders. Some of these are doping, education, sports and third countries, sports events, economic aspects and sports and employment et al.; the last two being the greatest areas of interest, where the most actions are being asked for.

After the resolution by the European Parliament Committee, the Commission installed another event for dialogue between sports stakeholders and European institutions. They set up a new Forum, this time called the EU Sports Forum. It took place for the first time in November 2008 in Biarritz⁴³. This Forum dealt with diverse topics such as the implementation of the White Paper on Sports, support for grassroots sports in Europe and the specificity of sport. During the Sport Forum, different sports actors were able to raise their voice regarding different issues. The first session dealt with the White Paper implementation, while the second session

Presidency Conclusion – Declaration on Sport (CONCL 5)

The European Council expressed its view on sporting issues within its presidency conclusions after the Sport Forum in Biarritz. The declaration stated the societal importance of sport, underlining the economic strength of sports in the EUropean Union. Additionally, the declaration called for further dialogue between the EU institutions and world sporting federations and organizations.

⁴³ The second Sport Forum has taken place in April 2010 in Madrid. For further information see outlook of this thesis.

had the support of grassroots sports as a core topic, and the third session approached the specificity of sport (European Commission 2008a).

Shortly after the Sport Forum in Biarritz, the European Council adopted a Declaration on Sport as part of the Presidency Conclusions. Within this declaration, the Council emphasized the importance of sports for EU society, especially mentioning its economic dimension. In addition, the installment and the results of the European Sport Forum are acknowledged and it is called for further dialogue between the IOC and other World Sports federations “in particular on the question of combined sports training and education for young people” (Council of the European Union 2008, p.21).

In March 2009 an EU budget for work program in the field of sports was adopted by the Commission, with a budget line of 7.5 million EUR. Furthermore, the Commission released another 4.0 million EUR concerning “preparatory actions in the field of sport” (DG-EAC 2009).

In December 2009, the Lisbon Treaty will finally enter into force, providing the EU with a competence in the area of sport, stating in Art. 165:

“The Union shall contribute to the promotion of European sporting issues, while taking account of the specific nature of sport, its structures based on voluntary activity and its social and educational function.”

After the overview of what has happened so far and which EU documents are important concerning the development of sports in the European Union, the political set up, who is involved and where sports plays an important role are presented.

3 Policy Fields, Actor Constellations and Governance Structure

Since sports in the EU do not have yet its own legal basis, consequently there is no such thing as a legally embedded EU sports policy⁴⁴. Nevertheless, the topic arises in various EU documents and is heard in different discussions throughout other fields of action. Sports is attached to a great variety of EU policy fields, and thus depicts a so-called annex policy to others. The extent of the importance of sports differs from policy field to policy field, as well as the time line since when sports was interrelated to the different fields. Furthermore, the difference according to each policy field where sports policy attaches itself has a significant impact on the actor constellation. In the following, the variety of policy fields where sports plays a greater or smaller role will be presented.: (1)competition, (2)culture, (3)education, (4)gender, (5)health, (6)integration, (7)regional support, (8)youth. The actors of importance will be analyzed, including the history of sports in the specific policy field. The following

⁴⁴ As the timeframe of this thesis ends before the signing of the Treaty, there is not yet a legal basis for sport. However, the outlook of the thesis is going to take into account the signing of the Treaty and the newly developed legal basis.

chapter will test the presented theses seven and eight (Introduction 3.1.7/3.1.8), thus analyze whether sports can be declared as an annex policy field to a great variety of EU policy fields, as well as whether sports can draw merits out of being annexed to other policy fields.

To give an overview of all policies sports is being annexed to, each policy field will be shortly presented in the EU context. The connection between the respected policy and sports will be drawn, especially concerning those areas where sports can be found in this policy field as well as those programs where sports appear. The actors involved in the policy field presented, combined with sports are portrayed as well as their connections with each other and their role in the policy process. As a last step for each policy, the governing structures are analyzed. The main focus therefore is laid on the question as to whether sports functions as a means to an end or is rather dealt with as an object of regulation. If so, that means sports appears in the policy documents as a tool that can be applied in order to reach certain goals set out in the policy's objectives; otherwise, sports is being regulated under EU law when connected to the policy field in question. After defining the role of sports in the policy fields, the instruments that are applied will be examined.

Hence, a brief introduction of each policy field shall first be presented, followed by an actor constellation presentation, and an examination of the policy governance structure.

3.1 Competition

In the EU, competition policy is one of the few policies which are under sovereign control of the institutions. Essential here are the four freedoms: the free movement of goods, persons (including free movement of workers), services and capital. These "freedoms" are part of the common market and are subject to EU law. The single market was fully created in 1992 between the back then 12 Member States. Today, it can be seen as an ongoing process, especially with regards to the integration of new Member States and accession countries.

3.1.1 Competition Policy and Sports

Concerning sports, competition policy depicts the first policy field where sports became an issue. A lawsuit brought the topic up to the EU agenda. It started out with the above mentioned Walrave / Koch vs. Union Cycliste Internationale (UCI) case in 1974.⁴⁵ This case touched the field of sports in so far as it confirmed that sports fall only under the scope of ECJ law if it constitutes an economic activity. Activities that are of "sporting interest only"

⁴⁵ (Case 36/74) [1974] ECR 1405

In the case two Dutch pacemakers for cycling competitions, Bruno Nils Olaf Walrave and Longinus Johannes Norbert Koch, approached the Court, as they lost their jobs due to a new rule imposed by the International Cycling Union that declared pacemakers and cycle riders of one team had to be of the same nationality. Since they used to work with Spanish cyclists, they can no longer be employed in the same position.

(Infantino 2006, p.2) do not fall under EU law. The following years the topic of sports kept quiet until Jean-Marc Bosman, a professional Belgium soccer player who sued his club RFC Liège for disallowing him to change teams due to a too low transfer fee. The case came in front of the ECJ and became known as the “Bosman ruling”. It was a major decision regarding the freedom of movement of workers (Art 2 EC Treaty) and had a direct effect on the transfer of football players across the EU. The decision constituted that professional soccer players are normal employees in terms of the EC Treaty and thus decided to apply the same rules as to other employment fields.⁴⁶ This development resulted in great protest from the sports governing bodies since their rulings were being impeached and turned down due to a breach in the EU law.

One of the latest decisions that had a great impact on the sports decision in the EU has been the Meca-Medina case which started in 1999. The exposure to doping depicted the base of this case, and thus touched on the breaching of anti-trust rules. It dealt with a law suit by two professional swimmers who had been banned for four years for testing positive for prohibited substances (nandrolone) during the World Cup (European Court of Justice 2006). After taking the proceedings to all instances on the sporting level, e.g. the Court of Arbitration for Sport (CAS), they filed a complaint at the European Commission. After different decisions, the ECJ, as the last level of jurisdiction, came to the conclusion that “if the sporting activity in question falls within the scope of the Treaty, the conditions for engaging in it are then subject to all the obligations which result from the various provisions of the Treaty” (ibid. p.5). This decision resulted in a great range of decisions concerning the sporting sector, especially when economic activity is involved, can be brought in front of the ECJ. Further, the ECJ statement on the Meca-Medina case brought great uncertainty to the sports stakeholders in the EU. What had been established in several earlier cases, the paving of the way towards the specificity of sports seemed to have been drowned by the new case. Again, the ECJ opened the gates for more cases to be judged under EU law due to inaccurate wording. UEFA described the Meca-Medina case as a step backwards. Whether or not this is true shall be left to discussion (Infantino 2006). It can be noted however, that while the hope of EU sports stakeholders was leaning towards a more legal certainty through generalization, Meca-Medina had done just the opposite and presented the effect that all sporting cases have to be judged individually and therefore offers no certainty.

In addition to the free movement of workers and the anti-trust rules in certain fields related to the sports sector, the selling of TV rights plays another important role. Some sporting events such as soccer or Formula 1, achieve very high viewing figures, and thus, become very important to broadcasters. It follows therefore that some are willing to pay a large amount of money for the broadcasting rights of such spectator attractive events. In this

⁴⁶ EuGH RS C-415/93, Slg 1995, I-4921

respect the audiovisual policy of the EU comes into effect, to guarantee the uncoded broadcasting of certain sporting events. The so-called “cornerstone” of the audiovisual policy can be found in the “Television without Frontiers Directive (TVWF)”⁴⁷, which was adopted in 1989 and revised in 1997. Ten years later, in 2007, it was changed into the “Audiovisual Service Directive” (European Commission 2008c). The main aim of the directive is “to ensure the free movement of broadcasting services within the internal market and at the same time to preserve certain public interest objectives, such as cultural diversity, the right of reply, consumer protection and the protection of minors.” (ibid.)

As becoming visual, even in one policy field, sports are spreading out into various aspects, and thus involving a variety of actors. In the following, all relevant actors for the aspects under competition policy will be presented as well as their constellation.

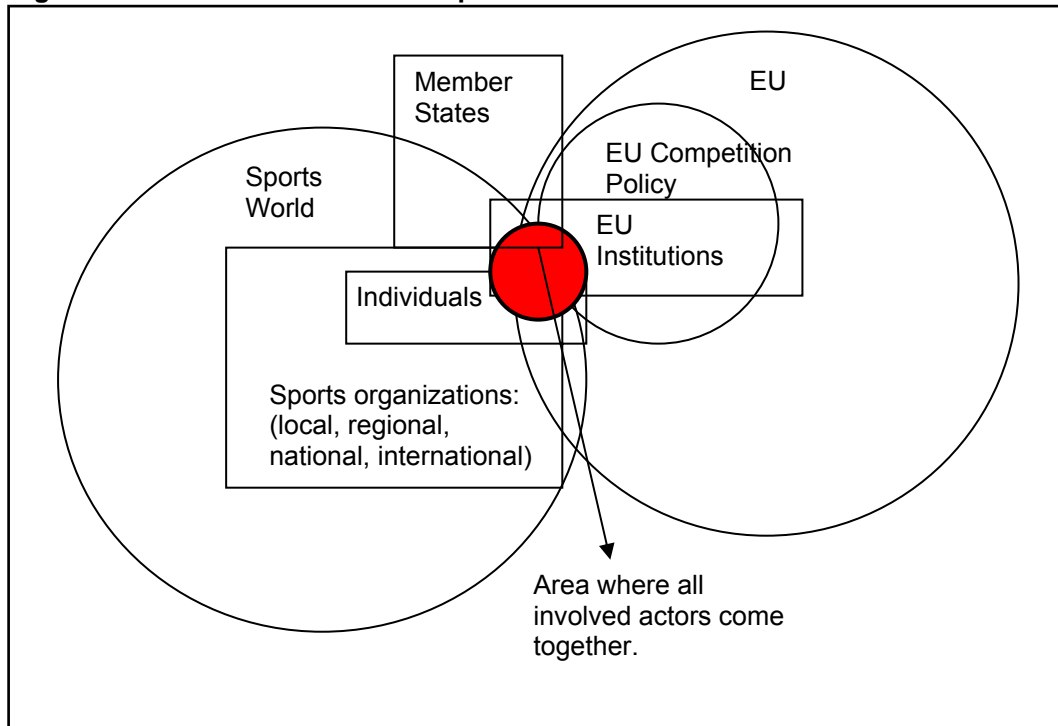
3.1.2 Competition Policy Actor Constellation

With regards to the involvement of actors in the policy field of competition, first and foremost, the EU institutions have to be named. The European Commission as the guardian of the treaties is in charge of the compliance with the effective treaty provisions, directives and amendments. The Parliament (EP) and Council as the joint legislative play another important role here as well as the European Court of Justice (ECJ) as the executive authority. In addition, the Member States have a great say in those matters, especially in matters concerning the free movement of workers or the national handling of the infringement of doping rules.

A second important group of actors can be found on the organizational level, meaning smaller and bigger associations, such as the Federation of the International Football Association (FIFA) or the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA), as well international associations of other sports sections and national associations that deal with certain EU restrictions applicable to their area of action⁴⁸. Smaller organizations on regional and local level can be affected as well, since sports depicts an area with a great number of employees and volunteers, and thus falls under the regular EU working regulations. While EU law in this matter affects “companies and individuals involved in the provision of goods and services within the Single Market (...), amateur sports bodies and individuals engaged in such economic activity are still subject to EU law even if this activity does not involve the generation of profit.” (Parrish 2003a, p.21) On the individual level we have the different sportsmen and –women as well, as the employees and volunteers in the sports section. They all fall under EU competition policy. Hence we can draw the following actor constellation:

⁴⁷ For the text of latest amended act as of 19.12.2007 go to: http://eur-lex.europa.eu/smartapi/cgi/sga_doc?smartapi!celexplus!prod!DocNumber&lg=en&type_doc=Directive&an_doc=2007&nu_doc=65

⁴⁸ Area of action meaning e.g. transfer of sports people, doping rules etc.

Fig. B.3.1 Actor Constellation: Competition

(own compilation)

The most important interaction in this policy field is formed through requests concerning EU legislation and law suits. Furthermore, competition policy affects sports organizations in their daily work, as it involves decisions on doping rules that have to be applied as well as decisions on how and whether to transfer successful and un-successful sportsmen and –women; in addition to the EU employment law, this applies to a great number of their dependants.

3.1.3 Competition Policy Governance Structure

Regarding the governance structure of each policy field, the questions to be answered are whether or not the respective policy is communitized, meaning whether or not it is included in the first pillar of the EU structure. Furthermore, the principal within this policy has first to be identified. To identify who has the greatest influence, and who has the capacity to analyze the overall hierarchy in the policy field must be chosen. Naturally, the appropriate legal instruments and means of supervision shall be presented next; then agents' actions within the policy follow. Another important point to be clarified is whether sports serves as a means to an end or rather depicts an object of regulation.

When having a look at all the policy fields sports is attached to in the EU structure, you discover that competition policy remains the only policy field which is to be found in the first pillar: thus it is a community policy. It is the only policy therefore, bound to EU hard law. The principal within this field is the Commission, functioning as the guardian of the treaty and the direct legal force to apply the law. Sports as defined by the competition policy depicts an object of regulation, since sports is not used in order to enforce competition law, but to be handled as one aspect under the law of competition (see different ECJ decisions concerning

sports and competition law)⁴⁹. Due to the fact that it is regulated under EU hard law, legal instruments such as directives, regulations and decisions are applied. Furthermore, means of supervision can be found in the possibility of filing suit in matters concerning competition law.

Besides the Commission as the principal, the ECJ plays an important role, having the executive power. The other agents as named under the actor constellation are the Council, the Parliament and the professional sports organizations and their players. The latter are involved in this matter either as the ones leading the case or as the ones being judged. In this aspect the world of sports clashes with EU policy. Sports organizations fear too much interference by the EU, since several sporting rules contradict EU law. Hence, this policy field remains the most controversial among the annex policies of sports in the EU.

3.2 Culture

Culture is mentioned in different official EU documents, such as the different treaties and the draft constitution (Title III, Part V). Its growing importance for social inclusion, integration and the formation of a European identity is highlighted in various respects. Cultural policy was first mentioned in the cultural convention of the European Council in 1954. (see: Eid 2006) However, one can also say that culture was perhaps mentioned, but not acknowledged as anything we see culture today. Within the Treaties of Rome, culture was not directly mentioned at all, as the Treaty for the establishment of the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1957 only demanded closer cooperation between the involved states. (see: Schwencke 2004) In 1984, not before 30 years after the cultural convention, the “European Declaration on Cultural Objectives” was released (Council of Europe 1984). Several reports dealt with the topic and strengthened the European concept of culture, e.g. the Fanti-report (1983) or the Bazanti-report (1992). 1994, the European Union started the first phase of cultural support measures with the *Community action supporting culture*. Under this measure the EU released several support programs such as the so-called “Kaleidoskop-Programm” in 1995, with a total budget of 130,000 ECU, divided in three actions (see: European Commission 1994). The main step was taken in 1993, when the Maastricht Treaty came into effect. For the first time, the European Union reached independent competence concerning cultural policy. With the inclusion of cultural policy into community competence, the Maastricht Treaty created a legal basis for European cultural policy. Furthermore, Art.151 TEC (Treaty establishing the European Community) constitutes the main objectives in the area of culture. Limitations on the basis of the principle of subsidiarity are however mentioned. Culture was acknowledged as a basic right in Art.22 of the Charta of Fundamental Rights. Hence, the European Union has changed from a mere economic

⁴⁹ E.g. Walrave/Koch; Bosman; Meca-Medina etc.

community towards a value community, which also paves the way for the policy field of sports.

3.2.1 Cultural Policy and Sports

The main conflict to be highlighted regarding the topic of culture is the stress ratio between the creation of a European identity on the one hand, and the preservation of cultural diversity of nation states and regions on the other hand. While the Union is striving for joint regulations in some areas of cultural policy, it considers cultural diversity, different languages, religions, traditions and ethnic groups as the continent's "own source of power" (see: Schwencke 2004, p.1). The EU thus is trying to balance those two objectives. The same holds true for sports, as sports is a national competence, and there are great differences in the national policy set ups, as well the existence of differing sporting traditions.

The policy field culture is one of the youngest EU policy fields, and can be seen closest to the developments currently going on in the EU concerning sports. However, besides the great similarities of the two policy fields, they are also interrelated, mainly as sports is a central aspect of culture⁵⁰. In a great number of EU Member States, sports and culture are combined under one ministry, under one political department or appear within the same committees⁵¹. Furthermore, sports and culture are often mentioned in the same breath concerning a variety of programs and associations, e.g. the International Sport and Culture Association (ISCA). Sports has developed as a form of culture, especially when thinking about the Olympic Games and the great and ancient sporting traditions prevalent throughout Europe. It is not surprising therefore that sports and culture in the EU can be found under one roof: the DG Education and Culture (Commissioner Ján Figel⁵²). As a follow up to the European Year of Education through Sport 2004 (EYES), the Directorate General for Education and Culture introduced sports as a specific area of action, and thus sports became a subsection of culture and education within the EU.

Cultural projects can receive a great range of funding e.g. through varying programs such as the CULTURE 2000 action, Culture program 2007-2013 (see: European Union 2006) et al.⁵³ Furthermore, the year 2008 was announced as the Year of Intercultural Dialogue⁵⁴, which meant another great variety of support measures for projects in the cultural field. Culture, as well as sports, has the ability of unifying people all over Europe. It attracts people from different ethnical and educational backgrounds, different age groups, and sexes. Sports projects are now welcome to apply for funds under cultural programs as mentioned

⁵⁰ Culture can have different meanings: on the one hand

⁵¹ E.g. Denmark, Greece, Malta, UK, Sweden

⁵² At the end of 2009, Maroš Šefčovič took over the function as Commissioner for Education and Culture in the EU Commission, before Androulla Vassiliou was appointed in February 2010.

⁵³ <http://www.ccp-deutschland.de/ccp-foerder.htm>

⁵⁴ <http://www.interculturaldialogue2008.eu/>

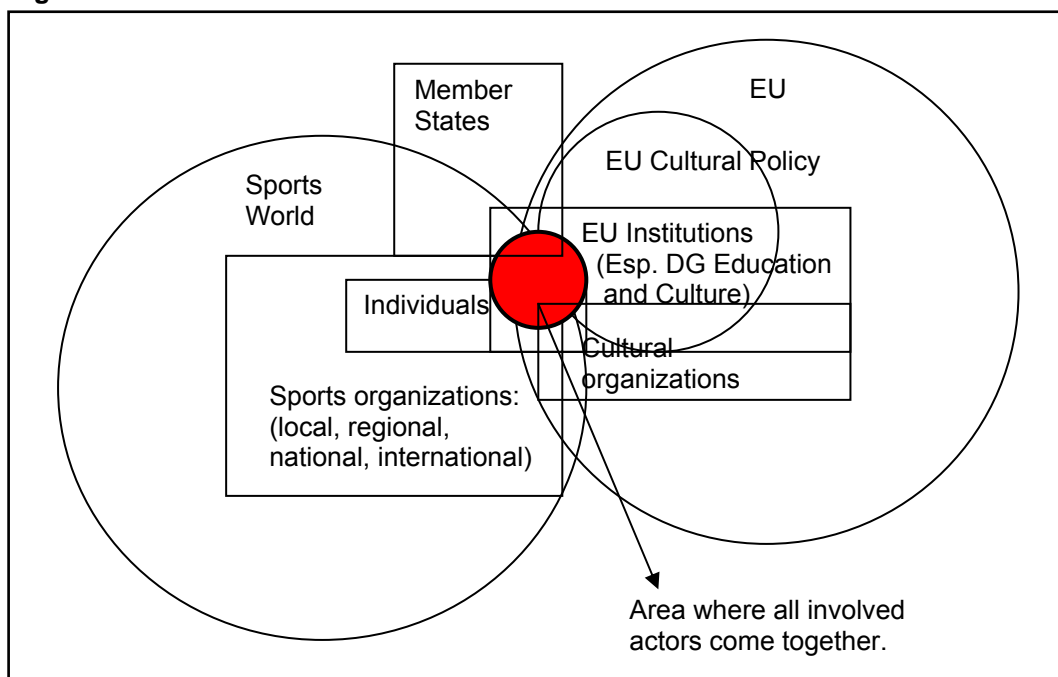
above. One example for a sports project receiving funding under a cultural program can be found in the Akademie des Sports (Academy of Sport) of Lower Saxony, which received funding for an academy forum entitled “Intercultural Dialogue in Sports: From Integration to Inclusion? European Perspectives”⁵⁵ (Akademie des Sports 2008).

The EU commissioner for sports as well has responsibilities for sports and culture, which puts those policy fields into close connection. Sports and culture are policy fields where a great range of issues fall under the Open Method of Coordination, concerning community policies. Hence, they range in the area of soft law. This makes international sports and culture projects difficult on the one hand, due to a missing Union-wide policy. On the other hand, a vast variety of sports and culture projects can be brought up due to a great flexibility within the different Member States.

3.2.2 Cultural Policy Actor Constellation

As for the policy field of competition, the EU institutions namely the European Commission with the DG Education and Culture, the EP, and the Council, play an important role. Furthermore, cultural and sports organizations in all levels (from international to local) have a share in the topic. As in all other policy fields, the Member States also appear as actors, especially since culture, in many respects, is related to the nation, national traditions, language etc.

Fig. B.3.2 Actor Constellation: Culture



(own compilation)

Due to the fact that sports is a sub-responsibility of the DG Education and Culture both policy fields are linked. The commissioner for education and culture is also in charge of sports

⁵⁵ <http://www.interculturaldialogue2008.eu/1069.0.html?&L=0>

promotions in the EU. Both policies are thus combined under one person. Many other politicians and institutions have to deal with both policies on a regular basis. Concerning the Member States, sports and culture are also related sometimes. For example in Germany, the “Länder” are responsible for culture, meaning that it is dealt with in each federal state, instead of being dealt with on the national state level. Some federal ministries have combined the responsibility for culture and sports under one roof, e.g. the federal ministries for culture, youth and sports of Baden-Württemberg, Brandenburg and Hamburg. Hence, sports and culture are even closely linked on the national level.

3.2.3 Cultural Policy Governance Structure

In contrast to competition policy where sports is used as an object of regulation, sports has a different role in the policy field of culture. Sports is seen to depict a means to an end, wherein sports is made use of in order to reach certain goals of the policy instead of being regulated itself. Sports represents a form of culture and various researches and studies have proven the high significance of sports in order to foster intercultural understanding. Others are of the opinion that sports can also develop the exact opposite, namely to highlight the differences between people and to foster competitiveness (see: Klein et al. 2000; Thiele 1999). The European Union however, declares sports to be important for the integration process, as underlined in the Treaty of Amsterdam with the Declaration of Sports saying that “[t]he Conference emphasizes the social significance of sports, in particular its role in forging identity and bringing people together” (European Commission 1997, p.136). Sports therefore has the task to promote cultural diversity as well as intercultural understanding.

Cultural policy is not merely a community policy, since it is not integrated into the first pillar. It can be found in EU law, but the EU however has no desire to make this policy field a community policy, especially due to the slogan “unity through diversity”. The EU consists of a great cultural variety which should be preserved. Thus, the Commission does not function as the principal institution concerned in sports and culture, but other actors such as the Parliament or the Council. They have the greater say in this matter. Nonetheless, the Commission still has a central role when it comes to financial aid in this field. The DG EAC is the central actor next to the Commission. All programs to support cultural projects in the EU derive from their sources. Since financial support depicts one of the central aspects here, the DG EAC definitely plays a very important role.

As pointed out above, while competition policy is a rather controversial aspect of sports and EU policies, culture is not. Since the main aspects here are about preserving the Union’s cultural heritage, to foster national diversity, and thus to support sports projects in terms of acknowledgement as well as financially, all agents are fighting on the same side.

3.3 Education

Education policy is embodied in Chapter 3, Art.149 of the Treaty of Amsterdam, dealing with education, vocational training and youth (European Commission 1997). The policy further developed in the EU's work in 2000, when in the Lisbon Summit, Member States agreed upon building-up a knowledge-based economy.⁵⁶ Furthermore, a joint work program on education and training was published in 2002 (Council 2002) as a precursor to annual joint reports nowadays. The DG Education and Culture is in charge of all educational matters, with a mission stating “[t]o reinforce and promote lifelong learning, linguistic and cultural diversity, mobility and the engagement of European citizens, in particular the young“ (DG-EAC). The policy is dealt with in the Union in terms of the Open Method of Coordination, meaning that it supports the cooperation and best practice exchange between the Member States, but does not yet have a joint policy.

3.3.1 Education Policy and Sports

As pointed out above, sports became a sub-section of the DG Education and Culture, and is closely related to educational topics, and to the education policy. The EYES formed the starting point for sports to be introduced in the DG. In this context sports was first seen as a useful means for education and intercultural understanding. The EURATHLON program of the 1990s may be considered the first program which paved the way for sports projects to receive funding and elevated sports as a desired frame for the projects, as long as they promoted education. The main objectives of the program were the following:

- *“to make institutions and sports organizations aware of the need for cooperation in order*
- *to develop education through sport and its European dimension;*
- *to take advantage of the values conveyed through sport to develop knowledge and basic skills allowing young people to improve their physical and social abilities, mainly through the school curriculum (teamwork, solidarity, tolerance and fair play in a multicultural framework);*
- *to promote awareness of the positive contribution that voluntary activities make to non-formal education for young people;*
- *to encourage the exchange of good practice concerning the role sport can play in education systems to promote the social inclusion of disadvantaged groups;*
- *to consider the problems relating to the education of young sportsmen and sportswomen involved in competitive sports.” (European Commission 2004c)*

The main focus was laid on young people and their learning abilities through sports. As a follow up to the European Year of Education through Sport, Slovakia⁵⁷ held a conference labeled “Education through Sport” in April 2008. The conference focused “on concrete educational activities and measures taken by the Member States of the Council of Europe” (Slovakian Ministry of Education 2008).

⁵⁶ For further information see: http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/lis1_en.htm

⁵⁷ At this time being, Slovakia held the chairmanship of the council of ministers of the Council of Europe

Another important part of education policy connected to sports can be found in the life long learning program, with its latest edition signed by the EP and the Council in November 2007⁵⁸. This may be considered as a key element of the Lisbon strategy. In the program four EU sectoral programs are combined: Comenius (school education), Erasmus (higher education), Leonardo da Vinci (vocational training), and Grundtvig (adult education). One example may be named: “The development of intercultural competence through sports in an expanding European Union”⁵⁹, which was financed through the Comenius 2.1. Program, and implemented by the Albert-Ludwigs-University Freiburg (GER) (Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg 2007). Additionally, it includes a transversal program focusing on policy cooperation, languages, information and communication technology and dissemination and exploitation of results and a John Monnet program. The budget of the program comprises 6.970 million Euros for the total period 2007-2013. (see: European Commission 2007b) Sports projects were also always able to receive funding under each of the four sectoral programs, since sports depicts a part of education in the four sectors mentioned⁶⁰. Aside from the institutional education, the lifelong learning program aims at the learning abilities of European citizens outside of classical educational institutes, and learning in every day life. Recreational activities play an important role; hence sporting activities come in as a means to “learn”: gaining knowledge therefore in certain sporting areas (i.e. rules, traditions etc.), as well as gaining knowledge in social dealings with each other (i.e. fair play, exchange of knowledge, team work etc.). Thus, sporting activities could as well apply for funding under the life long learning program, especially if the project proposes activities involving ways of learning.

As mentioned above in the policy field of culture, another reason for the close linkage between sports and education can also be found in the fact that the commissioner for education is in charge of sports, since the topic was included in the DG EAC. Furthermore, it is to be noticed that in a great number of Member States the sports ministry is included in the ministry for education⁶¹.

3.3.2 Education Policy Actor Constellation

As mentioned earlier, a great variety of actors plays a role in this combined policy field. The different EU institutions, such as the Commission with the DG EAC, EP, and the Council, and

⁵⁸ The first program proposal for the lifelong learning program was published in July 2004: European Commission (2004b). COM(2004) 474 final, 2004/0153 (COD). The latest edition has a program period from 2007-2013.

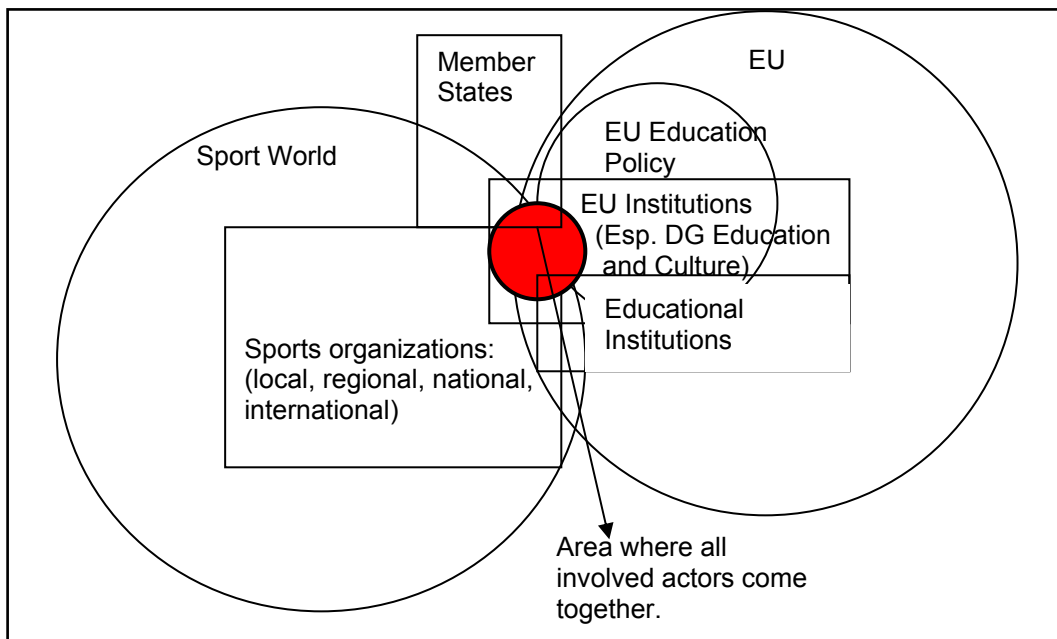
⁵⁹ For further information go to: <http://www.comenius-sport.eu/>

⁶⁰ E.g. participation in sports depicts one of the priorities of the Comenius program (see: http://ec.europa.eu/education/lifelong-learning-programme/doc84_en.htm)

⁶¹ E.g. in the Czech Republic, France, Germany, Slovenia, Spain et al.

additionally the Member States and their ministries play important roles in the actor constellation and the policy field structure.

Fig. B.3.3 Actor Constellation: Education



(own compilation)

3.3.3 Education Policy Governance Structure

Equal to cultural policy, education is not integrated into the first EU pillar and is therefore not community policy. It was mentioned in the Treaty however that the EU has the task to support this field of action. While in the field of culture, diversity is a keyword and the EU has no intentions of creating one EU culture, things are different concerning education. The EU does strive for a more consistent system, e.g. through the harmonization of academic qualifications. Since education is not community policy, and has no binding law, the EU has a supporting role in this policy field. While the national governments are still mainly in charge of their education and training systems, they strive for cooperation within the EU framework and for the achievement of common goals. Education and vocational training has already been mentioned in the Treaty of Rome in 1957 as an area of EU competency. The formal inclusion in the EU legal framework then took place with the Treaty of Maastricht, which states in Art.126:

"[t]he Community shall contribute to the development of quality education by encouraging cooperation between member states and, if necessary, by supporting and supplementing their action, while fully respecting the responsibility of the member states for the content of teaching and the organisation of education systems and their cultural and linguistic diversity."
(European Union 1992)

Even before the official dedication to this field of action in the European Union, the area of sports within the field of education was further established. In 1989 the European Network of Sport Science in Higher Education (ENSSHE) was founded in Luxembourg with the aim of

exchanging, proposing and debating ideas between educational institutions across Europe. The network was registered in France as a non-profit organization in 2003 under its new name, European Network of Sport Science, Education and Employment (ENSSEE). One of the most important outcomes of the network can be found in the project entitled “Aligning a European Higher Educational Structure In Sport Science” (AEHESIS), which was funded under the EU SOKRATES Program.⁶²

As we can see, in the policy field of education, sports comes in as a means to an end, wherein sports is made use of in order to bring people such as students and educational staff together to strive for common goals. Sports depicts a means of education as people learn through doing sports. Sports can also be seen as an object of regulation under the EU legal framework regarding education, especially with the EU’s commitment to quality education and cooperation between Member States, when bringing about the inclusion of sports as an area of education and training, e.g. training methods in sports centers for professional athletes as well as physical education in schools and universities. Since the EU has a say in the overall sovereignty in this matter but does not have a solid law to apply, the Commission does not function as the principal. The Parliament and the Council play important roles, but since funding programs in this area are the core activity fulfilled by the European Union, the DG Education and Culture, as part of the Commission, does move into focus. The European Year of Education through Sport in 2004 can be seen as the major event that took place regarding sports and education in the EU. Thus we can conclude that the agents to be mentioned in this field are the various educational institutions as well as the Member States, while the European Parliament or the Council may be considered the primary movers, the principals. Nevertheless, the DG Education and Culture holds the most powerful role having the ability to hand out funding for projects in the sector.

3.4 Gender

The Treaty of Amsterdam declared gender equality as one of the European Union’s goals, and thus it was included in the European policies. The policy approach includes legislation, mainstreaming, positive actions, as well as a funding program. The topic is dealt with in various treaty articles, depending on the topic, e.g. mainstreaming, meaning to support equality in general (Art. 2 and 3 EC Treaty), and furthermore equality between men and women regarding employment and other places (Art. 141), and sex discrimination in and outside the workplace (Art. 13). The DG Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities is in charge of gender policy, but may still be found under two different units within the DG,

⁶² See: www.enssee.de, www.sport-in-europe.eu, www.eseip.eu

namely the “Equality between men and women” Unit and the “Equality. Action against Discrimination” Unit.

3.4.1 Gender Policy and Sports

One of the five Olympic principles by Pierre de Coubertin (also the eponym for the recently released action plan for EU sport), states: “Equality in and through sport”, which meant a peaceful cooperation of the cultures, nations and genders, and still promotes the idea of equality through sports in all those areas (see: Grupe 2001; Pfister 2001). Turning back towards the EU, as pointed out above, gender policy is enshrined in EU law. The different articles, e.g. Chapter of Fundamental Rights Art.20/21 (European Union 2000, p.13), state that the EU is bound to eliminate inequalities and to foster equality between men and women in all EU activities. Thus, sports as a field of employment touches on gender policy in so far as it has to take into account the equality legislature of the Union. Furthermore, the White Paper on Sport takes gender equality into account through the inclusion of the societal role and the economic dimension of sports.

Gender equality constitutes an important policy in the Union, and hence ways to enhance equality are always searched for. As argued by Astrid Aafjes, Executive Director of “Women Win”⁶³, “sport in well defined programmes can be a very influential means of connecting girls with other girls and women, to teach values, such as tolerance, team spirit, solidarity and fair play as well as to help break social isolation stereotypes, build self-confidence, body awareness and leadership skills.” (Aafjes 2008) As Aafjes additionally points out, women with a migration background in the EU are especially underrepresented in sports and face social exclusion. In this matter “Women Win” “believes that participation in sports lead to the empowerment of active women and girls in education and as volunteers, employees, politicians, activists or leaders.” (ibid.) The use of sports for gender empowerment is also reflected in the 5th EU action program concerning gender (2001-2006), where sports is mentioned as one area of intervention in reaching the program’s objectives (European Commission 2001a, p.6).

Another aspect why sports and gender issues can be combined is found in the distribution of financial assets, as brought up by Nicole Cernic⁶⁴ and Peter Kaiser⁶⁵ in a Symposium called “Gender and Sport” in September 2008 (University Klagenfurt 2008). As was pointed out, a distinction concerning the choice of sports areas can already be observed at a young age. While boys rather choose to play soccer, basketball or other typical team sports, girls tend towards the more aesthetic sports like ballet, horseback riding or

⁶³ An international fund for girls and women’s empowerment through sports activities (see: womeninagency.nl)

⁶⁴ Member of the provincial government in Kärnten, Austria (Women consultant)

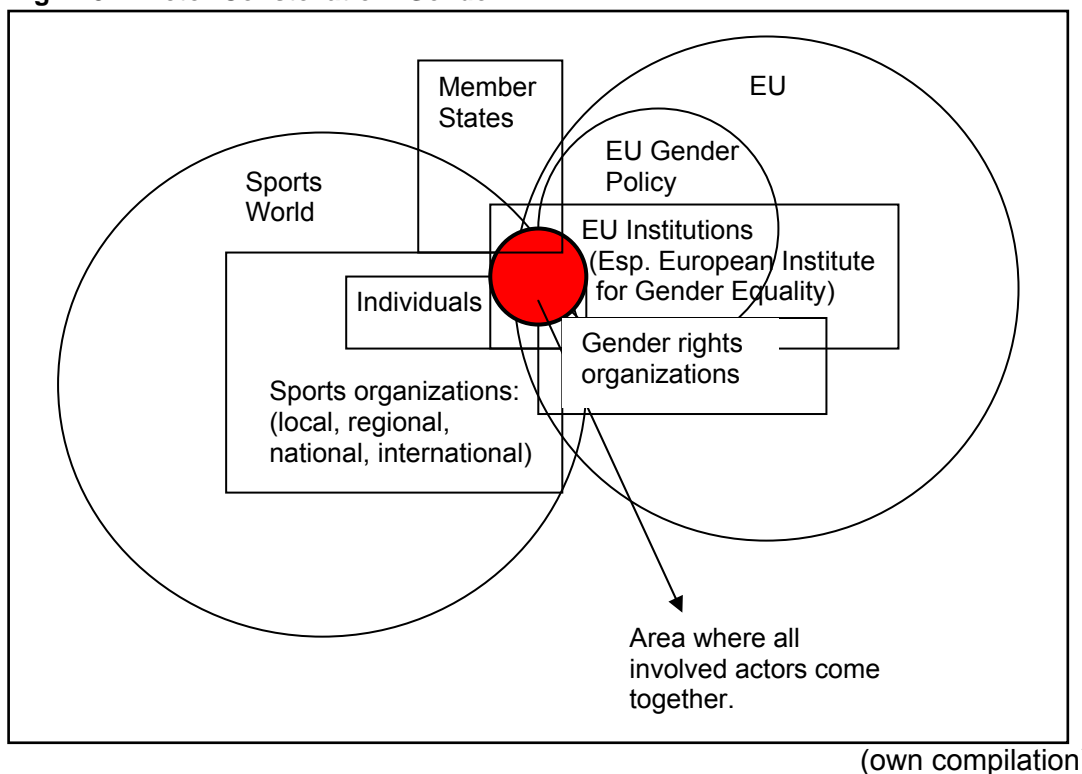
⁶⁵ Member of the provincial government in Kärnten, Austria (Sports consultant)

gymnastics. Reviewing sports funding, Cernic and Kaise say that more than two thirds of the funding are allotted to the male dominated sports activities. They also mention the EU strategy for gender mainstreaming, and try to present an already existing interface between the two policies as well as to develop ways to combine sports and gender in the future.

3.4.2 Gender Policy Actor Constellation

Besides the main EU Institutions, the “European Institute for Gender Equality” is an important actor in this field, as well as the “Unit Equality between Women and Men”. Both were specifically formed to raise awareness for Gender policy and to support equality between men and women. On the organizational level gender rights organizations as well as sports organizations (both on all levels) influence the gender and sports policies, and are able to apply for EU funding, especially when the projects are in line with the objectives of the current gender programs. Speaking about organizations, as pointed out above, the Olympic idea has to be highlighted, underlining therefore the IOC and the EOC as actors in this field. Furthermore, the Member States also deal with the topic of gender equality, as well as the topic of gender and sports, e.g. a great number of sporting women campaign for gender equality in sports, as well as equality in the daily life outside the sports world. National gender programs also support the idea of using sports programs in compliance to gender objectives. Furthermore, individuals campaigning for sports and gender have to be named.

Fig. B.3.4. Actor Constellation: Gender



3.4.3 Gender Policy Governance Structure

Compared to the already presented policy fields, gender policy represents a special case. On the one hand sports can be seen as a means to an end, as pointed out above with the mentioned programs carried out by “Women Win”, which make use of sports in order to empower women and young girls and to equip them with more self-assurance. Additionally, the EU states in its gender funding programs that sports can be seen as a means to reach the goals of the program.

Nevertheless, as soon as sports became an area of economic activity, and equality became the matter of dispute concerning a lawsuit, sports transformed into an object of regulation. If a professional female athlete would, for example, sue its club for paying more money to the male athletes than her, the case is an object of economic activity and thus falls under competition policy. Aside from economic activity, another example would be if someone was rejected from public sporting facilities or a non-professional team because of his/her gender. This case could then be sued under the Charta of Fundamental Rights. In these cases the European Commission becomes the principle, while if the issue of sports was used as a means to an end instead of an object of regulation, the Commission holds a rather subordinate role.

Despite the above mentioned case, we have to take into account that sports in many areas is still dominated by males. Up to now there is no or very few cases where gender discrimination in sports has been brought before a European Court. One case can be found in the U.S. in that of Mercer vs. Duke University (see: Mock 2000). In the EU framework however, topics of gender and sports are only touching each other concerning funding programs and women or minority empowerment. Thus, funding and campaigning also play a major role in this regard.

3.5 Health

Another EU policy field where sports is highly related to, is the field of health. Health is not yet a community policy, meaning that it is not part of the first pillar in EU policy; however, various documents concerning the matter exist, and the EU has formulated the concern for health as a common goal. The Treaty of Nice states in Art.2(8) that “(...) human health services, shall fall within the shared competence of the Community and its Member States” (European Commission 2001b), as can be found in the EC Treaty in Art.133.

3.5.1 Health Policy and Sports

The topics of health and sports are interconnected since EU documents mention physical activity as an important factor when it comes to health promotions and vice versa: the

promotion of health is an important goal within the aspired EU sports policy, when saying that it aims at “improving the health of European citizens” (European Commission 2007e).

The EU is striving for a more binding EU health policy, since health depicts a very important factor within the EU, and all Member States are also highly concerned with the topic. Since sports became more important and health in sports is highlighted, a combination of both issues in many programs is evident. To give an example for a realized combined project, a 2005 project organized by the Technical University of Munich (Department for sports and health promotion), funded under the Public Health Program can be named. The project dealt with the topic of drug abuse and the sever health problems doping can cause. (EU Büro des Deutschen Sports 2005)

An additional example for the connection between the two policy fields depicts the joint mission of the World Health Organization and the EC⁶⁶, which created an EU-network for the promotion of health-enhancing physical activity (HEPA) in 2001 (see: DG Health and Consumer Protection 2001; WHO 2009). The network’s main objectives are:

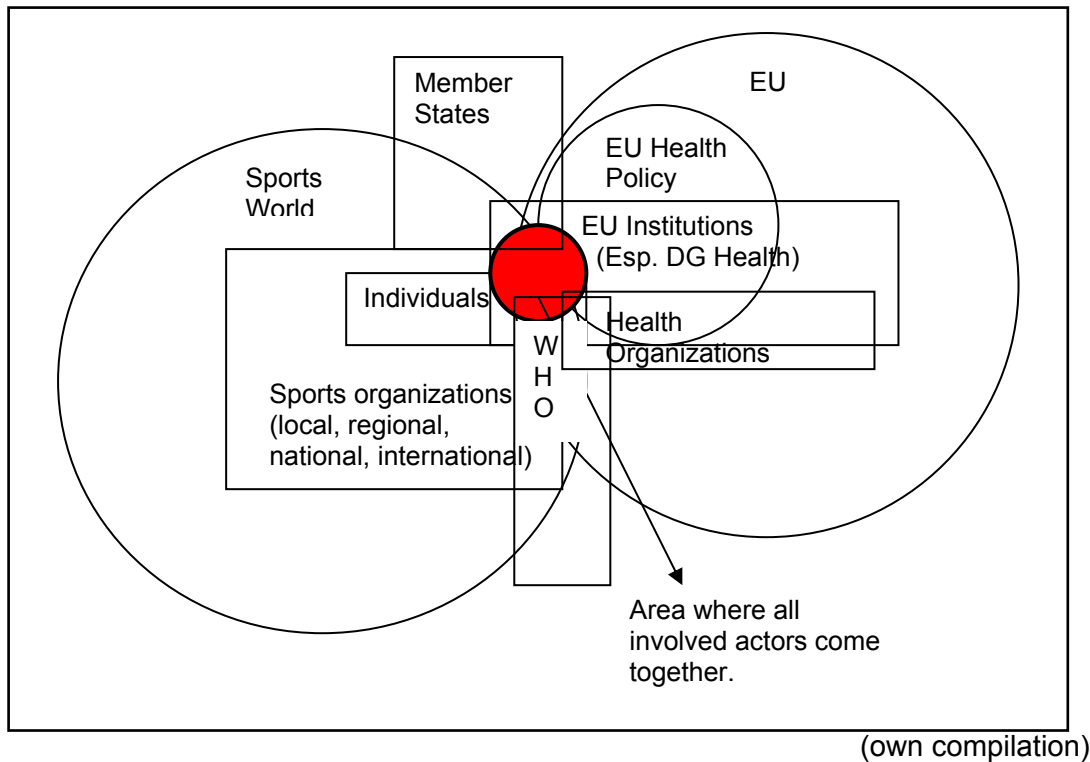
- *“to contribute to the development and implementation of policies and strategies for health-enhancing physical activity;*
- *to develop, support, and disseminate effective strategies, programmes, approaches and other examples of good practice;*
- *to support and facilitate multi-sectoral approaches.” (European Public Health Alliance 2005)*

The network is a follow up of the physical activity promotion efforts made since 1996, e.g. in forms of EU walking programs. Government bodies, organizations and institutions from all levels (international, national, sub-national), as well as individuals are encouraged to join the network; the latter upon invitation.

3.5.2 Health Policy Actor Constellation

In the field of health, besides the EU institutions and the health organizations on all levels, the WHO (World Health Organization) plays an important factor as well: As pointed out above the WHO together with the EU formulated a strategy to combine sports and health. The WHO and the UN are organizations who should be taken into account in this area, since they have the promotion of health worldwide as a main agenda. Since health in the EU is still organized on the Member State level and not yet a community policy, all Member States play an important role, too. Within the EU, the DG for Health and Consumer Protection is the institution with the greatest effort in this field. Health - as well as sports organizations on all levels come in as additional actors.

⁶⁶ In this matter the DG for Health and Consumer Protection is in charge.

Fig. B.3.5 Actor Constellation: Health

3.5.3 Health Policy Governance Structure

The topic of health protection was introduced into the EU legal framework with the Treaty of Amsterdam in 1997 (European Union 1997). Art. 129 (renumbered to Art. 152) constitutes the Union's dedication to public health, but nevertheless, the Member States still hold the main power in health matters. As Scott L. Greer points out, "the strongest instrument available is a mere recommendation" (Greer 2006, p.139). The Community's role remains at a supporting and coordinating level. Despite the fact that the Union can only give out non-binding resolutions or adopt measures, the new version of the Article has become more detailed, encompassing and stronger than the former one. Important in the matter of health and sports is the direct objective of improving health where sports comes in as a means to an end.

When having a closer look at the health policy in the EU and its principal-agent set-up, some special circumstances become obvious. Health policy is brought to the Commission's cooperative functions and sovereignty still lies with the Member States; health on the other hand is a part of other sectors. Health therefore can be found under other DGs' competences, such as the DG Internal Market and Services and the DG Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities. Internal Market and Services is involved because health is included in the internal market through the draft Service Directive, the latter institution due to its "task of regulating the workplace" (ibid. p.146ff.). When seen under these DGs, health does depict a community competence and the Commission becomes the principal. These circumstances have led various EU and national officials to the conclusion that the EU does

have a competence without displaying it to the public. “The Commission has a health policy but it is not being honest about it’ (interest group EU officer, London, July 2004)” (ibid. p.146). In the area of sports and health however, it falls under the DG health and consumer protection (DG Sanco), and thus no community competence can be applied.

As can be concluded from the above statements, sports in health depicts a means to an end rather than an objective of regulation since the EU has no legal sovereignty over sports and health. In addition, if health became a community policy, being integrated in the first pillar and giving the EU sovereignty, it is rather questionable however, whether sports would become an object of regulation. One of the few matters where this can be possible might be in the area of doping, which is a very important topic in the EU and sports section. Health is directly concerned here and it is highly related to sports activities. However, up to now, there is no such thing as a European Doping Act, but the regulations are still geared towards national and international regulations of the National– and World Anti Doping Agencies (NADA / WADA).

3.6 Integration / Participation

European integration can mean political integration, indicating closer cooperation, the transfer of sovereignty rights to the supranational level, further enlargement of the Union, as well as a higher amount of communitarized, as well as the inclusion of the people (see: Diez 1999; Hooghe and Marks 2001a; Zandonella 2005, p.57). In the following section integration / participation policy will be set equal to further integration / participation of the citizens in the policy process of the European Union. The EU integration or participation policy thus mainly deals with civil society and the active involvement of EU citizens. Civil society is a topic in the EU since the 1990s. Although it was already mentioned before, it was brought to the EU agenda by the Romano Prodi Commission 1999, which highlighted civil society’s importance (Prodi 2000). Furthermore, the EU ministers in Nice supported the idea of making the Union and its policy processes more transparent and involving the citizens. The 2001 published “White Paper on Governance” put the European citizens and their involvement at the core of good governance in the Union and thus paved the way for participatory democracy. (European Commission 2001c) During the subsequent years, civil society and active citizens involvement was gaining importance, and thus special programs were released, such as the Citizens for Europe program (later renamed to Europe for Citizens). The newest program edition is run in the funding period of 2007-2013. In 2008, sports became a special theme in the program. Aside from the EU programs, national level integration programs were also released in order to engage citizens, to foster the community and to create a more active, informed and involved public.

3.6.1 Integration / Participation Policy and Sports

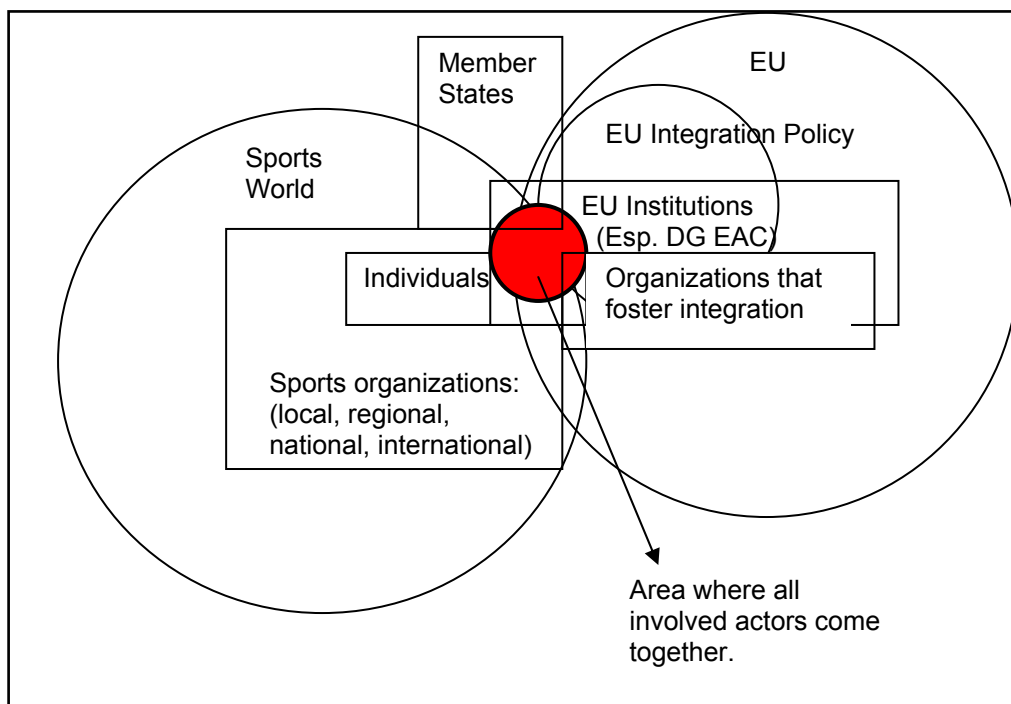
Regarding the linkage between integration policy and sports, the program released in 2007 entitled “United by Sports” has to be mentioned, which was a joint program financed through the European Union and the Federal Republic of Germany. This program aimed at the integration of immigrants and was run by a German University with partners from Germany, Slovenia, the Netherlands, Austria and Great Britain and addressed sports projects that promoted integration⁶⁷.

As pointed out above, sports has been recognized as a tool to gather citizens and to transfer information towards them on the EU level as well as on the national level. Especially for the integration of minority groups, sports plays an important role on all levels.

3.6.2 Integration /Participation Policy Actor Constellation

In the policy field of integration, the EU institutions and the European Commission with the DG Education and Culture and the Council are important actors. Furthermore, organizations from very diverse activity arenas which foster integration through their projects, such as cultural organizations, immigration organizations, sports organizations et al. may also be considered important actors. Immigration policy and the related organizations play a very important role in this matter, as they are highly interested in influencing the EU policy as well as receiving funding.

Fig. B.3.6 Actor Constellation: Integration



(own compilation)

⁶⁷ For further information go to: <http://www.united-by-sports.net/en/>

3.6.3 Integration /Participation Policy Governance Structure

Bringing the EU closer to its citizens and the citizens closer to the Union, has been a long lasting process which is existent until now. The Treaty of Rome already spoke about citizens as a part of the Union and with the introduction of the free movement rights and the EU citizenship, citizens gained higher importance. The Treaty of Amsterdam then introduced the European Ombudsman and gave the citizens the opportunity to approach the different EU institutions directly in the twelve official EU languages. In 2001 the White Paper on Governance was released. It focused even more on citizen inclusion by naming participation as one of the five principles of good governance (European Commission 2001c, p.10). In the future, civil society and civic participation, transparency and a Union close to its people, can be found in various articles of the Lisbon Treaty, e.g. Art. 8A.3: “Every citizen shall have the right to participate in the democratic life of the Union. Decisions shall be taken as openly and as closely as possible to the citizen.” (European Union 2007). Thus, citizen participation already has a seat in the EU legal framework, which will be increased in the future. Up to now however, there is no such thing as an integration/participation policy integrated into the first pillar, and hence there are no binding decisions that have to be followed by Member States. The Commission *only* gives out recommendations or directives and, as mentioned above, support programs in the area of participation. In the future, the Lisbon Treaty shall provide a stronger base for the inclusion of civil society, as set-out by the White Paper on Governance.

In conclusion, one can say, since integration policy is not yet a binding community policy, the Member States still hold on to the principal position together with the Parliament, while the Commission and the various organizations function as agents. When speaking about the funding side of the policy, the Commission nonetheless becomes far more central, especially since the connection to sports is most important in this area.

3.7 Regional Support

Regional policy of the European Union was established in order to strengthen the economic situation of the Union as a whole. Hence, certain regions with less economic abilities were supported to help them grow and become more economically stable. The economic differences within the European regions and the disparity between rural and urban areas wish to create an economically stable and balanced Union. The expansion into the Eastern European countries made the regional policy an important factor on the EU agenda. The main structural funding programs thus were established during the accession periods 2004 and 2007. The majority of the new Member States were economically poorer than the existing EU Members and thus a great GDP per capita decrease was expected. Furthermore, some of the states that formerly benefited from the inter-state fiscal adjustment

no longer qualified for the financial aid and thus faced economic decline. As a consequence, programs such as Phare, Tacis or Tempus (explained in more detail further down) entered into force.

In the areas of structural funding and regional support, sports can be found as a sub-topic. When it comes to certain regions, sports can be seen as an economic factor to help the region grow. Far more important, sports is seen as a social factor, playing an important role when it comes to integration.

3.7.1 Regional Policy and Sports

Within local regions, sports clubs are working on the integration of migrants, as well as on bringing people from different age groups, ethnic and social backgrounds together. All regional support programs, such as Interreg, Phare, Tempus or Tacis, are working on improving regional set-ups. They either support technical assistance, knowledge exchange, or economic progress. Civil society is the main target group of those programs, of which sports plays a major role. Thus, several projects funded under the above mentioned programs have come from the sports sector. Funding under the Phare program was e.g. used for a project activating young Slovakian and Austrian sportsmen and -women to create better understanding between them⁶⁸. The Tempus program has been funding sports projects in the European Union and beyond, in accession or potential candidate countries⁶⁹.

The state of Brandenburg in Germany, for example, gave out a brochure listing all possible EU funding sources for the local municipalities, such as the European Fund for Regional Development, the European Social Fund, the variety of INTERREG and URBAN programs, educational as well as citizens programs.⁷⁰ As becoming obvious, a great variety of support programs touches the topic of regional structuring, and can be interpreted likewise.

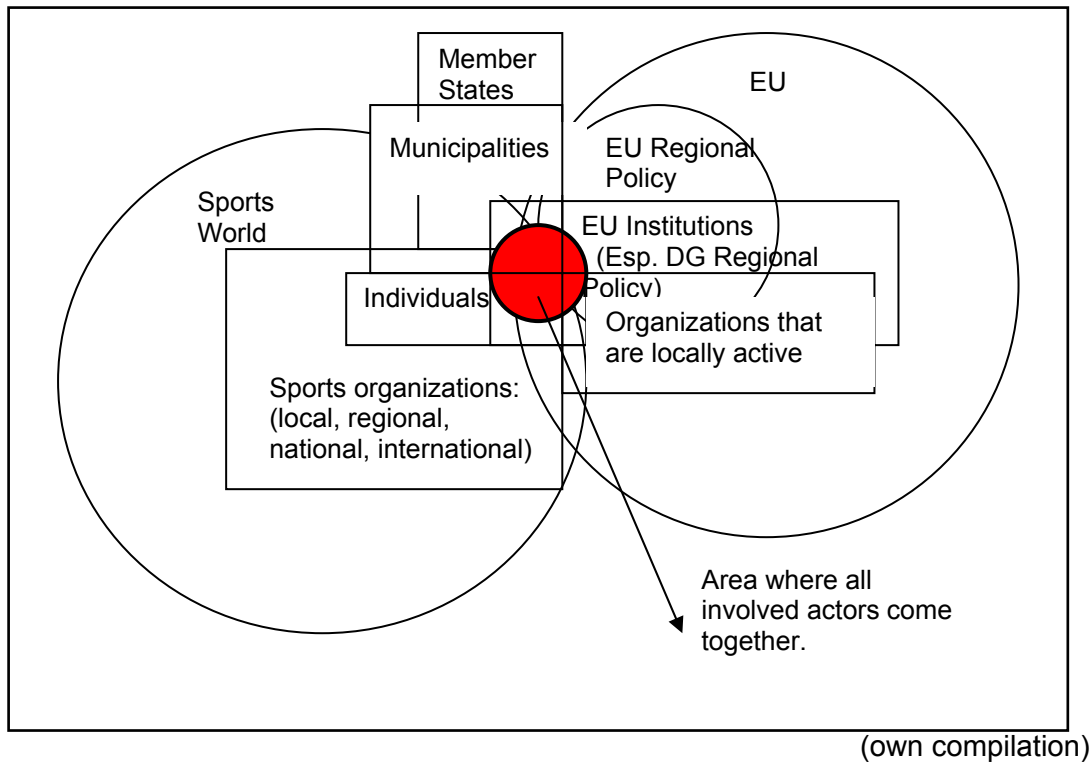
3.7.2 Regional Policy Actor Constellation

Besides the typical EU institutions such as the Commission, the DG for Regional Policy or the Committee of the Regions (CoR), organizations from diverse fields with regional or local biases are active in this field. Municipalities and regional planning offices, as well as national and state governments and the local inhabitants are the target group of such EU support groups. In this regard, associations and civil society organizations focusing on life in the local level, such as cultural, educational, or sporting institutions, are able to fulfill a great range of the requirements set by the EU in its programs.

⁶⁸ <http://www.benedikt.sk/Phare1/phare2.htm>

⁶⁹ <http://www.tempusport.eu/>

⁷⁰ For further information see: <http://www.brandenburg.de/media/1462/Foerderfibel.pdf>

Fig. B.3.7 Actor Constellation: Regional Integration

3.7.3 Regional Policy Governance Structure

In accordance with the majority of the previously mentioned policies, neither regional policy is part of the first EU pillar and thus it is not bound to EU solid law. Regarding the tasks fulfilled concerning regional policy, the EU mainly operates financial programs in order to reach its goal of “reducing structural disparities between EU regions, foster balanced development throughout the EU and promote real equal opportunities for all” (European Commission 2009c). The programs offered are based on the principles of solidarity as well as economic and social cohesion.

3.8 Youth

Youth issues were already a topic in the 1960s due to a need to emphasize and focus on the rebuilding of a democratic Europe after WWII, and to foster well educated, well-informed, active and democratic youth. The introduction of the topic in the legal framework however, was not until the Maastricht Treaty (1992) which initiated the creation of a legal basis and the introduction for the encouragement of “the development of youth exchanges and of exchange of socio-educational instructors” as a duty of the Union (Art.149 §2). During the first years the EU youth policy mainly covered the implementation of some specific programs before the White Paper on Youth was adopted in November 2001.

3.8.1 Youth Policy and Sports

The White Paper on Youth mentions sports in several aspects as an activity highly related to youth. It underlines educational values for young people, and it is also a part of the social inclusion policy of the young. Access to sports activities therefore shall be secured through the European Union (European Commission 2001d, pp.7, 34, 44). The newest youth program is the Youth in Action Program 2007-2013, with a total budget of 885 million Euros. The main objectives are: 1) Active European citizenship, 2) Solidarity among young people, 3) Mutual understanding, 4) Quality of support systems for youth activities, and 5) Cooperation in youth policies. The program aims at fostering exchange between young people across Europe as well as building their sense of belonging as Europeans. Projects applying for grants therefore are obliged to concentrate on international partnerships and cooperation, striving for the creation of mutual understanding and awareness of social and cultural differences between the project participants. (see: European Commission 2007f)

The Program guidelines mention sports as a possible activity to receive funding in various parts (DG-EAC 2008), hence a great variety of the projects that received funding in 2008 were sports projects, or programs that leaned towards sports as a means to fulfill the requirements and their goals (EACEA 2008). To give one example, the project International Youth Exchange “Euro Goal” can be named. It will take place in the Ukraine, during one of the European soccer championships in 2012. The project will be divided into two main parts. One will deal with the upcoming sporting event, and young people from different countries will come together and learn about the event as well as about the local cultural and communication habits. The second part focuses on the synonym of the word *goal*, meaning *aim*. This meaning is transferred to the future *goals* of the European Union which will be discussed by the young participants. Both projects’ dimensions are united through the use of media as a tool to give the young European citizens a voice by producing creative media outcomes. The project therefore combines youth policy with sports and media.⁷¹

Aside the project level where sports can be part of youth funding, other institutions in the European Union prove the connection between the two areas of action. The Council of Europe (CoE) installed the Directorate Youth and Sport as part of the CoE Directorate General of Education, Culture and Heritage, Youth and Sport. Furthermore, youth and sports are areas of funding under the DG EAC.

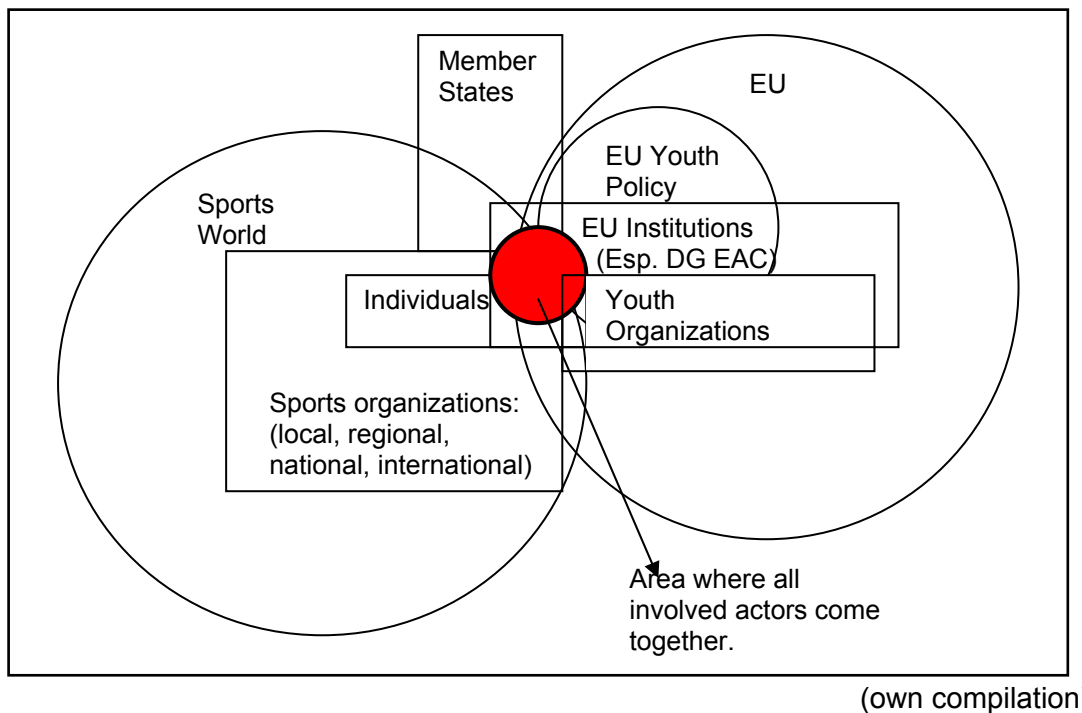
Youth policy in the European Union follows the Open Method of Coordination, and thus is not bound by any law, but rather follows conditional laws which are implemented with flexibility in the different Member States.

⁷¹ See: <http://www.youth4media.com/>

3.8.2 Youth Policy Actor Constellation

The main actors to be identified in this policy set up are the EU institutions: Commission, EP, Council, DG EAC and the Council of Europe. Also involved are the different youth organizations on all levels (local, regional, international), as well as sports organizations (all levels). The Member States also influence policy making, especially through the OMC and the different national policy set ups in youth policies.

Fig. B.3.8 Actor Constellation: Youth



3.8.3 Youth Policy Governance Structure

Although *youth* as a topic in the EU has been mentioned in the EU legal documents since its inclusion in the Maastricht Treaty in 1992, it is in line with other policies mentioned above with regards to not being a community policy, hence it is implemented with flexibility. A framework has been established in 2002 by the Council which states certain modus operandi to be followed by its Member States. To reach the objectives laid out according to the priorities of the White Paper on Youth, the OMC is applied. Additional instruments in the field of Youth can be found in the Youth program, the youth portal and the structured dialogue. In the policy field of youth, the European Commission plays a major role, as well as the Member States. Since youth is not (and most probably will neither be to a great extent in the future) integrated in the first pillar of the EU, sports functions remain as a means to an end and not an object of regulation in this case. Funding depicts one of the major instruments concerning this policy, as well as dialogues between the youth and the EU institutions.

3.9 Sub-Conclusion

The great variety of policy fields, all being more or less connected to the field of sports and vice versa, shows that sports is becoming a topic that needs to be taken seriously in the EU. Furthermore, the policy field appears to be entangled in different committees, positions, and conferences, always being part, but very seldom (almost never) playing the first fiddle. The topic of sports is always dealt with as a sub-issue or an annex policy. Many programs mainly deal with a different topic, which takes up a lot of space in the form of money, time, and effort. Thus, it can be questioned, whether or not the policy field is neglected to a certain extent, or whether this is the way for it to gain higher attention – through the attraction of other policy fields.

In some areas, sports has been established as a sole interest, e.g. within the European Parliament, where single MEPs⁷² work on the specific policy field with the aim of fostering it and gaining higher attention for it, without being annexed to another field of action. With the publication of the White Paper on Sport⁷³, and with the integration of sports in the Lisbon Treaty, sports has become another interest and task of the EU. Thus, one increasingly finds sports as a sub-matter in various support programs. This may not change now after the Lisbon Treaty is signed. On the contrary, it is to be assumed that the quantity of funding programs associated with sports as a sub-topic shall increase in the future. It is likely too that sports organizations will raise funds under a great variety of policy matters, even without the clear mentioning of sports. This can be assumed due to the fact that the EU and its Member States, through the Lisbon Treaty, agreed upon the importance of physical activity in citizens' lives and therefore there is a necessity for supporting such activities.

Another important impact on policies regarding the field of sports, aside from the different policies it is annexed to, comes from the Member States and their history and traditions. All have a very diverse set-up, which will be explained in more detail in the following sections. The Member States' sports policies can be grouped in policy models, depending on their policy conditions. Additionally, André-Noël Chaker has formed a biased system of sports models in Europe, defining them as interventionist or non-interventionist sports models. It can be assumed further that the EU itself has a specific policy regarding sports, in comparison to other areas of the world, such as Asia or the USA. Thus, the next part of this chapter will go into detail about the diverse sports models existing in Europe; discuss Chaker's classification of sports as well as presenting the specificities of sports in Europe as a whole.

⁷² E.g. Christopher Heaton-Harris, leading the Intergroup Sport.

⁷³ The White Paper on Sport was published in November 2007.

4 Differences and Commonness: One European Sports Policy Model?

Aside from the different policy fields wherein sports is annexed to, a European Sports Policy governance model has to take into account the diverse sports policy governance models in the member states (see: Tokarski and Steinbach 2001, pp.168 ff.). As has been shown in the introduction of this thesis, the Member States of the European Union have very diverse setups concerning their national sports policies. First of all, sports is defined differently, has different historic backgrounds and has different traditions represented by the way and the locations sports is carried out. Furthermore, political conditions concerning sports vary greatly between the Member States, e.g. some have sports ministers, while other political systems take care of sports as a sub-issue by other ministries. However, one can draw comparisons between the countries, as André Noël Chaker has done. According to Chaker⁷⁴, national sports policies can be grouped as interventionist or non-interventionist models. In one group, the state intervenes in sports structures and organization, while in the other, sports is mainly organized autonomously. When looked at in detail, the national policies certainly show much greater differences. Due to those great differences and the principle of subsidiarity a differentiated acquaintance with the topic is demanded.

As Getrud Pfister puts it, “[a] certain sports system achieves and sustains power and dominance, because it is interwoven with political, social and cultural practices as well as with everyday life.” (Pfister 2007, p.37) In this context, she highlights the importance for a strong sports system to be clearly connected to all other activity going on in its political surrounding. Pfister furthermore points out that “(...) the establishment of a specific structure determines the further direction which can be changed only with high economic and/or political effort (see East Germany).”⁷⁵ (ibid.) Thus, it can be asked whether a European sports system will be able to morph into a joint policy system without very much effort from all actors involved or not. It remains questionable however whether this might really be necessary for the future of an EU sports policy, depending on the direction it takes; as “(...) sports systems are permanently changing and adapting to the requirements of sports and societies.” (ibid.) In the following, the current structures in the different EU Member Countries will be presented in clusters, which are formed by similar sports structures. The organization of sports, and the structure of sports organizations, depends on the environment they exist in. According to various scholars, this only means that organizations of this sector are dependent on the welfare state and the interrelations between the state, the market and the private sector. As stated by Adalbert Evers, the welfare triangle formed by these three

⁷⁴ André-Noël Chaker is the former Executive Director of the European College of Sports Science and was the Secretary General of the International Council of Sports Science and Physical Education.

⁷⁵ After the fall of the Soviet Empire, East Germany had to deal with great political restructuring. The sports system of East Germany was formed through the specificities of communism (as will be explained in more detail in part 3 of this chapter), and thus was subject to those changes.

constitutes the principles, rules of organizations, patterns of action and logics. (Evers 1990) This also makes the fact obvious, that all national sports policies differ in their set up due to diverse welfare state models. Despite the differences between the Member States' sports structures, the models described by Chaker will be presented in the following. Additionally, the European Commission has published a document stating the European characteristics concerning sports. Since this document and the respective setup of sports in the European Union have been outdated by various scholars, a new system of sports in Europe will be illustrated.

4.1 Interventionist vs. Non-interventionist Model

André-Noël Chaker divides the European sports world in two types of models. This depends on whether the system being discussed is an interventionist or a non-interventionist legal model. Chaker has found out that most of the South and East European countries have a rather interventionist sports legislation model, while countries in the North and West of Europe “are predominantly using a non-interventionist legislation model” (Chaker 1999, p.5). He had based the dissimilarities on the differing national legislation approaches. Hence, being interventionist means that the sports legislation model in question “is one that contains specific legislation on the structure and mandate of a significant part of the sports movement.” (ibid. p.13) All others are defined as non-interventionist accordingly. In his study he defines six states as having an interventionist model⁷⁶, while nine others are non-intervening in sports with regards to their legislative structure⁷⁷.

Richard Parrish agrees that “[p]atterns of state intervention in sport vary across Europe.” (Parrish 2008, p.2) He refers to interventionist models as those states that “adopt a hands-on role in sports” (ibid. p.2), for which he refers to France as an example, while non-interventionist states are “reluctant to intervene in sport” (ibid. p.2), as it is in Greece or the UK. Parrish points out however, that these definitions are not as clear as they used to be. Today, interventionist models do have de-centralized tendencies and non-interventionist states do not see sports as totally self-regulating, but also recognize sports as having a public character. Those shifts have taken place during the last ten years. The change in thought regarding the non-intervention in particular can be related to the recognition of sports as providing social and economic benefits. Following sports governing bodies are bound to fulfill government objectives through their activities.

⁷⁶ Hungary, Italy, Luxembourg, Romania, Slovenia, Spain

⁷⁷ Austria, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Lithuania, Switzerland, United Kingdom

Chaker has drawn the following table categorizing all European Member States as to whether sports could be found in the constitution, or whether laws on sports exist and whether sports legislative models are interventionist or non-interventionist.

Fig. B.4.1 Classification based on Chaker

| Country | Sport in the Constitution | Law on sport | Type of sports legislation |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|--------------|----------------------------|
| Austria | Yes | Yes | Non-interventionist |
| Belgium ⁷⁸ | No | No | Non-Interventionist |
| Cyprus | No | Yes | Non-interventionist |
| Czech Republic | No | Yes | Non-interventionist |
| Estonia | No | Yes | Interventionist |
| Finland | No | Yes | Non-interventionist |
| France | No | Yes | Interventionist |
| Germany | No | No | Non-interventionist |
| Hungary | Yes | Yes | Interventionist |
| Italy | Yes | Yes | Interventionist |
| Latvia | No | Yes | Interventionist |
| Lithuania | Yes | Yes | Interventionist |
| Netherlands | No | No | Non-interventionist |
| Portugal | Yes | Yes | Interventionist |
| Romania | Yes | Yes | Interventionist |
| Slovenia | No | Yes | Interventionist |
| United Kingdom | No | No | Non-interventionist |

Source: (Chaker 2004, p.7)

Other categories can be cited as well: Chaker speaks about the consolidated and the non-consolidated sports model, which is rather easy to explain. If the national Olympic committee can be found under one umbrella with the national sports federation, he declares the model to be consolidated; if this is not the case, the sports system is non-consolidated. As a last cluster Chaker speaks about the centralized and decentralized types of states, referring to the governmental jurisdiction.

Different characteristics exist between the national sports structures in the European Union and Europe as a whole. Clusters can be built based on national structures, traditions, set ups, and state influence, or simply based on a much simpler distinction between two characteristics: interventionist vs. non-interventionist, consolidated vs. non-consolidated or centralized vs. decentralized.

However, it has to be underlined that all sports systems in the European Member States include three levels of structures: the professional, amateur and educational level.

⁷⁸ See: Wynsberghe, C. V., & Dandoy, R. (2006). The issue of sport policy in Belgium: An analysis of the federal political agendas in the nineties. In Centre for Comparative Politics - Catholic University of Louvain (Ed.), *ECPR Joint Sessions of Workshop*. Nicosia.

This fact should be analyzed and clusters could be built according to each level. Since this would go beyond the scope of this thesis, it will not be included in this part, but be left for future research.

Having a look outside the national sphere, combining all sports systems in the European Union, the Commission has described a European sports model, trying to delineate the characteristics of sports in the EU from other regional sports systems of the world, e.g. the U.S. or Asia. This European sports model will be introduced in the following.

4.2 European Sports Model

“(...)the ‘European sports system’ is far from being uniform, (...) the structures change continuously and (...) there are numerous adaptation processes, controversial discussions, power struggles and rearrangements dependent on the discourse and hierarchies in the societal field of sport.” (Pfister 2007, p.43)

In 1999, the European Commission published a consultation document entitled “European Model of Sport”, which laid out the specifics of sports within Europe (European Commission 1999a). It perceived sports as performing five main functions: an educational, a public health, a social, a cultural and a recreational function. These functions mainly reflect what sports stand for in the different Member States, when taken all together. Additionally, the objectives of what sports should be like in the EU as written down in the White Paper are found within those functions. Furthermore, the document states that in 1998, the EU had recognized sports as a policy, and that sports determines a part of the European identity. Here the Declaration on sports as annexed to the Treaty of Amsterdam is mentioned.

Sports in Europe is characterized by similar developments as the political unification of Europe: Three years before the Treaties of Rome UEFA was founded. Thus, before the two World Wars and shortly afterwards, sports was mainly a national aspect. It became a European matter with the founding of various European Cups, and with European broadcasting.

The Commission identifies two main models of sports prevalent in Europe until the fall of the iron curtain: the West- and the East-European model, classified through attributes like sports as “a part of propaganda”, and sports as “a mixed model”. This only meant that sports functions were fulfilled by both governmental and non-governmental institutions. Furthermore, the Western Model is divided into the Southern and Northern parts, the state having a more regulatory role in the first than in the latter. Thus, similar models as described in detail above are analyzed.

Overall, sports in Europe can be seen as having a pyramid structure; the grass-root clubs at its bottom, followed by the regional, national and European sports federations. One

key feature of the European sports world, following this structure, is the system of promotion and relegation. Clubs can be promoted and relegated from one level to another, up to the European and even international level. Another distinct feature of European sports can be found in the grass-root approach. “Sport in Europe is run mainly by non-professionals and unpaid volunteers.” (European Commission 1999a, p.4) In the USA quite the opposite is the case, as sports is highly linked to economic success.

Besides all the attempts of joining various politics, creating a supranational level and transferring sovereignty rights to the European institutions, sports depicts one “national passion” (ibid. p.5) which represents the specific tradition and strength of one country. Here the European states are still able to compete against each other without having to give up their uniqueness. However, this can also have negative effects, such as racism and violence, in terms of hooliganism and similar activities.

Recent developments in the professional world of sports in Europe are threatening to destroy the distinct pyramidal structure. Certain top clubs are tending to create a closed league of their own outside of UEFA. The main cause behind this development is their wish to avoid the system of promotion and relegation, and instead have their own “Super League”, consisting only of rich top clubs to further increase their profits.

However, federations such as UEFA, FIBA or Handball Europe, still play important roles within the European sports world. Nevertheless, their image has faded due to their predicament of being regulatory bodies and private business entities at the same time. Top clubs, as explained above, as well as grass-root members fear they are not adequately represented anymore, where one side is complaining about not getting enough shares of the money earned in the sector, the other fearing that the public tasks needed to be fulfilled through sports may no longer be taken into account by the federations. This leads to the risk of losing both sides.

Another aspect which makes European sports distinct from sports in other political surroundings (e.g. the USA or Asia) is the connection to the legal system in the European Union. Regarding the different leagues and their longing for the greatest financial benefits can easily clash with the EC Treaty provisions concerning competition and the Single Market. Additionally, the problematic nature of companies owning different clubs, e.g. in the world of football, may not be in accordance with the competition law of the Treaty. The Court of Arbitration for Sports has done a lot in these cases, in order to reconcile the EU law and the uniqueness of the sports world. However, several cases, such as the Bosman case, have brought about great changes in the sports world. The financing of the whole sector had to be reviewed afterwards. Previously, professional sports were very much dependent on transfer fees financially; but those were abolished after the said case. Another critical point regarding

the finances can be found in gambling, which up to now depicts one of the greatest financial sources for sports, but this fact is looked at very critically by the European Union institutions.

Broadcasting depicts an additional part of the financial assets of sports in Europe which is interlinked with EU law. While sports federations, mainly the football federations, draw a great amount of their finances from this source, the TV stations are profiting vice versa due to high viewing figures. Two points have been recognized in order to do justice to the Treaty: “to guarantee a certain equality among clubs” (European Commission 1999a, p.14) concerning the rich clubs eventually becoming richer, while the poor ones are becoming poorer, and to be careful with exclusive broadcasting rights, in order not to infringe distortion in competition; the latter depending on the specific circumstances of the case. Specific circumstances mean that e.g. major sports events of great importance, such as world championships, have to be broadcasted freely without any restrictions like decoders or additionally payments. This has also been laid down in the “Television without Frontiers” Directive, producing a new Art. 3a in the Treaty.

The social role of sports depicts the uniqueness of European sports. It has an educational function, which became very clear in 2004 with the European Year of Education through Sports. Further, sports is seen as a means for social integration as well as a means to combat racism and to promote tolerance. Integration does not only mean to integrate people within a society, like integrating disabled or people from different cultural backgrounds, but also to create a link across and between societies. The influence sports has on public health should not be underestimated either. European health organizations, as well as international organizations such as WHO promote sports as a useful means to keep the body fit and to create a healthy public. However, when talking about the positive effects of sports, the negative side has to be looked at as well. Doping, a great issue not only in European sports but also internationally is one example. The European Union speaks out loud against any case of doping.

Last but not least, the field of sports became an important market, as to being a great employment field. Formerly, the majority of people active in the field were volunteers, but today not only professional sportsmen and -women rise, but also the people being involved in sports and its organization as normal workers, entering the market.

As we see, sports in Europe, and the European Union especially, is distinct from other political frameworks. However, as to whether we can really speak of *one* European Sports Model can be left to discussion. It is conclusive however, that sports has an impact on the EU, its legal system and its policies. After the so-called “European Model of Sport” document was published, the EU has developed further in the field of sports, as pointed out at various parts in this chapter. Further rulings have taken place throughout the years, affecting the world of sports to lesser or greater extents. The most important document that was published

is the White Paper on Sports (released in 2007) and the linked Pierre de Coubertin Action Plan. The Lisbon Treaty also includes an article concerning sports, its specificity and the EU's task to support that field of action, thus leading to the discussion of the future of sports the EU is facing.

After the presentation of the different policy fields sports is annexed to, the classification of different sports models existent in Europe, and the uniqueness of sports in Europe, the study has to deal with a great variety of actors, which are themselves embedded in a variety of levels of action. They start out at the macro-level where the EU institutions are most active, to the meso-level with the transnational federations and institutions, down to the micro- and midi-level, or the national federations, governments, and even the grassroots and individuals. All levels are, to some extent, intertwined but at the same time acting individually in some matters. In order to gain a better understanding of these different actors and levels of action, the subsequent part of the chapter will outline the different policy frameworks prevalent in EU sports policies.

With the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty, the European sports model faces another great change. Therefore a new outline has to be formulated in order to define the current European model. Compared to the Pyramid Structure described in the European Commission's model of 1999, some opinions exist, that a pillar model was developed wherein the different sectors of sports are placed side by side, according to their function:

Fig. B.4.2.a Traditional Pyramid Sport Model

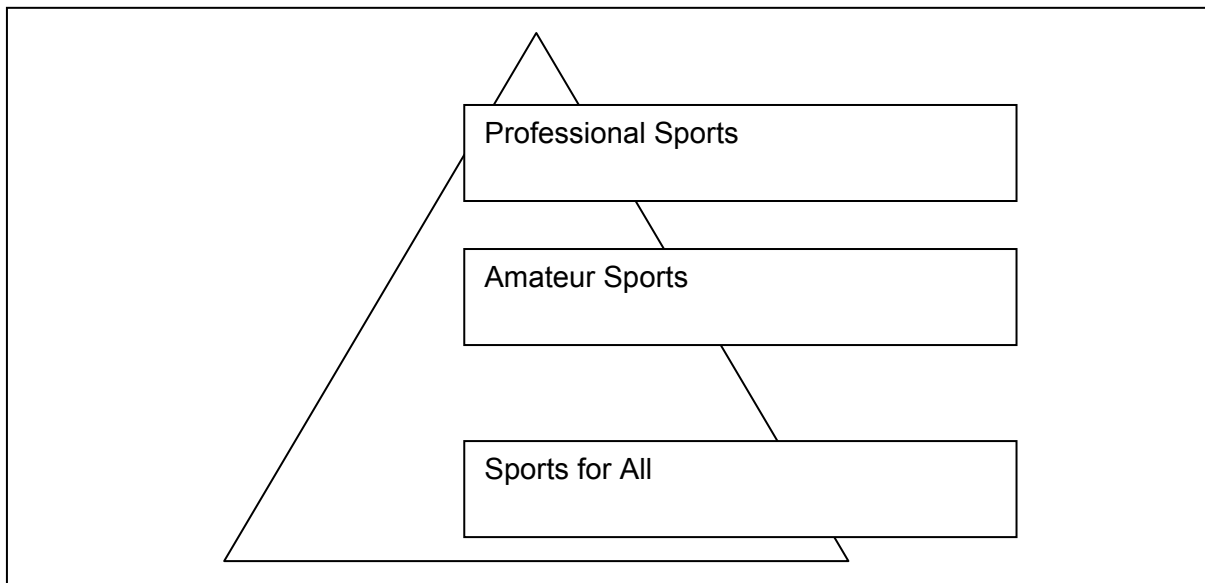
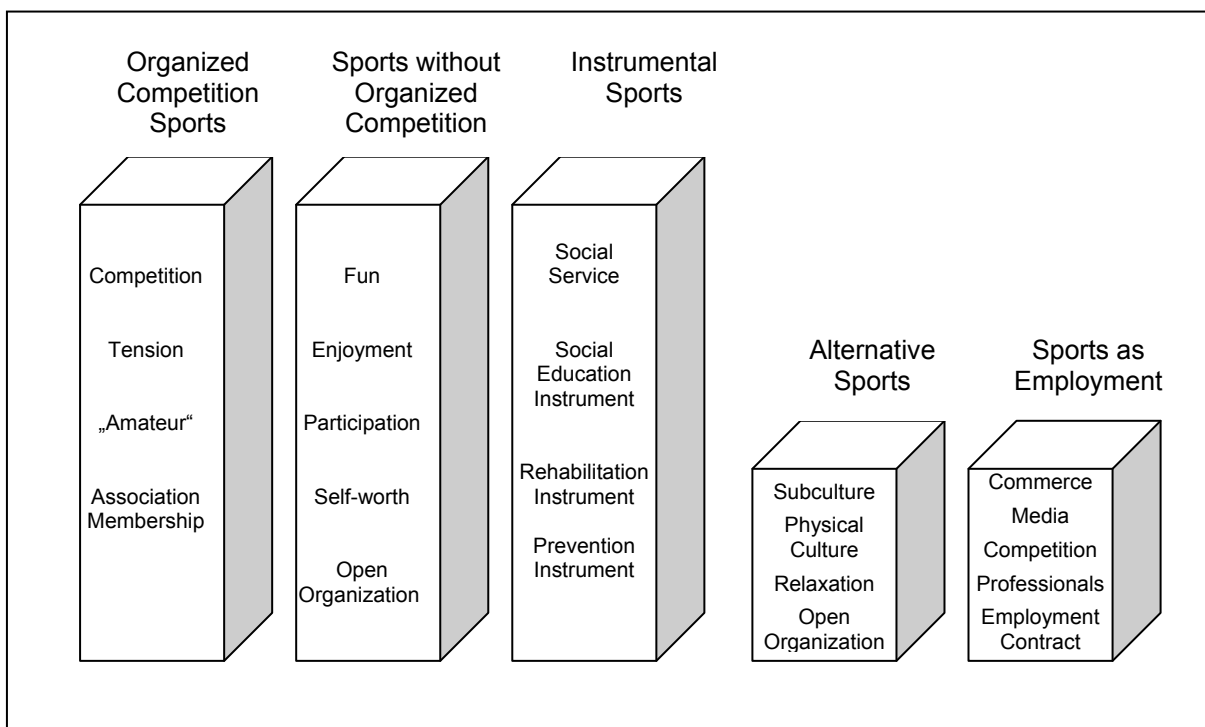


Fig. B.4.2.b Pillar Model of Sports according to its functional differentiation



Source: based on (Digel 2001)

This holds true for some parts of sports, as today different sectors within the sports sector can be identified. Parts of sports are highly connected with health, while others rather concentrate on the fitness aspect or on having fun. Additionally a more simple pillar model exists, pointing out five different pillars: (1) achievement, (2) adventure, (3) health, (4) relaxation, and (5) society as compared to the traditional pyramid structure of sports which lays out three levels: (1) professional sports, (2) amateur sports, and (3) sports for all (Mavrommatis 2008). Subsequently, one could also say that the differentiation between

professional and amateur/grassroots sports exists on a higher level and the new sports structure can be situated one level below, seen as a subordinate to the grassroots of sports. In addition to Digel, Markus Lamprecht and Hanspeter Stamm introduce a similar out differentiated sports model, which they separate in alternative sports, leisure time sports, instrumental sports, competitive sports, and media sports (Lamprecht and Stamm 2002). Concerning the model of Digel, the classic sports structures can be found in the area of professional sports, organized competition sports and in the organized sports without competition. Since sports clubs are more and more turning into service providers, the structures are shifted towards the instrumental sports. Furthermore, sports in Europe includes alternative sports with open organizations, outside of the organizational structures. This includes a variety of new trend in sports, which are not necessarily carried out in sports clubs, but individual or in private sports groups. Trends can be observed in various directions: health, endurance, fitness, wellness, wilderness, speed, expressivity, or new team sports (Wopp 2006, S.87ff.). Sports scientists have found out that the developments of new trends in sports, can be described as the so-called “De-sporting of sports” or as a development towards “non-sportive sport” (Dietrich and Heinemann 1989; Grupe 2003). These expressions emerged from conditions, where sport becomes more banal and, as mentioned above, does not take place in traditional frameworks, but detached from sportive locations. In contrast, the day-to-day life becomes more sportive, as several day-to-day actions are sportive actions, e.g. riding a bike, domestic- or garden work (Wopp 2006, S.105). Besides these developments towards new trends, also the organizations have to adapt. Thus, new forms of organizations evolve, such as fitness clubs, trend oriented organization focusing on wellness or other trend sport areas. This has also been emphasized in Part A. Chapter 3, concerning civil society and sports.

However, besides these new developments, certain parts of the sports world in the EU can still be described as having a pyramid structure, as the grassroots level is still dependent on the professional level and vice versa. Furthermore, in several European countries, the organization of sports still depicts a pyramid structure when it comes to associations and the memberships of the different levels. Regarding certain sectors of the sports world, we have again a pyramid structure within the pillar structure in Europe. It has to be highlighted however, that sectors outside of the regular sports associations are gaining importance and hence have to be looked at from the outside of the pyramid structure. They can be found in the pillar structure as pictured above, e.g. the health sector, fitness clubs, or individual physical exercise. The sports sector is developing a great range of new aspects within society.

5 Policy Field Frameworks

“Sport is used as a tool of nation building (particularly when sporting individuals and teams assume a representative function at European and World Championships), as a provision of a public good, as a tool for health promotion, as a means of combating social exclusion, as a tool for crime prevention, as a vehicle for economic development and as a tool of foreign policy.” (Parrish 2008, p.2)

The different policy arrangements, according to each policy field that sports becomes a part of, have significant effects on the varying frameworks where actors are moving. Not only does the different policy fields influence the policy framework, but also influence the different levels sports policy deals with. On the macro-level, the European institutions are the main actors; on the meso-level international organizations are the prime movers, and in the micro-level the national organizations (ministries, national sports organizations and interest groups) as well as individual local organizations are at the core. In most matters, a clear cut distinction between the different levels is not possible. When talking about a future EU Sports Policy, the framework conditions have to deal with all levels in most matters.

Facing the macro-level at first, we have to take a look at the different EU institutions that are dealing with the topic of sports today, and will have to deal with in the future, if an EU sports policy is to be developed. Concerning a legally based sports policy, the European Commission, namely the DG Education and Culture, and the Sports Unit within the DG, plays a highly important role. The Sports Unit would then have to be developed further and a greater amount of hearings, meetings and summits would have to be set-up, which shall include all actors in the field.

At the moment, the sports unit is already playing an important role. Concerning the various policy fields touching on the topic of sports however, the DG EAC does not stand alone. They need to cooperate and communicate with other DGs, such as DG Health and Consumers, DG Employment, or the DG Regional Policy. In some matters the policy fields are found under the same DG, e.g. education and youth. Thus, in some policy fields, the coordination has to take place between different DGs, while in other cases it stays under the same directorate.

Besides the European Commission, the European Parliament has gained importance during the last ten to five years. MEPs deal with all policy fields and EP inter-groups have been set-up. Meetings take place within and amongst the MEPs, as well as between MEPs and the various interest groups. Those groups have lobbying as their core interest and are diverse in nature, all being, to a minor or greater extent, connected to sports. When talking about sports alone, the intergroup sports can be named, as well as the group “Friends of Football”. The latter does not want to be mistaken as an intergroup, but sees itself as a

discussion group, created by UEFA. It consists of MEPs interested in football, regardless of their political affiliation. The majority of MEPs is concerned about a multitude of topics, and thus depicts a good connection between the different policy fields.

The Council of the European Union, as the legislative body of the EU, comes in as a third institution that deals with sports. Due to the lack of a legal basis in this policy until the signing of the Lisbon Treaty, the Council did not yet have a say in the matter. Nonetheless, informal meetings of the sports ministers about a European sports policy and congruent topics take place. Subsequently, the Council adopted a Declaration on Sports in December 2008 as an annex to the presidency conclusions⁷⁹ (Council 2008). This declaration highlights the importance of the cooperation between sports stakeholders and encourages the Commission to foster an open communication in sports. After the signing of Lisbon it is to be expected that the Council will gain more power in sporting matters. This power will most probably be restricted to sports as economic activity however, referring to economic policies only, rather than sports policies. Awareness and support for sports for all matters will nevertheless be raised and will be brought up to the EU agenda and its different institutions' daily work.

The fifth institution that has to deal with sports at a greater extent is the European Court of Justice. It has become very important for all sports stakeholders that active sports turns more and more into an economic activity. Especially since the specificity of sports has not yet been totally recognized and taken into account by the EU, the ECJ has to judge over a variety of cases that touch the topic, e.g. workers' regulations or competition policies. If sports becomes a community policy, it either has to judge according to the principles of specificity in the matter, or a separate Court has to be put in charge⁸⁰. Depending on other issues in the field of sports, the ECJ has a relatively small role to play. The following figure gives an overview of the macro-level actors.

Fig. B.5.a The Macro-Level

| EU Institutions | | | | |
|-----------------|----|-------------|-----------------|-----|
| DG EAC | EC | EP | Council | ECJ |
| Sports Unit | | MEPs | Sport Ministers | |
| Other DGs | | Intergroups | Working Groups | |

(own compilation)

On the meso-level, when dealing with EU policy vertically, the international organizations come into play. The main actors to be mentioned here are the IOC with its European branch, and the international or European associations of all sporting areas. For the latter, we have on the one hand the team sports, such as basketball (FIBA), handball (Handball Europe), ice

⁷⁹ Annex 5 of the Declaration on Sport 2008.

⁸⁰ The Court of Arbitration for Sport (CAS) is already taking care of decisions in sports matters, e.g. decisions concerning doping, sporting rules etc.

hockey (IIHF), and of course football (FIFA/UEFA), and on the other hand the individual sports, such as athletics (EAA), gymnastics (UEG) etc. The IOC, or its European pendant the EOC, can be seen as one of the most influential actors from an organizational perspective in Brussels, being situated in the European Sports Office, which just recently changed its name to what it is today. The office is expanding and gaining popularity due to an increase in partners and their constant representation of a great range of organizations. ENGSO, representing the non-governmental side of sports, is also part of the office. Among the international and European associations, football can be reviewed as the actor with the biggest voice. Football is one of the most important sporting activities in Europe, with very huge reputation and spectator audience. Furthermore is the UEFA, one of the very few organizations that have their own office in Brussels, and that have direct representatives on the spot. The UEFA also takes the lead with regards to team sports declarations.

When dealing with EU sports policies, those international and European sports organizations are highly concerned about the legal situation. Almost all of them are in a conflict between respecting EU law, and having to follow sporting rules to maintain sporting traditions at the same time. Being mainly active in the economic area of sports, they hardly ever deal with other policy set-ups, and are generally focused on solving legal uncertainties. They may be therefore considered as advocating a European sports policy that takes into account the specificity of sports. They would also like to see a sports governing body in charge of such European matters. All this holds true for the professional side of sporting issues. However, most organizations also have an amateur level of their sports. Subsequently, they have a second (and mostly minor) interest in supporting the social role of sports, hence in receiving funding from the EU. Here other policies come into play: Organizations focusing on active youth areas will also deal with the EU Youth program in order to receive funding, as an example. Further, they will be taking into account the possibility of receiving funding from an EU sports funding program now that Lisbon is enforced.

The European Sports Office can be depicted as a mediator between the professional and amateur level and between the different interests connected to the two sides. While advocating the recognition of the specificity of sports, they also represent the interests of the grassroots level and are thus working towards financial and social support for sports from the EU.

All organizations are invited to hearings concerning EU policy documents and statutes, and some were also included in the White Paper establishment process. In addition, meetings between the sporting organizations alone and with MEPs are taking place as well. However, these meetings, for the most part, deal with sporting issues alone, and rarely touch sub-topics, such as gender, health, youth or others. This only takes place upon meeting with

specific interest groups or with MEPs. The following figure gives an overview of the meso-level actors.

Fig. B.5.b The Meso-Level

| Sports Organizations | | |
|--|------------------|---|
| International / EU Sports Organizations Professional Level | EU Sports Office | International / EU Sports Organizations Amateur Level |
| IOC FIBA IIHF FIFA UEFA Basketball Europe EEA CEV Etc. | ↔ | Amateur Part of Intern. Associations ENGSO ENGSO Youth ERA Etc. |

(own compilation)

A third level, or the so-called micro-level, is found when turning towards the national sphere, that is, national organizations and national ministries. Each country has a national Olympic Committee. Those committees are directly associated with the IOC and EOC and thus, are in direct contact. However, they only deal with European topics on the side and leave the issue of sports to their European representatives. The ministries are more involved in the process, to the extent wherein the sports ministers, or ministers dealing with sports on the national level, are engaged. Not all Member States have their own sports ministry, but in some States sports issues are only secondary or subordinated to other ministries such as education and culture. However, this specific issue will be dealt with in the next part of the study in more detail. Aside from the sports ministries, other ministries connected to the topic of sports come into play as well. On the national level, topics such as health, education or youth can be related to sports.

Another group of actors related to the micro-level are the local sports organizations. Their activities are linked to the national sports governing bodies because they always have to be part of one organization that is active nationally. One could assume that they have no direct link to the EU level, but this assumption is fairly wrong, since they are affected by EU law, and can also receive EU funding, as long as specific requirements are met. In fact, they are most active concerning the social role of sports, and therefore have a direct focus on EU sports policy. They could also be grouped as a single level, e.g. the “midi-level” regarding sports policy in Europe. At this level, not only sports clubs, but youth organizations, health clubs or citizen organizations play an important role as well, since these policy fields are all

eligible for receiving funding in the area of sports. The following figure shows all actors active on the micro-/ midi-level.

Fig. B.5.c The Micro-/ Midi-Level

| | | |
|-------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Micro-Level | National Structures | |
| | National Governments | National Sports Organizations |
| | Sports Ministries | NOCs |
| | Cultural Ministries | National Associations |
| | Health Ministries | Etc. |
| | Youth Ministries Etc. | |
| Midi-Level | Local Structures | |
| | Local Sports Clubs | |
| | Local Cultural Clubs | |
| | Local Health Organizations | |
| | Local Youth Organizations | |
| | Etc. | |

(own compilation)

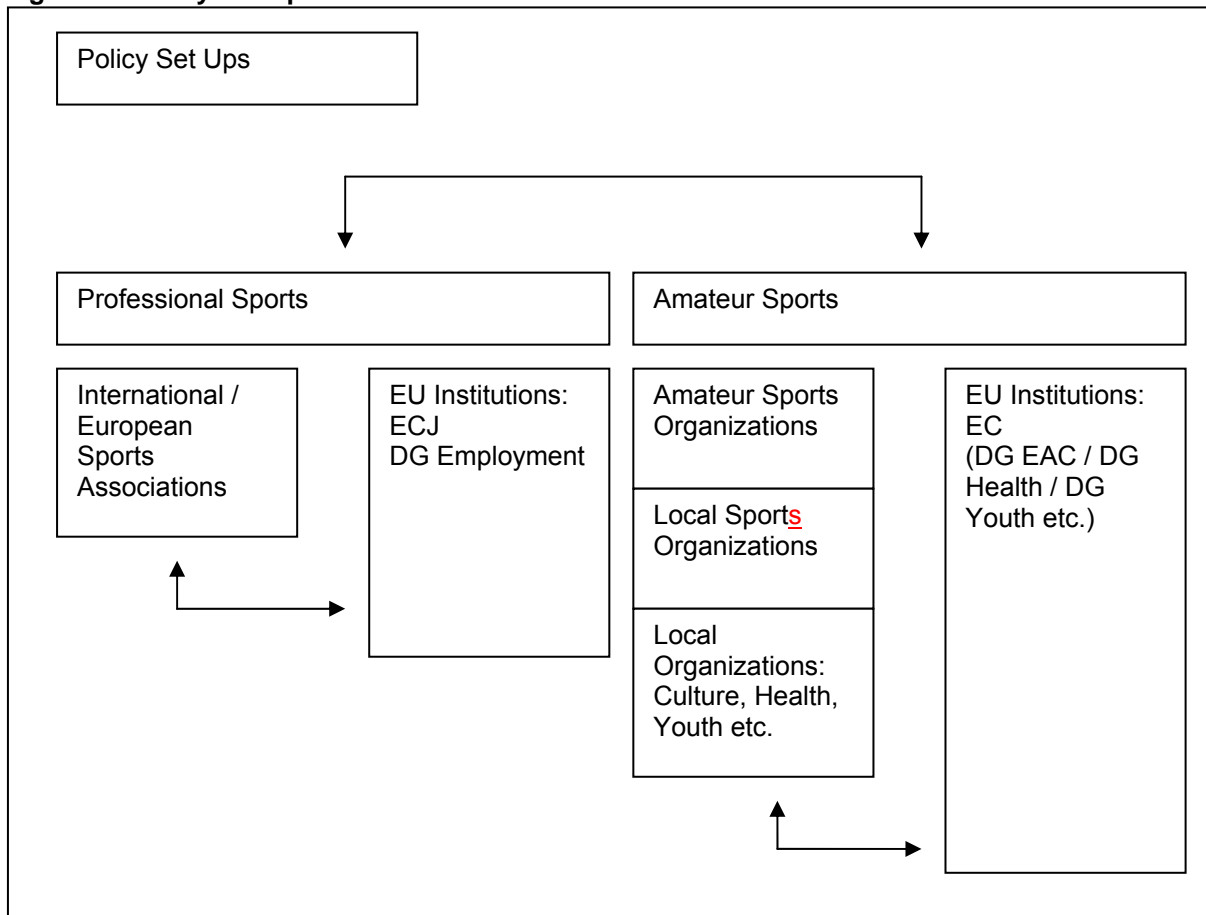
As to which actor is generally involved is dependent on the topic dealt with. All policy fields described above certainly exist on the national level and thus can engage in EU discussions regarding sports. The same holds true for the international and European level, where interests such as health, youth, education, regional development etc. merge with sporting interests. However, this takes place at a rather minimal extent.

Besides the policy field dependency, the question as to whether the topic is connected to the professional or the amateur sports world is an important factor for the specific policy framework. The international and European organizations are mostly active in the professional field, and their direct opponent on the EU level can be found in the ECJ. They cooperate with other European sporting organizations, and also deal with other EU institutions. The latter however, generally takes place via their representatives in Brussels, which in general can be found in the European Sports Offices or UEFA for the team sports. The activities for the amateur group, e.g. according to IIHF the percentage can be calculated as approx. 70-30%⁸¹, deals with the topic of funding and the recognition of sports as a tool for society development regarding health, youth, education, citizenship and so on. The latter is also the interest of all sporting actors who are not into sports as an economic activity solely, but as a social activity. Naturally, those actors are rather interested in direct cooperation with the Commission for funding and other support reasons, than in cooperation with the ECJ, since they rarely touch on legal issues linked to the specificity of sports.

⁸¹ Approx. 70% professional, 30% amateur sports activities.

As we see from the above findings, the policy set-up regarding sports in the European Union can be very diverse, depending on the policy field it touches, as well as which sporting level is dealt with. When touching community policies that are bound under hard law such as employment issues, the policy gets a very different face such as tackling *only* on those matters concerned with policies based on soft law. In some cases where no other policy field is touched, and the matter in question is linked to amateur sports without being attached to sports as an economic activity, it has not been handled by the EU policy officially. Until the Lisbon Treaty was enforced, all sporting matters had to be linked to other policy fields. Some exceptions existed however, since the White Paper of Sport had been recognized and had already been taken into account referring to ECJ judgments and the recommendation of the EU to all Member States and to its own institutions to take sports into account and to foster all areas connected to it. Those diverse policy set ups will be visualized in the following figure.

Fig. B.5.d Policy Set Ups



(own compilation)

In conclusion, one can say that the policy set ups depend on the policy issue sports is connected to in each matter, the modality of the sports done, its link to the professional sports world, sports as an economic activity, or sports as having a social role. Thus, the EU has to deal with sports in a very diverse way; not only before the Lisbon Treaty was

enforced, but even afterwards. Seeing it from very different perspectives with a great variety of active stakeholders in the field, depending on the matter in question and the policy framework it is embedded in.

The following part will give an overview of differing views of institutions and people involved in sports in the European Union, basing on documents, online publications and secondary data such as interviews. The findings of the following sub-chapter will be referred to again in the empirical Part C of the dissertation at hand in order to establish connections to the primary data collected in the course of the interviews that have been conducted. The White Paper release and the prospected future of sports in the EU are topics dealt with in the following.

6 Normative Positions

Normative positions as presented in this sub-chapter are extracted from secondary data such as articles and interviews as published online, in EU documents or literature referring to sports in the EU and the actors involved. Very diverse opinions concerning the current developments in the EU sports policy in general and the White Paper on sports in particular are shown. Two main controversial positions can be identified: The side of critiques who describe the White Paper as rather words than action and the side of those who see the White Paper as having great potential and as a good start for sports within the EU. The White Paper as such is not legally binding and only constitutes “a show of political will to indicate the direction to be followed with regard to sports in the EU”, as stated by Ján Figel, former commissioner for education, training, culture and youth (EurActiv 2006). Hence, the EU official sees the White Paper as a paved way for sports to be introduced into EU law with enthusiasm and eagerness to create a higher importance and significance for sports on the European agenda.

Great sports associations, such as UEFA, on the other hand, have a more critical view on the released paper. They describe it as “a lengthy document that simply describes the current situation but unfortunately adopts a very timid and indecisive attitude towards the key issues.” (Tømmergaard 2007) While being positive about the preparation phase, UEFA depicts the White Paper after all as a “disappointing document” (UEFA 2007), being unsatisfied with the outcome. FIFA as well has a critical view on the White Paper and says that “the content of the final version represents - unfortunately - a missed opportunity” (FIFA 2007). Both federations adjudge the fact that a great variety of actors have been involved in the preparation phase as being positive⁸². In addition, they point out other positive parts of the Paper, such as “that national teams play an essential role across all sports in terms of identity and financial solidarity” (ibid.). However, the positive connotation can be reduced to those parts dealing with some aspects of the work directly related to the great federations. The lack of a stable legal environment is highly criticized. In contrast to many other areas where the EU is speaking about a community policy, they however do not have to fear the EU taking over too much of the competence. As pointed out above, former commissioner Ján Figel met those objectives through underlining the guidelines proposed by the White Paper and that it can have the strength to create something more in depth in the ongoing processes.

Nevertheless, great federations are not alone in criticizing the White Paper. Several others are likewise unhesitating with sharing their point of view towards the newest official

⁸² In the preparation phase, the Commission involved the great federations, such as IOC, EOC, FIFA and UEFA, national associations as well as big and small NGOs.

documents. Different Members of Parliament (MEP) have formulated their opinion, such as Ivo Belet, Belgian MEP and member of EPP-ED, who says that the White Paper “lacks ambition and courage.” (Belet 2007) He divides the paper into points seen as positive and as negative. Among the latter, he mainly talks about the shortcomings concerning players’ agents in professional football and the sale of TV rights. He puts hope into the latest Treaty release and a more explicit paragraph on sports, in order to provide the sports world with a “new opportunity to release further steps which can lead to more solidarity in the field of sports” (ibid.). Another EPP-ED member, Chris Heaton-Harris, among other conservative UK MEPs, suggests withdrawing and reworking the White Paper as a whole. He also voiced out his concern that “many people involved in the world of sports are now concerned that this white paper is too weak in some areas, and too vague in others.” (Europa NU 2007) Furthermore, Heaton-Harris adds that “[p]oliticians should not be interfering in sport (...)” and that “MEPs, and politicians in general, should stick to watching sports instead of trying to regulate it.” (Phillips 2008). Other MEPs, such as Christa Prets from the Austrian Socialist Party (SPÖ) for instance, see a need for the EU to play an important part in supporting the future of sports development, due to the high economic impact the policy field has (Prets 2008).⁸³

European Sports Associations place themselves as Europeanization objectors, emphasizing that they do not strive for a European competence in the area of sports, but rather see it as a horizontal matter that is affected by diverse European policies and actions. Many of them made their opinion clear about seeing the risks that the associations will loose influence and competence, and that the EU is not the right institution to implement and carry out this policy. ENGSO welcomes the current developments in EU sports policy in giving positive connotations to the Commission’s paper on the “EU Structured Dialogue with Sports Stakeholders”. However, ENGSO also suggests that a deeper cooperation between the EU and the organizational level be strengthened and “calls (...) still for a better integration of representatives of sports organizations at EC working group level” (ENGSO 2008a). ENGSO furthermore “strongly supports the sports budget line 15 05 11 (EU budget 2009)” (ENGSO 2008b). Nevertheless, ENGSO’s chairman Dr. Gernot Weinig critiques and mentions that despite the White Paper having some good proposals, it still lacks a lot of answers and bears many questions. Mogens Kirkeby from ISCA expresses the opinion that despite the fact that “civil society organizations are not expected to solve global and national challenges (...) [they] are and should be a strong part of the solution!” (ISCA 2008)

Organizations combining the sports and civil society sector, such as Sport e Citoyenneté, see a great importance in the EU’s impact. Nicolas Gyss declares that the

⁸³ According to Prets, in 2004 sports has produced approx. 407 billion EUR per year and employed 15 million people. Prets, C. (2008). MdEP Christa Prets: Sport als ganzheitliches Politikfeld stärker in den Blickpunkt rücken. In. Brussels. <http://www.christaprets.at/home-1024.htm>.

financial support and projects “will be an important instrument to bring to bear the social values of sports” (Euractive 2008).

A group of think tanks advises the EU and the associations to act in certain ways, such as the Centrum für Europäische Politik (CEP) recommending the EU to consider the autonomy of sports and the principle of subsidiarity. They suggest that the European institutions should only intervene when it comes to transnational cross-border problems (CEP 2008).

To sum up, we see different opinions regarding the EU sports policy and the current developments. On the one hand, the EU and its institutions, not surprisingly, see a positive development in the policy field. There is a the need to strive for deeper integration and an EU competence in the area. The way has been opened with the signing of the Lisbon Treaty. On the other hand, the critiques, e.g. some MEPs, share the opinion that the White Paper and other publications are giving too few answers and are only posing further questions. In addition, the sports related article of the Lisbon Treaty is seen as too weak. Furthermore, the greater international sports organizations, especially the economic based ones, are criticizing the fact that in some aspects the EU papers do not go into much detail and lack strong decisions. The national sports associations fear the growing competence of the EU and see a great risk if sports in the EU is taken control of from above. They see a great need for the associations to keep control, and favor the principle of subsidiarity as well, which, the EU however by and large wants to follow. Despite their fear, they nevertheless see the need for greater financial support. Thus we can conclude that all parties are in favor of a stronger EU sports policy, but are discordant according to the depth the policy shall take.

The above findings will be referred to in the empirical chapter of this thesis (Part C). There the primary data that was collected via interviews with actors connected to the EU sports arena will be set in relation to the secondary data as summarized in this chapter. In the following, the chapter will sum up the above findings and information about the EU and its development of the policy field of sports. Furthermore, an EU governance model of sports will be presented, shedding light on how it might look like taking into consideration what has been done so far.

7 Governance Model: EU Policy Field of Sports

Sports in the European Union has already undergone great changes and more are to come. The above findings and information given about the EU sports sector and -system, shall first be summed up before creating an EU sports governance model.

7.1 Summing up what has been done so far

Main Goals

The *main goals* found in the sports policy of the EU are: fostering and supporting health through sports, increasing awareness for the importance of physical activity, and topics such as cooperation and exchange among member states as well as with third countries (especially accession countries), reduction of prejudices and the fight against racism, education through sports, fairness, openness, fight against doping, integration, and last but not least the promotion of professional sportsmen and -women, in particular the youngest (see: European Commission 2007d; European Commission 2007e).

The first treaty to include sports and an interrelated goal is the Lisbon Treaty, mentioning the topic in Art.6 and Art.165. It points out that the Union shall have competence in the area of physical activity, and shall contribute to its promotion to fulfill the educational and social functions. Before finally including sports as a community policy in the treaty, the EU started to deal with sports as a non-economic activity in various conferences and papers. The Helsinki Report published in 1999 mentioned the social function of sports making it an EU topic for quite some time now. A Declaration on Sports, annexed to the Treaty of Amsterdam (1997), and the Nice Declaration 2000 also formulated the need for the EU to take into account the social, educational and cultural functions inherent in sports. Between Amsterdam and Nice a lot had happened as a result of positive lobbying by the EU sports stakeholders, with the purpose of bringing sports higher up the EU agenda and to pushing the ongoing EU sports policy process. All topics incorporated in the Treaty of Lisbon have been already mentioned here, but were not part of the published Treaty version at that time. During the ongoing development, the EU was dealing with the topic and recalled 2004 as the European Year of Education through Sport. Furthermore, a ministerial conference was set up in 2000 under the title “The EU & Sport: Matching Expectations”. The conference initiated the White Paper and drew a first draft of what should be included in it (European Commission 2006). The White Paper was published in November 2007 and since then constituted the first EU document at length, giving out guidelines beyond the mere mentioning of sports and its societal role. In March 2008, the Joint declaration on Social Significance and Dialogue in Sports was released, again emphasizing the member states’ and the EU’s will to promote the topic.

A great range of *actors* are involved in the field of European sports policy. On the one side there are the EU institutions. First and foremost is the European Commission with the

Actors

Directorate General Education and Culture, which covers the areas of training, youth, multilingualism and sports. Several other EU institutions are involved in the sports policy process as well, e.g. the Council that formed the Enlarged Partial Agreement on Sports of the Council of Europe (EPAS) in 2008, the Parliament and the European Court of Justice. Besides working groups in the Council like the EPAS Working Group, the EP plays a major role since almost all decisions made in the area of sports are discussed there. Some MEPs have also set up inter-groups dealing with relevant topics like the Intergroup Sports, lead by Chris Heaton-Harris. A second group of actors is represented by the greater sports organizations like the different Olympic Committees (IOC, EOC, EPC), as well as the Football Associations (FIFA, UEFA) and other sports specific organizations, for example the European Union of Gymnastics (UEG). Furthermore, international associations like the Trim and Fitness International Sports for All network (TAFIS) and the International Sports and Culture Association (ISCA) deal with the topic. In addition, European pendants and others such as the European Sports for All Network (ESFAN), the European Non-governmental Sports Organization (ENGSO) or the European Observatoire of Sports and Employment (EOSE) come into play. Think tanks like the Central Council of Physical Recreation (CCPR) or the Centrum für Europäische Politik (CEP), among others, also deal with European sports policy through debate and consultancy. Last but not least, the national as well as regional and local sports associations which also have a share in the creation of a European sports policy have to be named.

Community Actions

Community actions taking place in the area of sports are for example the EU laws concerning sports as an economic activity. Concerning the non-professional sports area, actions can be found in various support programs and structural funds where sports has been included as a special action. Such an example would be the current “Europe for Citizens” Program where sports was included as an action in 2008. However, if we have a look at the allocation of competence, we must say that all competences still lie with the member states, and most probably total Europeanization of the policy field will not be a future goal.

Budget

A *budget* specifically for sporting issues shall be introduced in 2009, as proposed by the European Parliament and as agreed upon in the non-binding report on the Commission’s White Paper from May 2008 (European Parliament 2008, p.21). Before, sports had to draw financial means from budgets in other fields of action. Since the White Paper’s release and the decision of the EU to place stronger EU impact and support in the policy field, a budget for specific sports actions shall be given out. For the DG budget line 2009 (line 15 05 11) the CULT committee⁸⁴ requested an increase to 5 million EUR (CULT 2008, p.6). However, sports policy had, up to the signing of the Lisbon Treaty, no such thing as a *legal basis* in the

Legal Basis

⁸⁴ CULT Committee: the European Parliament Committee on Culture and Education.

EU (except where it constitutes an economic activity). In the future, the Treaty of Lisbon shall give the sector such basis. Until then, the EU sports world could only refer to the White Paper on Sports, which merely formulates guidelines and had no binding function for the Member States. The White Paper was rounded off with the “Pierre de Coubertin” Action Plan, which includes actions planned to be tackled in the near future.

Since all member states ratified the new Treaty in 2009, the EU now has a competence in sports, while taking account of the principle of subsidiarity. Art.6 of the Treaty of the European Union (TEU) states that:

“The Union shall have competence to carry out actions to support, coordinate or supplement the actions of the Member States. The areas of such action shall, at European level, be: (...) (e) education, vocational training, youth and sport;“

which is the first mention of sports, and has become legally binding since the Treaty of Lisbon came into force. Furthermore Art.165 TEU (ex149 TEC) declares:

“the Union shall contribute to the promotion of European sporting issues, while taking account of the specific nature of sports, its structures based on voluntary activity and its social and educational function.”

The year 2009 has been one of the largest mile stones in the history of EU sports policy, with the EP elections and the year of the ratification of the new treaty within the EU-27.

7.2 EU Sports Governance Model

“The EU has social and cultural aspirations and sport has been identified by the EU institutions as one of the tools through which these goals can be achieved.”⁸⁵ (Parrish 2003a, p.22)

As we have heard, a lot has been going on in EU sports, and more will happen in the future, now after the signing of the Lisbon Treaty. Hence, the question arises as to how an EU sports policy could be governed in the future. The following considerations are dealing with the outlook of a future EU sports policy and a corresponding governance model, basing on the facts and information gathered above, seeking to create a framework and shape for such a model.

Further in depth policy analysis in the area of sports policy, Barrie Houlihan suggests making use of the advocacy coalition framework. The analysis needs to fulfill the following tasks:

- *“investigating the interplay between structure and agency (...)*
- *considerations of structure should incorporate the administrative infrastructure of the state, the structure of ideas/beliefs, norms and values in*

⁸⁵ See: Adonnino Committee Report, COM (84) 446 Final, A People’s Europe, Reports from the ad hoc Committee

a society, the pattern of non-state organized interests that represent sport interests, and also the interaction between ideas and interests (...)

- *explaining both stability and change (...)*
- *enable[ing] a medium-term (five to 10 year) historical analysis of policy change.” (Houlihan 2005)*

In this context, Houlihan speaks about national sports policy, namely the sports policy for the UK. However, similar analysis frameworks can be transferred to the EU level. Thus, the meso- or in our context the micro-level analysis is shifted to a macro-level analysis. One needs to keep in mind too, that the EU depicts a special set-up, neither being wholly supra-national, nor wholly intergovernmental. Thus, one has to be careful with adapting national policy analysis to the EU level. Regarding the policy set-up however, this is seen to be possible as to the extent for clarifying where the supra-national level interferes into funding and organizational structure. National agencies are found in a future EU sports agency and the structure of the policy covers all levels, from local over regional and national to international and community level. The structures prevalent in today’s Union have been analyzed above, as well as the different ideas, beliefs and interests. As Houlihan points out, national sports policy is liable to great change. The same holds true for the EU level, as historical data in the area of sports and the great changes in EU documentary regarding sports have shown. The last five to ten years particularly, have brought about important changes on EU level when it comes to important law decisions, the publishing of the EU White Paper with the additional Action Plan, and the introduction of sports into the Lisbon Treaty.

The EU sports policy features an advocacy coalition framework (ACF), which, according to Sabatier “focuses on the interaction of advocacy coalitions – each consisting of actors from a variety of institutions who share a set of policy beliefs – within a policy subsystem” (Sabatier 1999, p.9). As we see from above, we do have such a system also existing in EU sports policy, as various actors do share certain beliefs within the policy subsystem of EU sports. As Richard Parrish underlines, “the objective of each coalition is to convert their belief system into favourable policy outcomes (Parrish 2009, p.1)”. In order to develop strategies to translate their beliefs in public policy, the coalitions make use of various instruments such as lobbying, litigation, funding research, control of information etc. Concerning EU sports policy, Parrish talks about two advocacy coalitions: the football business coalition and the sporting autonomy coalition. The first has as its core belief a free market ethos (see: *ibid.* p.2). However, a great range of interests exists within this framework. On the one hand, the clubs and international organizations, on the other hand the

players themselves, represented for example by player agents⁸⁶. Interests such as players' rights, free movement of workers, sporting regulations, media rights, and gambling, play important roles in this regard. A great range of interests contradict each other and do not always comply with established law as set out by the European Union. Thus, Parrish points out, "[s]takeholders within the football business coalition may therefore seek to exploit legal venues in order to advance their interests" (ibid. p.4). The second coalition mentioned above, the sporting autonomy coalition, is mainly represented by the two sports governing bodies: FIFA and UEFA. Their core beliefs comprises that EU law shall respect the autonomy and specificity of sports. In order to achieve their objectives, the sport governing bodies seek to "be afforded decision making autonomy by the EU institutions" (ibid. p.5).

Parrish concentrates on the football arena when talking about ACFs in the European Union sporting sector. However, such coalitions can be observed in the whole sports policy framework. Depending on the different interests, the stakeholders come together to different coalitions, in order to assert their objectives. However, in most policy issues, the main coalitions stay the same, as their interests stay the same.

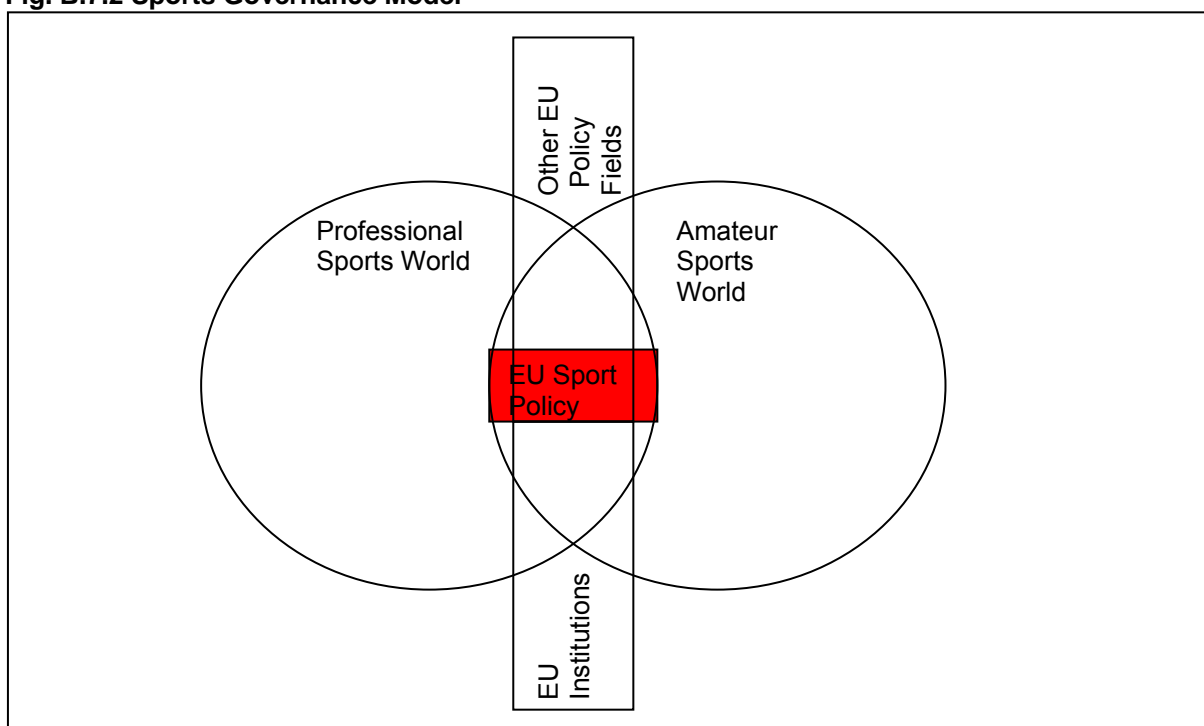
Not only sports stakeholders come in as possible coalition partners, but as well stakeholders from other policy fields. The previous analysis has shown that a great variety of policy disciplines are involved. Up to the signing of the Lisbon Treaty, sports had no such thing as a legal basis, since it was not incorporated into the EU Treaty. This has changed with the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty. However, sports still depicts an annex policy to all other policy fields mentioned above (and perhaps even more to a minor extent). As to which part of sports is measured as important also varies from policy field to policy field. Sports organizations applying for funding thus have to turn into whatever direction the policy field on top leads them to. Furthermore, the framework conditions change according to each policy field. Actor constellations are different and actions have to be adapted to each constellation and preferences of each level of governance (local, regional, national, international, European) as well as which actor has the greatest share in the matter.

Besides the policy field variation, another important point to take into account is to be found in the diverse national sports policies of the Member States. The OMC lies at the base when talking about a future sports policy as the most possible governance set up. However, as other policy fields show, finding a consensus with diverse national setups proves to be difficult. Implications of community recommendations due to soft law are also considered to be rather difficult. Different governance models have to be used according to the great

⁸⁶ Organizations to be named here are on the one hand FIFA and UEFA, on the other hand the Fédération Internationale des Associations de Footballeurs Professionnels (FIFPro) or the European Football Agents Association (EFAA).

discrepancy between the two sectors: the profit making (professional) sports sector and the non-profit sector. Both fields of action have to be dealt with in a very diverse way and thus, have to be embedded in special governance arrangements. Consequently, in order to draw a governance model for the policy field of sports, we need to start out by saying that such a model needs to have different sections. The first section, the part dealing with profits (professional sports), has a much higher influence in the competition policy field, and thus has had been touching on community policy in some areas before Lisbon, and even more so after the ratification. Further, it might be widened in the future (some actors' desire, some actors' non-desire). The amateur organizations of the sports sector also deal with that area to a certain extent, but only until where employment rights are touched. Furthermore, sports policy covers areas where the borders merge into each other, e.g. the topic of doping. Certainly, doping mainly occurs and is primarily talked about in the professional sports world. Nevertheless, doping is also a topic that should not be blended out when dealing with amateurs. Additionally, a professional sportsperson always emerges from an amateur, and most certainly, sports clubs have an amateur section besides their professional athletes. They represent professional sports as well as sports for all. The latter forms the second section of the policy field of sports where EU funding plays the most important role. It is not easy to draw lines between the different sections, and in some cases it is even impossible. However, when creating a governance model for sports policy, all areas touching the topic of sports within the EU have to be covered to some extent. All actors active in that field want to be equally incorporated and wish for their share in the policy and discussion process.

Fig. B.7.2 Sports Governance Model



(own compilation)

Going back to the difficulty regarding soft law, the aspect of two separate sports policy sections becomes even more evident. As pointed out above, doping depicts an important part within sports policy and a community regulation concerning this problem is wished for by all actors active in the area of sports on all levels. Thus, sports as an economic activity, as well as doping, could fall under hard law concerning a community policy, while other areas such as amateur sports, sports funding and -promotion fall under soft law regulations. The Open Method of Coordination, as prevalent in a variety of other policy fields, works with mechanisms such as guidelines, benchmarking or best practices. When talking about benchmarking or best practices, the national policies are of interest for the formulation of community guidelines. Thus, the EU has to deal with the national sports policies of the Member States as analyzed above. One of the greatest discrepancies between national sports policies and a community governance system can be found in the fact that a national sports policy depicts the interactions between the public sports administration, the political system and sports organizations, while on the community level, the public sports administration is, up until today, non-existent. However, it has to be created when setting up a community sports policy. Sports is already dealt with in the DG EAC and part of the Commission for Education and Culture. However, the question arises whether or not it would be useful and desirable to install an independent DG and commissioner for sports in order for sports not to be set aside, but rather as an important policy within the EU. On the other hand one can argue that sports will remain attached to other policy fields and thus leaving it under the umbrella DG with other policies such as culture and education might be considered better. Nevertheless, sports should gain a higher position within the DG and the unit dealing with the issue needs to be expanded in the future in order to deal with the questions, now as the way is open for it to become a legal EU policy.

A future EU sports policy could develop in diverse directions. Some aspects will always be dealt with under community law; other aspects have to be observed in a different light. The sports sector demands the acknowledgement of the specificity of sports, meaning that certain sporting issues, though may seem to fall under community law, do not due to special sporting regulations. In order to keep the sporting tradition alive, certain aspects, for example the regulation of players, cannot be judged equally as compared to “ordinary” employment law, as is applied in EU community regulations. Art. 165 (ex149) of the Lisbon Treaty respects the specificity of sports, however, it does not yet give any exact solutions as to how to deal with this matter. One possibility, though not very likely, would be the creation of a European Sports Court where all sporting matters are judged. Up to today, the Court of Arbitration for Sports (CAS) handles all international sporting matters. The national federations and the Olympic Committee rely upon it in all sports matters. However, this court is in concurrence with the ECJ in some issues, as to when Community law is touched on.

Building a European Court of Arbitration for Sports would again clash with the international version of such court. To decide which matters are strictly sports related and which are not would remain difficult as well. Thus, such a development remains highly unlikely. However, the acknowledgement of the specificity of sports through the ECJ and a close cooperation with the CAS would be more plausible and be wished for.

Another extreme thought would be that all sporting matters would fall under ordinary community law, as soon as they are a part of an economic activity without taking into account the specificity of sports. In this case, a great range of sporting activity would no longer be able to function: one should imagine, women being able to sew themselves into a men's leagues, taking into account equality law. Since the White Paper, as well as Lisbon, have acknowledged the specificity of sports, this scenario is highly unlikely as well, due to the specificity of sports already existent in the Lisbon Treaty.

Hence, the most expected future of an EU sports policy model lies with soft law, meaning the OMC and best practices policy. This way, there will no longer be difficulties in combining all the different national policy set-ups, but a best-practice model is set up instead, presenting the best ways of dealing with sporting matters. Furthermore, this would mean a combination of hard and soft law as to where it comes to judging over cases touching economic activity. Those cases will have to be dealt with individually, taking into account the specificity of sports, and not equating it with working issues outside of the sporting life. Nevertheless, this solution will not be free from problems since combining the acknowledgement of the EU freedoms with the acknowledgement of sporting specificity is a hard task and not always easy to achieve.

At the current stage one can say, a future EU sports policy should be enforced through soft law, such as best practices policies. Furthermore, the national traditions have to be taken into account as it would be impossible to create one European Model. The national policy shall remain. The most important thing to be debated on probably is who shall take care of the policy issues when sporting rules and EU law are in conflict with each other. The sports governing bodies would like to see themselves in charge of this task; however, the EU will not voluntarily give up this task. Thus, it might be the best solution to set up a committee of sports governing bodies and EU officials in order to decide over such difficult matters. Both the EU and the sports stakeholders have great interest in solving such problems in order to keep the European sports alive, and in order to not destroy the European sports world with its unique rules and regulations, while at the same time both being eager to respect human rights issues.

The topic of grass-root sports is another issue to face in a European sports policy. As the White Paper states and as is resumed in the Lisbon Treaty, the EU and its Member States have laid sports as a core issue to support and to foster in the European Union, in

order to support health, education, integration and other important factors of life in the Union. Thus, the grass-root level of sports depicts an important part of the sports world. Though it is inseparable from the professional sports world, it needs its own distinct features in an EU sports policy. These would mainly be found in setting up a European sports funding program which prescribes itself to the fostering of sports projects which have the EU principles at their base, or which solemnly support physical activity among European citizens.

A great aspect of sports in the EU remains the professional side of sports since regulations are needed in order to clarify important legal situations and in order for the sports governing bodies in Europe to do their work and lead their competitions in their unique traditions. However, the societal side of sports needs to be under the spot light as well. Here the EU is working towards EU integration through the fostering of European values. Sports transfers values such as team spirit and fairness which aids in the reduction of prejudices and in the integration of minorities. Furthermore, sports contributes to a healthy and active society thus creates healthy workers and active citizens. Civil society organizations are the core actors here, promoting such values through sports associations, but also associations from all other policy fields, that are able to transfer their values through sport. The EU needs to focus on this great chance to enhance integration and make the citizens move closer together, while at the same time being active and healthy. As stressed above, EU funding programs for sports related projects and activities are of great importance in order to develop more and more projects of this kind. Besides, the economic and legal side of sports is a very important issue to deal with concerning the future EU sports policy.

Up until now, sports in the EU is facing an unsecure future. However, there probably will not be too much to worry about for either side of the picture. The specificity of sports will be included which proposes a green light for all sporting associations to hold on to their sporting traditions and to be able to play their game without too much interference from the EU. The grass-root level will as well profit from the sports article in the Treaty, as it will be able to apply for funding to a much greater extent than before. Although the budget laid out right now seems to be fairly small, this will also mean a great reputation for the sports all over Europe, and thus will most likely result in greater support for sporting activities on all levels. The EU will be able to profit from such developments to the extent that sports is and will always be a very important factor for society building through communication, learning, breaking down barriers between cultures, and developing a healthy and active society. Hence, sports will rise in Europe, no matter where the EU policy is going.

8 Conclusion: EU Sports Policy

After gaining an insight in the EU sporting landscape, its frameworks, connections to other policy fields, and its nature as an annex policy to others, we will now turn towards the empirical chapter of the dissertation at hand which will rely on the findings made in Part A and Part B. This shall be done to be able to analyze the interviews regarding the theses and questions raised at the outset of the dissertation.

Concluding for Part B of the study, bearing in mind the theses that were to be tested, it can be said that sports is gaining importance on the EU agenda. As the documents analyzed show, sports issues have increased throughout the past years. Sports has become a crucial topic in different areas of the EU. Thus, it can be described as an annex to other EU policy fields. It can be found in a great variety of programs carried out under policy fields from different pillars of the European Union. Sports as an object of regulation can be found mainly in policies of the first pillar, such as economic policy, while sports as a means to an end is rather found in policies that are not yet communitarized and mainly carried out with soft law instruments. Concerning funding possibilities, sports organizations have a greater range of opportunities due to the annex nature of sports within the EU. It could be assumed that sports does reach full acknowledgment due to this status. However, since Lisbon has been ratified a mere sports program is under way. Whether the variety of funding possibilities can be easily made use of and whether such funding possibilities might change after Lisbon, has been examined through the interviews conducted and will be presented in the following. In conclusion it can be stated that sports is annexed to different policy fields, and has thus gained importance in a great range of EU policy areas. Hence, it can be assumed that its reputation is increasing, since a great variety of actors is involved.

The following part of the study addresses the empirical findings made in the course of the dissertation project at hand. The interviews conducted with different sports stakeholders from the European, as well as the international and national level will be the core of the following Part C. The survey conducted with one EU funded project is not going to be presented in the following part, but can be found in the annex, including a short analysis. Throughout the interviews, questions have been raised in order to draw a picture of the prevalent opinion scheme in the EU concerning the development of the EU sports policy. Furthermore, the opinions as they will be presented in the following will be combined with above findings in order to give advice for the future of sports in the European Union.

C The Present and Future of EU Sports Policy – Analysis of Differing Views

1 Introduction

The precedent chapters have presented the correlations between European integration, civil society and sports and their value to one another, and have given an insight into the EU's sports policy process, the prior and recent developments, main policy issues, and actors involved in the European sports scene. The empirical findings of the dissertation project will be analyzed subsequently. As pointed out in the chapter on methodology, the main interview phase took place in May 2009 – hence prior to the signing of the Lisbon Treaty. The main opinion scheme will also be related to this time phase; after the White Paper on Sports' publication, and before the ratification of Lisbon. The interviewees requested for anonymity as some did not want to be quoted directly. They will only appear with the professional function they are fulfilling.

The interview results will be presented in the following section. The interviews were conducted in order to draw a picture of the sporting landscape in the EU, as well as to analyze the different views of the various actors within this landscape, the relations towards each other and the chances of influence. Furthermore, the role of civil society and the merits of an EU sports policy for the sports for all movement, and hence for the process of European integration will be drawn out of the interview results.

The interviews can be divided into nine main parts alongside with supporting analysis. First, which policy issues the interviewees identify for sports in the EU shall be introduced. Each topic will be portrayed with a background explanation, followed by the analysis concluding why certain actors see this specific topic as crucial in the EU at the moment of interview. Subsequently, the different actors and their importance, according to the interviewees' answers, are discussed. The next part of the chapter refers back to the policy issues; namely the two most frequently mentioned and identified as most important to the dissertation at hand: the White Paper publication and implementation, and the specificity of sports. Individual opinions of the interviewees about the topics will be discussed in more detail at this point. Point four deals with the actors' relations towards the EU from their own appraisal.

Football seems to depict one of the most active actors in the landscape of sports in the EU. Their position within the actor constellation therefore will be examined in their own view, as well as in the view of the other actors. The topic of professional vs. amateur sports is dealt with under point six, concerning its relations and whether or not there is a need to deal with both areas jointly or whether it has to be looked at separately under a European perspective. The EU covers a great variety of Member States all having different sports policies. These

policies and the opinion of the interviewees about the difficulties as a result of this variety will be the topic of part seven of the chapter. EU funding as one of the central merits of EU sports for all is another point to be discussed from the various perceptions of the interviewees. Their visions and wishes for a European sports policy, or the developments of sports in the EU without creating a joint policy will be analyzed and presented under part nine. Finally, a conclusion will be drawn from the findings of the interview analysis. The mind map as presented in the introduction of the dissertation shows the different interview topics and sub-themes queried during the interviews.

2 Policy Issues

Part B of the dissertation has presented the development of EU sports policy as well as its current set up. As one could see, sports appears on the EU agenda in a variety of policy fields and in a variety of contexts. On the one hand sports is dealt with concerning social values and the well-being of society where it becomes a means to an end; on the other hand sports depicts an object of regulation where sporting activity appears as economic activity. The variety is great, but the question that arose as the first cluster in the interviews asked is what the stakeholders themselves identified as the main issues concerning sports in the EU. Most interviewees identified similar areas of activities. The five most frequently mentioned were:

- Implementation of the White Paper
- Specificity of sports
- FIFA's 6+5 Rule
- Doping
- Gambling

These five policy issues will be the core of the following sub-chapter. They will be explained as they appear on the EU sports agenda, taking into account how they were brought onto the agenda as well as examining their characteristics and special role concerning the development of a future EU sports policy. Furthermore, the interviewees' opinions towards these topics will be briefly presented.

2.1 Implementation of the White Paper on Sport

"We see the White Paper as a good initiative to get a good resume of what sports means in the EU, but it does not provide any means or any solutions to the problems that I have mentioned before about specificity of sport or the autonomy of governing bodies."
(International Team Sports representative)

The implementation of the White Paper on Sport had a high relevance at the time when the interviews were conducted. It was published in November 2007 together with the Pierre de Coubertin Action Plan which depicts the direct implementation of actions planned according to the White Paper. It was mentioned as a policy issue by the Commission, the European Union Sports Office, ENGSO, one MEP and Sport et Citoyenneté.

The White Paper on Sports consists of three main parts: (1) the societal role of sports, (2) the economic dimension of sports, and (3) the organization of sports. The first part deals with social areas connected to sports issues such as public health, education and training, or the fight against racism and violence. The economic dimension in comparison covers the

economic impact, as well as public support for sporting activities. Topics concerning the organization of sports in the EU are outlined in part three. Issues here are, among others, the specificity of sports, free movement, transfers, players' agents or the protection of minors. The White Paper can be seen as the first step towards the legal regulation of sporting issues on the EU level, since it depicts the first extended official document released by the EU concerning sports.

The White Paper on Sport touches on different policy areas concerning the legal scope under which it is dealt with in the EU. Since it covers social issues, as well as legal issues, it touches on both communitarized EU policies as well as non-communitarized areas. Where economic policy is concerned, such as the free movement of workers or broadcasting rights, the White Paper deals with sports as an object of regulation. In contrast, in the case of social values of sports such as health issues, education and training or youth development, sports is seen as a means to an end within the policy framework of the EU.

The specificity of sports, being part of the White Paper, was also mentioned as a policy issue by almost all interviewees, since this topic is widely discussed in the context of Article 165 Treaty of Lisbon. The article emphasizes the need to respect the specificity of sports. A great variety of actors however, see a shortfall in the article as it speaks about the specificity without defining it. Why is the specificity of sports such a crucial element of sports in the EU? Up to 2007, when the White Paper was published, sports had not been discussed as a competence of the European Union, however, it had been dealt with in various respects, as pointed out in different parts of this study. Concerning EU competition policy, presented in Part B.3.1, important cases were decided in front of the ECJ. These cases mainly dealt with the free movement of workers, or individual rights like non-discrimination. Some of those decisions breached sporting rules and regulations, such as the composition of a sporting team according to nationality or gender, or the abuse of the use of doping substances.

2.2 Specificity of Sports

Concerning the main policy issues, "[o]ne is just the specificity of sport and the role sport plays." (European Individual Sports Association representative)

The specificity of sports means that the EU would recognize certain sporting regulations and would exempt those from the normal EU legal rights. Of course, sports stakeholders have to comply with the main legal boundaries stipulated with the EU legal documents, but they also have to assure the operability of sports in Europe. One of the greatest difficulties is the European club structure. While it guarantees the linkage of the professional and amateur side of different sports, and the promotion and relegation procedure, it assures that all clubs are given the ability to be promoted into a higher league or being relegated to a lower one.

Regarding this process, every club has similar basic requirements, as to the composition of team members for instance.

As it becomes clear, the specificity of sports touches communitarized policy issues in the EU, meaning that sports is seen as an object of regulation. This policy issue deals with the breach of EU law (e.g. the free movement of workers, free choice of jobs) through sporting rules.

If the specificity of sports is not recognized and the free movement of workers is applied to all clubs in all sports in Europe, several sports stakeholders see the risk that sports in Europe can seriously be hurt. A great range of clubs would not be able to keep up with others, especially the richer clubs because they would be able to buy the best players on their team, regardless of origin or nationality. This could lead to a very scattered club landscape, more similar to the club system in the USA, where only rich clubs play in the higher leagues. Poorer and smaller clubs then do not have a chance to enter.

2.3 FIFA's 6+5 Rule⁸⁷

"[T]he rules on homegrown players or the famous 6+5 rule from FIFA (...) are one of the hot topics that we have to deal with in the EU currently." (International Team Sport representative)

FIFA's 6+5 Rule connects to the specificity of sports. It is mentioned as an important topic within sports and the EU by actors who are linked to FIFA/UEFA, or those who are affected by EU legislation concerning regulations of the number of nationals and non-nationals on the team. The development of the 6+5 Rule is connected to the EU intruding in sporting issues due to the possible breach of the essential freedoms, as constituted in the first pillar of the EU by sporting rules. Thus, the 6+5 Rule concerns communitarized policy issues. The 6+5 Rule was supposed to create a compromise between the sporting world and EU law.

What does the 6+5 Rule state? The rule depicts a football specific rule. It constitutes the number of non-national team members allowed on the initial field formation of a club team who are not-eligible for national team formation of the country the club in question is domiciled. The rule was initiated by FIFA as a compromise between the strict football regulations and the non-discrimination regulation of the EU. In order to prevent certain clubs, mainly the richer ones, from having great merits due to their ability to buy the top players from all over the world for their team, certain sports need special regulations as to how many non-nationals can be on the team. However, the term non-national may be misleading since

⁸⁷ In June 2010 the 6+5 Rule was abandoned by the European Commission, stating that it would breach existing EU labor laws. The FIFA and the Commission are currently in search of alternative solutions in order to find a compromise.

their eligibility to play on a national team often has other prerequisites than having the team's nationality.⁸⁸ The mere regulation of not allowing non-national-eligible players to be positioned on initial team formations is breaching EU law concerning the free movement of workers. All EU nationals thus have to be able to be employed in each position within the European Union and cannot be rejected from a certain position due to their nationality. As pointed out above, this discrepancy between EU law and football regulation has led to the necessity of some kind of compromise which FIFA would like the 6+5 Rule to be. The rule states that at the beginning of the game each club has to field five players eligible for national playing, while five players can be of any other nationality. There are no further restrictions on how many non-nationals players can be employed by the club in total. The only number of players that is restricted is the one of the players on the field at the beginning of the game. Thus, the highest number of non-nationals on the field can be eight with three national-eligible players at the end of the game.⁸⁹ This rule however, is still under discussion as to whether or not it breaches EU law. The Commission and FIFA have had various meetings and discussions concerning the rule and other possible compromises. Some scholars still argue as to whether or not such rules are necessary to prevent too high merits for richer clubs.

2.4 Doping

“Anti-Doping is of course a topic that is always discussed.” (Non-governmental organization representative)

Doping is another topic mentioned as a policy issue by a variety of interviewees. Concerning the legal scope of the EU, doping falls partly under community law as with regards to the trade with doping substances. However, the main part of doping issues is not yet communitarized but is decided on a case by case basis. The White Paper also talks about doping to a great extent, and it is a topic omnipresent in a great variety of professional sports like athletics, swimming, cycling, horseback riding etc. Thus European competitions are highly affected by doping, and the topic occurs in front of the CAS as well as in front of the ECJ. The Meca-Medina case has brought further uncertainty to the world of sports since the final judgment of the ECJ (after they went through all other instances) included a rather imprecise statement⁹⁰ about the matter of sporting activities falling under the scope of the

⁸⁸ E.g. in some sports players being raised in the country or being trained on the national team for a certain amount of time (e.g. ten years+) are also allowed to play for the national team.

⁸⁹ In football three replacements are possible in total. If all replacements take place between national-eligible and non-national players, the end sum of players would be 3+8, instead of 6+5.

⁹⁰ "If the sporting activity in question falls within the scope of the Treaty, the conditions for engaging in it are then subject to all the obligations which result from the various provisions of the Treaty".

Treaty. (see: de Dios Crespo 2006) Hence, the Meca-Medina case, being a case dealing with the consequences of doping, placed the topic of sports under EU law on the agenda. However, the EU has very strict opinions about doping and is developing great anti-doping campaigns.

The Vienna European Council of December 1998 adopted a resolution concerning the need for action against doping in sports in Europe. Subsequently, the first anti-doping statements were released. In 1999, “The Fight Against Doping In Sports” was brought up by the European Commission in the course of the First European Sports Conference (European Commission 1999b) which was held in Olympia. Since then, the EU has published various documents concerning anti-doping and also became active in the world anti-doping conference. In 2007, in the presidential conclusions of Germany, the EU sports ministers have agreed on setting up an anti-doping system (EU Presidency 2007).

Despite the good intentions of fighting against doping, opinions remain crucial concerning the EU’s attempts. The EU shall accept the need for punishment for making use of doping substances, and a great variety of sports stakeholders appreciate the EU’s campaigns against doping. Sports governing bodies however, still wish that the EU leave the decisions about doping to their judgment and to not intrude in the sporting affairs. Both groups of actors, the EU institutions and sports stakeholders, are concerned with fair competition, and athletes’ health. However, the fight against doping needs to be tackled from various sides, as all actors agree upon, and thus, wish the EU’s campaigns to be developed further and that all actors work together. However, the desire from the stronger actors, such as the EUSO or sports governing bodies, remains that the EU not only accepts case-by-case law, but also releases clear statements based in the treaty regarding doping in sports competitions, stating that those matters have to be dealt with by the sports governing bodies and their jurisdictions and do not fall under EU law.

Another point of view found in various interviews is the opinion that “sport is more than doping” (non-governmental organization representative). A Finnish MEP underlines that from his point of view “doping and drugs are about one or two percent of the whole package”, and thus sees a need to tackle other issues related to sports in the EU as well.

2.5 Gambling

“Gambling in sport is a big area that I think the people in Brussels are getting more and more interested in.” (UEFA representative)

Gambling was the fifth topic frequently mentioned by the interviewees as being on top of the EU agenda. It refers to the tradition of almost all European countries to allow gambling during

sporting events⁹¹. Not only is such thing allowed, the majority of the EU Member States' sporting activities are financed through gambling with a large amount. Despite this rather positive effect of gambling on sports finances, the EU has a more critical standpoint and started to examine the effects of gambling on the European Single Market at an early stage in 1991 (European Union 1991). Hence, gambling is dealt with partially from a communitarized perspective as the EU sees violations of European Single Market regulations. Nevertheless, it is still debated upon as to what extent the EU should meddle. Nonetheless, the EU is already releasing directives concerning the issue of gambling. The question of monopolies in gambling activities within the European Member States has been highly discussed. In many countries, states are limiting the access to betting in their own country in order to ensure the profits for the domestic sector. Gambling via internet can be described as most critical since the legal regulations cannot be implemented due to the possibility of accessing foreign providers, and thus, paving the way to illegal gaming. In February 2006, the European Parliament decided to take gambling out of the provision of services, basing its decision on the notion that a free, equal, across-border competition cannot be guaranteed.⁹² The recently published directive as a consequence is seen as one important point in the discussion about gambling, as pointed out by a non-governmental sports representative: "The liberalization of the gambling market, that's surely a permanent issue since the directive on provision of services." (translated by author) The dangers of gambling lie in the risk of becoming addicted. This fact is often referred to by the European Member States as the reason why they do not want to liberalize it. The monopoly hinders criminal effects such as money laundering or fraud which gives another reason for its maintenance. However, another important incentive for the Member States to insist on the non-liberalization of the gambling market can be found in the great tax revenues. Hence, gambling is quite profitable for the States as a whole, especially for low-income regions, as well as for the sporting sector. The profit for the sporting sector is also underlined by the Austrian MEP mentioning that the Parliament succeeded in avoiding the liberalization of the gambling market. The MEP sees this as a great effort especially for Austria, which heavily relied on the gambling monopoly for sports finances. In the MEP's words:

"When thinking about gambling – we were able to avoid a lot to a great extent; due to the fact that the monopoly is very important for us, especially from the point of view of Austria, because sports is highly financed through gambling, through Casinos." (translated by author)

Since it is rather questionable as to how the future of gambling will look due to various ECJ decisions and the future legal situation. The sports ministers of the Member States are urged

⁹¹ Sports betting on horse races, football cups, boxing competitions etc., as an example see: <http://www.onlinegambling.eu/sports-betting>.

⁹² See: Bolkenstein directive: European Parliament (2005). Services directive clears first hurdle. In. Brussels. <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?language=DE&type=IM-PRESS&reference=20051118IPR02599>.

to search for alternative ways of financing, especially for the amateur sector (Presidency Conclusions 2007, p.2). The White Paper refers to the matter of gambling and sports, and gives out certain strategies and operation recommendations.

2.6 Conclusion Policy Issues

One of the main findings concerning the policy issues in the EU is the conclusion that each interviewee identified the policy issues closest to his/her own area of interest and activity. However, the main topics were mentioned by the majority, and also correspond to the EU documents prevalent at the time of the interviews.

The implementation of the White Paper was mainly identified as a policy issue by the EU institution, DG Education and Culture, since that is what they are working on, as well as by more socially active interviewees, such as the non-governmental sports organizations, and a think tank active in the field of civil society and sports. Further, the MEP who identified this topic as majorly important can be described as involved in social questions, while the other interviewees are more interested and active in the professional field and thus, see topics related to their field of activity (such as 6+5 Rule, specificity, doping) as most important. Furthermore, we can conclude that the topics identified as “main policy issues” correspond with the area of activity and interest of the interviewee. Besides the implementation of the White Paper, which covers a great variety of activities, the other policy issues are all connected to the discrepancy between sports law and EU law. The 6+5 rule, along with doping and gambling, are all questions under the specificity of sports because sports law and EU law are dealt with in a very different manner in congruence with those topics. The 6+5 rule, as well as doping breach the workers’ rights (free movement, non-discrimination), and gambling procedures can also constitute a breach to EU gambling restrictions. Nevertheless, all regulations are identified as highly important for sports to be developed and to be exercised.

In addition to the preferences of the interviewees and the following policy issues identified, another finding is the correspondence between the interviewees’ perception and the actual EU documentation. The majority of topics mentioned during the interviews are in line with what is dealt with on the EU agenda during interview conduction. Thus, we can conclude that there is a rather positive stream of information from the EU to the sports stakeholders, as well as among the stakeholders themselves.

Important to mention is the great focus on professional sports related topics, such as the specificity of sports, FIFA’s 6+5 Rule and Doping. Gambling also deals with the professional sports, as well as the White Paper. The latter however, can also be connected to the amateur level. During the interviews, the impression was built up that the professional side of sports and the related topics have a much greater importance on the EU agenda and

the daily activity in sports and the EU. When having a look at the legal scope of the mentioned policy issues, it is striking that almost all issues can be classified as being connected to communitarized policies. As underlined above, all five policy issues identified as priorities on the agenda touch on the professional side of sports as well as sports as an object of regulation. Only the White Paper on Sports includes the social dimension of sports where it becomes a means to an end, such as health issues, education and training or youth development. These findings show how much the EU and sports policy are governed by professional sports and its questions. There is room for the questions regarding amateur sports which could be extended, but the main focus lies only within the economic issues concerning sports. This is especially striking, since Part A of this dissertation showed the great variety of policy fields sports is annexed to, where communitarized policies, such as economic policies, are only one area among many. Sports is mainly dealt with as a means to an end and not as an object of regulation. This result can, however, be explained with the importance and influence of communitarized policies on policy issues such as sports, while the non-communitarized policies do not yet have a legal influence, but rather concern recommendations.

The following chapter presents all actors involved in EU sports policy and defines them. Subsequently, the chapter will focus on two of the policy issues mentioned and explained above. The White Paper publication and implementation and the specificity of sports were of major interest for this thesis as well as for the interviewees. These two topics will be closer examined therefore with regards to the opinions of the interviewees about them.

3 EU Sports Actors / Representation of Opinions

Another set of questions during the interviews dealt with is the identification of the main actors in the sporting area in the EU. Here the interviewees were asked to name the actors they considered as most important and why. The actors can be divided into groups such as EU institutions, sports stakeholders and others. Besides the identification of the main actors, their interest representation and their chances of influence are examined.

3.1 EU Institutions

Concerning the European institutions, the European Commission with the DG EAC and the Sports Unit is named as the most important actor, followed by the European Court of Justice, the Council and the European Parliament. However, the ECJ is mentioned as an important actor by the interviewees who are or could be affected by judgments made by the Court, such as UEFA and other international federations.

3.1.1 European Commission – DG EAC

As discussed earlier in this thesis, the EU Sports Unit holds an important position within the sports policy structure of the Union, since all action seems to start here. Some interviewees from the organizational side described their relation with the Commission and the Sports Unit as mutually beneficial. This holds true for the greater federations and organizations being located in Brussels, allowing them to meet with the Sports Unit on a regular basis. The UEFA and the EUSO have built close relations with the Sports Unit. As an example, the UEFA is described as being able to “meet with Jan Figél⁹³, while others have to meet with ‘other’ people in the Commission” (Think Tank employee, 2009).

The Commission itself points out that “their doors [of the DG EAC] are always open”, and all sports organizations are welcome to approach them with whatever questions they have and events they have to offer. During the interviews conducted in the Commission, it became quite clear that their doors *are* open, but whether or not this possibility is made use of is questionable. This gives the impression that the information about their openness might not have been disseminated throughout the different levels. Further, their joy about invitations to odd events seemed very limited (although one has to admit that they seem to accept those invitations anyhow).

Another perception received from the interview at the Commission is their great need to be taken back, their imprecise and elusive way of answering direct questions. Especially when confronted with criticism, their answers changed into a slightly defensive undertone. The need to defend themselves seemed to be present in several questions.

⁹³ Jan Figél: current EU commissioner for sports.

When having a look at the Commission's exchange with other actors besides major events such as the Sport Forum, the DG EAC interviewee says that "regular contact exists between the ESO and UEFA."

Concerning the distribution of power, one can say that while the Commission has a great say in European sports policy, it is still influenced by the big federations and stakeholders such as ESO and UEFA. As one MEP puts it, "[f]or me it seems that the big federations push the Commission to do something, and then the Commission does something. (...) UEFA is very strong in that matter. UEFA knows what the name of the game is; they know how to influence the Commission."

UEFA, on the other hand, sees the position of the Commission as very important concerning legal decisions since they depict the Commission and the Parliament as a so-called counterweight to the European Court of Justice. "(...) [A]nd it is good (...) that the European Commission and the Parliament try to provide a political counterweight to that [dramatic legal decisions, such as Bosman], so we have a legal balance." The MEP strongly believes that the distribution of power will change after the ratification of Lisbon, in favour of the Commission.

As we see, whether the Commission or other stakeholders have a bigger say can be questioned. The main actors however, besides the great federations, have the feeling that the Commission is highly influenced by bigger federations such as the UEFA.

3.1.2 *European Court of Justice*

Another frequently mentioned European institution concerning sports in the EU can be found in the European Court of Justice. As was pointed out above, sports under the EU agenda has first been dealt with as a legal issue, and thus, had to be decided over in an ECJ ruling. Besides the ECJ, the Court of Arbitration for Sport (CAS) depicts an important legal institution when it comes to sports rulings. However, the ECJ is involved in a variety of sporting matters due to certain conflicts between sporting regulations and EU law, e.g. team compositions, doping rules or gambling. Hence, the ECJ has a great influence on the sports scene in Europe which is a source for concern for sports stakeholders. Furthermore, the specificity of sports depicts an important topic as can also be drawn from the previous findings since it would regulate where EU law is applicable. It further regulates where matters are sports related, and thus, do not fall under EU law, but rather have to be decided on under sporting rules.

As we see, the ECJ is seen as an important actor. However, no representative from them appears in the list of interviewees. The official ECJ opinion can be concluded and extracted from ECJ rulings, which function as the most important documents through the analysis concerning this institution. ECJ rulings and statements have been used therefore as

a source to represent the ECJ's opinion as an EU institution involved in the EU sports policy process.

3.1.3 European Council

The European Council can also be found among the EU institutions dealing with sporting matters in the EU. However, it should not be confused with the Council of Europe, which also deals with sports as an issue in the EU, but to a greater extent from an international perspective and not as an EU institution. Hence, the Council of Europe was rather neglected in the course of this thesis.

The European Council adopted in its presidency conclusions a Declaration on Sports in December 2008 recognizing the importance of sports (European Council 2008, p.21): In addition, it highlights “the need to take account of the specific characteristics of sport” and to put those over the economic dimension (ibid.). The Council further emphasizes its wish to cooperate with other sports stakeholders, e.g. in the course of the European Sport Forum, as well as to strengthen the dialogue with the IOC in particular.

The European Council and its opinion towards sports, specificity and open dialogue are of great importance towards the development of an EU sports policy and the search for compromises between the EU and the sports world. However, up to the White Paper publication very limited statements were given by the Council on EU sporting issues. A press release in May 2010 states, that “[f]or the first time, ministers discussed sports policy in a formal Council setting, given that the Treaty of Lisbon has created specific EU competence for cooperation on sports issues.” (European Council 2010, p.2) Hence, hitherto there was only very limited discussion concerning sports. Further, due to difficulties in the interview arrangement, as well as the easy access to official Council documents, no Council representative was interviewed in the course of the thesis.

3.1.4 European Parliament

The European Parliament is another important institution when dealing with sports issues on the European agenda. Within the EP, the Committee of Culture and Education (CULT) is responsible for the topic of sports as is stated as their fourth responsibility: “youth policy and the development of a sports and leisure policy” (CULT 2009). Several MEPs have committed themselves to the topic of sports and try to bring their different opinions up to the agenda. The opinion scheme here is a very diverse one. Some are interested in the sports with high media profiles such as football or rugby, while others support amateur sports, or foster people's health through sports. One MEP sees the role of the MEPs in general as follows.

“Our role is to encourage the people to move and make it easier for people that they can move, and that they can take part in the different sports activities, which are good for them. (...) We try to convince national governments in the Member States that sport should have a very strong

role in the school curriculum; that's the way how we can influence and how I and most of the people in our committee try to influence.” (Finnish MEP)

Another MEP (Austria) stresses the influence of the Members of Parliament regarding topics such as that of the White Paper, the publication of different reports (football, violence, racism) or topics such as gambling. Gambling depicts the main source of financing for sports in several European countries, and thus a national monopoly is seen as having great importance.

The Parliament maintains different inter-groups, among which one can also find the sports intergroup (EPSI), that promotes a great range of sporting issues as well as sports related ones, such as the intergroup rugby. Interestingly, there is no such thing as an intergroup football, although sports has a variety of fans among the MEPs. This is also mentioned by one of the think tank interviewees, who find this quite interesting. This peculiarity most probably arose from the fact that UEFA has installed a group called “Friends of Football” where MEPs are invited to discuss the most current topics of the sport. However, the group is not installed as a formal intergroup, but rather as an informal get-together, organized by UEFA. Concerning the work between the different institutions, the exemplary cooperation between the MEPs and the Commission was mentioned throughout the interviews with different MEPs.

The main institution representing the EU in sports matters has been seen in the European Commission and the DG EAC. Further, the European Parliament was identified as an important actor when it comes to policy making in the EU. Thus, only these two institutions have been focused on during the interview conduction while others were included through the naming and analysis of official statements and documents.

| |
|----------------------------------|
| THE EUROPEAN INSTITUTIONS |
|----------------------------------|

| | | | |
|--|--|---|--|
| <p>European Commission The EC has an important stand concerning the development of sports policy in the European Union. Especially the DG Education and Culture and the respective sports unit are of great importance in this field. Head of the DG EAC is currently: Pierre Mairesse, head of the sports unit is Michael Krejza, current EU Commissioner responsible for sports: Androulla Vassiliou.</p> | <p>European Council The European Council addresses the issue of EU sports via its sports ministers and hence, sports is also included in the presidency conclusions and other official council statements, however, only to a very limited extent. In May 2010 a press release of the Council states that for the first time.</p> | <p>European Court of Justice A legal case brought sports on the EU agenda for the first time, and since then the ECJ had to rule over various cases regarding sports in the European Union. The main Articles concerned were Art. 7 (non-discrimination) and Articles 39 and 49 (free movement of workers). Hence, the ECJ holds a very crucial position when it comes to sports and the European Union.</p> | <p>European Parliament A number of MEPs are interested and active in the field of sports, concerning different aspects of it, such as legal questions, economic dimension, health aspects or social functions et al. The Committee of Culture and Education is responsible for the topic of sports. Various intergroups dealing with sporting issues exist, such as the intergroup sports or intergroup rugby and e.g. an informal group called "Friends of Football" exists.</p> |
|--|--|---|--|

(own compilation)

3.2 Main Sports Stakeholders

"The big stakeholders have now joined together to approach the EU together." (International Sporting Federation Representative)

Concerning the sports stakeholders, two main actors were mentioned by almost all interviewees. UEFA and the European Union Sports Office seem to have a great say in the European sporting sphere. Thus, their roles and their respective interests as well as difficulties occurring with their current stand, will be discussed in more detail in the following. The result of these interviews and document analysis also appears due to the fact that there are hardly any other sports organizations domiciled in Brussels beside the EUSO with its various partners in their office and UEFA. There are the European Cyclists as well as the European University Sports. However, both have been located in Brussels not with the purpose of having greater influence on the European agenda, but for other reasons and simply happen to have their head office in Belgium. Both have not been mentioned as important actors too, as they do not appear to have a great role within the scope of what is happening concerning European sports policy. The European Cyclists, when asked for an interview, even replied with the information that they are not involved in European sports at all, but rather in European transports policy. A further result consisted in the fact that only a small number of sports stakeholders are represented by their own office in Brussels, which leads to the analysis of the role of the European Union Sports Office (EUSO) who combine a

great number of different voices within their walls. Thus, UEFA and EUSO remain to be the most important and influential actors in the European sphere.

3.2.1 UEFA

UEFA is the only sporting federation having a registered office in Brussels for the purpose of being closer to the current occurrences in Brussels concerning sports and EU, and to be able to exercise influence. The other federations have not opened offices in Brussels, but are scattered all over Europe, e.g. the European Athletic Association and European Gymnastics (UEG) in Lausanne, Switzerland, the International Ice Hockey Federation (IIHF; responsible also for European Ice Hockey) in Zurich, Switzerland, the European Basketball Federation (FIBA) in Munich, Germany, the European Handball Federation (EHF) in Vienna, Austria, the European Volleyball Federation (CEV) in Luxembourg etc. Thus, the question arises as to why the UEFA is the only federation that decided to open a second office in Brussels, besides their head quarters in Nyon, Switzerland.

UEFA

The Union of European Football Associations consists of 53 national federations and is part of the world football association FIFA. It was founded in 1954 in Switzerland. UEFA is organizing a wide range of football championships and is in charge of the qualifications for the World Championship.

The current presidency holds Michael Platini. UEFA has its own Brussels office, headed by Jonathan Hill.

First of all, one has to say that this appears to be a question of financial resources and UEFA, or the football sector as a whole, have the greatest financial assets available within Europe due to their high reputation, great audience and media presence. This, as well as the question about others not moving to Brussels in their offices will be discussed in more detail in a later part (Football and the others). UEFA has a good reputation among the public in Europe, due to the popularity of football. However, other organizations have also started to move towards Brussels, not opening their own offices, but as partners of the European Union Sports Office. UEFA remains the only organization having an own office and not being situated in the Sports Office. This may say something about the relation between the two main actors, but both agree on the fact that they are in contact, exchanging views and do not act as opponents in Europe.

UEFA sees itself as the coordinator of all different views, trying to do the best for the sport.

“All of these people pushing in different directions, and an extremely important part of our role is to try to balance all of that and move everything in the right direction. And we try to convince the European Union, and that’s what we are trying to do. And I think, if we do that, if we do our jobs properly, then we don’t need to worry about the European Union intruding, because if we are doing our job properly, why would they intrude?”

As was previously mentioned and will turn up again later on, certain roles are not supported by all other stakeholders, unless they are in close cooperation with the UEFA and are, to some extent, also profiting from the influence UEFA has on the European scene.

What further becomes a crucial situation is the fact that FIFA has moved into the EUSO, without opening an office together with the UEFA. Asked about this fact, the EUSO answered that this “might say something about the relation between UEFA and FIFA”, which then again casts bad light on the relations between UEFA and the EUSO. The latter will now be presented in more detail, together with what the interviewees have to say about their role within the EU.

3.2.2 EUSO

The EUSO, besides UEFA, is frequently mentioned as one of the most important actors in Brussels and the European sports scene. They introduce themselves as the representation of the European Olympic Committee in Brussels. Further it represents “the interests of the International Olympic Committee and other major sports organizations to the European Institutions.” (EU EOC Office 2009) First, it was established as the European Office of German Sports since it represented the European Sports Federation. In the meantime, a variety of other organizations, above all the European Olympic Committee, have joined the office. The close cooperation with the EOC and other European federations has brought about the change of name which was implemented in 2009. One MEP comments that it is very important that national sports federations are present in Brussels. However, the ESO accommodates only a few of the 27 national sporting federations in their office. Up to now, others do not have representing offices.

The main functions of the office are lobbying, organizing meetings with different sports stakeholders, and the active contribution to EU sports policy developments such as the White Paper. They describe themselves as being recognized as an “essential actor in the EU sports arena” (ESO representative). The office has a representative function for its partners towards the European institutions and informs the partners about the ongoing events and developments in the European sports policy process. It thus embodies a very crucial function which is also recognized by the various actors from all sides: EU institutions, amateur and professional sports. However, its function has developed in such a way, due to the peculiarity of very few organizations opening their own offices in Brussels.

EUSO

The EU Sports Office was founded in 1993 as the EU Office of German Sports and was later renamed to EU Sports Office. It was initiated by the German Olympic Sports Federation in order to work on a legal basis for the European Sports Movement. Different partners joined the office and it was renamed again in 2009 and is now called the EOC EU Office, officially representing the European Olympic Movement in Brussels.

On the one hand, one can say that the ability for others to join in the EUSO has been a great opportunity and a big merit for them as it brought about gathered opinions and a

great stand towards the EU institutions. One EAA representative points out the great job of the ESO as being very important for EAA. They believe their opinions are represented through the ESO, and that their membership is the best way of influencing EU policies in sports. On the other hand, it can be criticized whether all views are evenly represented in such a mix of organizations. The International, European and National Olympic movements have to be represented, as well as International / European Federations (e.g. EAA) and also National sports stakeholders (e.g. German Soccer Association) in addition to the European Non-Governmental Organization. As it appears, there is a very scattered picture of stakeholders with slightly different views on certain matters. The fact that the office is financially supported by the Olympic movement may raise the idea of a not-so-independent lobbyist. Are they really able to represent all of their partners to an equal extent?

3.2.3 Other Stakeholders

Besides the UEFA and EUSO, other sports stakeholders are also present in the European scene. Although only very few have their own office in Brussels, and a great amount is part of the EUSO, they are still involved in the developments concerning EU sports policy to a minor or major extent. Different reasons were given during the interviews for the absence of quite a number of sports stakeholders in Brussels. The interviewee from ENGSO sees the reason in the formerly relatively low importance of sports on a European level. This might have already changed, and will change in the future. As the interviewee points out: “The awareness of the problem Europe definitely exists in most of the sports organizations. (...) But I am of the opinion (...) that a lot is happening on the European level and that we have to follow the developments and one might also have a certain obligation to perform.” (translated by author)

The Austrian MEP is of a similar opinion saying that very few organizations are located in Brussels because the EU does not have a competence yet in sport. Further the MEP points out, “(...) because the competence does not lie in Brussels, and following the sports associations do not see the necessity to also be present in Brussels.” (translated by author) One think tank representative sees the reason lying in the small resources of the organizations. He does not believe this to be a great problem mentioning the example of FIFA, who are not present directly, but are active without having an office in Brussels⁹⁴.

Besides the fact that only few organizations are present with their own office in Brussels, yet, the active participation of the smaller ones in the EU policy process will be examined in the following. As it was mentioned by a European institution interviewee, smaller organizations are very willing to take invitations to events organized by the Commission, especially if the costs are paid. Here the motivation of those smaller organizations to take

⁹⁴ FIFA is now partner to the EOC EU Office and is represented by them in Brussels.

part in EU events can be questioned. One has to bear in mind however the very limited financial assets of the organizations, and thus the cost covering by the Commission is probably of great importance for them to be able to take part in EU sports policy developments. Subsequently, the influence the Commission might have via cost covering can be a source of problems. Nevertheless, if this is the only possibility for smaller sports stakeholders to participate and to influence, the opportunity is an important one as well for them. The low financial assets again lead to the necessity of some sports organizations to be represented by the ESO instead of opening their own office.

In the following, an overview of the sports stakeholders beside the above listed main ones will be given. Further, how they are embedded in the sports policy process of the EU will be explained.

3.2.4 *Olympic Movement*

An additional sports actor in the European sphere is the Olympic Movement. Since its European part (EOC) as well as some NOCs⁹⁵ are located in the EUSO, it is questionable whether they can be considered as independent from the EUSO or vice versa, especially since the EUSO is financed through the EOC. Nevertheless, the Olympic Committee is engaged in a variety of discussions concerning the development of European sports policy. This can be observed especially when dealing with European Court decisions affecting the Olympic sporting structures. In many aspects, the IOC acts in line with e.g. FIFA against EU interventions in areas such as gambling, transfer of athletes, corruption etc. As posted in 2006 in a “Play the Game” article, FIFA has underlined in a letter their wish for the EU not to intervene in sports matters, but leave this to the sports governing bodies. “We believe that the issue of governance is of utmost importance for the sports movement and that this issue should be dealt with by sports themselves based on the principle of the autonomy of the sports movement.” (Andersen 2006) Nevertheless, the IOC seeks closer cooperation with the EU, as a meeting between Commissioner Jan Figél and IOC president Jacques Rogge in January 2009 shows. Both see the great need for closer

IOC / EOC

The International Olympic Committee was founded in 1915 as a non-state organization. The headquarters is located in Lausanne, Switzerland. The IOC, together with the International Sports Federation (IF) and the National Olympic Committees (NOCs), is in charge of organizing the Olympic Games every four years. The Olympic Movement comprises the mentioned organizations (IOC, IF, NOCs) in addition to national associations, clubs and persons belonging to the IFs and NOCs. One of its main functions, besides the organization of the Olympic Games, is to advocate and secure the Olympic Charter and to encourage and support athletes, sporting activities, initiatives, the development of sports, etc. The current president of the IOC is Jacques Rogge.

The European Olympic Committee depicts the association of all European NOCs, currently comprising 48 NOCs. Its tasks lie with the setting up of programs and activities designed for the specific needs of the Member NOCs, as well as carrying out the overall aim of the IOC in general. The presidency at current holds Patrick Hickey.

⁹⁵ NOCs of: Denmark, France, Germany and Luxemburg, plus National Sport Federations of Austria, Finland, Norway and Sweden.

cooperation in order for the sporting movement, as well as the EU, to gain profits. Rogge underlined the IOC's wish for a strengthened support of the grassroots sports movement through the EU. "The Olympic Movement representatives stressed the need to safeguard the existing mechanisms of financial solidarity towards grassroots sport" (Lina 2009).

3.2.5 *European Team Sports*

Another group of important actors can be found in the European Team Sports who have an association in order to be able to approach the EU and its institutions with one voice. Their main members are the International Ice Hockey Federation (IIHF), International Basketball Federation (FIBA and FIBA Europe), European Volleyball Confederation (CEV) and European Handball Federation (EHF). The team sports members describe themselves as

"(...) one entity, who meet on a regular basis to develop one voice towards the EU." They are often invited to EU conferences and hearings as one group. As pointed out by one of the team sports representative: "We are on a regular basis in contact with the EU Commission."

They have further developed close contacts to UEFA and are often mentioned as important team sports governing bodies separate from football. They seem to be a strong actor as they appear as a group in most of the EU documents concerning sports stakeholder hearings and contributions. However, when asked for their opinion about the EU and its developments, they are concerned but also seem distant, as if the EU is far away from their daily business, as he underlines, "[t]he IOC and the EOC have an office in Brussels. But I simply believe it is not the international federations' task to discuss its intention or its projects with the EU (...). We want to try to keep the EU as less involved as possible in what we are doing." This brings us to the remaining question: Why has none of them, besides UEFA, opened an office in Brussels so far? Don't they see the need for it? Don't they have enough resources?

European Team Sport Association

The Association of all European Team Sports was set up in order to represent, promote and develop the interests of their members, as well as strengthening the information exchange among themselves and with other institutions and stakeholders.

Members are European Basketball, Football, Ice hockey, Rugby and Volleyball.

All of the team sports have an amateur as well as a professional side within their organization, as is also represented in the pyramid structure of the European sports system. IIHF points out: "We deal with all levels, professionals and amateurs, but the professional is the bigger one, (...) that gives us more work." Thus, it seems that, although their interests should also lie within the sports for all sides and the interviewees emphasize the great importance of this side for professional sports to be able to survive, they, are more engaged in topics dealing with professional sports, due to the greater workload and profits coming from this side.

3.2.6 European Sporting Federations

The European sporting scene does not only consist of team sports, but also of federations dealing with individual sports such as gymnastics, cycling or athletics et al. The European Athletic Association is, among others, a part of the ESO and is represented by Folker Hellmund, head of the ESO. They do not have their own office in Brussels, which also holds true for the other individual sports. EAA is the only European individual sports federation represented by the ESO.

They are similar to the team sports federations divided in two sections, the amateur and the professional one, and have two different work strategies according to these sections. However, as a result of the interview, it seemed as if they are placing a greater emphasis on the amateur side. As the EAA representative points out concerning funding possibilities, “the future trend is rather going down than up. So we are always looking for new sources of income, new sources of resources.” Hence, a great interest of EAA seems to be the funding possibilities of the EU for their organization which leads to the above mentioned assumption as funding can only be received for non-profit projects.

3.2.7 International Sporting Federations

The international sphere plays a major role as well when talking about EU sports policy. As we have seen above, the Olympic movement is influencing the European sphere and vice versa. The same holds true for other international sporting institutions such as federations. A great variety of European team sports are embedded in the international federation and some even do not have a separated European division. The IIHF is organizing a European Champions Cup⁹⁶, but they are mainly concentrating on the international championships, although they are interested and involved in the EU developments as emphasized above under the European team sports discussion. Other federations can be seen similar, e.g. FIBA, while others have their own international division such as International Gymnastics Federation (FIG), International Volleyball Federation (FIVB), the International Athletic Association (IAA) or the International Football Association (FIFA). Some are more involved in European developments than others, for which FIFA plays the most important role. While FIFA just very recently moved to Brussels and opened a European office within the European Sports Office, they have been actively taking part in a great amount of discussions dealing with European sports policy developments. One of the most important topics they are

⁹⁶ 1965 IIHF started a European Cup, following the example of the European Football Cup, organized by UEFA. This cup ran until 1996 and was afterwards displaced by the European Hockey League, another European club competition between ice hockey clubs, also established and run by the IIHF between the years 1996-1997 and 2000. For the 2000-2001 season IIHF decided to no longer run the league due to financial dissatisfaction (media attention, number of spectators). In the following years the European Champions Cup was established, which still runs between the top six European Hockey nations.

interested in and why they are involving themselves as much as they do can be found in the national player restriction, as discussed in more detail above. Legal cases of the European Union dealing with sports are the essential elements where the international sphere of sports is affected, and where they have to involve themselves to a certain extent.

The question remains why up to now only FIFA has succeeded in moving to Brussels out of the great variety of international sporting federations. One representative of an international sporting federation explains this with the reason that most of them do not yet see the need to be there. They are governing world sports and do not act on a European basis. Others cannot afford having their own office in Brussels or having other issues to deal with. As the international team sports federation representative exclaims: “We do not see the reason, at least for international federations, to have representatives in the EU. (...) It is not the international federations’ task to discuss its intentions or its projects with the EU because we are world governing bodies.” The wish of the international federations for the EU not to intervene is again highlighted. This becomes clear in his words when saying, “[w]e want to try to keep the EU as less involved as possible in what we are doing while obviously still trying to conform to the principles of the EU treaty.”

As for other organizations not opening their offices yet in Brussels, the representative of the international federation sees the reason in low financial assets, “[t]he other federations are simply too small to afford also having an office with people in Europe. They have other important issues.” However, this might change in the future depending on the developments after Lisbon and future court decisions.

“The future will tell whether we and other federations will need an office in Brussels, because we need to defend our interest. (...) It will very much depend on [the Lisbon Treaty], because the Lisbon Treaty provides for the specificity of sport but it does not define it. It is very large. (...) If it is very badly interpreted and the legal uncertainty remains, then maybe this will enhance the need for having an office in Brussels.” (International Team Sport Federation Representative)

The above mentioned vision seems to have already become clearer since FIFA has made the first step by moving to Brussels and opening a European section in the ESO. Perhaps other international federations will follow in the near future, depending on the outcomes of the Lisbon Treaty and the subsequent future development.

3.2.8 Non-governmental Sporting Federations

Besides the professional sports in the European as well as international sphere, the non-governmental side plays a decisive role as well. On the European level, ENGSO can be seen as one of the most important actors in this area. The organization comprises 40 members and one observer from all sporting activities around Europe. The members include the Olympic movement from national to European level, national sports confederations from various sports, as well as children and youth sports, elite sports and the sports for all sectors.

ENGSO itself is a non-profit institution, and as we see, combining the professional and amateur level. They have a seat in the House of Sports in Paris, France, and they also have representatives in the Brussels European Sports Office, in which they are deeply embedded. They are “the only European sports organization having been granted consultative status by the Council of Europe.” (ENGSO 2009)

ENGSO is working on European issues in different areas. One special area they are active in is the area of youth sports organizations. For this purpose they have founded a youth section as a complementary part to ENGSO, creating a multi-faceted organization set-up. Their secretariats are separate, as well as their assemblies and committees.

ENGSO

The European Non-Governmental Sports Organization was initiated through informal meetings in the early 1960s. The official organization ENGSO was named and founded in 1990 and became its formal appearance with a proper constitution in 1995. It comprises all areas of sports all over Europe, including sports for all as well as elite sports from all sporting areas.

ENGSO is a non-profit organization with public responsibilities formed by European National Sports Confederations and National Olympic Committees.

They are officially registered in France, Paris and the secretariat is situated in Helsinki, Finland.

A representative office of ENGSO also resides within the EUSO in Brussels.

The main aim of ENGSO was to create a discussion forum concerning the political developments in the European sphere in the area of sports. Their main base can be found in the Olympic movement as well as the national sports federations. The organization functions as a counterpart to national governments. They confront the EU institutions, defending general sports in Europe. Additionally, regarding sports organization, ENGSO can be seen as a bridge between the East and the West.

ENGSO as well includes a sub-organization: ENGSO Youth. They are situated in Berlin, Germany and represent “the interest of people under the age of 35” as well as promoting and supporting “the ENGSO guidelines for children and youth sports” (ENGSO Youth 2009).

Additional to ENGSO, other non-governmental sports organizations can be found on the international and European scene. The International Sports and Cultural Association (ISCA), situated in Copenhagen, represents one of the most important international associations dealing with sports, culture and youth. It combines a variety of actors from the non-governmental side, as well as private foundations, government ministries, public agencies and international bodies (ISCA 2009d). ISCA can be described as working “as a progressive and unifying voice for the global Sports for All community” (ISCA 2009a). Supplementing their main work area, the international sphere is as well active on a European basis, and is also interacting with the

ISCA

The international sports and culture association was set up in order to foster international exchange and understanding among sports, youth and cultural associations from all over the world. The organization was founded in 1995 and today has more than 130 member organizations plus 40 mio. individual members. The secretariat is based in Copenhagen.

European Union and its institutions. The organization maintains relations to different DGs (SANCO, Education and Culture, Youth), as well as to the Council of Europe.

A third important actor, when talking about non-governmental organizations and the sports for all movement can be found in the Trim and Fitness International Sports for all Network (TAFISA). This organization, similar to ISCA, was founded based on their aim of supporting sports for all movements around the globe. Just recently, TAFISA and ISCA have decided to strive for closer cooperation in order to support the global Sports for All movement better. TAFISA's members consist of non-governmental as well as governmental organizations from a great variety of countries. Overall TAFISA has 152 members at current. The core of the organization is to foster health, volunteerism, physical activity and sports for all, which they constituted in different resolutions. On their website they underline that TAFISA "has overcome the domination of Europe and is global now" (TAFISA 2009), which leads to the assumption that they do not seek close relations to the EU, but focus on the international sphere. However, three years ago, a European counterpart was founded. ESFAN has 15 European Sports for All Organizations as members. The task of ESFAN lies in the support of the Sports for All movement and overall physical activity in

TAFISA / ESFAN

The Trim and Fitness International Sports for all Association started out as informal meetings of persons and organizations interested in the sports for all movement. It was officially named and founded in 1991. In 2001 its office was set up in Frankfurt, Germany, which fostered its professionalism. In 2009 the organization was renamed into The Association of International Sports for all, which better suit its goals and interests.

Current president is Dr. Kang-Too Lee.

The European Sports for all Association represents the European pendant to TAFISA. It was founded in 2006 with currently 25 Member organizations from 22 countries. The main tasks of the organization are to create a platform for the exchange of ideas concerning European issues, acquiring public funds, developing joint activities as well as coordinating lobbying activities et al. Its office is located in Frankfurt, Germany, together with TAFISA.

Europe, as well as network building and the support of closer cooperation between its members. When having a look at the current ESFAN website, the assumption comes to mind that there is not much action going on in comparison to its global counterpart. This assumption can be underlined by the words of a TAFISA representative who exclaimed that TAFISA does not see a great need in cooperating with the EU other than for funding issues. This was also the main reason for establishing ESFAN.

The last organization to be mentioned, among the non-governmental sports organizations on the European scene, is the Finish Sports Federation (SLU), representing a great variety of organizations and institutions in Finland. Their members range from national and regional sports federations and organizations, student and school organizations, to fitness sports organizations; to only name a few. They are represented via the ESO in Brussels, and are also closely interwoven with ENGSO, since the ENGSO president's secretariat is located with the SLU office in Helsinki.

As can be drawn from the interviews, a great number of non-governmental sports organizations active in the European scene are closely connected, and in some cases,

overlap in organizational structures. Thus, it is rather difficult to create a separate picture of the different organizations. Only TAFISA and ESFAN seem to be rather outside the European picture being in contact with the European Commission as well as the ESO, and with the other organizations active on the European sports scene yet not being associated besides the German Olympic Sports Federation and the IOC as partners. They do not seem as interwoven with them on a European basis as other stakeholders however, as their representative negates the question concerning the integration of TAFISA in any European processes and structures, “[w]e deliberately left the policy field to the lobbying structures.” (TAFISA representative, translated by author)

3.2.9 Think Tanks / Press

Besides the diverse sports organizations working with the topic as their core business, a variety of think tanks exists who deal with the different EU policies. Since sports is an upcoming policy, this might also be a topic within the think tanks’ interest. However, the Centre for European Policy (CEP) published a statement on their website about the White Paper publication, but when being asked for a more distinct opinion about the topic of Sports and the EU, they declined due to the fact that they do not have sports as a main discussion point on their agenda, yet.

One think tank has devoted itself to the issue of sports and citizenship, being titled Sport et Citoyenneté (SeC). Their main aim is to “forward the core values of sport in society” covering the areas of politics, economics and media (Sport et Citoyenneté 2009). During the interview with one representative, they described themselves as a

Sport et Citoyenneté

Sport et Citoyenneté is an independent think tank dealing with the issues of sports and society. Albeit their Franco-Belgian origin, they have a European bias. Their core tasks lie within lobbying for the value of sports in society. Its team comprises experts from different research areas. Their offices are based in Saumur and Marseille, France, as well as in Brussels. Current president is Laurent Thieule.

mediator between EU institutions and sports organizations (the citizens). What is most interesting with the connectivity between different organizations is the fact that SeC is financed through UEFA. Therefore, their independence, when it comes to their opinions about certain sports issues, could be influenced by UEFA as their financing agent. SeC is the only European think tank active in the area of sports.

The media is another actor aside from sports organizations who take a closer look at EU sports policy. One important online media actor covering sports issues in the European Union is Play the Game (www.playthegame.org), which gave themselves the subtitle: “home for the homeless questions in sport” (Play the Game 2009). The organization has a Danish foundation, being brought into existence by three sports organizations in Denmark. Further, a close cooperation with the International Federation of Journalists exists. Their aim is to strengthen transparency and democracy in the world of sports through media publications about the topic of sports in Europe and in the world. Concerning their independence, it has to

be emphasized that Play the Game is mainly funded by the Danish government and other Danish institutions⁹⁷.

A second online publication can be found in the portal EurActiv (www.euractiv.com). Located in Brussels, they are a network of scholars from different backgrounds, publishing about European policy issues, and having a great range of partners⁹⁸. EurActiv depicts itself as an independent information source not relying on any institutional funding. They are financed through “corporate sponsoring, EurActiv membership, online advertising and EU projects” (EurActiv 2009). The independence is underlined with the statement that they are also focusing on non-state actors in addition to the national and European institutions.

3.3 Informal Networks

In order to gain better insight in the European sports world, the interviewees were questioned about informal networks existing between the different stakeholders. A small range of official networks, such as the European Sports Forum, meetings between the European Team Sports or regular meetings with sports stakeholders and the Commission are taking place. Besides these, some stakeholders also come together for informal meetings. As mentioned above, an Intergroup Rugby exists in the European Parliament, but no Intergroup Football exists. Nevertheless, informal meetings about football also take place. UEFA created the Friends of Football, inviting football interested MEPs for dinner or lunch get-togethers in order to exchange views about current topics. As a UEFA representative points out, Friends of Football is a very informal meeting, just with MEPs. It started out only as a discussion group, and was eventually transformed into a more lobbying situation. The MEPs transfer UEFA’s positions towards the institutions – “(...) explaining our policies to them, in this very relaxed way, around a table, was very good. It was a very good exercise – it worked.” Thus, UEFA has created a very successful way of lobbying in the European Parliament.

The ESO also holds informal meetings between working groups and their staff, who they themselves as the lobbying side. Further, meetings take place between the DG EAC Sports Unit and ESO representatives on a regular basis. As was pointed out in an interview with the ESO, those meetings are easy to realize due to small staff on both sides. In this words of a representative: “you know each other.”

ENGSO, being based in the ESO as well, also holds meetings with the EU institutions, mainly with MEPs and the Commission, and defines this as a very positive and beneficial exchange. The ENGSO representative comments, “[t]hese interactions have

⁹⁷ In 2008 Play the Game was funded through The Danish Ministry of Culture, Danish Association of Company Sport, DFIF, Danish Gymnastics and Sports Associations, DGI and Team Denmark, the national Danish elite sports institution (see: <http://www.playthegame.org/about/funding.html>).

⁹⁸ General content partners, section content partner and country content partners. (see: <http://www.euractiv.com/en/Fixed/partners/content.htm>).

always been very, very positive, and I think for both sides fruitful.” The MEPs on the other side, also underline the informal exchange between them and the organization representatives, as well as think tanks organizing debates between different stakeholders.

3.4 Main Actors

After gaining a better insight on who is active on the European sphere and to what extent, we will now analyze the importance of the different actors. To take a deeper look in the perceptions of the interviewees, and analyzing the actual cooperation, interdependence and actions mentioned above in order to create a picture that might really be in charge and of importance is necessary.

Most of the interviewees depict the Commission as the most important actor, followed by other EU institutions. While the international federations and UEFA underline the importance of the European Court of Justice, MEPs and the ESO mention the Council and the Parliament as central actors besides the Commission. UEFA points out, “[f]or a long time it was really the European Court of Justice, which was setting the pace if you like, setting the agenda, with some very big decisions (...)” Organizations on the non-governmental side and think tanks list, in addition to the EU institutions, or even only list the great federations as the actors, especially football, with the greatest influence in the matter. The UEFA representative points out, that while the ECJ used to have great influence, especially due to the fact that sports matters entered the EU agenda through Court decisions, the Parliament has gained importance which development UEFA accredits to their encouragement. “Certainly over the last five years the European Parliament has played a much bigger role.” An international federation representatives underlines, “[r]ight now for us they are the most important actors, even though we believe they should not be actors”, in which opinion he conforms to the opinion of several other sports stakeholders, which will be discussed in more detail later on in this chapter (Relation EU and other actors). Nevertheless, due to its crucial function concerning sports in the EU, the ECJ not only depicts or depicted an important actor as stated above, but it can still be described as *the* important actor besides the Parliament. Very crucial decisions are taken at the court and sports governing bodies all over Europe are still awaiting its decisions with uncertainty. There was hope for the Lisbon Treaty to dissolve this uncertainty to a great extent, but since the article appears to be rather weak and unspecific, court decisions will still give a clearer picture about the future of sporting regulations under EU law. However, as pointed out above, certain actors have made their appearance and gained importance such as the Parliament and its Members as sports governing bodies carry out active lobbying via this institution. While some are very active, others rather concentrate on the European Commission.

3.5 Conclusion: EU Sports Actors

A great variety of sports actors exist on the European scene, however not all who are involved are also present in Brussels. There are the EU institutions, of which the European Court of Justice has played a major role in bringing sports as a topic on the EU agenda due to crucial court decisions. Further, the Council and the Parliament are playing a role in dealing with sports in the EU. However, the Commission and the embedded DG EAC with the Sports Unit are mostly involved in the developments of a future sports policy. The Parliament has gained importance during the last five years due to more lobbying activity from sports stakeholders and an increasing amount of meetings between them and MEPs. It remains debatable however, as to whether the Commission is influenced to a great extent by the influential stakeholders such as UEFA or the ESO.

Talking about the two main actors on the scene, UEFA and the ESO, it can be inferred from the interviews that there are mainly two groups of sports stakeholders: the ones closely connected to UEFA, or the ones connected to the ESO which involves IOC inclusion as well. IOC and ESO are closely working with each other, obviously, due to their connection with the ESO and the financial support from the IOC/EOC. FIFA also appears in different hearings and meetings together with the IOC, approaching the EU jointly. This leads to the development of FIFA joining the ESO in its halls instead of going together with UEFA.

Both sides (UEFA and ESO/IOC) highlight their well established relations to the Commission and other EU institutions. The persons who are mainly active on the scene know each other and exchange views on a regular basis. However, UEFA seems to have better financial resources and seems more eager to influence the European scene in their way, while ESO/IOC appears more in dialogues. Despite both sides trying to influence the Commission and one possibly being more successful than the other, there are possible differences as well as different emphases in/on the topics with which they approach the EU.

UEFA is also part of the European Team Sports and thus appears together with them in many statutes and meetings. However, UEFA often acts as a single actor aside from the Team Sports, as it appears. This is perhaps an obvious observation, since UEFA is only one of the European Team Sports located in Brussels and thus has much better access to the institutions and the stakeholders of importance. UEFA itself is of the opinion that they are paving the way for all other stakeholders which is agreed and positively mentioned by the other Team Sports who are less involved in European politics, since their main interest lies on world sports. They see UEFA as their representative on the European scene. Nevertheless, the other European Team Sports seem much more afraid of an in-depth interference of the EU with world sports structures, while UEFA is downplaying this fear by stating that Treaty Article 165 is very weak and there lies no risk in a future EU sports policy. They seek closer cooperation with the EU rather, as cited in different publications and within

the interview, while other international sports governing bodies express their wish for a minimal connection with the EU as possible.

Those stakeholders that see the role of UEFA as domineering and in a negative way are the smaller organizations, as well as the non-governmental and sports for all organizations. They are active in much different areas of the sports sector than the UEFA, e.g. the grassroots sports. Speaking about the grassroots level, it has to be recognized that all interviewees without exception holds the opinion that amateur and professional level cannot be separated but should be connected and even dependent on each other. On the one hand, the amateur level is the foundation for the professionals. On the other hand, the professional sports are financiers for the amateurs which is one of the characteristics of the European sports structure. Thus, the interviewees agree that both levels cannot be dealt with separately. The two levels are nevertheless different, especially regarding EU politics, and despite their interconnectedness, they have to be approached differently. Thus, it also becomes clear that stakeholders with higher interests on the amateur side have different ideas of a future EU sports policy in some regards, than the ones involved in professional sports.

In conclusion, different interests exist among the sports stakeholders active in the European sports policy arena. Among these interests some are closer than others, and thus, advocacy coalitions are formed. While UEFA and FIFA have equal interests concerning certain football issues, they have different issues in other areas. The European Team Sports can also be described as being part of an ACF together with UEFA and so can the IOC be appointed as having core interests with FIFA. All coalitions are striving for the achievement of their core beliefs and make therefore use of a great range of instruments in order to turn their objectives into policy.

4 Opinions towards EU Policy

The different policy issues as identified by the interviewees have been listed and explained in the previous section. Throughout the interviews, sports stakeholders' opinions about the main topics were verified and analyzed. The two topics of major importance for the future EU sports policy regarding civil society inclusion and the actors' opinions are the White Paper publication and implementation as well as the specificity of sports will be the content of the following paper.

4.1 White Paper Publication and Implementation

One of the core interests in this section will be the rate of satisfaction with the White Paper publication and the implementation of the stakeholders, as well as the possible reasons for such. The overall opinion about the White Paper can be described as widely satisfactory; however, most interviewees criticize the White Paper's vagueness in some areas.

The international federation representative considers it as a good start, but points out that it does not provide sufficient solutions for the prevalent problems. "We see the White Paper as a good initiative to get a good resume of what sports means in the EU, but it does not provide any means or any solutions to the problems that I have mentioned before about specificity of sport or the autonomy of governing bodies." The same holds true for the EAA representative, who also depicts it "as a good start to make further progress. The budget line or the opportunity for funding is appreciated. Other issues such as the specificity still have to be defined."

The UEFA representative is more precise in listing the positive as well as negative parts of the White Paper from the organization's point of view: "The White Paper has positive and negative parts." Their main criticism lies within the Commission's opinions about certain legal topics. In their eyes, the Commission is not fostering the specificity of sports to a certain extent as wished for by them. Asked about the main disappointment as expressed in a Media Release (UEFA 2007), the answer was as follows, "[w]hat we see in the White Paper, is the European Commission simply repeating more or less, what the Court had said in Meca-Medina. So that's why we are disappointed."

The ESO on the other hand points out that they are mainly satisfied with the White Paper as since its publication, the importance of sports within the EU has been increased. This is based on the outlook that the White Paper allows an easier inclusion of sports in various other policies.

ENGSO as well expresses its satisfaction with the document. Their criticism is in line with UEFA concerning the specificity and the Commission's failure to approach this topic to a greater extent. The ENGSO representative commented, "(...)generally speaking it is a very

acceptable paper and I think one can build on that.” (translated by author) The interviewee agreed with various other stakeholders that the EU shall support but not regulate the sports in Europe, which they believe as being fulfilled by the White Paper contents by saying,

“As we saw the White Paper, we were generally satisfied, because the action plan primarily deals with the fostering of sports and not with the regimentation of it. In the White Paper there is not a single proposal for a legislative instrument. Primarily it is working with soft methods, support measures etc. in this area.” (translated by author)

The EAA argues a similar point to ENGSO with regards to the specificity of sports that it does not depict a major focus of the paper and still has to be worked on, while support for sports is one major topic of the White Paper which the EAA representative sees as positive,

“(…)they haven’t really pinned it down, like the issue of specificity of sports (….)is still really quite open in terms of what’s going to happen. But I think from the point of view of our member federations, the mere fact that there is a budget line and an opportunity for funding, that will be the thing that’s going to be of most concern for them, if they can learn how to access it and actually see some benefits from it. (….) So, as long as we are making progress, (….) people are generally happy, and it seems like there is progress being made.” (translated by author)

Two of the MEPs interviewed as well agree that the White Paper on Sport has a good beginning, but also criticize its specificity in certain areas, “[i]t is not very specific, as it mentions issues in general, but I think it is a good beginning.” (Finnish MEP) Further, the Austrian MEP sees the White Paper as a signal in the direction of sports, and is of the opinion that the actions which shall be running within the Pierre de Coubertin Action Plan are something concrete, “[f]inally, a signal in the direction of sports, (….) I think it is a good approach, (..) even the measurements, the actions that shall be running through Pierre de Coubertin – that is something real and concrete that is getting underway.” (translated by author) The British MEP on the contrary expresses his high dissatisfaction, brought about by uncertain legal issues,. “(…) many sports organizations feel (….) the need for legal certainty for the way they organize their competitions. (….) Many sports currently have to play a guessing game with EU law because it is all done on a case-by-case basis in the courts.”

4.2 The Specificity of Sports

The second most discussed policy issue can be found in the specificity of sports. It represents a very important topic when dealing with a future sports policy. Further, it describes the most crucial point between EU politics and the sports world, since EU politics are able to greatly influence the sports system, due to great discrepancies between EU law and sporting rules. Thus, this topic is of high interest for most sports stakeholders, especially the ones dealing with professional sports, since they are the ones greatly affected. Subsequently, these stakeholders do not always see a future EU sports policy in a bright light, since they fear the interference of the EU when it comes to the system of rules in

sports. On the other hand, a future EU sports policy could in contrast lead to an improvement regarding this fear, if the specificity of sports would only be acknowledged by the EU institutions through a statutory basis in the legal framework.

Due to the prevalent uncertainty in this matter, stakeholders have differing opinions. One international team sports federation representative sees the importance and need for an EU sports policy, but clearly states that a clear definition of where EU law is applicable and where it is not is needed. “(...) [T]his policy would really have to define where federations are autonomous and where the EU rules apply.” He further points out the great risks for the sports world, if the specificity of sports is not recognized. He commented; “[a]t some point sports will be hurt in Europe (...), compared to other countries where sport is freer. (...) The EU will have to react because to some point it will kill the sport in Europe.”

The representative of a European individual sports federation also expresses the sports world’s fear of too much interference of the EU with sporting regulations by saying, “I think this is one of the biggest fears of sport, that the EU will start making legislations that actually affect how we run sport. I think all sports have an interest in that not happening.”

The MEPs interviewed have rather contrasting views. One’s opinion says that the EU should not get involved at all, and rather leave the sports governing to the sports governing bodies: “Why does the EU need to get involved in how much footballers get paid?” (British MEP) He reiterates that the EU institutions are not capable of taking care of the sports as their business. Another MEP on the contrary, sees a need for the EU to interfere, applying its rules in order to guarantee the fulfillment of the EU rules regarding ethical and legal questions. However, he also mentions the need for the consideration of some specific sports characteristics,

“(...) [T]hey need some rules, some ethical rules, and of course some economical rules also; because football teams are part of some kind of entertainment industry, but the sports rules and the normal internal market rules are a little bit different. We need this kind of legislation with the considerations of the specific sports defense (...).” (Finnish MEP)

The third MEP (Austria) that was interviewed in the course of the empirical field work, as well sees the need for the definition of the specificity of sports. One exception the MEP makes is the protection of minors. Further, she points out the great sums earned in professional sports, which she sees as something different to low or non-profit sports. These developments are compared to the developments made in the cultural sector:

“I believe that one has to make certain exceptions in sports. That’s the same with culture. Culture has a great market share and is subject to market regulations. Here in sports we need necessary exceptions. Culture can be and has to be supported and can also enter the market. And I think it has to be the same way with sports. If it comes to exorbitant amounts in professional sports, which are consistently talked about, it is another case. One has to see where to make a stop or where the regulations apply.” (translated by author)

The ENGSO representative criticized the White Paper as having a vague section about the specificity of sports, and reiterated the wish of the sports for all movement on the emphasis of a stronger autonomy for the federations. They [meaning the sports for all movement] would have expected,

“(...) that the autonomy of the associations would be highlighted to a greater extent in the White Paper. The specificity and special characteristics of sports should also be focused, as were more explanations to it; that the autonomy of the associations was acknowledged and the specificity exemplified, in regards to the appliance of EU law.” (translated by author)

In this regard, UEFA goes in line with the other federations, desiring for the recognition of the specificity of sports. However, they also pointed out that they do not see a great risk in the article due to its vagueness: “We would hope that the article would give another boost for specificity, and will give another (...) layer of support to specificity.”

5 Relationships: The EU and Other Actors

In this part the interviewees were asked for their self perception concerning their relation to the EU, meaning the EU as the governing body of European policy. Mainly the stakeholders identified the EU with the European Commission and in more detail the DG Education and Culture, as the institution mainly dealing with the topic of sports in the EU and the direct contact in most cases for stakeholders that are approaching the EU with sporting issues. One might think that those stakeholders who are dealing with regulation issues concerning sports and EU law, are confronting the ECJ instead of the Commission or others being in dialogue with the Council or the Parliament when approaching topics dealt with by certain MEPs. During the interviews however, and the subsequent analysis, it appears that the main institution representing the EU in sporting matters is the DG Education and Culture and their staff.

Most of the stakeholders see themselves as partners of the EU, although some have the feeling that the EU does not see itself as a partner in return. One international sporting federation declares, “[w]e see the EU as a partner, but we do not always feel that they feel the same.” Some see themselves as mediators between the EU and sports stakeholders, like for example one think tank sees itself as a mediator between the citizens and the EU institutions. None has the feeling of being an opponent towards the EU.

On the one hand this draws a very positive picture about the relations between the EU and the sports stakeholders. On the other hand the impression appears that a more critical view of the actors would make the picture more vivid, real and productive. The only ones criticizing the EU and its actions are the great international federations with regards to the specificity of sports and legal questions. In other matters a great amount of stakeholders seem to want to draw the picture of a happy family, which is in reality, the contrary. Is it really healthy for policy development that they all *act* as one and say “we love each other?”

Despite the majority seeing their relation to the EU as rather positive, it has been pointed out again, that there are two main wings. One represented by the ESO/IOC representatives, and the other by the UEFA. There are overlapping points between the two sides, such as the Team Sports which are connected to UEFA as a team sport itself, but which do not always conform to UEFA’s opinions.

In addition, it is important to highlight that only few organizations are present in Brussels. An increase of stakeholders in Brussels can be observed, especially when having a look at the rising number of partners of the ESO. Not all partners represented by the ESO have their own representatives in Brussels. The representative of a European individual sports federation emphasizes that their federation also only has very limited resources to engage in EU policies regarding staff and financial assets. Thus, they need the ESO to be able to engage themselves in at least one way or another. Many other sports are not yet

represented, despite the Olympic Committees and the German Football Federation. “We are probably the most active; but if you go and ask the European Golfers or European Basketball, they might not even be thinking about it at all.” For many organizations it is almost impossible to be active on the European scene to such an extent as, for example, UEFA. They have very limited assets to open their own office or even to actively engage in European policies from their home base. “For me to go and say we need more, we need to join another organization, that’s a hard sell in an organization that doesn’t have an awareness, yet. So it’s a long-term process.” They are involved in European meetings such as European Sports Forum (held in 2008 in Biarritz), and also meet with the ESO on a regular basis. Nevertheless, the interviewee had the opinion that official meetings with the Commission are not always very effective. “Personally I don’t think that those [official meetings with the Commission] are really effective from our point of view. I think they are more of a chance for the Commissioners to show that they are consulting. The real action is sort of behind the scenes.” This statement can say a lot about the Commission’s reputation, and also leads to another statement given by the same organization’s representative, that they see themselves as a partner to the EU concerning the funding side, not so much concerning the legal side. On the legal side they see a partnership with the ESO, following the IOC decisions. “One is the legal side, and on that we are going through the DOSB office, we are supporting the positions taken normally by the Olympic Committee.” The funding side, according to them, gives them an opportunity to interact with the EU which is what they are also striving for. Up to now, due to a missing legal basis for a sports program, they have not achieved a lot but see themselves as potential partners in this matter, since they are hoping for closer cooperation with the EU regarding funding in the future. “On the funding side, the project side which will interest our federations most, we haven’t actually done very much, but we are working towards doing things. So that’s why I say we are a potential partner.”

The other strength besides the ESO, represented by UEFA, holds the opinion that the UEFA and the EU should be partners. “My personal long term vision of what it should be would be a partnership, a very solid partnership.” The UEFA representative has the personal vision that sports governing bodies should be in charge of managing the different sports. The EU will not easily, if at all, give up any legal authority of a policy field under their treaty. UEFA would nevertheless like to take a forward-going position, directly approaching the difficulties of European policy towards the institutions.

A same position regarding the question of who should be in charge, is taken by one of the MEPs who also suggests that sports federations should be in charge of managing their sport, while the EU should step back and only watch them to do it in a proper way, complying to the ethical as well as economical rules. He sees the EU as taking on a rather coordinating role.

The ESO would like to become a partner to the EU as well, just like the UEFA. Similar to the European Football Association, they maintain the closest relations to the EU institutions, especially with the Sports Unit. One section they seek to create a closer partnership in with the EU is the anti-doping policy, which would have a positive effect concerning their reputation while at the same time ensuring their financial situation due to the financial support from the IOC.

The EU ENGSO representative describes their relationship to the EU as having a good and close cooperation, saying “ENGSO and the European Commission are cooperating in a very, very good way. We are in a constructive dialogue” (translated by author). He further points out that they have always found an open door to voice their interests, “[w]e were always able to find an open door, a listening ear, and we were always able to balance the interests. We are very happy about that” (translated by author). As the last type of sports stakeholders, one think tank answered that they are in touch with the EU, but not to a great extent. They see the greatest way of influencing the EU is through meetings such as the EU Sport Forum or other forms of lobbying.

In conclusion, one can say that the EU institutions, the European Commission for the most parts, and the other sports stakeholders are working closely together in most matters concerning EU sports. This holds especially true for those stakeholders present in Brussels which are mainly the ESO and UEFA. However, FIFA and the Olympic Committee are also present at various occasions and are in active exchange with the DG EAC. This was however to be expected, since FIFA moved into the ESO and since ESO is closely connected to the Olympic movement. The European Team Sports such as Basketball, Volleyball or Ice hockey are also active members of conferences and round tables organized by the EU to discuss EU sports matters. Nevertheless, despite the fact that they describe themselves as having a close relation towards the EU, they still see a great importance in the international sphere and also describe the international scene as more important than the European scene.

We can describe then, governance in the EU as experts working closely together in order to find compromises and solutions for all parties involved. One cannot exclude and should not underestimate the international sphere, which is seen by a great range of sports stakeholders as very important and above the European level and influence. Some experts are working closer together than others, but the main actors, especially those being influential on the European scene are highly interested in a positive relation towards the EU and its institutions.

6 Football and the Others

It cannot be dismissed that football is the sports with the highest reputation and the greatest audience in Europe. Other sports might also enjoy a great audience, but not to the same as the numbers reached by football games brought about by TV viewing and stadium spectators. As a logical consequence, football has the biggest financial asset and greater abilities of influence in certain areas. They are able to open an office in Brussels; they are lobbying on the big scale, have access to meetings while others do not, and have a great variety of contacts within the European institutions.

UEFA is the only sporting federation having its own office in Brussels with the purpose of lobbying⁹⁹, while all the other federations do not have any direct representatives, or are represented through the European Sports Office. What is quite interesting is the relation between FIFA and UEFA, since FIFA just moved to Brussels, not into the UEFA office, but into the EUSO. A possible reason for this lies on the differing views they have in certain matters. As with their relation to the other sports stakeholders, one could assume that football is outpacing all the others due to their great assets and abilities of influencing the EU institutions.

The MEPs clearly see a dominance of football over other sports in Europe, which they ascribe to football's major media profile and public presence. As one of the MEPs puts it: "The problem is that a lot of politicians get attracted to football because it has a big profile. We also need to concentrate on the smaller sports, many of whom will be affected by unintended consequences of EU action on sports." (Finnish MEP) Another MEP (British) also sees a problem in the EU institutions and the White Paper concentrating mainly on football rather than on grassroots sports or sports as a whole. He states then that football "(...) is a big sport in Europe and when we talk about sports in many cases football comes first." Further, this MEP sees it as "(...) a big industry; it's some kind of entertainment industry." A third MEP (Austrian) agrees with the above statements and sees football associations as the main actors among the sports federations in Europe: "If I look at sporting federations, football associations are undoubtedly the ones with the greatest power, since they are also appealing to the audience (...)" (translated by author). Despite this opinion, this MEP does not see the risk of football overruling the smaller organizations. She believes that football has a strong stand, but is as well active in the protection of minors, workers' rights and competition regulations. Other bigger sports are also involved. From such statements one can conclude that football and other big sports have a lot of influence brought about by their reputation and presence.

⁹⁹ Disregarding the European Cyclists and European University Sports, since both came to Brussels with other intentions.

ENGSO EU also describes football as a reputable actor brought about by its influence on media presence and popularity. Although the ENGSO interviewee points out that other sports follow the developments of football, he clearly sees a risk of football being too powerful leading to the risk that sports as a whole will simply become a background against football. “Football is very, very powerful (...) and the tendency exists, there is the risk, that through the omnipresence of football sports may be neglected” (translated by author).

A speaker from the individual sports section on the European level proclaims that football is “[p]robably the one that’s getting the biggest hearing (...)” He further states that football and the other federations have different concerns in certain matters. Thus, football might be a forerunner in some aspects for the others, but not in all. The international federations and team sports do not perceive negative aspects about football having such high influence on EU level. Since they are not as involved as the UEFA, they see UEFA as their representative in Brussels and are thankful that the UEFA takes care of their business in EU matters. Thus, it seems that not all organizations and stakeholders have problems with football’s omnipresence.

One think tank also focusing on sports policy agrees that football is a mighty actor, and an important one at that. The interviewee says that “[y]ou cannot avoid football when dealing with European Sports.” Football is in the centre of interest for the greater majority of European citizens, and it depicts a forerunner for others: “While football is going forward today, the others will follow tomorrow.” He further emphasizes that UEFA has a great chance of influencing EU policy due to their consequent and lively relations with the EU institutions. They are one of the very few stakeholders who are able to directly meet with the Commissioner instead of meeting with other Commission staff who are less influential.

The UEFA itself also sees the dominance of football over others, also saying that this cannot be avoided due to football’s fame.: “Football has dominated the European policy debate over the last ten to fifteen years. (...) It was almost inevitable because football is Europe’s most popular team sport.” Its high media profile also played a major role in its economic wealth which brought about an increase in attention of the institutions towards football. The UEFA representative comments that “[i]t is the economic growth of football that has attracted the attention of the European Union.” Football per se did not try to become famous, but the institutions’ attention got caught by football (economic wealth, broadcasting rights, quotas etc.). The representative understands the negative views of other stakeholders, but emphasizes the positive values UEFA’s work can have for others in his eyes. “I do understand that they feel that we are too big, too powerful, too rich, but I do honestly believe, that a lot of our work benefits sports as a whole.”

7 Professional vs. Amateur Sports

As other findings show, professional and amateur sports are interconnected to a great extent and rely on each other. If professional sports does not function well due to EU restraints, the amateur and sports for all level will also suffer.

During the interviews, the stakeholders' opinions about the connection between amateur and professional sports level were focused on. The following part of this chapter will give an overview of the different views and analyze the answers given in order to show the interrelations between the two sides of the sports world. This leads us to another piece of the puzzle in this complicated picture of the European sports scene and the possible difficulties in the development of a European sports policy.

In various documents, the Commission seems to separate the two sections of sports, dividing them into the societal role and the economic dimension of sports. During the interview with a Commission representative this proceeding was explained with the following reasons; the social role of sports covers a great variety of stakeholders but can also be seen as an economic branch. For example, sports generates jobs. However, the EU sees the need to support sports for all, but until the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty the EU lacked a legal basis for EU wide decisions in the area of sports for all. Thus, the EU has to concentrate on the two different sides of sports for different reasons. The societal role of sports being of interest for the EU due to its dimension and ability to reach a great variety of people; the economic dimension being dealt with in EU politics on a more legal basis due to various connection points with existing EU law are a few of the reasons given.

Two MEPs see a definite interlink between the two sides, especially when it comes to money distribution from the top clubs down to the amateur level (pyramid structure of EU sports system), the latter being pointed out by the British MEP. He also believes that this is a good thing and should not be changed in the future. He comments however, "I am not in favor of governments – or the EU – trying to dictate this model though." The Finnish MEP underlines similar arguments for the connection of professional and sports for all level, also instancing the European club system where most clubs have a professional as well as an amateur level supporting each other. The Austrian MEP sees the situation rather different, as she argues that sports for all is less connected to the economic dimension of sports, while the professional sports world combines the economic dimension and the social role, commenting, "[t]hey are not always connected, less where it concerns amateur sports and sports for all. But where sports and the economy go together, that is where it concerns professional sport. In this case sports represents an important economic factor."

This idea directly leads us to the professional level where one of the international federation representatives is of the opinion that the amateur and professional level are

absolutely linked and cannot be separated, especially when it comes to their solidarity mechanism. Hence, the representative states:

“Between professional and amateur is the solidarity mechanism, where we believe that the EU should stand behind that mechanism and make sure that it keeps working; (...) this solidarity mechanism works on the basis that the professional side supports the amateur side, and the amateur side has to support the professional side.”

Besides the connection between the two sides due to the solidarity mechanism, this interviewee admits that they are separated in some ways, as to their organization and the topics dealt with, but “saying that both are autonomous this goes in the wrong direction. (...) Within the pyramid of sport, they are together.”

The representative of the European individual sports federation also sees a connection and the need for exchange and cooperation between the amateur and professional level in his sports. “We see that we need a better understanding of the grassroots level and that there is a connection between the two levels.” This federation would like to enhance the support of the amateur level / the voluntary side of sports, saying,

“Concerning the second pillar [the amateur side of sport], we realized that only a small amount of people is engaged in sport. (...) We try to increase the ways of engaging people. (...) We also want to engage joggers and fitness people. Up to now such people do not see themselves as athletes, and we want to change that. (...) We are looking at using volunteers more, because the volunteer contribution to our sports is larger than all financial contributions and really essential for our sport.”

This interviewee not only sees an existing connection between the two levels, but also points out the need for further cooperation between the two levels and an increase in support from the professional to the amateur level. He admits that both areas are different in parts, but that they cannot be separated totally. “I think you have these two quite different areas, but they are linked. If you cut one from the other, they both will die – that’s the position that we have. (...) [T]he grassroots is the key component of creating the audience for the professional. So you can’t separate the two.”

UEFA holds the same view as the stakeholders above, saying that the economic dimension and societal role cannot be separated. “Honestly, I think all of it is linked.” That the EU in its documents often divides the two sides into separate sections is justified by the UEFA representative with the statement that “[t]hose divisions partly reflect the different sports actors and the different sports organizations involved.” Along these arguments he further points out,

“The division is logical. However, I would say, that all of those subjects are linked in the end. And we feel at UEFA that it is a very, very dangerous route to take when you start trying to divide things too much. It is extremely important for us not to divide the professional and the amateur groups as we think that they have to go together.”

UEFA being confronted with criticism concerning the economic activities of the association is defending itself. As the UEFA representative puts it, “[s]ome Commissioners describe UEFA as an economic entity, which it is; however, it has an important social function to fulfill as well. One cannot set real economic entities equal to sporting institutions with an important economic dimension.” Hence, it is important to notice that the economic dimension and the social role in sports are closely connected in many ways.

The ESO interviewee stated that professional sports is high on the EU agenda. He believes the great interest of EU politics in professional sports to be logical. Since the great sports events are connected with more publicity, those who are well known in politics turn towards them. Nevertheless, the ESO also underlines the growing importance of the sports for all movement. In this context, the European Year of Volunteering, taking place in 2010 was being mentioned as an example for the growing importance of sports, and also that this EU program will again move sports up into focus. Besides the positive developments for the sports for all level, the ESO representative still sees a dominance of professional sports, and thus emphasizes the need for the social role of sports as being at the core of a European sports policy. “However, professional sports will always take over a great amount of space in European politics, thus it is very important that the topics of the White Paper (integration, health, social role of sport) can be found in the policy implementation.”

The interviewee at ENGSO EU also perceives a difficulty in separating the economic dimension and social role of sports. In line with the above arguments he also points out the interconnection between professionals and amateurs and their dependency, “(...) one cannot separate it. (...) Somehow the professional sports is dependent on sports for all and vice versa. which is the essence of the economic component of the sports. One can hardly separate that,” (translated by author).

In conclusion, this section took note that the majority of the interviewees see a clear interconnection between professional and amateur sports, and between the economic dimension and the social role of sports. First of all, the European club system and the solidarity mechanism is one of the main reasons for the said interconnection. The amateur level of the sports clubs financially depends on the professional level, and the professional level needs the support of the amateur level as well, in order to foster its reputation. Thus, one cannot and should not easily separate the two levels. However, a great number of sports stakeholders in the EU see differences between the two levels, and thus see the need to deal with the two sides on different scales. When focusing on the professional and amateur differentiation regarding the economic dimension and social role differentiation, the differences become a little clearer. The EU defines such separation in a variety of EU documents (e.g. the White Paper), because both sides of the sports world have to be dealt with differently. While the social role of sports lead to much different outcomes than the

economic dimension, EU law applies in some areas of the latter but less in areas of the first. Further, the two sides of sports can have different positive effects for the EU and its peoples. Sports as an economic activity means sports as an employee, sports as contributing to economic growth, but also sporting activities in the risk of breaching EU law. The social role of sports depicts the social values brought forward through sporting activities, such as health, team work, fairness, and integration. Nevertheless, one important fact to bear in mind is that all sporting federations, even though they are generating economic assets, also have social functions to fulfill. That is why it is a challenging task to differentiate between economic dimension and social role, and not to set those sporting bodies equal to other economic entities.

8 Different National Sports Policies vs. One European Sports Policy

Another step on the way towards a European sports policy is the question concerning the set-up of the different national sports policies, and the possibility of combining them under one roof, or whether this is even necessary. Thus, the interviewees were asked about their opinion regarding this matter.

One interviewee from the Sports Unit says that there are similarities in some areas between the national sports policies of the European Member States, however “resources and premises are and remain to be very different.” In this regard, he talks about the Member States’ interests regarding sports, and their resources, meaning the resources regarding staff, e.g. separate Sports Ministry or not, or financial resources, meaning the different amounts the state is spending on sports issues and activities.

A representative from an international team sports federation voiced out that it is impossible to combine all different sports policies under one common EU policy by saying, “[t]o find a common umbrella would simply be impossible.” His main point lies with the legal challenges being very different in each country concerning sports, and thus making it even more difficult on a European basis to be combined. The UEFA interviewee in contrast, speaks about cultural differences, and thus comments that national differences in sports policies are very great and very difficult to cope with. As pointed out, he thinks it to be “[e]xtremely difficult because (...) those differences are cultural and I think they go very deep (...) into national history and culture.”

The non-governmental sports side also sees differences in national sports policies. Nevertheless, the ENGSO representative interviewed is of the opinion, that most political issues concerning sports can be solved on a transnational basis. Some things are best solved on a local level (e.g. volunteering), but some topics can also be approached from a European dimension,

“Generally this is definitely something that would best be solved on the local level [with regards to] questions concerning voluntary work. (...) In this regard I am very confident, that we, from the point of view of the sports organizations, in cooperation with the Commission, will be able to identify areas which have a European dimension.”

The MEP side of the interviews as well holds the view that the national sports policies are significantly different and that striving for making them more equal under one European sports policy is not and should not be a desire of the EU. As one of the MEPs (Finnish) sees it, the sports governing bodies are well able to coordinate sports on a European basis, and the EU’s role in this matter should be the encouragement of the federations to keep on, while ensuring that they are complying with EU legal rules. Thus, he proclaims,

“I just think that the European Union's role is to encourage the sports organizations [and the] sports federations to do their job and thus, put some ethical rules and responsibilities for the sports clubs, or remember them

that they have this kind of ethical rules, because it seems to me, that there are, inside some countries, some problems.”

With regards to problems in certain countries, the MEP talks about trafficking of very young players from third world countries who are often offered negative living circumstances. In this situation, the MEP would like the EU to have a stand and a greater say. The same opinion is agreed to by another MEP (Austria) who says that all Member States shall and need to make their own policies, and that the EU shall only intervene where sporting activity breaches economic rules or where the protection of minors is violated,

“No, I think this is also clearly shown in the White Paper that the national sports policies, the national sports associations, have to and should make their own politics. But where they are entering competition law, where they have to apply to the protection of minors or intrude in such areas, in these cases other measures have to be applied” (translated by author).

What we see in this section, is that there is a great variety of national sports policies, as was also discussed in Part A of the study. The differences lie within different national interests concerning sports, as well as within different resources. However, there is not and should not be a desire of the EU to combine these totally diverse policies under one EU umbrella policies, trying to make them more equal. While some of the sports stakeholders interviewed have clearer views about the impossibility of a combination of national sports policies under an EU policy, others do see the need for an EU policy in certain areas. Among these. a consensus exists that national sports policies shall remain with their differences, while the EU shall interfere in areas where important rules are breached. As to what these areas are, varying opinions again exist between sporting federations. They fear an increased EU interference with their sports system, and e.g. MEPs, seeing the need for a protection of minors, economic rules etc.

9 EU Funding for Sports

With the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty the way is paved for an EU Sports funding program. As the previous chapters have shown, without such a program, sports projects could only receive funding under other policy schemes. Some see that a mere sports program could be of high importance for the sports world in the EU. Others in contrast do not give too much regard to such a sports program due to the possibility for sports projects to receive funding under a variety of other programs. However, for the reputation of sports it might possibly be influential.

Concerning the future budget of the sports program, the Commission has laid out an amount of 6 million Euros for the first year of action. Quite obviously, this is a rather small amount. However, most of the interviewees, when asked about it, thought it to be small but did not comment much about it. Most of them thought it to be “better than nothing”, and consider it as “a first step into the right direction.” ENGSO comments that the former intended budget had been EUR 1.5 million, and raising it up to 6 million has been a great and successful step.

An EU institution representative himself also sees that the intended budget is rather low, “but no budget is sufficient; the budget only depicts so-called seed money.” The Member States take different positions towards sports, meaning that there are different national budgets for sports and also different interests in the topic, as also pointed out above when talking about the differences in the national sports policies. Nevertheless, the Commission sees a need for a mere sports program and also profits coming from such an installment. “A mere sports program would be good for sports organizations, however mainstreaming remains difficult (horizontal topics).” Due to the great discrepancies between national preferences it might be rather difficult to find mainstreaming program ideas, although mainstreaming seems to be the most important topic when talking about a future EU policy, as highlighted by the Commission representative during the interview. The Commission employee sees one possible profit from a sports program within the possibility of fostering “transparency and communication (...) through sports projects.” He emphasizes that “[a] program always depicts a political instrument. (...) A future EU sport program could be used in order to put low pressure on the Member States concerning their sport programs.” A mere sports program therefore, is seen as an important device within a European sports policy in order to penetrate the Member States and to influence their national sports policies.

A representative from an international team sports federation agrees with the opinion that “[t]he intended sports budget is low, however concerning the current EU sports movement it is not so bad.” Along with other interviewees, he agrees that the low budget is better than nothing but for the number of people involved in sports in Europe, the budget is considered to be quite ridiculous,

“If you look at the extent of the sports movement that we have in Europe, then 6 million is good, but ridiculous on the other side, because if you look at the extent of what sports is in Europe and especially if you also take the grassroots and amateurs, then obviously an amount of 6 million is ridiculous.”

One of the MEPs interviewed (Finnish) rationalizes that up to now there is only a budget but no money until a legal base is set. Further, he sees the risk that sports money is taken out of other programs' budgets. Concerning the amount of the intended budget, he considers it to be very low, but may still be seen as good will on the part of the EU: “I think that you can see it as a sign that in the European Union we have the good will for sports, but of course, it's not enough.” As to the question of who should profit from a sports program, he thinks that the grassroots level (sports for all) should be supported, while professional sports can rely on sponsors.

The Austrian MEP also agrees that the intended budget is low, but is somehow good as a start for the actions listed in the White Paper to be carried out. In her view, the budget needs to rise in the future, however it is too early to discuss such things at the given point (Lisbon not yet ratified). Further, this MEP highlights that the economic crisis will not stop at the EU budgets, emphasizing that “[f]irst of all Lisbon is not yet here; secondly the budget is already fairly allocated (...). (...) That means, right now talking about concrete numbers, I am considering as too early,” (translated by author). Concerning the fear that money for sports projects from other policy areas will be reduced, she believes that sports' actions under other support programs will remain, since sports is and remains to be an important factor regarding a great variety of policy fields. The third MEP (British) does not see the need for a sports funding program since he believes that “the Member States and sports organizations are more than capable of doing that.”

Turning towards a European individual sports federation and their opinion, they also find that the sports budget as low, but believe too that it is better than nothing, and better than the situation now as compared to before. “Even a small project is more than we have now.” The representative gives thought to the application procedure which he currently defines as “very complicated”, especially due to the fact that sports projects have up to now been mainly funded within the course of other policy programs. “(...) If you are applying for a health form, there are a lot of federations that didn't see that as part of their core business. So in the past they would say, why should we do something for health? It is not going to help us win a gold medal..” He thus sees the need to raise the awareness of the federations for sports funding programs, which may be achieved through the set up of a mere EU sports program. Despite the low budget, he is of the opinion that “[i]f we can access a project from that, just one, that ends up adding value to our sports, then it's worth the effort.”

UEFA's representative in Brussels also considers the intended budget as very minimal but also agrees that it could make an impact on sports in Europe. “I think that's very

low. I would have hoped that it might be a little bit more than that; I thought it was a little higher than that. [But] (...) I think the money, even when it is very small, can still have an impact.” Funding for studies is considered as very useful, like for example, for the training of young sportsmen and –women (following the UEFA home-grown player rule). UEFA hopes that others will profit from their findings and efforts. Regarding the question as to who should profit from such a program, he thinks that funding should be received by amateur / grassroots organizations; “they are the ones who need it most. (...) thus I hope that amateur sports will benefit.”

Another representative and interviewee from the ESO agrees with the opinion that a mere sports program would be useful for the “publicity and prestige of the sport”; however, “for the mere implication of sports projects, it is unnecessary.” This representative further explains that sporting events are less associated with the political Europe, and thus does not see great profit from such events for the EU and its integration process. Nevertheless, he gives credit for transnational projects as having the ability to create exchange and meeting. This however, does not necessarily lead to a better understanding between the EU and the project participants since “[t]here are a lot of people who cannot differentiate between the Council of Europe and the European Council – [and] they will not learn it in such projects.” Hence, this interviewee sees the implication of sports projects and their funding through a sports project as rather critical when being applied for the purposes of fostering understanding of the EU and the integration process. For the sports in general and the support of the sports in all EU Member States, he sees great benefit in an EU sports program.

From the ENGSO field, concern is raised regarding not having a mere sports program. As the ENGSO interviewee expresses, “(...) having no legal basis is definitely a big problem for various and obvious reasons.” There was the attempt to put sports on the agenda of the structural funds since culture is also mentioned. Since culture has a legal basis, and sports does not, the efforts were unsuccessful and sports was not mentioned. Sports can however, have a positive effect on regional development:

“Back then, when the new funding period, meaning the European fund for regional development, was discussed in Parliament, we tried to bring sports explicitly forward because we thought that sports, as various projects show, can really contribute to regional development, and can function as a catalyst. In this case we got support from the European Parliament, they accepted the proposal for change, and following sports was mentioned in the act of the European fund for regional development. The Council though again excluded the proposal. To be fair one has to justifiably rationalize that they want to turn away from the Gießkannen-Prinzip [giving a share to everybody] of the funding assets, but want to be able to support specific areas. Nevertheless, we were of the opinion, that sports should be part of it, and pointed out that culture was also explicitly mentioned. Then it was said, culture is legally based, that’s also the reason why culture is part of the act. We agreed that sports is not legally based, but sports can nonetheless

contribute to a great extent to regional development and should not be forgotten. There are hundreds, if not thousands of sports project examples which show the extent sports is contributing to regional development. Albeit our great argumentation, we were unsuccessful – not understandably” (translated by author).

As we can conclude from the above, ENGSO sees a great need for a legal basis in order to be able to place sports funding in different programs, and not only in mere sports programs. However, sports programs alone are seen as positive for sports in general. As already mentioned above, ENGSO is widely satisfied with the intended sports budget, since it was raised from 1.5 million to 6 million EUR. Further, they see good potential in such a program, saying: “That is not a lot (...) but it is at least something (...). We are seeing very good opportunities to implement very interesting projects on a European level, which are able to further develop European sports,” (translated by author). Of course, their wish for the future would be for a higher budget, and they would like to see such a program being managed through either the national governments (national committees) or the sports governing bodies to guarantee citizen-closeness. However, since the intended sports budget will be very low (also for a future period most probably), this is not very likely. The sports funding program will be managed through the executive agency. Their wish for a future sports program is expressed as follows:

“It would be great if it would be managed by the Member States, because in most cases, at least typically in a great number of Member States, the national authorities are able to extend the funding budget; and also because practical experience shows that national institutions are closer to the citizens, and thus it is better for the whole processing and the management of the funding program. (...) It could be thought about whether the sports organizations could be in charge of it, the umbrella sports associations. But this will not come true. (...) The question is if they [the national commissions, including the representatives of the sports organizations] agree on 10,000 Euros, then this is not goal oriented. But it would be in the sense of being public-friendly / the sense of grassroots-politics. However, due to the scarce resources it will most probably be implemented through the executive agency, and that will not be such a big problem.” (translated by author).

The representative of the interviewed think tank does not see a problem with such a low budget, but sees it as positive for sports in general.

Concerning the funding application process in general, as emphasized above, sports funding up to now can be found under various other policy programs. However, it used to be rather complicated to find the exact passages where sports was mentioned and thus could receive funding. The process as such has gotten easier during the last five years due to some simplifications in the application requirements (shorter and simpler application forms) as well as due to the set-up of information offices all over Europe in order to provide information and assistance concerning the application procedure to potential applicants. Further, it has become easier for sports organizations to apply for funding, since sports is

more frequently mentioned as a possible area of action to apply for. The White Paper publication in November 2007 has again paved the way for sports organizations to receive EU financial support for their projects. Nevertheless, it is still far from easy for clubs and associations from the sports sector with little experience in the funding procedure to apply for and receive a grant.

As a conclusion, the intended budget for an EU sports program, after Lisbon has been ratified, is considered as minimal by most interviewees. It is better than nothing however, and better than the situation before. Overall, such a program is of importance for the reputation of sports. In addition, the installment of a sports program might have spill over effects on the national sports policies. Nevertheless, the risk of spending money for such a sports program will be reduced in other policy fields for sports actions. This fear is not shared by all interviewees. On the contrary, some believe that the creation of a sports program and a stronger EU sports policy will increase funding of sports actions in other areas as well as national expenditures in the area of sports. Overall, the interviewees agree that only sports for all sector shall profit from the funding and thus from an EU sports program. In addition, some sports stakeholders express their desire for the future that sports governing bodies should be in charge of the management of a sports program. This desire however may not be fulfilled in the future.

10 Future of European Sports Policy

“Sports is a very good tool to do the good things in our society, and to strengthen our civil society.” (Finnish MEP)

After having analyzed the current policy issues in the sports scene of EU politics, painting a picture of the involved actors and their relation towards each other and the relation of sports stakeholders towards the EU, the opinions of the different sports stakeholders concerning two main policy issues were discussed. Additionally, we have had a look into the interviewees' views about topics such as the presence and influence of football in EU sports policy, professional vs. amateur sports, as well as the variety of national sports policies and EU sports funding. After gaining in depth insight in all the above mentioned topics from the stakeholders' view, we will now turn towards the future of European sports policy and the stakeholders' views and desires concerning its development.

From the Commission, the issue of mainstreaming was raised. They would like to see sports policies being approached laterally by all Member States alike. The Commission representative is seeing the Irish no-referendum towards the Lisbon Treaty as having negative effects on EU sports policy. In his opinion, there have been different foci pre- and post-Ireland. The developments have slowed down, and a lot of topics have been widened. The interviewee comments that “[e]ven if the treaty is ratified, a lower pace is intended.” Currently, he states, “sports is not a core business. (...) Sports has to deal with heavy setbacks [such as Lisbon], however today we cannot imagine Europe without sport.” For him “[s]port has a coordinative role”, as well as “a great social role - for most people, sports has a positive connotation.” It becomes clear then that for the Commission representative, sports is important within Europe and for the European people. However, after being rejected by parts of the Union, Lisbon and the overall pace concerning the topics of the Treaty concerning sports has been reduced, and a future sports policy will most probably be less precise as it was intended for before.

From the international team sports federation comes the view that an EU policy is possible in the future, where the “most important issue will be the definition of the specificity of sports.” They further desire for “as less intervention as possible.” Asked about the pros and cons of a future EU policy, the interviewee answered as follows:

“The decisions that were taken by the European Court of Justice have put so much legal uncertainty over sports, that there can probably be only one EU policy that can clearly set the guidelines. So obviously that is a pro of an EU sports policy, to really set a clear framework for everybody, and then we know in what framework we can work. Legal certainty is probably the biggest pro. And the cons for the IIHF is that we have to govern our sports throughout the whole world, and having an EU sports policy would always restrict us to this policy whenever we set up a rule on the international

level.(...) It is really difficult to govern a sports on a world wide basis, if you are not entitled and capable to set up the rules for the sports on a world wide basis.”

Legal certainty is seen as having the biggest pro, since it will clarify a lot of concerns the international federations are having against EU interference with their sports. Nevertheless, the federations still have to deal with EU interference in their sports and their rules, which make governing sports on a world-wide basis difficult, especially when having to apply different rules for different regions.

The British MEP does not see a need for a legally based EU policy. His main concern is directed to the need for the clarification of the application of EU law, “however, this does not need an EU sports policy.” If there is such thing as an EU sports policy in the future, it should focus on the amateur level and/or organizations that are engaged with the needy. “[I]t should focus on supporting organizations that do really good work with sports in Europe” like Special Olympics. Subsequently, he believes that there is no need for an EU sports policy for professional sports, while the amateur sports could profit from such thing.

The Finnish MEP who is also engaged in sports matters is of the opinion that sports is very important for Europe and its people. He says that “[o]n the European level we have to support sports because we know that it’s good for society, it’s good for the people, for their health, and it’s good for the people to take part in civil society activities and sports is an activity in that field.” However, saying that sports is important for the people of Europe and from the examples given, it can be therefore concluded, that he focuses on the social role of sports, rather than legal clarifications being connected to the professional sports, when talking about a future EU sports policy. Despite the fact that this MEP sees an open way for a future EU sports policy, he would describe such policy as not communitarized, but rather as being carried out through recommendations and OMC - first through the federations, second through the Member States. “I think that control should be at the top of the federations and in the Member States. (...) The European Union can make recommendations and can apply the method of open coordination in order to try to push some Member States in the right direction.” His desire for the future is encompassed with the statement that “[s]ports is a very important part of society.” He further wishes “[t]hat the future European people are healthier, stronger and that they have better conditions, mentally and physically.” In order to reach these goals, he sees the need to encourage the people to move, which could be done through an EU sports policy. Additionally, he sees the potential of sports in the integration of people in society, as well as “sports [being able to] (...) tackle anti-Semitism, racism and xenophobia.” The problems dealt with in professional sports such as doping, is perceived as a minor part of sports. He identifies a variety of other areas where sports can be of importance and of help in society. “Doping and drugs are about one or two percent of the

whole package. Thus, we have to concentrate on the 98/99 percent of the good things that sports produces.”

The MEP from Austria agrees with the view that sports will remain the competence of the Member States and the federations. The EU will rather develop a supporting policy, instead of a community policy: “Innately it is made clear that there is no interference with national law, it can only be a supporting instrument,” (translated by author). The future desire of this MEP can be found in the request that European sports shall be moved into focus, additional to the increase of the budget line for sports.

One European federation representative sees the intention of the EU to create a community policy in sports, “but we have to see what it is. I mean, so far I don’t see anything being negative, yet.” In the future, “specificity and special conditions of sports” shall be recognized, “but the European Union does not try to get involved in the day to day management of sports.” The interviewee further expresses two great wishes for the future, “one that they recognize the special nature of sports, and two that they give support.”

From the side of the UEFA, the article in the Lisbon Treaty is considered as weak, and that may probably not change much in the near future. “It is a very modest article. It’s a light article, and it doesn’t go very far. (...) I really don’t think the article will change that much.”¹⁰⁰ The EU should function as a political counterweight to the legal side. “Where the European Union should get involved is in a more political way, and it is to provide a balance to the legal side.” There can be a future European sports policy which, in the UEFA representative’s eyes, will be good for UEFA,

“It is a very social approach to sports which is good, I think. It is talking about protecting the integrity, the physical, moral integrity of sportsmen and sportswomen. It is talking about encouraging the fairness and openness of competitions. I think all of that is very good. I think that approach can only be good for organizations like UEFA.”

He does not see the need to worry, since from his point of view, nobody needs to worry about the article and the future outcome of European sports policy. “The article is a very social article. So I think in theory everybody could benefit from it in theory, but time will tell.” However, the interviewee’s way of elaborating about a future EU sports policy does not express confidence in the statements made. He tries to assure the other federations that the article will have a positive impact on them and their work. Nevertheless, he does not totally agree with the Commission’s approach for the future, and would like to be involved deeply in the policy process in order to be able to navigate better the policy in some direction, in favor of the UEFA stating that, “I hope that over the next five to ten years, there will be a better, deeper understanding in the Commission; in particular of what a governing body is and what it’s trying to do. And that will be a great level of trust in what we are trying to do (...).”

¹⁰⁰ The article has not been changed and exists as stated in the current version of the ratified Lisbon Treaty.

No development of a community policy in sports is also seen by the ENGSO representative. He neither sees a desire for any such thing as the EU regulating sports, nor any legal instruments intended in the article 165 Lisbon Treaty. Thus, he comments, “[c]ommunity policy – I think that is a hard word. (...) Actually we don’t want sports to become a community policy but that areas are identified where one can work together. As I said, Europe – the EU shall foster sports, but shall not regulate it” (translated by author). For the future, he desires for the ratification of Lisbon to give the essential basis for many actions in EU sports, a great sports funding program, a European dimension in sports, and sports remaining as the main competence of the Member States respectively of the sports organizations.

For the think tank representative in Brussels, a future EU sports policy is possible and will and shall benefit the smaller organizations. He believes that they could gain a bigger say in sports matters within the EU policy, as well as profit from EU funding. The professional organizations are able to benefit from an EU policy since it will be of importance for the clarification of the specificity of sports.

The majority of interviewees see a paved way for a European sports policy in the future after Lisbon is signed by all Member States. However, at the pre-Lisbon stage, a faster pace was under process while now things are being taken back, slowed down or widened. The most important part of a European sports policy is seen in the professional organizations when it comes to the specificity of sports. Nevertheless, the main desire of all stakeholders, and especially those coming from the international and European federations, is as little interferences of the EU as possible. The creation of clear legal guidelines, especially for those working internationally, seems to be one of the core desires for the future. In most matters the stakeholders wish to be responsible or be deeply involved in the policy process. All interviewees agree that the main competence shall and will remain with the Member States. Regarding the amateur sports organization and the social role of sports, the future shall bring a well-equipped sports program, from which only the grassroots level shall profit, as the interviewees agree.

A future of EU sports policy is to be established now, after the Lisbon ratification. The two most important points are the clarification of legal questions, and the installment of a functioning EU sports funding project.

11 Conclusion: Empirical Findings

“Concerning civil society integration, one can say business and civil society complement each other.” (Commission Representative)

After having conducted a variety of interviews with different sports stakeholders on the European scene and outside of Brussels with major contributors to the developments of EU sports policy, several findings were made. First of all, the EU and the actors dealing with sports within Europe are discussing some main topics¹⁰¹: the implementation of the White Paper on Sports, the specificity of sports, FIFA’s 6+5 rule, and doping and gambling. The two topics of high importance for the sports actors as well as questions raised within the course of this dissertation can be found in the first two chapters. The White Paper had been published in 2007, and since then different actions have taken place which aimed to bring sports forward. The actors who were interviewed hold different views about the implementation of the White Paper. However, a majority of them is rather satisfied with its publication, and sees it as a good start and a positive sign for sports in the EU. The main point to be criticized is the vagueness of the White Paper concerning the specificity of sports where a lot of actors, especially the ones working internationally and professionally, would have liked to see something more in detail. The specificity is of high importance for many sports actors. They are seeking a better regulation where EU law applies and where the topic is specifically of sporting interest and does not fall under the EU Treaty. Here the main conflict between sports stakeholders and the EU becomes visible.

The variety of actors involved in EU sports can be divided into three subordinate groups: EU institutions, main sports stakeholders and other stakeholders. The EU institutions build one group within which the Commission, as well as the European Parliament, is mainly dealing with sports issues on a regular basis. As a part of the European Commission, the DG Education and Culture has installed a Sports Unit which represents the most important contact concerning EU related sports issues and developments. When scanning the Brussels scene for sports actors, beside the European institutions, we find very few being located in Europe’s capital. We have the UEFA on one hand, and the European Sports office on the other hand. The latter represents a great variety of actors itself, some being located within the halls of the ESO with their own representative, some being represented through the head of the ESO, not having their own staff on site. Additional to those main stakeholders such as the ESO and the UEFA, other actors such as the Olympic Movement, European Team Sports, European Sporting Federations, International Sporting Federations, Non-Governmental Sporting Federations and Think Tanks are involved in the topic of EU sports

¹⁰¹ At the time of the interview conduction: May/June 2009.

and are affected by decisions taken by the EU. Some official networks and meetings take place on the European arena between the actors mentioned, and those who are not present in Brussels, take part. Aside from the previously mentioned organizations, some informal networks can be analyzed which may help understand the connections between certain actors. UEFA meets actively with the MEPs interested in the topic of football, being able to lobby on the spot. Furthermore, through financial dependencies and close cooperation, the networks found in the ESO can be seen as hints for closer connections and dependencies. As most of the sports stakeholders can be included in the European civil society, it becomes clear that civil society is very well involved in the European sports policy development process and decision making. Some are still unhappy about their involvement and would like to practice more participation of the main sports governing bodies, while others would like the smaller organizations to be involved at a greater extent. The Commission sees itself as having an open door for everyone, appreciating the stakeholders' participation. Nevertheless, the stakeholders would want more sovereignty in several areas in order to be able to organize and manage their sports and to prevent too much EU interference.

Football represents one of the greatest actors in sports due to their high media mileage and -profile, and consequently their comparably high financial assets. This is also represented in the fact that the UEFA is the only stakeholder opening their own office in Brussels. The question as to why others have not yet done so, the majority of the interviewees believe that this is brought about by the lack of financial means plus the majority's inability to see the need to do so; especially those actors who are active on an international basis. FIFA, as another important football actor within Europe, has recently moved to Brussels and is as well represented in the ESO, instead of entering a partnership with the UEFA Brussels office. This may be a result of the relation of the important stakeholders. The ESO is partly financed through the IOC/EOC which also has a very close connection with the FIFA, as they often appear together when approaching the EU. Thus the ESO, IOC and FIFA form one side of stakeholders, while UEFA represents the other. Both sides see themselves as partners to the EU or strive for a close partnership to the EU, but still appear as opponents regarding some issues. Football in general is described as a very mighty actor by several stakeholders who mainly refer to UEFA as it appears during the interviews. Some see the risk of UEFA out-ruling smaller organizations due to their great financial capabilities. However, UEFA describes itself as a forerunner for others, paving the way in many respects which are important for the whole sports world. Some actors also agree with this statement and see UEFA's actions as positive.

At the beginning of this dissertation, it was pointed out that there are two sides when dealing with EU sports: the professional sports and the grassroots sports. The EU in its documents often talks about the economic dimension and the social role of sports. These two dimensions can be set equal to the aforementioned sides. While professional sports is

mainly producing economic benefits and deals with topics under the economic dimension in terms of the EU (doping, gambling, player transfer, workers' rights), the amateur/grassroots level rather handles the social aspects of sports (health issues, integration of minorities, bringing people together). Of course, some of the social aspects can also be found on the professional level such as the reduction of racism and xenophobia through examples of sports idols and big sports events, or even the creation of the opposite. Furthermore, the grassroots side has some economic aspects as well, e.g. employees in the field of amateur sports, doping etc. Thus, it becomes clear that it is not as easy to separate the two sides. As most interviewees pointed out, professional and grassroots sports are always connected and can not be separated. They have to be dealt with on different papers concerning some issues, because the same ruling can not be applied to both. Nevertheless, they are dependent on each other in the way the European sports system is set up. The amateurs or grassroots are building the healthy basis for the professionals, while the latter provide financial benefits for the former. Hence, cooperation between the different levels and an inclusion of both sides is of great importance for a future European sports policy. All financially stable actors working in the area of professional sports have to watch out for their grassroots counterpart, and should represent their opinions and needs to the European level. One important actor in this respect can also be found in the ESO, which combines a great variety of actors from both sides, professional and grassroots, and who seeks to be a good representative of sports in general while facing the EU.

In addition to the two sides of sports in Europe, grassroots and professional, the EU also consists of a great variety of national sports policies, which are highly different concerning their financial assets as well as their interests in sports issues. Since these policies are so diverse, it would be a very difficult task to combine them into one European sports policy. However, this is not attempted and not wished for, neither by the EU nor by the sports stakeholders. Sports shall remain a competence of the Member States, being organized on the EU level through OMC instruments, where the EU only interferes in areas where EU law is breached and the specificity of sports does not apply.

When talking about a future EU sports policy, the topic of EU funding for sports has to be considered. The Lisbon Treaty gives a legal basis for an EU sports funding program. The intended budget for such a program amounts to EUR 6 million, which is considered by all stakeholders as very low and almost ridiculous. However, some actors perceive it to be better than nothing and rather as a symbol for sports and its reputation in the EU, than as a necessary program to support sports projects. They can also be financed through other policy programs. Nevertheless, the application procedures for such programs appear to be rather complicated. Take note however, the process is getting better due to the installment of information offices. There might be the risk of money being handed out for sports projects under other policy programs being reduced, due to the creation of a mere sports program.

This risk is seen as highly unlikely by most stakeholders. Raising the question of who should profit from such a program, it can be concluded that the grassroots level shall be able to gather money from this source, while the professional level is able to gain financial profit from their daily business anyways.

For a future EU sports policy, the sports stakeholders as well as the Commission sought the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty in order to have a legal basis for their core business. Little interference of the EU with sports issues is desired. A definition of the specificity of sports is needed in order to regulate EU law, since a great uncertainty of the sports world about this issue is prevalent. Those actors involved in policy areas other than sports, e.g. some of the MEPs, do not see such a great risk in the intrusion of the EU into sports issues due to their wish to protect human rights, which are breached in some aspects in the sports world (e.g. exploitation of young talents from third world countries, protection of workers' rights). The sports world wishes for more participation of the sports stakeholders in the policy process. This wish is mainly expressed by the stakeholders themselves, but also by one MEP strongly interested in professional sports. As highlighted above, a future EU sports funding program is seen as a symbol for sports in the EU, raising it higher on the EU agenda, and making spill over effects towards the national level possible. If the EU is putting effort in supporting the sports world, mainly the grassroots level, the national governments will most probably follow suit and be forced to follow the EU's example. Thus, a European sports policy can be of great importance for the sports world, as well as for the EU, when looking at the positive values sports has and why it is an area of action worth fostering.

After the introduction, the emerging policy field of sports has been portrayed, showing the diverse policy fields sports is seen as being attached to. In the area of economic policy, sports depicts an object of regulation, while in most other policy fields, sports can be seen as a means to an end, transporting the objectives of the respective policy via sporting activities. Furthermore, the policy field frameworks, national policy impacts and the prevailing normative positions have been presented. Thus, a picture of the sports policy in the EU and the connected processes was developed. Further, the dissertation has introduced the topics of sports and civil society regarding the overall theme, as well as putting them in the context and analyzing their relevance for integration, and the relation between the two. Additionally, the different views prevalent in the EU at current have been discussed by means of document analysis as well as semi-structured interviews with actors involved in the area. Thus, it is now time to draw a picture of what sports policy in the EU means and where it might be heading to in the (near) future. The following and concluding chapter will look back at the topics of sports, civil society and integration, in order to show where and how a future EU sports policy can be of use as well as for whom.

Running for Europe – What can the EU draw from Civil Society Inclusion into EU Sports Policy?

1 Conclusion

Sports policy in the European Union is a complex field. First of all, the dissertation at hand has shown that sports should not only be looked at from a mere sports angle, but a greater variety of other aspects have to be taken into account. Sports policy in the European Union is connected to other diverse policy fields, and regarding the issue concerned, sports is being dealt with in different manners. Up to December 2009, EU sports policy did not have a legal basis due to the issue of not being mentioned in any legal agreement such as the EU Treaty. Thus, during the last decades sports has been developed as a topic on the EU agenda, however, it has only been dealt with as an annex policy to other policy fields.

As Part A of the dissertation has underlined, civil society and sports are important factors when it comes to European integration. During the last decades civil society has grown on the EU agenda and the inclusion of citizens in the policy process is contributing to the legitimization of the European Union. Civil society fulfills various functions concerning the EU, such as state release, building up democracy, protection of the citizens, or articulation of interests. As we see, through the inclusion of civil society, the democratic deficit of the European Union can be reduced and its legitimization increased. Since sports is one of the biggest areas of civil society activity, sports organizations and their activities should as well be considered in the European policy process. Different studies have shown sports' ability to enhance integration in a variety of areas, such as integrating minority groups into society, bringing together people from different ethnic backgrounds, age groups etc. However, it cannot be denied that sporting activities can as well have negative effects in society, such as the creation of violence, racism or doping. These negative effects can only be avoided if sports is being carried out in the right environment, and with the right preconditions. Since sports depicts such a wide area of activity in the EU, within all Member States, plus sports being one of the greatest parts of civil society and recognizing the ability of sports and civil society to enhance integration and to decrease the EU's democratic deficit, these elements need to be brought together.

The European agenda shows that sporting issues are being discussed and that they are of interest to a set of actors. Moreover bringing forth sports in new EU documents and the entry of sports into the EU Treaty are evidence for the acknowledgement of sports in the EU. As emphasized above, up to now, sports is only dealt with as an annex policy to other policy fields.

Sports is attached to other policies to be able to reach economic policy, culture, education, gender, health, regional, and youth policy. In the diverse fields, sports either

functions as an object of regulation or as a means to an end. As Part B of this study summarized, in the context of economic policy, sports represents an object of regulation, while in almost all other policy fields, sports is merely used as a means to an end. This is quite an interesting finding as this only means that in most matters sports does not fall under community policy. However, Part C showed that the policy issues being identified as most important on the EU agenda all come from areas where sports is seen as an object of regulation: doping, gambling, or FIFA's 6+5 rule, the latter concerning the free movement of workers. Another finding based on the interviews emphasizes that only few actors have found their way to Brussels, yet. A trend towards Brussels can be identified, but nevertheless, it has taken the actors quite some time to move to Brussels, and a great number of actors still do not have their own office there. Although some actors do not see that as a great problem, many realize that things are currently changing and that they might have to open offices in the future. There are diverse reasons to move to Brussels, such as being closer to the EU institutions and thus closer to the information flow. Further, more intense lobbying can be carried out when being location wise closer to the responsible actors, e.g. MEPs and EU representatives. In addition, to study who is moving towards the European capitol and who does not is of central interest. The most important actors on the European scene, despite the European institutions, above all the DG Education and Culture, are the European Sports Office, known today as the EOC EU office, and the UEFA. The ESO is combining a variety of actors under their roof, thus having a very strong stand. However, due to the fact that they are acting as a representation of their partners, with partners not having their own representative in the ESO, their stance does not appear as strong as one would hope for. Further, they are financed via the Olympic Committee and thus have close contact and are strongly affiliated with the Olympic Movement and its beliefs. UEFA can be described as the counterpart, which again is shown via the fact that FIFA did not move into the walls of the UEFA Brussels office, but rather joined the ESO office instead. The close relationship between FIFA and the IOC can also be observed in EU documents concerning sports stakeholder meetings where FIFA and the IOC appear as one and seem to have only one voice. Other sports stakeholders in the EU, such as the European Team Sports as well as individual sports, are also of great importance as they are involved in all important decision making and meetings on the EU level. A great part of them does not see the necessity to move to Brussels, yet, since some of them still concentrate mainly on the international scene and see themselves better represented by either the ESO or the UEFA.

Without a doubt, football is a mighty actor in the European scene, as all interviewees agreed, and as can be extracted from current media statements about sports in Europe. While UEFA in many cases holds a very critical view towards the European institutions and their decisions, FIFA has more friendly opinions. The critical relationships between UEFA

and FIFA can also be traced back to the UEFA as always being the *smaller brother* of the FIFA and thus having less say on the international sphere. However, the UEFA tries to break free from that structure and tries to hold on to a more independent view.

The ESO, as well as the UEFA, play very important roles in upholding the civil society representation in the EU sports policy process. Although not always being on the same boat and understanding, they both pose as a counterpart of the EU. UEFA holds a more economic view, representing one of the top economic players in the sports scene, with football having one of the greatest spectator ratings as well as the greatest financial assets.

The main actors involved in the policy process are dealing with the economic side of sports in the EU, which means they are mainly active in the financially beneficial areas of sports such as professional sports, broadcasting etc. Nevertheless, sports has two sides: the grassroots and the professional level. Several EU documents are separating the two sides and dealing with them on different scales. As almost all interviewees agree upon, both sides are innately connected and dependent on each other. Grassroots sports builds the basis and stands as the anchor and support for professional sports, while professional sports on the other hand is in charge of the financial maintenance of the grassroots level. Hence, either side cannot survive without the other. This has to be kept in mind when leading the way towards a future EU sports policy.

Issues such as doping, gambling or the specificity of sports are all directed towards professional sports and rarely have to be dealt with in the grassroots level. The White Paper on Sport is emphasizing the social role of sports, leading towards grassroots/amateurs and their role in society. However, the day-to-day issues on the EU agenda rather deal with the financially beneficial aspects of sports and cases in a variety of other policy fields. Nevertheless, valuable work can also be done on the grassroots level concerning integration aspects within the EU. Hence, the societal role of sports should achieve higher importance, and include the recognition of a greater variety of actors coming from that field of activity: amateur level sports organizations.

EU funding plays a decisive role in this regard. Since sports, up to the signing of the Lisbon Treaty, was not equipped with any legal basis, the way had not been opened for any official sports funding program under EU law. Thus, sports projects had and still have to watch out for funding possibilities in other policy areas. Due to the rising importance of sports on the agenda, sporting activities have been included in a great variety of other funding programs and thus sports projects are able to find financial sources from the EU, if they are familiar with the funding procedures and familiar with the places to look for such opportunities in the middle of EU documents. The fact that sports projects can receive funding through different policy arenas, such as the culture program, civil society programs or youth programs, can be seen as an advantageous opportunity. It can however also be seen as

disadvantageous when considering the difficulty of sorting through all different programs in order to find a funding program that fits the project desired to be financed. Most interviewees see it as an advantage opportunity wise.

A future budget for mere sports funding, being realized through the ratification of Lisbon, has been set to 6 million Euros, which was initially 1.5 million Euros. This budget is minimal as all interviewees agree. However, it is seen as a first step and a sign of goodwill towards sports. Since sports projects are able to find other funding solutions, sports projects alone will only function as an addition and as a sign towards future EU policy as well as the national policies. The wish would be for national policies to also recognize sports as important and therefore they shall increase their funding budgets for sports.

Sports in the EU means the economic side, focusing on the profit making professional sports sector. This sector raises the main issues on the EU agenda, due to its economic impacts. In many cases, this side of sports is in conflict with governing EU law and thus the issues are of high concern for the EU as well as for the sports stakeholders with the biggest reputation on EU as well as international level. On the other hand, sports in the EU means the societal role of sports: the amateur/grassroots level where the professional sports has its roots. Here the social effects sports can produce, if carried out in the right circumstances and with the right preconditions, take place. This side will be able to enhance European integration as sports depicts an essential part of civil society and has great potential concerning integration of society. Here legal issues play a minor role.

Concerning the government set-up in the EU it has to be underlined that sports is engaged in all different levels in the EU framework. The macro-level consist of the EU institutions, the DG EAC, engaging in sports and hence representing a major key actor in the European sports scene. The following meso-level includes the sports organizations on European as well as on the international level, on the professional as well as grassroots side. Additionally, the European organizations dealing with sports as their main topic, such as the ESO are included here. The micro- and midi-level comprise the national level and the regional/local level, including the national and local government structures, as well as the sports organizations on those levels. This gives additional support to the fact that sports in the EU is a very complex political area, where a great range of actors is involved. On the local level, professional and amateur structures are far less separated from each other than they are in the European and international level, which also strengthen the statement that both levels have to be equally supported, especially since this is the level where projects contributing to EU integration take place. Here citizens are engaged – this is where citizens are reached.

On this level, it has to be kept in mind that national sports structures are rather diverse from each other and are not easily compared. A horizontal differentiation between

the national sports structures can lead to a cluster of sports systems, defining different origins of sports and thus different traditions of sports is based on, additional to different set up of sports systems concerning the organization of sports in the different Member States. Some base their sports system on a more competitive notion while others define sports as merely a physical exercise in order to create a healthy body. Most sporting traditions in Europe have been exchanged between the different countries and thus today it cannot strictly be said that one sports system is based on a very different system than the other. Today's differences can be seen in the facts that some governmental structures are more state centered while others are more decentralized and some states tend to intervene in sports more than others. Besides the horizontal differentiation of sports, another way of looking at the sports systems on the national basis exists. Sports systems in Europe can be divided into the professional, the amateur and the educational level. The professional level, due to European competitions and their systems, can be seen as more equal in the EU than the amateur level, where the structure of sports clubs, the emergence of fitness clubs or the trend towards exercising sports outside of any sporting institutions is more difficult between the different European countries. The same holds true for the educational level, since there is no such thing as a European wide educational system that gives out any guidelines towards sports. This might change with the introduction of sports in the Lisbon Treaty, as it might stress the importance of sports for all Europeans and thus the introduction of a European wide plan for education and sports. A first step had been taken with the EYES, pointing out the importance of sports within education.

Hence, the professional level is already raised towards a European level due to European competition systems, and to EU law conflicting with sporting rules. The sports for all/grassroots level of sports is the one which is in need of European funding as this is the level where values can be achieved and European integration can be fostered¹⁰². Subsequently, this should be the level the EU needs to put emphasis on in the future. This is already taking place in parts which can be seen from the increasing emphasis on grassroots sports in diverse EU documents. As the EU itself is working towards an increased level of integration, it can be said that within EU sports policy, a process which moves from negative to positive integration may be observed. While before the main focus was on policy regimentation, now it has shifted towards policy making. This process has to be fostered and enhanced in order to include all actors in the European sports scene and to be able to reach the people. Here grassroots sports plays a decisive role.

Besides the focus on the sports for all level, fostering important values for integration and supporting the actors on this level via funding and publicity for that area of action within

¹⁰² The professional level is as well able to produce such values (e.g. reduction of xenophobia, feeling of belonging etc.), but is also in discussion of producing negative values.

the Member States, the EU also has to continue to be active in some areas of the professional level. Doping, xenophobia, racism, or gambling, are sensitive issues to be dealt with. Here the core focus should be to transfer important values via the publicity of the professional sports level and make use of the public awareness, while at the same time recognizing the specificity of sports in order for the sports world to be able to do their sports according to their regulations.

Going back to the different scenarios sketched at the beginning of this study, it can be concluded that the EU seems to be a team player along side with other stakeholders. There are also rivalries within the team however, and some are more likely to get their way than others. The social dimension of sports and the grassroots level are still developing their importance concerning European policy and can thus be depicted as the newcomer – still in training, but probably able to gain some trophies for the European cause. Concerning the actors on the field, some are team players, while others are rather opponents. Most of them *run* for the same goal, meaning that they are striving for more clarity in the European sports policy, as well as less interference of the EU institutions in mere sporting matters. However, some actors are striving for different goals, for which EU interference can be of importance, e.g. protection of minors et al. The role of the EU, represented by its institutions, can be described as another *runner on the team* regarding some aspects, while in others it holds the team leader position. However, the interference of international actors, especially those being in possession of great financial assets, plays a major role. Hence, concerning aspects where international interests are touched, those actors step up and become *leaders of the game*. In conclusion, the actors on the EU sports policy scene cannot strictly be described as one team but rather as groups *running for* their individual goals. It is still not clear who will *win the trophy* – however, it most probably is not about *any* trophy in the long run, but the trophy will be a stable sports policy. This should be the interest of all sports stakeholders: A sports policy that supports sporting activities and is able to secure a lively sporting scene all over the European Union; a sports policy that fights against doping and protects minors; a sports policy that is aware of the great voluntary sector included in sporting activities in the EU; and a sports policy that gives a voice to all actors on the scene.

2 Outlook

A lot has changed in EU sports over the past years. The last three years have been the most turbulent and brought about great changes. After the White Paper on Sports was published in November 2007, the sports world has been included in EU politics. The organizations that earlier did not pay much attention to the EU and its policies have turned towards the EU and have recognized that something which concerns them is going on. Whether this is something big and whether the right organizations have turned their heads shall only be seen in the future.

Football has already been there: UEFA even being present in Brussels, and FIFA as well being engaged in EU policy discussions since the first legal cases, conflicting sports law and EU law, have taken place. After the football cases others followed and thus, also the rest of the professional sports world has paid attention and saw the need for action. However, besides the legal and political issues brought up, concerning the conflicts between sports and EU law, the societal side of sports cannot be left out either. Here the great sports organizations have raised their voices. It may not have been loud enough however, and it can be questioned whether this took place in order to underline the *good* side of their activities or whether this really took place due to their values on the grassroots level.

As was mentioned in the introduction, the dissertation at hand has focused on the policy period between the publication of the White Paper in November 2007 and June 2009. Due to the radical changes that have taken place afterwards, this outlook will attribute to this fact and sum up the most recent developments as well as discuss the possible consequences and future developments after those developments.

First and foremost, it has to be stated that the Lisbon Treaty has been signed as of December 2009 and thus sports has gained an official legal basis. Hence, the way is open for a mere sports funding program. However, up to now, the funding program has not been entered into force and thus cannot be found on the European website. Here it also has to be underlined that, despite this overly important development for EU sports, up to fall 2010 there was no mention of it in the current EU website, even after several months from its signing. What might be even more surprising is that, although sports has entered the treaty, it is not yet mentioned as a policy field of the European Union¹⁰³. Concerning future funding it is hoped that the sports program will soon be released in order to provide the European sports scene with additional funding possibilities, as well as to set positive signs towards the national level to also open up their budgets towards the world of sports.

Different council meetings have taken place concerning the EU's sports policy and future developments. Further, the EU Sport Forum was held in Madrid in April 2010, where

¹⁰³ Website European Union: checked December 17th 2010.

Commissioner Vassiliou announced “plans for the Commission to launch an EU Agenda for Sport later this year” (Vassiliou 2010). The agenda will strive for two objectives: (1) to support the increase of political cooperation on sports issues as well as (2) to establish an EU-Support Program for Sports, in order to be able to support sports projects financially. Hence, the intended sports program is still in creation and has not, yet been launched.

Though another set of actors is moving to Brussels, major actors still do not see the need to or do not have the financial assets to open offices in Europe’s capitol. Opinions also exist that certain sports stakeholders do not move towards Brussels not seeing the need for it, but rather they however want to get an idea of what is currently going on concerning sports in Europe. Hence, they rather take an observer’s stance than an actor position.

The European Sports Office has new partners, who, besides FIFA, have not been identified as highly important on the European sports scene. Additionally, the ESO has changed its name to the EOC Europe Office, which emphasizes its close contacts with the Olympic movement. This fact produces the feeling that the ESO is no longer a pool of EU sports stakeholders representing different ideas towards the EU and its institutions, but rather the ESO being the IOC Brussels office and as having partners who agree with their ideas. However, the role of the ESO stays an important one for the sports world, especially concerning the fact that they are, besides UEFA and the Team Sports Association, one of the largest groups of stakeholders representing sports towards the EU. Football will remain strong, and they will remain in conflict with EU law in various cases.

Article 165 (ex149) Lisbon Treaty is rather weak and its scope is up to debate. The specificity of sports shall be recognized, but to which extent this will take place in reality shall only be told in the future. The next cases concerning sporting activities in possible breach with EU law will show whether the article is being recognized or not. This will also give an answer to the question as to whether the legal side of sports will remain as strong as it used to be. If the specificity of sports is not being recognized to the extent the sports world would like, which is highly expectable due to the strong stand of EU law and the many cases where both cannot be achieved at the same time, the legal side of sports will always play an important role in EU policies. Furthermore, the professional sports world is the one where money is made – and thus the one that is of particular concern for politics. The increase of the social aspect of sports can thus only be hoped for on the professional and the grassroots level. This is an agenda to be raised as the EU could highly profit from such a change in perspectives.

Concerning the recent activities in sports in the EU, some main developments have to be mentioned. First of all, the European Non-Governmental Sports Organization, together with a

wide range of partners has launched a study entitled: “EU:Sport:Future”¹⁰⁴, that deals with future developments of European sports policy and analyzes the views of EU citizens on the topic. They carried out a survey via the internet and developed a webpage displaying all current developments of the European sports sector as well as the ongoing policy process in addition to leading online discussions about topics of sports in the EU. The most current development can be seen in a call for the webpage to create a European Year of Sports and Physical Activity in 2014. The online survey is currently running and results are expected in the summer of 2010.

Another current development in EU sports can be seen in the organization of a conference on funding of grassroots sports by the European Commission on February 16th 2010¹⁰⁵. Different scholars and experts of the field, such as Sports Ministers or researchers from the area of sports science, were invited to give their views and opinions about the current financial situation for grassroots sports in the Member States, as well as to discuss about current and future challenges regarding that field of activity. In addition, a study was carried out concerning the financing of grassroots sports. The results of the study are to be expected by the end of 2010 and will give an overview of the different financing systems in the Member States while analyzing Internal Market policies and its impact on the financing of grassroots sports.

Further, studies in the area of sports are carried out, one dealing with the field of volunteering, another researching on sports agents¹⁰⁶. The study on volunteering puts volunteering in sports in the main focus. As was pointed out earlier in this dissertation, volunteering plays a decisive role within the sports sector, as a great amount of work in the sports sector is carried out by volunteers and thus the sector is dependent on this work force. The second study on sports agents has just been released aiming to examine the situation of sports agents and their activities and analyzing whether any form of EU action is necessary¹⁰⁷.

As an important change to be mentioned here, the European Council has changed the name of the section in charge of Education, Youth and Culture and added “Sports Council” to its official name. On November 18th/19th 2010, the Council of the European Union has published its resolution on the EU structured dialogue on sport, recalling (1) Art. 165 Lisbon Treaty and (2) the Council’s declaration on Sport, Annex 5 of the Presidency Conclusions. The Council underlines its awareness of “diverse dialogue mechanisms” that have been established, “informal meetings of Sport Ministers and Sport Directors” as well as

¹⁰⁴ Further information are to be found here: <http://www.eusportfuture.eu/>

¹⁰⁵ More information to be found here: http://ec.europa.eu/internal_market/top_layer/sport_en.htm

¹⁰⁶ Further information are to be found here: http://ec.europa.eu/sport/news/news900_en.htm and here: http://ec.europa.eu/sport/news/news898_en.htm

¹⁰⁷ Sports agents are common in various professional sports. They negotiate contracts for the players and in return receive a percentage commission of the player’s contract sum.

“EU-level dialogue” among the sports stakeholders and the “European social dialogue in the sport sector” (Council of the European Union 2010, p.1f.). Furthermore, the Council points out that “a new era in EU priorities in the field of sport has begun” (ibid. p.2) and calls for expanding the already existing and developed structured dialogue among the sports stakeholders as well as between the stakeholders and the Council. For the future, the Council is aiming at including sports representatives in their meetings and hearings. In addition, the resolution highlights the diversity of the sports world, mentioning Olympic and non-Olympic sports, amateur and professional athletes and competitive and recreational sports. The different interests shall be taken into account as well as the international dimension of EU cooperation in sports shall be considered. Thus, the Council has taken the development of sports on the EU agenda into account and is aiming at working with those developments in the future.

From the ongoing processes listed above, one can see that the EU has already very much increased its interest and activities in the sector of sports. Besides legal questions, such as EU intervention in sporting decisions basing on sporting rules and not complying with EU law, the EU has started a process of becoming more active in the field of grassroots sports as well. It seems as if the process of recognizing the importance of the grassroots level has set in and a set of actors is increasingly pushing the issue on the EU agenda. The Lisbon Treaty is being considered and sports in the EU seems to undergo changes, concerning its importance on the agenda and the awareness of the EU institutions. Still, more progress has to be made and also the bigger actors, the ones active in the area of professional sports, need to underline the need for attention on the grassroots level as this constitutes the base of the sports system in Europe. Subsequently, the need to push the societal value of sports is coming and has to come from both sides, from the sports sector itself, as well as from the EU in order for both sides to profit from the development. The race has started, but still has a long way to go until the finish line.

3 Further Research

Sports policy in the European Union, whether or not it is or will be a real policy field or whether it has to be divided into different aspects of sports, is only one aspect that has to be observed and researched on further. Without a doubt, sports has become a political issue in the European Union during the last decades. The research field has a variety of approaches and scientific disciplines that are dealing with the issue in the European Union. Legal issues play a major role when dealing with EU sports, but also social issues are of importance regarding sports and society. Overlaps between medical issues and sports, or cultural aspects of sports are only a few of the diverse fields where further research can be conducted in the future.

If turning back to the European Union and the political issue of sports it has become obvious that future developments are worth looking back at. How will the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty and the inclusion of sports in Art. 165 (ex.149) affect sports in reality? Is the European sports system going to be completely revised due to non-compliance with EU law? Where does the road lead the European institutions and sports organizations?

Another issue, future research could tackle, is the division of sports structures in Europe. The interaction between professional, amateur and educational level, as well as each level separated are worth to be analyzed. Questions here could be, to which extent educational sports are equal in the Member States or to which extent amateur and professional level are connected. In addition, some Member States place a higher value on educational sports than others. These can be questions to be answered in future research regarding the issue of sports in the EU.

In addition, further research has to be conducted in the area of the societal values of sports. Both active and passive sports can generate certain values in society. Sports has changed during the last decades. It is not only carried out as competition, but also for the purposes of relaxation, fun, health etc. At the same time, competitions are gaining publicity via great numbers of spectators due to progressive globalization. Can all these facts only be looked at from a global perspective or does the European Union have an impact on these developments as well? Will it be affected by such developments due to a more globalized perspective in sports? It will be interesting to find out, whether the EU is going to make further use of the generation of social values via sports and how they will further support sports.

Sports in the European Union is a growing field and much research will undoubtedly be conducted in this area in the future. However, further research into sports policy is needed, as sports represents a very important aspect of life, globally, and especially in the Member States of the European Union.

Bibliography

- Aafjes, A. (2008). Sport 'can help fight gender discrimination'. In: EurActiv (Ed.), *EU News, Policy Positions and EU Actors online*. Brussels.
<http://www.euractiv.com/en/sports/sport-help-fight-gender-discrimination/article-172952>.
- Ad Hoc Committee on a People's Europe (1985). Report on a People's Europe. In European Communities (Ed.). Brussels: Bulletin of the European Economic Community.
- Akademie des Sports (2008). Interkultureller Dialog im Sport: Von der Integration zur Inklusion? Europäische Perspektiven, *Akademie-Forum*. Hannover, Germany.
- Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg (2007). In: Institut für Sport und Sportwissenschaft Arbeitsbereich Sportpädagogik (Ed.). Freiburg. <http://www.comenius-sport.eu/>.
- Allison, L. (1998). Sport and Civil Society. *Journal of Political Studies*, 46, 709-726.
- Andersen, J. S. (2006). IOC and FIFA in row with UEFA over EU intervention in sport. *Play the Game*.
- Bache, I., & Flinders, M. (2005). Multi-level governance: Conclusions and implications. In Ian Bache & Matthew Flinders (Eds.), *Multi-level governance* (pp. 195-206). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Baglioni, S. (2009). Third Sector Organizations: the Case of Sport in Italy. In Annette Zimmer & Adalbert Evers (Eds.), *Third Sector Organizations Facing Turbulent Environments: Sports, Culture and Social Services in five European countries*. Brussels.
- Baker, J. W. (2000). Faces of Federalism: From Bullinger to Jefferson. *Publius*, 30, 25-41.
- Balzer, C., & Humrich, C. (2008). Bildungspolitik. In Hubert Heinelt & Michéle Knodt (Eds.), *Politikfelder im EU-Mehrebenensystem* (pp. 271-291). Baden-Baden: Nomos.
- Bekemans, L. (2008). Multi-level governance and the EU in a global context: some introductory reflections. In Committee of the Regions (Ed.), *The Ateliers of the Committee of the Regions*. Brussels.
- Belet, I. (2007). EU White Paper on Sports: too weak a signal. In: EPP-ED Group (Ed.), *Press Release*. Brussels.
- Bendel, D. P., & Haase, M. (2008). Integrationspolitik der Europäischen Union. In: Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung (Ed.), *Migration*.
- Blackshaw, T., & Long, J. (2005). What's the Big Idea? A Critical Exploration of the Concept of Social Capital and its Incorporation into Leisure Policy Discourse. *Journal of Leisure Studies*, 24, 239-258.
- Bogner, A., & Menz, W. (2005). Expertenwissen und Forschungspraxis: die modernisierungstheoretische und die methodische Debatte um die Experten - Zur Einführung in ein unübersichtliches Problemfeld. In Alexander Bogner, Beate Littig & Wolfgang Menz (Eds.), *Das Experteninterview - Theorie, Methode, Anwendung* (pp. 7-30). Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
- Börzel, T. A. (2006). *The Disparity of European Integration - Revisiting Neofunctionalism in Honour of Ernst B. Haas*. New York: Taylor and Francis.

- Bourdieu, P. (1983). Ökonomisches Kapital - Kulturelles Kapital - Soziales Kapital. In Reinhard Kreckel (Ed.), *Soziale Ungleichheiten* (pp. 183-198). Göttingen: Schwartz.
- (2005). *Die verborgenen Mechanismen der Macht*. Hamburg: VSA-Verlag.
- Braun, S. (2001). Putnam und Bourdieu und das soziale Kapital in Deutschland. Der rhetorische Kurswert einer sozialwissenschaftlichen Kategorie. *Leviathan. Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaft*, 29, 337-354.
- (2009). Assoziative Lebenswelt, bindendes Sozialkapital und Wahlgemeinschaften des Geschmacks. *Forschungsjournal NSB*, 22, 76-87.
- Brettschneider, W.-D., & Kleine, T. (2001). Forschungsprojekt Jugendarbeit in Sportvereinen, *Jugendarbeit in Sportvereinen: Anspruch und Wirklichkeit, Abschlussbericht*. Paderborn.
- Brookes, S., & Wiggan, J. (2009). Reflecting the Public Value of Sport. *Public Management Review*, 11, 401-420.
- Bröskamp, B. (1994). *Körperliche Fremdheit. Zum Problem der interkulturellen Begegnungen im Sport*. Sankt Augustin: Academia.
- Brusis, I. (1999). Foreword. In Klaus Heinemann (Ed.), *Sport Clubs in Various European Countries* (pp. 11-12). Schorndorf: Hofmann.
- Bunce, V. (2000). The Historical Origins of the East-West Divide: Civil Society, Political Society, and Democracy in Europe. In Nancy and Philip Nord Bermeo (Ed.), *Civil Society before Democracy* (pp. 209-236). Oxford: Rowman Littlefield.
- Cachay, K. (1988). *Sport und Gesellschaft - Zur Ausdifferenzierung einer Funktion und ihrer Folgen*. Schorndorf: Hofmann.
- Carlin, J. (2009). *Playing the Enemy: Nelson Mandela and the Game That Made a Nation*. Johannesburg: Penguin.
- Cendrowicz, L. (2005). "We Have To Reinvent The Idea Of Europe". *times.com* 19/06/2005.
- CEP (2008). CEP-Analyse: Weissbuch Sport. In. Freiburg. <http://www.cep.eu/484.html>.
- Chaker, A. N. (1999). *Study of national sports legislation in Europe*. Brussels: Council of Europe Publishing.
- (2004). *Good Governance in Sport - A European survey*. Brussels: Council of Europe Publishing.
- Christiansen, T., Jorgensen, K. E., & Wiener, A. (1999). The social construction of Europe. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 6, 528-544.
- cnn.com (2002). "European relief at Le Pen drubbing." *cnn.com* 05/05/2002.
- Coleman, J. (1990). *Foundation of Social Theory*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Colomo, P. I. (2006). The Application of EC Treaty Rules to Sport: the Approach of the European Court of First Instance in the Meca Medina and Piau cases. *Entertainment and Sports Law Journal*.

- Commission, E. (1999). Helsinki Bericht zum Sport, *Bericht der Kommission an den Europäischen Rat, im Hinblick auf die Erhaltung der derzeitigen Sportstrukturen und die Wahrung der sozialen Funktion des Sports im Gemeinschaftsrahmen*. Brussels.
- (2001). White Paper on European Governance. Brussels.
- (2007a-a). Europe for Citizens Programme 2007-2013 Programme Guide. In http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/citizenship/guide/documents/programme_guide.pdf (Ed.). Brussels.
- (2007a-b). Europe for Citizens Programme 2007-2013, Program Guide. In European Commission (Ed.). Brussels.
- (2007b). Sport and Social Policy. In, http://ec.europa.eu/sport/sport-and/social/social_overview_en.html.
- (2007c). The Phare Programme. In: <http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/en/lvb/e50004.htm> (Ed.).
- (2007d). TEMPUS: Neuer Auftrieb für die internationale Zusammenarbeit im Hochschulwesen. In: <http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/07/273&format=HTML&aged=0&language=DE> (Ed.).
- Council (2002). Detailed work programme on the follow-up of the objectives of Education and training systems in Europe, 2002/C 142/01.
- (2008). Presidency Conclusions, CONCL 5.
- Council, E. (2004). Aktive Europäische Bürgerschaft (2004-2006). In: <http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/de/lvb/l33218.htm> (Ed.). <http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/de/lvb/l33218.htm>.
- Council of Europe (1984). European Declaration on Cultural Objectives, *Adopted by the 4th Conference of European Ministers Responsible for cultural Affairs*. Berlin.
- Council of the European Union (2008). Presidency Conclusions, 17271/08. Brussels.
- (2010). Council resolution on the EU structured dialogue on sport, 3046th Education, Youth, Culture and Sport Council meeting.
- Craig, P., & Burca, G. d. (2008). *EU Law: Text, Cases and Materials*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- CREPES de franche comté (2009). Sport Éducation Insertion - Pole Ressource National - Les Missions. In. Besancon. <http://www.sport-education-insertion.jeunesse-sports.gouv.fr/missions>.
- CULT (2008). Entwurf einer Stellungnahme des Ausschusses für Kultur und Bildung für den Haushaltsausschuss zu dem Entwurf des Gesamthaushaltsplans der Europäischen Union für das Haushaltsjahr 2009, C6-0000/2008 – 2008/2026(BUD).
- (2009). Committee on Culture and Education - Responsibilities. In. Brussels. http://www.europarl.europa.eu/committees/cult_home_en.htm.

- Dahl, R. (1999). Can International Organizations Be Democratic? a Sceptic's View. In Ian Shapiro & Casiano Hacker-Cordon (Eds.), *Democracy's Edges* (pp. 19-36). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- de Dios Crespo, J. (2006). European Law: Two Swimmers Drown the "Sporting Exception". *International Sports Law Journal*, 3.
- Deutscher Sportbund (2001). Konzeption - Programm "Integration durch Sport". Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Sportbund.
- DG Health and Consumer Protection (2001). Final Report 2000-2001: European Network for the Promotion of Health-Enhancing Physical Activity. Tampere.
- DG-EAC Directorate General Education and Culture. In. http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/education_culture/index_en.html.
- (2008). Youth in Action Program Guide. In European Commission (Ed.) (pp. 138). Brussels.
- (2009). Preparatory Actions - Introduction. In. Brussels. http://ec.europa.eu/sport/preparatory_actions/doc745_en.htm.
- (2010a). Calls for Proposals. In: European Commission (Ed.). Brussels. http://ec.europa.eu/sport/preparatory_actions/doc866_en.htm.
- (2010b). Youth in Action Programme Guide. In European Commission (Ed.). Brussels.
- Diamond, L. (1994). Toward democratic consolidation. *Journal of Democracy*, 5, 4-17.
- Diekmann, A. (2004). *Empirische Sozialforschung: Grundlagen, Methoden, Anwendungen*. Hamburg: Rowohlt.
- Dietrich, K., & Heinemann, K. (1989). *Der nichtsportliche Sport. Beiträge zum Wandel des Sports*. Schorndorf: Hofmann Verlag.
- Diez, T. (1999). Speaking 'Europe': the politics of integration discourse. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 6, 598-613.
- Digel, H. (2001). *Spitzensport: Chancen und Probleme*. Schorndorf: Hofmann.
- Dinan, D. (2005). *Ever Closer Union - An Introduction to European Integration*. Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Djindjic, Z. (2001). Speech, *European Economic Summit*. Salzburg, Austria.
- Domaradzka, A. (2009). Panem et circenses? Sport organizations in Poland from historical and political perspective. In Annette Zimmer & Adalbert Evers (Eds.), *Third Sector Organizations Facing Turbulent Environments: Sports, Culture and Social Services in five European countries*. Brussels.
- DOSB (2006). Integration durch Sport - Ein Programm des Deutschen Olympischen Sportbundes und seiner Mitgliedsorganisationen. In. Frankfurt. http://www.dosb.de/fileadmin/fm-dsb/arbeitsfelder/ids/files/downloads_pdf/IDS_Flyer_DOSB_2006.pdf.
- (2009). Integration durch Sport - Das Programm. In. Frankfurt. <http://www.integration-durch-sport.de/de/integration-durch-sport/das-programm/>.

- EACEA (2008). Youth in Action Programme - 2008 - Round 2: Description of the projects selected for funding. In European Commission (Ed.) (pp. 86). Brussels.
- EAEA (2007). New Programme: Europe for Citizens 2007-2013. In: <http://www.eaea.org/news.php?aid=12503&%20d=2007-01> (Ed.): EAEA.
- EASE (2009). The specific issue of the sport sector. In. Paris. <http://www.easesport.org/art.php?id=3210>.
- Ebermann, T., Hoelscher, P., Matzak, B., Reimer, S., Rindt, S., & Strachwitz, R. G. (2006). *Bürgerengagement und Zivilgesellschaft in Deutschland: Stand und Perspektiven*. Berlin: Maecenata Verlag.
- EESC (1999). The role and contribution of civil society organisations in the building of Europe, *OJ C329*.
- (2007a). The European Economic and Social Committee. In: http://www.eesc.europa.eu/organisation/how/index_en.asp (Ed.). http://www.eesc.europa.eu/organisation/how/index_en.asp.
- (2007b). The EESC: Bridge between Europe and Organized Civil Society.
- Eichler, C. (2008). Kalabrische Kröten für die Fußball-Weltmeister. *FAZ.net*.
- Eid, U. (2006). Aspekte der Europäischen (Außen)Kulturpolitik. In. <http://www.uschi-eid.de/pdf/EuKultur-EidFeb06.pdf>.
- Eisele, G. (2005). European Civil Society - A glance at recent literature. Münster: Westfälische Wilhelms Universität Münster.
- EKD/VEF (1999). Gestaltung und Kritik - Zum Verhältnis von Protestantismus und Kultur im neuen Jahrhundert., *Reihe EKD Texte Nr. 64*. Hannover.
- ENGSO Funding Possibilities for Sport in the EU. In. www.engso.com.
- (2008a). Position on Structured Dialogue. Brussels.
- (2008b). Position on the EU Budget 2009 - Sport Budget Line 15 05 11. Brussels.
- (2009). About ENGSO. In. Paris. <http://www.engso.com/about-us.php>.
- ENGSO Youth (2009). ENGSO Youth. In. Berlin.
- EU Büro des Deutschen Sports (2005). Best Practise: Public Health Program. In. Brussels. http://www.eu-sports-office.org/en/?categories_id=2&topics_id=15&articles_id=753.
- (2008). Montasbericht Oktober 2008. In DOSB (Ed.). Brussels.
- EU EOC Office (2009). EOC EU Office in Brussels. In. Brussels. <http://www.eu-sports-office.org/>.
- EU Presidency 2007 (2007). "Stuttgart Conclusions": Conclusions of the EU Presidency at the Informal Meeting of EU Ministers Responsible for Sport. Stuttgart.
- EurActiv (2006). Sports is not only about football. In: Euractiv.com (Ed.). Brussels. <http://www.euractiv.com/en/sports/sports-football/article-158247>.

- (2007). Sport and disability. In. Brussels. <http://www.euractiv.com/en/sports/sport-disability/article-168119#>.
- (2009). About us - Company. In. Brussels. <http://www.euractiv.com/en/Fixed/about/company.htm>.
- Euractive (2008). EU-Sportprogramm soll soziale Werte des Sports besser zur Geltung bringen - Interview mit Nicolas Gyss.
- Europa NU (2007). Brussels eerste stap in de sport zal stof doen opwaaien (en). *Europe Direct*.
- European Commission Civil Society - General Overview. In. http://ec.europa.eu/civil_society/apgen_en.htm#5.
- (1992). Treaty on European Union, 92/C 191/01.
- (1994). Kaleidoskop Programm, IP/94/818.
- (1997). Treaty of Amsterdam - Consolidated Version of the Treaty on European Union, 97/C 340/02.
- (1999a). The European Model of Sport.
- (1999b). The Fight Against Doping In Sport, *First European Sports Conference*. Olympia, Greece.
- (1999c). Helsinki Bericht zum Sport, *Bericht der Kommission an den Europäischen Rat, im Hinblick auf die Erhaltung der derzeitigen Sportstrukturen und die Wahrung der sozialen Funktion des Sports im Gemeinschaftsrahmen*. Brussels.
- (2001a). Council Decision of 20 December 2000 establishing a Programme relating to the Community framework strategy on gender equality (2001-2005), 2001/51/EC.
- (2001b). Treaty of Nice - Consolidated Version of the Treaty on European Union, 2001/C 80/01.
- (2001c). White Paper on European Governance. Brussels.
- (2001d). White Paper on Youth, COM(2001) 681 final (pp. 76).
- (2002). General principles and minimum standards for consultation of interested parties by the Commission.
- (2003). Aarhus Declaration on Voluntary Work in Sport.
- (2004a). The citizens of the European Union and Sport. In European Commission (Ed.), *Special Eurobarometer*. Brussels.
- (2004b). COM(2004) 474 final, 2004/0153 (COD).
- (2004c). European Year of Education through Sport. In, *Activities of the European Union - Summaries of Legislation*. Brussels. <http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/en/lvb/l35008.htm>.
- (2006). Conference Conclusions, *Ministerial Conference "The EU & Sport: Matching Expectations"*. Brussels.

- (2007a). Follow-up on the White Paper on Sport: Structure Dialogue with Sport Stakeholders, *EAC/D3/SH/D*.
 - (2007b). Lifelong Learning Programme. In: Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency Education (Ed.). Brussels. http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/lp/index_en.htm.
 - (2007c). Sports - Overview. In. Brussels. http://ec.europa.eu/competition/sectors/sports/overview_en.html.
 - (2007d). Treaty of Lisbon amending the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty establishing the European Community, signed at Lisbon, 13 December 2007, *2007/C 306/01*.
 - (2007e). White Paper on Sport, *COM(2007) 391 final*.
 - (2007f). Youth in Action 2007-2013. In, *Activities of the European Union - Summaries of legislation*. Brussels. <http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/en/cha/c11080.htm>.
 - (2007a). Europe for Citizens Programme 2007-2013: Programme Guide. In http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/citizenship/guide/documents/programme_guide.pdf (Ed.). Brussels.
 - (2008a). Report from the EU Sport Forum, *EU Sport Forum*. Biarritz.
 - (2008b). Sport and the European Union. In. Brussels. http://ec.europa.eu/sport/about/about23_en.htm.
 - (2008c). Television broadcasting activities: "Television without Frontiers" (TVWF) Directive. In, *Summaries of Legislation*. Brussels. <http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/en/lvb/l24101.htm>.
 - (2009a). Acts whose publication is not obligatory, *L 340/1*.
 - (2009b). PROGRESS programme. In. Brussels. <http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=327&langId=en>.
 - (2009c). Regional Policy. In. Brussels. http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/regional_policy/index_en.htm.
 - (2009d). Volunteering. In. Brussels. http://ec.europa.eu/sport/what-we-do/doc33_en.htm.
 - (2010a). The co-decision or ordinary legislative procedure. In. Brussels. http://ec.europa.eu/codecision/procedure/index_en.htm.
 - (2010b). Decision-making in the European Union. In. Brussels. http://europa.eu/institutions/decision-making/index_en.htm.
 - (2010c). Sport and Physical Activity. In European Commission (Ed.), *Special Eurobarometer*. Brussels.
- European Commission, EOC, States, N. o. M., & Sport Ministers (2008). Joint Declaration of the Slovenian Presidency of the European Council, the Presidents of the National Olympic Committees of the European Union Member States, representatives of the Executive Committee of the European Olympic Committees and the European Commissioner responsible for sport On "Social Significance and Dialogue in Sport". Ljubljana.

- European Convention What are the issues? In. <http://european-convention.eu.int/enjeux.asp?lang=EN>.
- European Council (2008). Presidency Conclusions, *CONCL 5*.
- (2010). Press Release, *PR CO 3*.
- European Court of Justice (2006). *Press Release: David Meca-Medina and Igor Majcen v. Commission of the European Communities*.
- European Parliament (2005). Services directive clears first hurdle. In. Brussels. <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?language=DE&type=IM-PRESS&reference=20051118IPR02599>.
- (2008). Report on the White Paper on Sport, *2007/2261(INI)*.
- European Parliament, & Committee on Culture and Education (2008). Report on the White Paper on Sport, *(2007/2261(INI))*.
- European Public Health Alliance (2005). Promoting health-enhancing physical activity. In. Brussels. <http://www.epha.org/a/1936>.
- European Union (1991). Gambling and the Single Market: EC Commission Organizes Hearing Towards Year's End, *Press Release*. Brussels.
- (1992). Treaty on European Union, *92/C 191/01*.
- (1997). Treaty of Amsterdam - Consolidated Version of the Treaty on European Union, *97/C 340/02*.
- (2000). Charta of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, *C 364/1*.
- (2001). Treaty of Nice - Consolidated Version of the Treat on European Union, *2001/C 80/01*.
- (2006). Beschluss Nr. 1855/2006/EG des Europäischen Parlaments und des Rates, *Nr. 1855/2006/EG* (pp. 1-11).
- (2007). Treaty of Lisbon amending the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty establishing the European Community, signed at Lisbon, 13 December 2007, *2007/C 306/01*.
- Evers, A. (1990). Shifts in the welfare mix - Introducing a new approach for the study of transformation in welfare and social policy. In Adalbert Evers & Helmut Wintersberger (Eds.), *Shifts in the welfare mix. Their impact on work, social services and welfare policies* (pp. 7-30). Boulder: Westview Press.
- Faber, A. (2006). Theories and Strategies of European Integration - Neofunctionalism. In: Universität Köln (Ed.). Köln. <http://www.uni-koeln.de/wisofak/powi/wessels/DE/LEHRE/VERANSTALT/WS0506/Vorlesung/VL%20Neo-Functionalism.pdf>.
- Ferejohn, J. (2005). *Participation and Democracy*. Stanford: Stanford University.
- Fetscher, I. (2006). Zukunftsprobleme und Perspektiven der Demokratie in Europa. In Karlfriedrich Herb & Oliver Hidalgo (Eds.), *Die Zukunft der Demokratie* (pp. 13-22). München: Hans-Seidel-Stiftung e.V.

- Field, J. (2003). *Social Capital. Key Ideas*. London: Routledge.
- FIFA (2007). EU White Paper on Sport: Much work remains to be done, *Media Information*. Zürich.
- Follesdal, A., & Hix, S. (2005). Why There is a Democratic Deficit in the EU: A Response to Majone and Moravcsik. *European Governance Papers*, C-05-02.
- García, B. (2007). Sport&EU Workshop: The EU and the Governance of Sport, Policy and Perspectives, *Second annual workshop of the Association for the Study of Sport and the European Union*. University of Chester.
- Gardiner, S. (2001). *Sports law*. London: Cavendish Publishing.
- Garrett, G., & Tsebelis, G. (1996). An institutional critique of intergovernmentalism. *International Organization*, 50, 269-299.
- Gaskin, K., & Smith, J. D. (1995). *A new civic Europe ? A study of the extent and role of volunteers*. London: Volunteer Center UK.
- Gasparini, W. (2008). Sport und Integration von Einwanderern in Frankreich. Ein Beitrag zur soziologischen Kritik bestehender Denkmuster. In Diethelm Blecking & Petra Gieß-Stüber (Eds.), *Sport - Integration - Europa. Neue Horizonte für interkulturelle Bildung* (pp. 72-81). Baltmannsweiler: Schneider Verlag.
- Gaspers, J. (2008). The quest for European foreign policy consistency and the Treaty of Lisbon. *Humanitas Journal of European Studies*, 2, 19-53.
- George, S., & Bache, I. (2001). *Politics in the European Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gieß-Stüber, P. (2008). Reflexive Interkulturalität und der Umgang mit Fremdheit im und durch Sport. In Petra Gieß-Stüber & Diethelm Blecking (Eds.), *Sport-Integration-Europa - Neue Horizonte für interkulturelle Bildung* (pp. 234-248). Baltmannsweiler: Schneider Verlag Hohengehren.
- Gieß-Stüber, P., & Blecking, D. (2008). Einleitung. In Petra Gieß-Stüber & Diethelm Blecking (Eds.), *Sport-Integration-Europa - Neue Horizonte für interkulturelle Bildung* (pp. 7-12). Baltmannsweiler: Schneider Verlag Hohengehren.
- Gläser, J., & Laudel, G. (2006). *Experteninterviews und qualitative Inhaltsanalyse*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag.
- Gómez, S., Opazo, M., & Marti, C. (2008). Structural Characteristics of Sport Organizations: Main Trends in the Academic Discussion. In IESE Business School (Ed.), *Working Paper*. Navarra: Universidad de Navarra.
- Greer, S. L. (2006). Uninvited Europeanization: neofunctionalism and the EU in health policy. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 13, 134-152.
- Grupe, O. (2001). Gibt es ein Leitbild des olympischen Sports? In Michael Krüger (Ed.), *Olympische Spiele - Bilanz und Perspektiven im 21. Jahrhundert* (pp. 58-73). Münster, London, Hamburg: LIT Verlag.
- (2003). Kultur, Sportkultur (sports culture). In Peter Röthig & Robert Prohl (Eds.), *Sportwissenschaftliches Lexikon* (pp. 320-322). Schorndorf: Hofmann Verlag.

- Guiraudon, V. (2004). Immigration and Asylum: A High Politics Agenda. In Maria Green Cowles & Desmond Dinan (Eds.), *Developments in the European Union* (pp. 160-180). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Haas, E. B. (1958). *The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social and Economic Forces*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- (1975). *The Obsolescence of Regional Integration Theory*. Berkeley, CA: University of California.
- Habermas, J. (1992). Further Reflections on the Public Sphere. In C. Calhoun (Ed.), *Habermas and the Public Sphere*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Handicapped International (2008). Tunesien: Integration durch Sport. In. München. <http://www.handicap-international.de/projekte/weltweite-projekte/afrika/tunesien/integration-durch-sport.html>.
- Harris, J. C. (1998). Civil Society, Physical Activity, and the Involvement of Sport Sociologists in the Preparation of Physical Activity Professionals. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 15, 138-153.
- Harris, P. (2000). "Case Law of the ECJ: Deliège and Lehtonen". *Monckton Chamber*.
- Harvard University (2007). Workshop: Civil society contribution to Black Sea regional security. In John F. Kennedy School of Government (Ed.), *Workshop on "Civil society contribution to Black Sea regional security: Matching words with deeds"*. Bucharest.
- Heckmann, F. (1997). Migrantensozialisation, Integration und die Rolle des Sports. *efms Paper*, Nr. 15.
- Heinemann, K. (1999). Sports Clubs in Europe. In Klaus Heinemann (Ed.), *Sport Clubs in Various European Countries* (pp. 13-32). Schorndorf: Hofmann.
- Henry, I. P. (2003). Sport, the Role of the European Union and the Decline of the Nation State? In Barrie Houlihan (Ed.), *Sport and Society: A Student Introduction* (pp. 330-344): SAGE Publications, Limited.
- Hoffmann, S. (1966). Obstinate or Obsolete? The Fate of the Nation-State and the Case of Western Europe. *Daedalus*, 95, 862-915.
- (1986). Reflections on the Nation State in Western Europe Today. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 21, 21-37.
- Hooghe, L., & Marks, G. (2001a). Multi-level Governance and European Integration. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- (2001b). Types of Multi-Level Governance. *European Integration online Papers (EIoP)*, 11.
- (2003). Unravelling the Central State, but How? Types of Multi-level Governance. *American Policy Review*.
- Hornberger, S. (1997). BSS-Angebote in der Stadt Würzburg - Probleme und Möglichkeiten der Integration in bestehenden Strukturen. In Peter Kapustin, Sibylle Hornberger & Ralf Kuckuck (Eds.), *Sport als Erlebnis und Begegnung: Bewegung, Spiel- und Sportangebote mit Gruppen der sozialpsychiatrischen Betreuung* (pp. 101-136). Aachen: Meyer und Meyer.

- Hornberger, S., Hien, P., & Kuckuck, R. (1997). Ergebnisse der wissenschaftlichen Untersuchung. In Peter Kapustin, Sibylle Hornberger & Ralf Kuckuck (Eds.), *Sport als Erlebnis und Begegnung: Bewegung, Spiel- und Sportangebote mit Gruppen der sozialpsychiatrischen Betreuung* (pp. 137-187). Aachen: Meyer und Meyer.
- Horowitz, I. L. (2001). Daniel J. Elazar and the Covenant Tradition in Politics. *Publius*, 31, 1-7.
- Houlihan, B. (2000a). Politics and Sport. In Jay Coakley & Eric Dunning (Eds.), *Handbook of Sports Studies* (pp. 213-227). London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- (2000b). *Sport, Policy and Politics: A Comparative Analysis*. New York: Routledge Chapman & Hall.
- (2005). Public Sector Sport Policy. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 40, 163-185.
- Hueglin, T. O. (1999). *Early Modern Concepts for a Late Modern World: Althusius on Federalism and Community*. Waterloo: Wilfried Laurier University Press.
- Infantino, G. (2006). Meca-Medina: a step backwards for the European Sports Model and the Specificity of Sport? In UEFA (Ed.), *UEFA Analysis*. Nyon: UEFA.
- ISCA (2008). Newsflash from the ISCA General Assembly. In. Copenhagen. <http://www.isca-web.org/english/newsletter/preview/vjydsssabb>.
- (2009a). Allies of Sport for All. In. Copenhagen. <http://isca-web.org/english/allies>.
- (2009b). Council of Europe Sport Seminar. In. Copenhagen. <http://www.isca-web.org/english/news/councilofeuropesportseminar>.
- (2009c). ISCA. Moving People. In. Copenhagen. <http://isca-web.org/english/aboutisca>.
- (2009d). Our Members. In. Copenhagen. <http://isca-web.org/english/aboutisca/aboutisca0/ourmembers1>.
- Jahn, F. L., & Eiselen, E. (1816). *Die deutsche Turnkunst*. Berlin.
- Jarvie, G. (2003). Communitarianism, Sport and Social Capital. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 38, 139-153.
- Jütting, D. H. (2005). Zivilgesellschaft und Fußball in Deutschland. *kursiv - Journal für politische Bildung*, 3.
- Kamberidou, I., & Patsadaras, N. (2007). A new concept in European sport governance: sport as social capital. *Journal of Biology of Exercise*, 3, 21-34.
- Karolewski, I. P. (2000). *Die künftige Gestalt Europas: Funktionalismus oder Föderalismus? - Am Beispiel der Osterweiterung der Europäischen Union*. Münster: LIT Verlag.
- Keohane, R. O., & Nye, J. S. (2000). Introduction. In Joseph S. Nye & John D. Donahue (Eds.), *Governance in a Globalizing World* (pp. 1-41). Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution.
- Klaus, S. (2010). Die Europäische Union und der Sport – Mitspieler oder Gegenspieler?, *Vortrag*. Volkshochschule, Osnabrück.

- Klein, M.-L., Kothy, J., & Cabadag, G. I. (2000). Interethnische Kontakte und Konflikte im Sport - Soziale Desintegrationsprozesse und ethnisch-kulturelle Konfliktkonstellationen. In W. Heitmeyer & R. Anhut (Eds.), *Bedrohte Stadtgesellschaft* (pp. 307-346). Weinheim, München: Juventa.
- Knill, C. (2005). Die Politiken der EU. In Katharina Holzinger, Dirk Peters, Berthold Rittberger, Frank Schimmelfennig & Wolfgang Wagner (Eds.), *Die Europäische Union. Theorien und Analysenkonzepte* (pp. 181-201). Stuttgart: UTB.
- Kocka, J. (2000). Zivilgesellschaft als historisches Problem und Versprechen. In Manfred Hildermeier, Jürgen Kocka & Christoph Conrad (Eds.), *Europäische Zivilgesellschaft in Ost und West*. Frankfurt a.M.: Campus Verlag.
- (2002b). Das Bürgertum als Träger von Zivilgesellschaft - Traditionslinien, Entwicklungen, Perspektiven. In Enquete-Kommission & Deutscher Bundestag (Eds.), *Zukunft des Bürgerschaftlichen Engagements*
Bürgerschaftliches Engagement und Zivilgesellschaft (pp. pp. 15-22). Opladen: Opladen.
- (2004). Die Rolle der Stiftungen in der Bürgergesellschaft der Zukunft. In Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung (Ed.), *Beilage - Aus Politik und Zeitgeschehen*.
- Kohler-Koch, B. (2005). European governance and system integration. *European Governance Papers*, C-05-01.
- Kohler-Koch, B., Conzelmann, T., & Knodt, M. (2004). *Europäische Integration - Europäisches Regieren*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag.
- Lamping, W. (2008). Auf dem Weg zu einem postnationalen Sozialstaat? Die Sozialpolitik der Europäischen Union. In Klaus Schubert / Simon Hegelich / Ursula Bazant (Ed.), *Europäische Wohlfahrtssysteme - Ein Handbuch* (pp. 595-620). Wiesbaden: GWV Fachverlage GmbH.
- Lamprecht, M., & Stamm, H. (2002). *Sport zwischen Kultur, Kult und Kommerz*. Zürich: Seismo.
- Landeshauptstadt Stuttgart - Department of Sport (2007). Integration through Sport. In City of Stuttgart (Ed.). Stuttgart.
- Lausch, S. (2007). Tagung „Zivilgesellschaft und Sport: Soziales Kapital und Integration“. In: institut für Sozialarbeit und Sozialpädagogik Gemeinnütziger e.V. (Ed.). Frankfurt am Main. <http://www.iss-ffm.de/?id=258>.
- Lauth, H.-J., & Merkel, W. (1997). Zivilgesellschaft und Transformation - Ein Diskussionsbeitrag in revisionistischer Absicht. *Forschungsjournal NSB*, 10, 12-33.
- (1998). Systemwechsel und Zivilgesellschaft: Welche Zivilgesellschaft braucht die Demokratie? *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte.*, 6.
- Lenk, H., & Pilz, G. A. (1989). *Das Prinzip Fairneß*. Osnabrück: Edition Interfrom.
- Lenschow, A. (2004). Environmental Policy: At a Crossroads? In Maria Green Cowles & Desmond Dinan (Eds.), *Developments in the European Union* (pp. 140-159). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Lina, Y. (2009). IOC and EU sports leaders meet to strengthen cooperation. *International Sports Press Association*.

- Lindahl, H. (2000). European Integration: Popular Sovereignty and a Politics of Boundaries. *European Law Journal*, 6, 239-256.
- Lindberg, L. N., & Scheingold, S. A. (1970). *Europe's Would-Be Polity - Patterns of Change in the European Community*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
- (1971). *Regional Integration: Theory and Research*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Locher, B. (2001). Bedeutung suchtpräventiver Maßnahmen im Kontext der Inzidenz und Prävalenz von Alkohol und Nikotin 13- bis 16-jähriger Jugendlicher in Sportvereinen. *Sucht*, 47, 33-48.
- Lockwood, D. (1964). Social Integration and System Integration. In George K. Zollschan & Walter Hirsch (Eds.), *Explorations in Social Change* (pp. 244-257). London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Lutz, G. (2006). *Participation, Information and Democracy*. Hamburg: LIT Verlag.
- Machiavelli, B. R. (2000). The role of civil society in European integration. *Journal of Public Affairs*, 1, 33-37.
- Mainwaring, S., & Samuels, D. (1999). Federalism, Constraints on the Central Government and Economic Reform in Democratic Brazil. In Kellogg Institute for International Studies (Ed.), *Working Paper Nr.271*. Notre Dame.
- Mason, C. (2008). Italian football to get EU funds. In: BBC News (Ed.). London.
- Mavrommatis, M. (2008). Eine Europäische Sportpolitik. In EVP-ED (Ed.). Brussels.
- Mayring, P. (2002). *Einführung in die Qualitative Sozialforschung*. Weinheim und Basel: Beltz Verlag.
- Mazey, S. (1996). The development of the European idea - From sectoral integration to political union. In Jeremy J. Richardson (Ed.), *European Union - Power and policy-making* (pp. 24-39). London: Routledge.
- McGowan, L. (2007). Theorising European Integration: revisiting neofunctionalism and testing its suitability for explaining the development of EC competition policy? *European Integration online Papers (EIoP)*, 2007-003.
- Ministère de la Jeunesse, d. S. e. d. I. V. a. (2006). Conférence de la vie associative. Paris.
- Mitrany, D. (1965). The prospect of integration: federal or functional. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 4, 119-149.
- (1966). *A Working Peace System*. Chicago: Quadrangle Press.
- Mock, G. (2000). Jury Awards Mercer \$2 Million in Discrimination Suit. In: Duke News (Ed.), *Office of News and Communications: Duke University*.
<http://www.dukenews.duke.edu/2000/10/heathersueo20.html>.
- Moravcsik, A. (1993). Preferences and power in the European Community: A liberal intergovernmentalist approach. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 31, 473-523.
- (2002). In Defence of the 'Democratic Deficit': Reassessing Legitimacy in the European Union. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 40, 603-624.

- (2004). Is there a 'Democratic Deficit' in World Politics
A Framework for Analysis. *Government and Opposition Ltd 2004*, 39, 336-363.
- Morhard, D. B. (2004). Die nächste Generation der EU-Bildungsprogramme. In:
http://eu.daad.de/eu/downloads/morhard_eu_bildungsprogramme.pdf (Ed.): DAAD.
- Mouzelis, N. (1997). Social and System Integration: Lookwood, Habermas, Giddens. *Journal of Sociology*, 31, 111-119.
- Norberg, J. R. (2009). The development of the Swedish sports movement between state, market and civic society - some remarks. In Annette Zimmer & Adalbert Evers (Eds.), *Third Sector Organizations Facing Turbulent Environments: Sports, Culture and Social Services in five European countries*. Brussels.
- Paasi, A. (2001). Bounded spaces in the mobile world: Deconstructing 'Regional Identity'. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 93, 137-148.
- Parrish, R. (2001). The road to Nice. *Sports Law Bulletin*, 4.
- (2003a). The Birth of European Union Sports Law. *Entertainment Law*, 2, 20-39.
- (2003b). The politics of sports regulation in the European Union. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 10, 246-262.
- (2008). Access to Major Events on Television under European Law. *Journal of Consumer Policy*, 31, 79-98.
- (2009). Advocacy Coalitions in European Union Sports Policy, *59th Political Science Association Annual Conference*. University of Manchester.
- Pateman, C. (1970). *Participation and Democratic Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Perkmann, M. (1998). Social Integration and System Integration: Reconsidering the Classical Distinction. *Journal of Sociology*, 32, 491-507.
- Pfister, G. (2001). Olympische Spiele nur für Männer? Auseinandersetzungen über die Beteiligung von Frauen an den Olympischen Spielen. In Michael Krüger (Ed.), *Olympische Spiele - Bilanz und Perspektiven im 21. Jahrhundert* (pp. 110-137). Münster, London, Hamburg: LIT Verlag.
- (2007). Sport for all - opportunities and challenges in different sport systems, *Local Sport in Europe : Proceedings* (pp. 36-51). Münster.
- Phillips, D. (2006). *Quality of life: concept, policy and practice*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Phillips, L. (2008). MEPs reject intellectual property rights for sporting events. *EUobserver*.
- Pilz, D. G. A. (2002). Wie viel Sozialarbeit kann der organisierte Sport leisten? - Von der Notwendigkeit einer Qualitätsoffensive in der Sportarbeit mit Kindern und Jugendlichen, 1. *Schnittstellenkonferenz: "Sport(pädagogik)-Jugendhilfe. Möglichkeiten und Grenzen sportpädagogischer Angebote in der Jugend- und Sozialarbeit mit gewaltbereiten Jugendlichen*. Dortmund.
- Pilz, G. A. (1982). *Sport und Gewalt - Berichte der Projektgruppe 'Sport und Gewalt' des Bundesinstituts für Sportwissenschaft*. Schorndorf: Hofmann.

- Play the Game (2009). Play the Game. In. <http://www.playthegame.org>.
- Pollack, M. A. (2000). International Relations Theory and European Integration. *EUI Working Papers*, 55.
- Presidency Conclusions (2007). European Union Sport Directors Meeting. Lisbon, Portugal.
- Prets, C. (2008). MdEP Christa Prets: Sport als ganzheitliches Politikfeld stärker in den Blickpunkt rücken. In. Brussels. <http://www.christaprets.at/home-1024.htm>.
- Prodi, R. (2000). Towards a European Civil Society - Speech at the Second European Social Week. Bad Honnef. April 6, 2000. In: <http://www.eurosw.org/Prodi.htm> (Ed.).
- Proudhon, P.-J. (1863). *Du principe fédératif*. Paris: Dentu.
- Putnam, R. D. (1993a). *Making Democracy Work. Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- (1993b). The Prosperous Community - Social Capital and Public Life. *The American Prospect*.
- (2000). *Bowling alone. The collapse and revival of American community*. New York: Simon&Schuster.
- Reimann, T. (2005). Zehn Jahre Bosman-Urteil. *stern.de*.
- Riordan, J. (1981). Sport under Communism. London: C Hurst & Co Publishers Ltd.
- Risse, T. (2004). Transnational Governance and Legitimacy. Berlin: Center for Transnational Relations, Foreign and Security Policy.
- Rousseau, J.-J. (2000). *Vom Gesellschaftsvertrag oder Grundlagen des politischen Rechts*. Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag.
- Sabatier, P. (1999). *Theories of the Policy Process*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- SAD, S. A. f. D. (2007). Social Cohesion. In, <http://www.sportanddev.org/en/issues/social-cohesion/index.htm>.
- SASI BARKA (2005). Sports Association for Social Integration BARKA. In. Poznan. http://www.sasibarka.pl/index_en.html.
- Scharpf, F. (1997a). Economic integration, democracy and the welfare state. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 4, 18-36.
- (1999). *Regieren in Europa - Effektiv und demokratisch?* Frankfurt a.M.: Campus Verlag.
- (2000). Notes Toward a Theory of Multilevel Governing in Europe. *MPIfG Discussion Paper*, 00/05.
- Scharpf, F. W. (1997b). *Games real Actors Play: Actor-Centered Institutionalism in Policy Research*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Scheid, V. (1995). *Chancen der Integration durch Sport*. Aachen: Meyer und Meyer.
- (1997). Was heißt soziale Integration? Oder "Es ist normal, verschieden zu sein." In Peter Kapustin, Sibylle Hornberger & Ralf Kuckuck (Eds.), *Sport als Erlebnis und*

- Begegnung: Bewegung, Spiel- und Sportangebote mit Gruppen der sozialpsychiatrischen Betreuung* (pp. 188-199). Aachen: Meyer und Meyer.
- Schimmelfennig, F., & Rittberger, B. (2006). Theories of European Integration - Assumptions and Hypotheses. In John Richardson (Ed.), *European Union: power and policy-making* (pp. 73-95). New York: Routledge.
- Schmitter, P. C. (2004). Neo-Neofunctionalism. In Antje Wiener & Thomas Diez (Eds.), *European Integration Theory* (pp. 45-74). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Schnack, D., & Neutzling, R. (1991). *Kleine Helden in Not. Jungen auf der Suche nach Männlichkeit*. Reinbek: Rowohlt Verlag.
- Schöneck, N., & Voß, W. (2005). *Das Forschungsprojekt: Planung, Durchführung und Auswertung einer quantitativen Studie*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag.
- Schuman, R. (1950). Die Erklärung vom 9. Mai 1950. In: Europäische Kommission (Ed.), *Europäische Dokumentation*.
http://ec.europa.eu/publications/booklets/eu_documentation/04/txt07_de.htm#declaration.
- Schumpeter, J. A. (1950). *Kapitalismus, Sozialismus und Demokratie*. München: Francke Verlag.
- Schwencke, O. (2004). Europa fördert Kultur. *Das Parlament*, 49.
- Scott, J. D. T. (2002). Mind the Gap: Law and New Approaches to Governance in the European Union. *European Law Journal*, 8(1), 1-18.
- Seippel, Ø. (2005). Sport, civil society and social integration. *Journal of Civil Society*, 1, 247-265.
- (2006). Sport and Social Capital. *Acta Sociologica*, 49, 169-183.
- (2007). Sports in Civil Society: Networks, Social Capital and Influence. *European Sociological Review*, 1-12.
- Seubert, S. (2009). Krise oder Chance gesellschaftlicher Integration? Zur demokratietheoretischen Bedeutung sozialen Kapitals. *Forschungsjournal NSB*, 22, 21-28.
- Simon, Y. (1973). A Note on Proudhon's Federalism. *Publius*, 3, 19-30.
- Singler, A., & Treutlein, G. (2000). *Doping im Spitzensport, Sportwissenschaftliche Analysen zur nationalen und internationalen Leistungsentwicklung*. Aachen: Meyer & Meyer.
- Slack, T. (1997). *Understanding sport organizations: The application of organization theory*. Champaign, Illinois: Human Kinetics Europe Ltd.
- Slovakian Ministry of Education (2008). European Conference: Education through Sport. Bratislava, Slovakia.
- Smismans, S. (2006). New Modes of Governance. *European Governance Papers*, Nr. 06-01.
- Speike-Bardoff, S. (1992). Integration durch Sport. In Sportjugend Hessen (Ed.), *Fachtagung des Hessischen Kultusministerium in Zusammenarbeit mit der Sportjugend Hessen zur Förderung Lernbehinderter und Verhaltensgestörter in Schule und Verein*

- anlässlich des Hessentages am 19. Juni 1991 in Lorsch*. Frankfurt am Main: Offset-Druck Ginnheim.
- Sport et Citoyenneté (2009). Launched in 2007, our association Sport et Citoyenneté (Sport and Citizenship) positions as the first European "think tank" in the field of sport. In. Brussels. http://www.sportetcitoyennete.org/version3/page_anglais.php.
- Sport in Europe (2006). Organization of Sport in Europe. In. Köln. <http://www.sport-in-europe.net/SIU/HTML/R52.htm>.
- TAFISA (2009). Facts and Figures. In. Frankfurt. http://www.tafisa.de/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=26&Itemid=83.
- Thalmeier, B. (2005). Braucht die EU eine eigene Identität? In CAP Studie (Ed.), *Bertelsmann Forschungsgruppe Politik*.
- Thiele, J. (1999). Bewegungskulturen im Widerstreit – ein Beitrag zur Begrenzung des Verstehens. In R. Erdmann (Ed.), *Interkulturelle Bewegungserziehung* (pp. 22-41). St. Augustin: Academia.
- Tocqueville, A. d. (2000). *Democracy in America. The Complete and Unabridged Volumes I and II*. New York: Random House Inc.
- Tokarski, W., & Steinbach, D. (2001). *Spuren - Sportpolitik und Sportstrukturen in der Europäischen Union*. Aachen: Meyer&Meyer Verlag.
- Tømmergaard, F. (2007). The EU White Paper on sports - concrete solutions or empty statements? *The Pulse*.
- UEFA (2007). Draft EU White Paper on Sport: a disappointing document, *Media Release No.082*. Nyon.
- University Klagenfurt (2008). Symposium Gender und Sport. Alpen-Adria University Klagenfurt.
- van Nierop, P. (2009). Study on Volunteering in the EU: Case study on volunteering in sport. In: GHK Consulting (Ed.). London. http://www.engso.com/Data/EU_Study_on_Volunteering_GHK_presentation_2009.pdf.
- Vassiliou, A. (2010). EU Sport Forum, Madrid. In: European Commission (Ed.). Brussels. http://ec.europa.eu/commission_2010-2014/vassiliou/headlines/news/2010/04/20100419_en.htm.
- von Richthofen, M. (2004). Auftaktveranstaltung "Staffellauf für Frieden und Toleranz". Potsdam.
- Warren, M. (2001). *Democracy and Association*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Weiss, O., Andres, G., Mrazek, J., & Norden, G. (2004). *European Integration and Sport*. Münster: LIT Verlag.
- WHO (2009). European network for the promotion of health-enhancing physical activity. In. Rome. <http://www.euro.who.int/hepa>.
- Wiener, A., & Diez, T. (2004). *European Integration Theory*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Wopp, C. (2006). *Handbuch zur Trendforschung im Sport*. Aachen: Meyer&Meyer Verlag.
- Wynsberghe, C. V., & Dandoy, R. (2006). The issue of sport policy in Belgium: An analysis of the federal political agendas in the nineties. In Centre for Comparative Politics - Catholic University of Louvain (Ed.), *ECPR Joint Sessions of Workshop*. Nicosia.
- Zandonella, B. (2005). *pocket europa - EU-Begriffe und Länderdaten*. Bonn: Westermann Druck GmbH.
- Zimmer, A. (2007). *Governance and Civil Society*, Westfälische Wilhelms Universität Münster.
- Zimmer, A., & Freise, M. (2008). Bringing society back in: civil society, social capital and the third sector. In William A. Maloney & Jan W. van Deth (Eds.), *Civil society and governance in Europe: from national to international linkages* (pp. 19-42). Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.
- Zimmer, A., & Sittermann, B. (2005). Brussels Civil Society. In Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster (Ed.). Münster.

Annex**1 Survey Questionnaire****Block A: The European Union**

Q1a. What does the European Union mean to you personally?

(multiple answers possible)

1. Peace
2. Economic prosperity
3. Democracy
4. Social protection
5. Freedom to travel, study and
work anywhere in the EU
6. Cultural diversity
7. Stronger say in the world
8. Euro
9. Unemployment
10. Bureaucracy
11. Waste of money
12. Loss of our cultural identity
13. More crime
14. Not enough control at
external frontiers
15. Other (please specify) _____
16. Don't know

Q2a. Have you heard of...? (one answer per line)

| | Yes | No | Don't know this institution |
|--------------------------------------|-----|----|-----------------------------|
| 1. The European Parliament | | | |
| 2. The European Commission | | | |
| 3. The Council of the European Union | | | |
| 4. The European Central Bank | | | |

Q3a. For each of them, please tell me if you tend to trust it or tend not to trust it? (one answer per line)

| | Tend to trust | Tend not to trust | Don't know whether to trust it |
|--------------------------------------|---------------|----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 5. The European Parliament | | | |
| 6. The European Commission | | | |
| 7. The Council of the European Union | | | |
| 8. The European Central Bank | | | |

Q4a. For each of the following statements about the European Union could you please tell me whether you think it is true or false? (one answer per line)

| | True | False | Don't know |
|--|------|-------|------------|
| 1. The EU currently consists of fifteen Member States | | | |
| 2. The members of the European Parliament are directly elected by the citizens of the EU | | | |
| 3. The members of the European Parliament will be directly elected by the citizens of the EU | | | |
| 4. Every six months, a different Member State becomes the President of the Council of the European Union | | | |

Q5a. Please tell me how attached you feel to...(one answer per line):

| | Very attached | Fairly attached | Not very attached | Not at all attached | Don't know |
|---------------------------|---------------|-----------------|-------------------|---------------------|------------|
| 1. your city/town/village | | | | | |
| 2. your region | | | | | |
| 3. your country | | | | | |
| 4. the European Union | | | | | |
| 5. Europe as a continent | | | | | |
| 6. Don't know | | | | | |

Q.6a. How proud are you to be your nationality? (one possible answer only)

1. Very proud
2. Quite proud
3. Not very proud
4. Not at all proud
5. Don't know

Q.7a. How proud are you to be European? (one possible answer only)

1. Very proud
2. Quite proud
3. Not very proud
4. Not at all proud
5. Don't know

Q8a. Please say for each of the following how important it is in your life (one answer per line):

| | | Very important | Quiet important | Not important | Not at all important |
|----|-----------------------------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------|----------------------|
| 1. | Work | | | | |
| 2. | Family | | | | |
| 3. | Friends and acquaintances | | | | |
| 4. | Leisure time | | | | |
| 5. | Politics | | | | |
| 6. | Religion | | | | |
| 7. | Neighbourhood and local community | | | | |

Q9a. Please look carefully at the following list of voluntary organizations and activities and say:

- a. which, if any, do you belong to? (multiple answers possible)
- b. which, if any, are you currently doing unpaid voluntary work for? (multiple answers possible)

| | a. belong to | b. doing unpaid work for |
|---|--------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Social welfare services for elderly, handicapped or deprived people | | |
| 2. Religious or church organizations | | |
| 3. Education, arts, music, or cultural activities | | |
| 4. Trade unions | | |
| 5. Political parties or groups | | |
| 6. Local community action on issues like: poverty, employment, housing, racial equality | | |
| 7. Third world development or human rights | | |
| 8. Conservation, the environment, ecology, or animal rights | | |
| 9. Professional associations | | |
| 10. Youth work (e.g. scouts, guides, youth clubs etc.) | | |
| 11. Sports or recreation | | |
| 12. Women's groups | | |
| 13. Peace movement | | |
| 14. Voluntary organizations concerned with health | | |
| 15. Other groups (please specify) _____ | | |
| 16. None | | |
| 17. Don't know | | |

Q10a. If you belong to one of the above mentioned groups, please indicate the name of the group and whether its area of action is local, regional, national or international (one answer per line):

if you do not belong to any group, please skip this question

| Name of group | Local | Regional | National | international |
|---------------|-------|----------|----------|---------------|
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |

Q11a. Are you involved in any network?

1. Personal (e.g. friends, family)
2. Academic (e.g. student groups, doctoral)
3. Professional (e.g. work group)
4. Organization (e.g. sectoral groups)
5. Leisure Time (e.g. personal interest)
6. Other (please specify) _____

Q12a. If you belong to one of the above mentioned networks, please indicate whether it is organized locally, regionally, nationally or internationally (multiple answers possible):

if you do not belong to any network, please skip this question

| | Local | Regional | National | international |
|--|-------|----------|----------|---------------|
| Personal (e.g. friends, family) | | | | |
| Academic (e.g. student groups, doctoral) | | | | |
| Professional (e.g. work group) | | | | |
| Organization (e.g. sectoral groups) | | | | |
| Leisure Time (e.g. personal interest) | | | | |

Block B: The European Union and Sport

Q1b. Did you know that the project Baltic Sea Round was planned as a relay around the Baltic Sea?

Yes

No

Q2b. How often do you exercise or play sport? (one possible answer only)

1. 3 times a week
2. 1 to 2 times a week
3. 1 to 3 times a month
4. Less often
5. Never
6. Don't know

Q3b. Where do you exercise/play sport that you do most often? (multiple answers possible)

1. In a fitness centre
2. In a club
3. In a sports centre
4. At school/university
5. Elsewhere, please specify _____

Q4b. In your opinion, what are the main benefits of sport? (multiple answers possible)

- | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------|--|--------------------------|
| 1. To improve one's health | <input type="checkbox"/> | 9. To develop new skills | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. To have fun | <input type="checkbox"/> | 10. To build character/identity | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. To relax | <input type="checkbox"/> | 11. To achieve objectives | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. To be with friends | <input type="checkbox"/> | 12. To stimulate the spirit of competition | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5. To make new acquaintances | <input type="checkbox"/> | 13. To help disadvantaged people to integrate into society | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 6. To meet people from other cultures | <input type="checkbox"/> | 14. Other, please specify: | |
| 7. To develop physical performance | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | |
| 8. To improve self-esteem | <input type="checkbox"/> | | |

Q5b. In your opinion, which of the following values does sport promote most?

(multiple answers possible)

- | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Team spirit | <input type="checkbox"/> | 9. Solidarity | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. Tolerance | <input type="checkbox"/> | 10. Friendship | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. Respect for others | <input type="checkbox"/> | 11. Equality among men and Women | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. Fair play | <input type="checkbox"/> | 12. Effort | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5. Self-control | <input type="checkbox"/> | 13. None of these | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 6. Sticking to the rules | <input type="checkbox"/> | 14. Other, please specify: | |
| 7. Discipline | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ | |
| 8. Mutual understanding | <input type="checkbox"/> | | |

Block C: The Baltic Sea Region

Q1c. Which countries do you consider to be part of the Baltic Sea Region? (multiple answers possible)

1. Belarus
2. Denmark
3. Estonia
4. Finland
5. Germany
6. Iceland
7. Latvia
8. Lithuania
9. Norway
10. Poland
11. Russia
12. Sweden
13. Other (Please specify) _____

Q2c. Do you know the following institutions? (one answer per line)

| | Yes | No | Don't know this institution |
|--|-----|----|-----------------------------|
| 1. Council of the Baltic Sea States | | | |
| 2. Baltic Development Forum | | | |
| 3. Baltic Sea Commission | | | |
| 4. Baltic Sea Forum | | | |
| 5. Baltic Sea Parliamentary Conference | | | |
| 6. HELCOM | | | |
| 7. Union of the Baltic Cities | | | |
| 8. Other (please specify) _____ | | | |

Q3c. Do you trust the following institutions? (one answer per line)

| | Tend to trust | Tend not to trust | Don't know whether to trust this institution |
|---|---------------|-------------------|--|
| 9. Council of the Baltic Sea States | | | |
| 10. Baltic Development Forum | | | |
| 11. Baltic Sea Commission | | | |
| 12. Baltic Sea Forum | | | |
| 13. Baltic Sea Parliamentary Conference | | | |
| 14. HELCOM | | | |
| 15. Union of the Baltic Cities | | | |
| 16. Other (please specify) _____ | | | |

Q4c. What topics do you think to be most important in the Baltic Sea Region at the moment?

(multiple answers possible)

1. Environmental protection
2. Economic development
3. Regional Integration
4. European Integration
5. Regional Cooperation
6. Cooperation with Russia
7. Cultural Exchange
8. Other (please specify) _____

Block D: The Project Baltic Sea Round

Q1d. How did you hear about the project? (multiple answers possible)

1. Internet
2. News Paper
3. Television
4. Radio
5. Flyer / Poster
6. Friends
7. Colleagues
8. Other (please specify) _____

Q2d. Did you know that the project is EU funded? (one answer per line)

Yes

No

Q2d_II. If yes, how did you know? (multiple answers possible)

1. Somebody told me
2. I saw the EU logo
3. It was stated in the project Information
4. Other (please specify) _____

Q3d. What was your motivation to participate? (multiple answers possible)

1. Interest in the EU
2. Interest in the Baltic Sea Region
3. Friends went, too
4. Interest in other Cultures
5. Didn't know what else to do
6. My professor made me go
7. Other (please specify) _____

Q4d. Did you learn something about the EU and its institutions? (one possible answer only)

1. Yes, I learned a lot
2. Yes, I learned something
3. No, not really
4. No, not at all

Q5d. Has the project influenced your view of the EU in a positive or negative sense?

(one possible answer only)

1. Yes, my view of the EU is more **positive**
now than it was before the project
2. Yes, my view of the EU is more **negative**
Now than it was before the project
3. No, my view of the EU has **not changed**

Q6d. Did you learn something about the Baltic Sea Region and its institutions?

(one possible answer only)

1. Yes, I learned a lot
2. Yes, I learned something
3. No, not really
4. No, not at all

Q7d. Has the project influenced your view of the Baltic Sea Region in a positive or negative way?

(one possible answer only)

4. Yes, my view of the Baltic Sea Region is
more **positive** now than it was before the project
5. Yes, my view of the Baltic Sea Region is
more **negative** now than it was before the project
6. No, my view of the Baltic Sea Region
has **not changed**

Q8d. Did you feel invited to participate? (one possible answer only)

1. Yes, I was able to bring in my own ideas
and opinions
2. Yes, I was able to participate in a minor way
3. No, I was not really able to participate,
 - a. due to personal circumstances
 - b. due to project weakness
4. No, I was not able to participate at all,
 - a. due to personal circumstances
 - b. due to project weakness

Q9d. What do you think about the following statements? (one answer per line)

| statement | agree very much | agree | disagree | disagree very much |
|--|--------------------|-------|----------|-----------------------|
| 1. EU funding is necessary. | | | | |
| 2. EU funding influences projects in a positive way. | | | | |
| 3. EU funding influences projects too much. | | | | |
| 4. EU funding should be spend somewhere else. | | | | |
| 5. EU funding should be reduced in total. | | | | |

Block E: Personal Information

Now I would like to ask you for some information regarding your person. Please answer!

Q1e. What sex are you?

- 1. male
- 2. female

Q4e. What year were you born?

Q3e. What nationality are you?

- 1. Danish
- 2. Finish
- 3. German
- 4. Norwegian
- 5. Swedish
- 6. Russian
- 7. Other (please specify) _____

Q4e. Where do you live – your place of residence?

- 1. Denmark
- 2. Finland
- 3. Germany
- 4. Norway
- 5. Sweden
- 6. Other (please specify) _____

2 Survey analysis

Freya E. Brune, M.A.

Westphalian Wilhelms-University Münster, Germany

Junior Research Group European Civil Society and Multilevel Governance

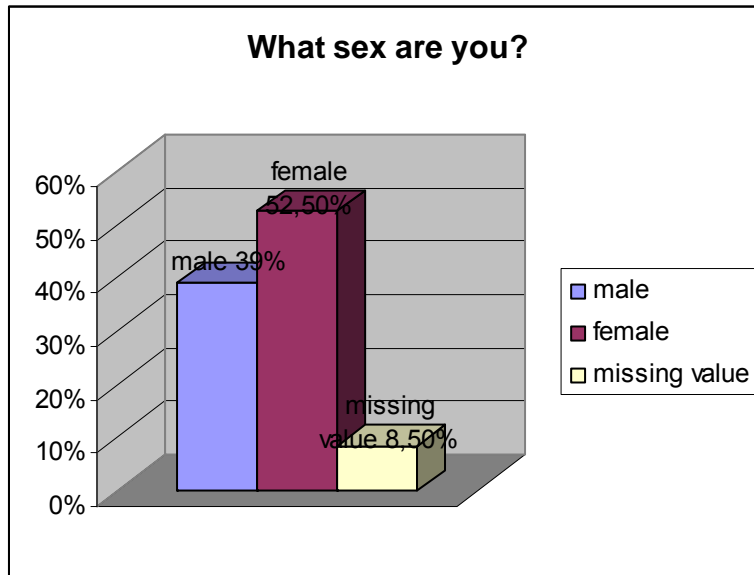
Analysis: Survey BalticSeaRound2008

in the scope of a PhD dissertation at Westphalian Wilhelms-University Münster (GER) by Freya E. Brune, M.A. (Junior Research Group European Civil Society and Multilevel Governance)

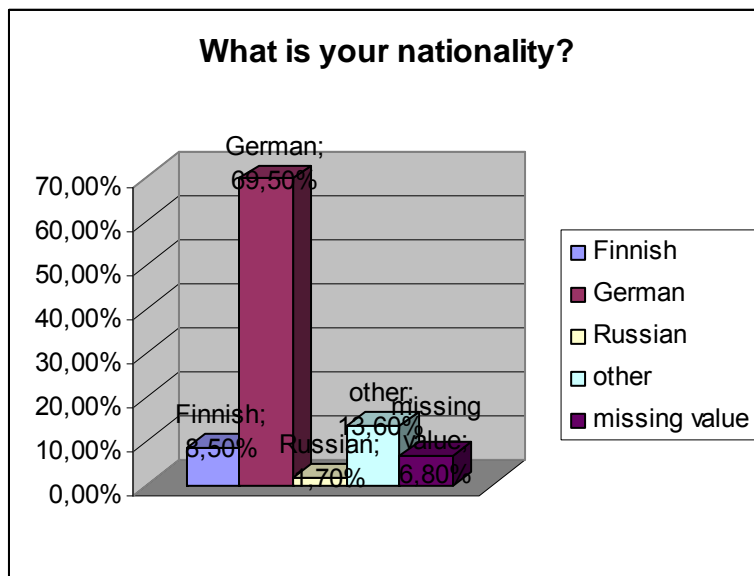
Frequencies

1. Personal Data

The personal data is based on the analysis of 59 handed in questionnaires of the project BalticSeaRound2008 (N=59).

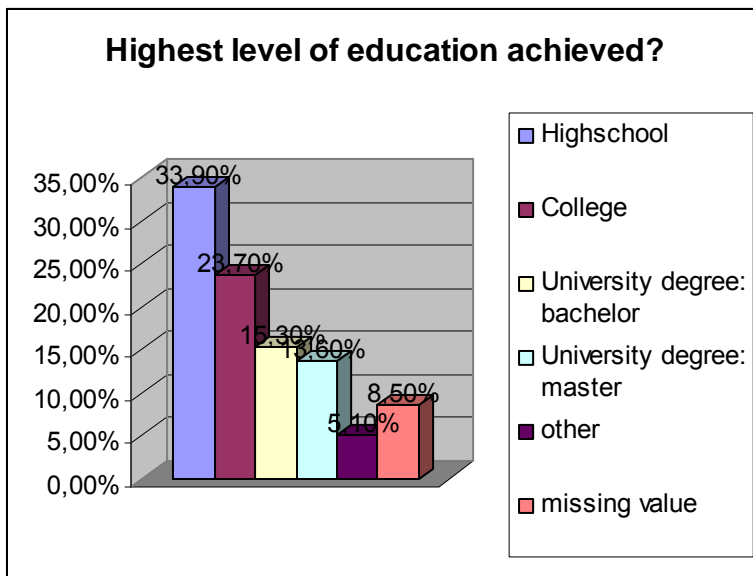


39% of the participants were male, while 52.5% were female (8.5% missing value).



The highest percentage of participants was German: 69.5%, followed by other nationalities (13,6%), and then Finnish (8.50%). (missing value: 6.8%).

Regarding the place of residence the distribution was similar to the nationalities.



The question concerning the highest level of education achieved was divided into highschool: 33.9%, college: 23.7%, bachelor degree: 15.3%, master degree: 13.6%, and other: 5.1% (missing value: 8.5%).

Since the organization was based on university contacts it is not surprising that the main percentage of the participants is university students.

Current occupation:

Student: 88.1%

Employed: 5.1%

Missing value: 6.8%

The European Union:

Concerning the EU part of the questionnaire the following findings are made:

Meaning of the European Union?

Frequencies of Meaning_EU

| | | Answers | | |
|-------------------------------|---|---------|------------|---------------------|
| | | N | Percentage | Percentage of cases |
| What does the EU mean to you? | 1a_1 Meaning of the European Union: peace | 24 | 9,0% | 40,7% |
| | 1a_2 Meaning of the European Union: economic prosperity | 30 | 11,2% | 50,8% |

| | | | |
|--|-----|--------|--------|
| 1a_3 Meaning of the European Union: democracy | 30 | 11,2% | 50,8% |
| 1a_4 Meaning of the European Union: social protection | 10 | 3,7% | 16,9% |
| 1a_5 Meaning of the European Union: freedom to travel, study and work anywhere in the EU | 54 | 20,2% | 91,5% |
| 1a_6 Meaning of the European Union: cultural diversity | 22 | 8,2% | 37,3% |
| 1a_7 Meaning of the European Union: stronger say in the world | 21 | 7,9% | 35,6% |
| 1a_8 Meaning of the European Union: euro | 38 | 14,2% | 64,4% |
| 1a_9 Meaning of the European Union: unemployment | 2 | ,7% | 3,4% |
| 1a_10 Meaning of the European Union: bureaucracy | 21 | 7,9% | 35,6% |
| 1a_11 Meaning of the European Union: waste of money | 6 | 2,2% | 10,2% |
| 1a_12 Meaning of the European Union: loss of cultural identity | 3 | 1,1% | 5,1% |
| 1a_14 Meaning of the European Union: not enough control at external frontiers | 1 | ,4% | 1,7% |
| 1a_15 Meaning of the European Union: other | 5 | 1,9% | 8,5% |
| N | 267 | 100,0% | 452,5% |

The answer which was marked the most was freedom to travel, study and work anywhere in the EU (91.5%). The following most frequent given answers concerning the meaning of the EU were the Euro (64.4%), economic prosperity (50.8%), democracy (50.8%), peace (40.7%) cultural diversity (37.3%), stronger say in the world (35.6%), and bureaucracy (35.6%). The EU means least to the participants not enough control at external frontiers (35.6%).

(1.7%), unemployment (3.4%), or loss of cultural identity (5.1%). Thus, among the participants of the BalticSeaRound2008 the EU mainly bears a positive image.

Have you heard of the following institutions?

Frequencies of Heard_inst

| | | Answers | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|---------|------------|---------------------|
| | | N | Percentage | Percentage of cases |
| Have you heard of following institutions? | 2a_1 Heard of: European Parliament | 58 | 26,7% | 98,3% |
| | 2a_2 Heard of: European Commission | 54 | 24,9% | 91,5% |
| | 2a_3 Heard of: Council of EU | 48 | 22,1% | 81,4% |
| | 2a_4 Heard of: European Central Bank | 57 | 26,3% | 96,6% |
| | N | 217 | 100,0% | 367,8% |

Over 90% (almost all) of the participants had heard of the European Parliament, the European Commission and the European Central Bank. Only the European Council stands back a little with 81.4%. This means, that the institutions are well known among the participants of the BSRound2008.

Trust in institutions:

Frequencies of trust_inst

| | | Answers | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|---------|------------|---------------------|
| | | N | Percentage | Percentage of cases |
| Do you trust the following institutions? | 3a_1 Trust in: European Parliament | 41 | 28,1% | 82,0% |
| | 3a_2 Trust in_ European Commission | 34 | 23,3% | 68,0% |
| | 3a_3 Trust in: Council of EU | 30 | 20,5% | 60,0% |
| | 3a_4 Trust in: European Central Bank | 41 | 28,1% | 82,0% |
| | N | 146 | 100,0% | 292,0% |

Concerning the trust in the above mentioned EU institutions over 80% trust in the European Parliament and the European Central Bank, while over 60% trust in the Commission and the Council of the EU, the latter holding the lowest level of trust (60.0%).

Feeling of attachment to different areas: city/town/village; region; country; European Union, Europe as a continent

5a_1 Feeling of attachment: city/town/village

| | | Frequency | Percentage | Valid percentage | Cumulated percentage |
|-------|---------------------|-----------|------------|------------------|----------------------|
| Valid | very attached | 30 | 50,8 | 50,8 | 50,8 |
| | fairly attached | 19 | 32,2 | 32,2 | 83,1 |
| | not very attached | 7 | 11,9 | 11,9 | 94,9 |
| | not at all attached | 2 | 3,4 | 3,4 | 98,3 |
| | don't know | 1 | 1,7 | 1,7 | 100,0 |
| | N | 59 | 100,0 | 100,0 | ,0 |

5a_2 Feeling of attachment: region

| | | Frequency | Percentage | Valid Percentage | Cumulated Percentage |
|-------|---------------------|-----------|------------|------------------|----------------------|
| Valid | very attached | 17 | 28,8 | 28,8 | 28,8 |
| | fairly attached | 27 | 45,8 | 45,8 | 74,6 |
| | not very attached | 10 | 16,9 | 16,9 | 91,5 |
| | not at all attached | 4 | 6,8 | 6,8 | 98,3 |
| | don't know | 1 | 1,7 | 1,7 | 100,0 |
| | Nt | 59 | 100,0 | 100,0 | |

5a_3 Feeling of attachment: country

| | | Frequency | Percentage | Valid Percentage | Cumulated Percentage |
|-------|---------------------|-----------|------------|------------------|----------------------|
| Valid | very attached | 14 | 23,7 | 23,7 | 23,7 |
| | fairly attached | 27 | 45,8 | 45,8 | 69,5 |
| | not very attached | 11 | 18,6 | 18,6 | 88,1 |
| | not at all attached | 6 | 10,2 | 10,2 | 98,3 |
| | don't know | 1 | 1,7 | 1,7 | 100,0 |
| | N | 59 | 100,0 | 100,0 | |

5a_4 Feeling of attachment: European Union

| | | Frequency | Percentage | Valid Percentage | Cumulated Percentage |
|-------|---------------------|-----------|------------|------------------|----------------------|
| Valid | very attached | 6 | 10,2 | 10,2 | 10,2 |
| | fairly attached | 24 | 40,7 | 40,7 | 50,8 |
| | not very attached | 22 | 37,3 | 37,3 | 88,1 |
| | not at all attached | 4 | 6,8 | 6,8 | 94,9 |
| | don't know | 3 | 5,1 | 5,1 | 100,0 |
| | N | 59 | 100,0 | 100,0 | |

5a_5 Feeling of attachment: Europe as continent

| | | Frequency | Percentage | Valid Percentage | Cumulated Percentage |
|-------|---------------------|-----------|------------|------------------|----------------------|
| Valid | very attached | 12 | 20,3 | 20,3 | 20,3 |
| | fairly attached | 28 | 47,5 | 47,5 | 67,8 |
| | not very attached | 12 | 20,3 | 20,3 | 88,1 |
| | not at all attached | 4 | 6,8 | 6,8 | 94,9 |
| | don't know | 3 | 5,1 | 5,1 | 100,0 |
| | N | 59 | 100,0 | 100,0 | |

50.9% of the participants consider themselves as very or fairly attached to the European Union, and 67.8% to the Europe as a continent. In comparison, the highest percentage is reached concerning the attachment towards their city/town/village with 83.1%. All other areas come to similar percentage levels as the EU or Europe as a continent. Thus, the level of attachment is highest concerning the closest living conditions, but is not totally reduced when moving upwards.

Pride of nationality/being European:

When asked for their pride of nationality and the pride of being European, the following answers were observed.

6a Pride of nationality

| | | Frequency | Percentage | Valid Percentage | Cumulated Percentage |
|-------|------------------|-----------|------------|------------------|----------------------|
| Valid | very proud | 13 | 22,0 | 22,0 | 22,0 |
| | quite proud | 29 | 49,2 | 49,2 | 71,2 |
| | not very proud | 12 | 20,3 | 20,3 | 91,5 |
| | not at all proud | 2 | 3,4 | 3,4 | 94,9 |

| | | | | |
|------------|----|-------|-------|-------|
| don't know | 3 | 5,1 | 5,1 | 100,0 |
| N | 59 | 100,0 | 100,0 | |

7a Pride of being European

| | Frequency | Percentage | Valid Percentage | Cumulated Percentage |
|------------------|-----------|------------|------------------|----------------------|
| Valid very proud | 19 | 32,2 | 32,2 | 32,2 |
| quite proud | 29 | 49,2 | 49,2 | 81,4 |
| not very proud | 8 | 13,6 | 13,6 | 94,9 |
| not at all proud | 1 | 1,7 | 1,7 | 96,6 |
| don't know | 2 | 3,4 | 3,4 | 100,0 |
| N | 59 | 100,0 | 100,0 | |

While 71.2% are very or quite proud to be their nationality, even a higher percentage: 81.4% are very or quite proud to be European.

The project:

Concerning the project part of the questionnaire the participants gave the following answers:

Knowledge about EU funding:

2d Knowledge: project EU funded

| | Frequency | Percentage | Valid Percentage | Cumulated Percentage |
|---------------|-----------|------------|------------------|----------------------|
| Valid yes | 47 | 79,7 | 79,7 | 79,7 |
| no | 10 | 16,9 | 16,9 | 96,6 |
| missing value | 2 | 3,4 | 3,4 | 100,0 |
| N | 59 | 100,0 | 100,0 | |

Almost 79.7% knew that the project was EU funded, in comparison to 16.9% who did NOT know about the EU fund for the BSRound2008.

Lessons about the EU and its institutions:

4d Learned something about EU and institutions

| | Frequency | Percentage | Valid Percentage | Cumulated Percentage |
|----------------------------|-----------|------------|------------------|----------------------|
| Valid yes, I learned a lot | 4 | 6,8 | 6,8 | 6,8 |
| yes, I learned something | 22 | 37,3 | 37,3 | 44,1 |
| No, not really | 24 | 40,7 | 40,7 | 84,7 |
| No, not at all | 7 | 11,9 | 11,9 | 96,6 |
| missing value | 2 | 3,4 | 3,4 | 100,0 |
| N | 59 | 100,0 | 100,0 | |

44.1% of the participants are of the opinion that they learned a lot or something about the EU and its institutions, while 52.6% did not really or not at all learn “something”. Even though the majority of the participants did not learn “anything” about the EU and its institutions; a comparable high percentage DID learn “something” or a lot, which is one of the desired outcomes of the project.

Influence of view of the EU:

5d Influence of view of EU

| | Frequency | Percentage | Valid Percentage | Cumulated Percentage |
|--|-----------|------------|------------------|----------------------|
| Valid Yes, my view of the EU is more positive now than it was before the project | 10 | 16,9 | 16,9 | 16,9 |
| Yes, my view of the EU is more negative now than it was before the project | 1 | 1,7 | 1,7 | 18,6 |
| No, my view of the EU has not changed | 44 | 74,6 | 74,6 | 93,2 |
| 4 | 2 | 3,4 | 3,4 | 96,6 |
| missing value | 2 | 3,4 | 3,4 | 100,0 |
| N | 59 | 100,0 | 100,0 | |

While 74.6% answered, that their view of the EU has not changed through the project, 16.9% said their view had changed in a positive way, compared to only 1.7%, who say their view has changed in a negative way.

Thus, the majority of the participants were not influenced in their view of the EU. Among the ones whose view HAS changed, the majority was influenced in a positive way.

Lessons about BSR and its institutions:

6d Learned something about BSR and institutions

| | Frequency | Percentage | Valid Percentage | Cumulated Percentage |
|----------------------------|-----------|------------|------------------|----------------------|
| Valid yes, I learned a lot | 6 | 10,2 | 10,2 | 10,2 |
| yes, I learned something | 27 | 45,8 | 45,8 | 55,9 |
| No, not really | 17 | 28,8 | 28,8 | 84,7 |
| No, not at all | 5 | 8,5 | 8,5 | 93,2 |
| missing value | 4 | 6,8 | 6,8 | 100,0 |
| N | 59 | 100,0 | 100,0 | |

Concerning the amount the participants have learned about the Baltic Sea Region and its institutions (self-assessment of participants), the percentages are even higher than the one achieved concerning the EU. The majority (56%) has answered they learned a lot or “something” about the BSR and its institutions, compared to only 28.8% who did “not really” learn something and even less (8.5%) of the participants said they did not learn anything at all. Again, one of the desired results of the project was reached.

Influence of view of BSR:

7d Influence of view of BSR

| | Frequency | Percentage | Valid Percentage | Cumulated Percentage |
|---|-----------|------------|------------------|----------------------|
| Valid Yes, my view of the BSR is more positive now than it was before the project | 26 | 44,1 | 44,1 | 44,1 |
| Yes, my view of the BSR is more negative now than it was before the project | 2 | 3,4 | 3,4 | 47,5 |
| No, my view of the BSR has not changed | 27 | 45,8 | 45,8 | 93,2 |
| missing value | 4 | 6,8 | 6,8 | 100,0 |
| N | 59 | 100,0 | 100,0 | |

The view of 44.1% of the participants was influenced in a positive way concerning the BSR, compared to 45.8% whose view has not changed, and only 3.4% whose view was changed in a negative way. 44.1% is a relatively high percentage – almost half of the participants leave the project with a more positive view of the BSR than they had before.

Feeling of being invited to participate:

8d Feeling of invitation for participation

| | | Frequency | Percentage | Valid Percentage | Cumulated Percentage |
|-------|---|-----------|------------|------------------|----------------------|
| Valid | Yes, I was able to bring in my own ideas and opinions | 31 | 52,5 | 52,5 | 52,5 |
| | Yes, I was able to participate in a minor way | 18 | 30,5 | 30,5 | 83,1 |
| | No, I was not really able to participate, due to personal circumstances | 2 | 3,4 | 3,4 | 86,4 |
| | No, I was not really able to participate, due to project weakness | 3 | 5,1 | 5,1 | 91,5 |
| | No, I was not able to participate at all, due to personal circumstances | 1 | 1,7 | 1,7 | 93,2 |
| | missing value | 4 | 6,8 | 6,8 | 100,0 |
| | N | 59 | 100,0 | 100,0 | |

Concerning the ability to participate actively in the project, the majority of the participants (52.5%) said that they were able to bring in their own views and opinions, and thus actively participated in the project and contributed to the project outcomes.

Views about EU funding:

9d_1 Statement: EU funding is necessary

| | | Frequency | Percentage | Valid Percentage | Cumulated Percentage |
|-------|-----------------|-----------|------------|------------------|----------------------|
| Valid | agree very much | 21 | 35,6 | 35,6 | 35,6 |
| | agree | 31 | 52,5 | 52,5 | 88,1 |
| | disagree | 3 | 5,1 | 5,1 | 93,2 |
| | missing value | 4 | 6,8 | 6,8 | 100,0 |
| | N | 59 | 100,0 | 100,0 | |

9d_2 Statement: EU funding influences projects in a positive way

| | | Frequency | Percentage | Valid Percentage | Cumulated Percentage |
|-------|-----------------|-----------|------------|------------------|----------------------|
| Valid | agree very much | 11 | 18,6 | 18,6 | 18,6 |

| | | | | |
|---------------|----|-------|-------|-------|
| agree | 38 | 64,4 | 64,4 | 83,1 |
| disagree | 5 | 8,5 | 8,5 | 91,5 |
| missing value | 5 | 8,5 | 8,5 | 100,0 |
| N | 59 | 100,0 | 100,0 | |

9d_3 Statement: EU funding influences projects too much

| | Frequency | Percentage | Valid Percentage | Cumulated Percentage |
|-----------------------|-----------|------------|------------------|----------------------|
| Valid agree very much | 3 | 5,1 | 5,1 | 5,1 |
| agree | 13 | 22,0 | 22,0 | 27,1 |
| disagree | 33 | 55,9 | 55,9 | 83,1 |
| disagree very much | 1 | 1,7 | 1,7 | 84,7 |
| missing value | 9 | 15,3 | 15,3 | 100,0 |
| N | 59 | 100,0 | 100,0 | |

9d_4 Statement: EU funding should be spend somewhere else

| | Frequency | Percentage | Valid Percentage | Cumulated Percentage |
|-----------------------|-----------|------------|------------------|----------------------|
| Valid agree very much | 1 | 1,7 | 1,7 | 1,7 |
| agree | 9 | 15,3 | 15,3 | 16,9 |
| disagree | 35 | 59,3 | 59,3 | 76,3 |
| disagree very much | 6 | 10,2 | 10,2 | 86,4 |
| missing value | 8 | 13,6 | 13,6 | 100,0 |
| N | 59 | 100,0 | 100,0 | |

9d_5 Statement: EU funding should be reduced in total

| | Frequency | Percentage | Valid Percentage | Cumulated Percentage |
|-----------------------|-----------|------------|------------------|----------------------|
| Valid agree very much | 3 | 5,1 | 5,1 | 5,1 |
| agree | 2 | 3,4 | 3,4 | 8,5 |
| disagree | 28 | 47,5 | 47,5 | 55,9 |
| disagree very much | 19 | 32,2 | 32,2 | 88,1 |
| missing value | 7 | 11,9 | 11,9 | 100,0 |
| N | 59 | 100,0 | 100,0 | |

88.1% agree or even agree very much to the statement that “EU funding is necessary”. 63% agree or agree very much to the statement that “EU funding influences projects in a positive way”, compared to only 27.1% who agree or agree very much that “EU funding influences projects too much”. 17% agree or agree very much that “EU funding should be spent somewhere else”, and only 8.5% are of the opinion that “EU funding should be reduced in total”. Of course, one can suppose that the majority of participants of an EU funded project who benefited from their participation, will have a positive opinion about EU funding. However, such high results cannot be assumed ex ante.

