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Abstract

With the emergence of the mixed welfare state, welfare provision has been increasingly placed on civil society organizations' agenda, and sports have increasingly entered discussions on how to deliver 'evidence-based' social work as a civil society actor. In Sweden, the sports movement has become a strong political- and societal welfare-providing actor, with the intent to facilitate social inclusion, cohesion, and integration. Currently, close to eight million Ukrainian refugees have been externally displaced due to the conflict with Russia, and approximately 50,000 of these individuals reside in Sweden.

This thesis has a two-fold, but interrelated, aim: i) to explore how Swedish voluntary sports clubs enable marginalized populations' participation in sports; and ii) to understand whether unique possibilities or barriers have emerged in conjunction with Swedish sports clubs' reception of Ukrainian refugees. This is done through six interrelated studies, where a (critical) realist evaluation tradition is at the forefront in framing these studies, together with Bronfenbrenner's system theory and a critical perspective on refugees' 'deservingness'. Through semi-structured interviews, focus group interviews, and participant observation with sports clubs representatives and federation employees, studies I, II and III map out critical components of how sports clubs work to increase social inclusion, targeting underserved areas (studies I and III) and underrepresented populations (youths with migrant backgrounds and low socioeconomic status).

These studies are used to set the scene and to understand generic factors imperative in sports delivery for underrepresented populations in the Swedish landscape. Studies IV, V, and VI consider additional 'unique' factors for post-socialist migrants (Study IV); specifically Ukrainian refugees (studies V and VI) by means of consulting experts within the post-socialist region, and by engaging with data from Swedish sports clubs that engage with Ukrainian refugees.

In summary: the sports clubs work primarily by attempting to alter structures and by meeting individual needs. This requires resources, time, and consistency—factors that are not always readily available in the Swedish voluntary civil society context. Secondly, although a range of similar barriers are detected across migrant populations—such as language issues—sports clubs experience some factors that have not been previously encountered (at least not to the same extent.) Specifically, many Ukrainian youths already have experience with organized- and competitive sports; a key issue sports clubs wrestled with during the so-called 'refugee crisis' in 2015 when they attempted to deliver 'sport for all'. These pre-existing features enable easier participation, since less pressure is put on logistical arrangements. Beyond easier inclusion, some youths also bring immense sporting capital, providing value to the sports clubs in a competitive sense. However, in a minority of the cases, a post-socialist tradition of early youth specialization results in friction with Swedish sports clubs' representatives. In these cases, culturally discrepant ideas on youth sports emerge, with reference to the incompatibility between the ratified UN convention of

Children's Rights and this post-socialist tradition. Finally, despite the latter finding, Swedish sports clubs are also, almost without exception, very positive regarding the inclusion of Ukrainian refugees.

This is a positive finding, but one that also sheds light on the European double-standard in refugee reception that has been detected in other societal areas. In the material, a subset of the sports club representatives draw from ideas on ethnicity, culture, class, and notions of national security in their framing of why Ukrainian refugees are more 'deserving' than other refugee populations, often with reference to the so-called 'refugee crisis' in 2015. Ukrainian refugees are conceived of as less threatening, as possessing more agency, and as more willing to work hard compared to other refugee groups. In summarizing this thesis' findings, I take a broader outlook. I suggest that the Swedish sports movement is conceptualized more clearly as a part of Nordic community work' which I refer to as a *Nordic sports social work*. Introducing the sports movement this way, I hope that: i) more community work researchers will take an interest in the sports movement and ii) that the sports movement is more integrated into a mainstream social work tradition. Finally, and interrelatedly, the treatment of Ukrainian refugees in contrast to other refugee populations can have an impact on this kind of structural social work.

As shown here, Ukrainian refugees are often framed as responsible, and as having great agency—these framings facilitate additional neoliberal framing of individual responsibility and could move the discourse *away* from structural social work. Such framings also alienates other refugee groups from society; sports being only one area. Taken together, in this dissertation, I show that sports clubs that engage in welfare-provision adopt a rather holistic approach to the subject matter, but that they require various types of capital, in addition to time and resilience. Even when these pre-requisites are met, broader ideas about refugees' levels of deservingness can impact sports clubs' reception of refugees; often in favor of Ukrainian refugees.

Keywords: Ukraine, migration, sports, social work

Abstrakt

Ett nordiskt idrottsligt socialt arbete i kontexten av flyktingmottagande

I takt med framväxten av den mixade välfärden har välfärdsfunktioner i större utsträckning placerats på civilsamhällesorganisationernas agendor, och idrotten har alltmer hamnat i fokus för diskussionen om hur ett 'evidensbaserat' socialt arbete ska utföras i civilsamhälleskontexten. I Sverige har idrottsrörelsen blivit en stark politiskoch samhällsrelevant välfärdsaktör, med intentionen att underlätta social inkludering, sammanhållning, och integration. I nuläget har nära åtta miljoner ukrainska migranter flytt sina hem på grund av konflikten med Ryssland, och ungefär 50 000 av dem befinner sig i Sverige.

Den här avhandlingen har ett tvåfaldigt, men sammanhängande, syfte: i) att utforska hur svenska ideella idrottsföreningar möjliggör deltagande för marginaliserade populationer inom idrotten samt ii) huruvida unika möjligheter och barriärer har uppstått i samband med svenska idrottsföreningars mottagande av ukrainska migranter. Detta sker genom sex sammanhängande studier, där en (kritisk) utvärderingstradition ramar in dessa studier, tillsammans med Bronfenbrenner's systemteori, samt ett kritiskt perspektiv på hur flyktingar konstrueras som mer eller mindre 'förtjänta'. Genom semi-strukturerade intervjuer, fokusgruppsintervjuer, och deltagande observation med föreningsrepresentanter och förbundsanställda i studie I, II, och III, kartläggs kritiska komponenter kring hur idrottsföreningar jobbar med social inkludering i utsatta områden (studie I och III) och underrepresenterade populationer (ungdomar med migrantbakgrund och låg socioekonomisk status).

Dessa studier används som underlag och för att förstå generiska faktorer som är viktiga i hur idrott används som social intervention för underrepresenterade populationer i det svenska landskapet. Studie IV, V och VI beaktar 'unika' faktorer för postsocialistiska migranter (studie IV) och specifikt för ukrainska migranter (studie V och VI) genom att konsultera experter inom den post-socialistiska regionen, och med data från svenska idrottsföreningar som tagit emot ukrainska migranter.

Sammanfattningsvis försöker idrottsföreningar primärt arbeta med att förändra strukturer och genom att möta individuella behov. Detta kräver resurser, tid och systematiskt arbete – faktorer som inte alltid är lättillgängliga i den svenska ideella civilsamhälleskontexten. Det andra övergripande fyndet är att, trots att en rad barriärer gör sig gällande oavsett migrantpopulation, såsom språkbarriärer, finns det några faktorer som idrottsföreningarna inte har stött på i samma uträckning tidigare. Mer specifikt, många av de ukrainska ungdomarna har stor erfarenhet av organiserad- och tävlingsinriktad idrott; ett nyckelproblem som idrottsrörelsen tampades med under den så kallade 'flyktingkrisen' år 2015, när de försökte leverera 'idrott-föralla'. Dessa faktorer förenklar inkludering eftersom trycket på de logistiska arrangemangen lättar. Bortom enklare inkludering finns det även ett fåtal ungdomar med enormt idrottskapital som för med sig ett mervärde för idrottsföreningarna. I ett fåtal av fallen finns det dock spår av en post-socialistisk tradition av tidig specialisering som skapar friktion med vissa av de svenska idrottsföreningsrepresentanterna. I dessa

fall återfinns kulturellt åtskilda idéer om ungdomsidrott, med referenser till hur FN:s konvention om barns rättigheter inte går att kombinera med denna tradition.

Slutligen, trots det senare, så är svenska idrottsföreningar, nästan undantagslöst, väldigt positivt inställda till inkludering av ukrainska migranter. Detta är ett positivt fynd, men också ett som sätter ljus på den europeiska dubbel-standarden i flyktingmottagandet som har upptäckts i andra samhälleliga sfärer. I materialet finns det ett antal idrottsföreningsrepresentanter som, utifrån idéer om etnicitet, kultur, klass, samt idéer om nationell säkerhet uttrycker att ukrainska migranter är mer 'förtjänta' jämfört med andra flyktingpopulationer, ofta med referens till den så kallade 'flyktingkrisen' 2015.

Det talas om ukrainska migranter som mindre farliga, med mer agens, samt som mer villiga att jobba hårt jämfört med andra flyktinggrupper. I ett försök att summera avhandlingen så intar jag ett bredare perspektiv. Jag föreslår att den svenska idrottsrörelsen konceptualiseras mer tydligt som en integrerad del av ett nordiskt 'samhällsarbete', som jag benämner som ett nordiskt idrottsligt socialt arbete Därmed hoppas jag att: i) mer samhällsarbete-forskning inriktas på idrottsrörelsen och att: ii) idrotten blir mer integrerad i det traditionella sociala arbetet. Slutligen, och i kombination med ovanstående, så är det värt att nämna att behandlingen av ukrainska flyktingar kan påverka den här typen av strukturellt socialt arbete.

Som påvisats är ukrainska migranter ofta omtalade om som ansvarsfulla och med stor agens – dessa narrativ kan spä på en neoliberal idé om individens ansvar, och kan flytta diskursen från ett strukturellt socialt arbete. Sådana diskurser kan även alienera andra flyktinggrupper från samhället; idrott är bara en arena. För att summera, i den här avhandlingen visar jag att idrottsföreningar som engagerar sig i välfärdsservice har en holistisk ansats, men att det krävs olika typer av kapital, tid och resiliens. Även när dessa faktorer uppfylls så finns det större idéer om migranters 'förtjänthet' som kan påverka idrottsföreningars mottagande, ofta till förmån för ukrainska flyktingar.

Nyckelord: Ukraina, migration, idrott, socialt arbete

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List of Articles

Article I

Blomqvist Mickelsson, Tony. (2022) Facilitating migrant youths' inclusion into sports clubs in disadvantaged area. *Nordic Social Work Research*, 1–15.

Article II

Blomqvist Mickelsson, Tony. (2022). A morphogenetic approach to sport and social inclusion: a case study of good will's reproductive power. *Sport in Society*, 1–17.

Article III

Blomqvist Mickelsson, Tony. (2022). The Role of the Swedish Sports Confederation in Ensuring Sport in Socioeconomically Deprived Areas. *International Journal of Sports Policy and Politics* 14(4), 589–606.

Article IV

Blomqvist Mickelsson, Tony. (2022). Understanding Central- and Eastern European Migrants' inclusion in sport: A Delphi Study. *International Journal of Sports Policy and Politics* 15(1), 109–124.

Article V

Blomqvist Mickelsson, Tony (2023). Ukrainian refugees and the Swedish sports movement – new challenges and opportunities. *European Sport Management Quarterly*, 1–20.

Article VI

Blomqvist Mickelsson, Tony (2023). Ukrainian refugees' reception in Swedish sports clubs: 'deservingness' and 'promising victimhood'. *European Journal of Social Work*, 1–14.

Introduction

The notion that sports can combat social issues is not new. In Sweden, and globally, the role of sport has been discussed in a range of social issues, such as public health (Aggestål & Fahlén, 2015; Österlind, 2016; Österlind & Wright, 2014); migrants' integration (Dolk & Kuhn, 2015; Hertting & Karlefors, 2013, 2021; Lundkvist et al., 2020); combating delinquency among youths (Dahlstedt & Ekholm, 2021); and stimulating empowerment, development, and cohesion within underserved communities (Lawson, 2005). In Sweden, where the welfare state has gradually retreated since the 1980s, civil society actors have been increasingly incentivized to carry out welfare provision (Lundström & Svedberg, 2003). In comparison to other civil society organizations, the Swedish sports movement has historically been relegated to the periphery in terms of welfare provision. This has, however, changed drastically over the last two decades. Sports have increasingly found their way into Swedish social policy (Carlsson et al., 2011; Fahlén & Stenling, 2016a; Norberg, 2011) and are referred to as "...an entrepreneurial sports movement that engages in social work..." (Österlind & Wright, 2014, p. 986, my italics). While the sports movement is occasionally mentioned as such, my interpretation is that the sports movement needs to be linked to established social work concepts, and could benefit from a practical conceptual lens; doing such could legitimize sports as a social work practice. Indeed, in conjunction with how welfare services are outsourced, the sports movement is being funded to a great extent for social policy goals (Bjärsholm & Norberg, 2021) and is 'mobilized' to carry out social work (Ekholm, 2017a). This phenomenon has occurred in conjunction with the rapidly increasing spatial, ethnic, and socioeconomic divides that characterize modern Sweden (Dahlstedt & Ekholm, 2019; Grundström & Molina, 2016; Scarpa & Schierup, 2018; Sjöberg & Kings, 2021), and which have increasingly centered migrants' integration as a key issue for Swedish politicians (Dahlstedt & Neergaard, 2019). Similarly, sports as an increasingly popular part of social policy also coincides with a range of humanitarian catastrophes, such as the so-called 'refugee crisis' in 2015, and, more recently, the conflict in Ukraine. In this thesis, I am concerned with the latter.

Over eight million Ukrainians have been externally displaced, and The International Federation of Social Workers swiftly announced the *IFSW Action on Ukraine Crisis*, calling for the profession to meet Ukrainian refugees' needs in their countries of re-settlement (IFSW, 2022). At the time of this writing, over 50,000 Ukrainian refugees reside in Sweden (UNHCR, 2022). The Swedish sports movement had already engaged in a kind of a refugee reception by 2015 (Arnoldsson et al., 2019), and has had a prolonged engagement with refugee groups; this mission now con-

tinues with the influx of Ukrainian refugees, and with their more overarching work on becoming more inclusive. In this dissertation, I define and view, social inclusion from a sports club perspective; if sport is, indeed, intended to be 'for all', access and participation need to be characterized by the principle of equity. However, emanating from previous experiences, the research on Swedish sports clubs and refugee reception (e.g., Carlman et al., 2020; Carlman & Vikström, 2018; Flensner et al., 2021; Hertting & Karlefors, 2013, 2021; Wagnsson et al., 2019) shows that sports clubs are not always as accessible and inclusive as politicians believe them to be—instead, sports clubs, globally, have been shown to reproduce broader patterns of social stratification (Hartmann-Tews, 2006; Mutz & Müller, 2021; Reeves, 2012; Van Tuyckom & Scheerder, 2010), and may, in the worst cases, exclude and stigmatize the 'Other' (Dowling, 2020). Further adding to this is the notion that migrants and refugees are often conceived of as a homogenous group, although migrants are 'super-diverse' (Vertovec, 2007) while they are, paradoxically, often treated differently based on their ethnic- and cultural origins (De Coninck, 2022). This conception of migrants as an homogenous group is also misleading when considering sportfor-integration research (Agergaard, 2018), which emphasizes that unique individuals have different conceptions, needs, and preferences in the sporting domain. By depriving certain groups of access to sports, the benefits of sports are automatically also unequally distributed. When we consider the current humanitarian crisis, we are faced with a 'new' conundrum; forced migration from Ukraine is novel, and Swedish sports club are inexperienced with this particular group.

Aims and questions of issues

The overarching purpose of the thesis is to understand and explain the factors underpinning refugees' social inclusion in Swedish voluntary sports clubs, and further explore whether there are unique factors regarding Ukrainian refugees. This overarching purpose is operationalized into the two following questions:

- i) What conditions, actors, and processes between them are necessary to facilitate refugees' social inclusion into Swedish voluntary sports clubs?
- ii) What are the specific issues and possibilities Ukrainian refugees face with respect to Swedish sport?

The thesis is intended to contribute empirically and theoretically to the current literature. First, there is an growing body of realist research about the conditions under which sport can 'work' (Ryan et al., 2022); specifically in consideration of marginalized youths and underrepresented populations (Schaillée et al., 2021), such as refugees. The second empirical contribution is related to the reception of Ukrainian refugees. Forced migration from Ukraine has been met with an unprecedented welcoming response from the western world, but little is known about Ukrainian refugees' re-settlement processes and reception practices, of which sports

are one significant societal sphere. Finally, the theoretical and conceptual contributions I make are not, per se, linked to the research questions provided here but come about as biproducts of further exploration of how we can link sports—as social interventions—to already-established and conventional subfields of social work research. In the introduction, I introduce a 'Nordic sports social work', as it is understood in the context of wider community work research.

Outline of the thesis

This thesis is outlined as follows. To situate the thesis in the wider context, the first part will account for the changing welfare context, how this is affecting the social work profession, and how civil society actors are becoming increasingly important pieces in the welfare-provision puzzle; specifically considering refugee reception. Subsequently, a brief primer on the Swedish sport movement is given. In here, I briefly illustrate events, contradictions and synergies between the Swedish sports movement and civil society literature. I go on to introduce how the Swedish sports movement can be thought of as a community work actor, in light of the broader literature on community work. From there, I provide an overview on refugees' social inclusion in sports, and I highlight the overall absence of post-socialist knowledge on sports and social inclusion. This is situated in emerging work that show how Ukrainian refugees are being treated differently compared to other refugee groups. Subsequently, I present my theories, where I combine my theoretical underpinnings with my methodological considerations. This section will start with an outline of critical realism as my meta-theoretical framing, followed by the introduction of Bronfenbrenner's Process-Person-Context-Time (PPCT) approach, and Welfens (2022) notion of 'deservingness' and 'promising victimhood'. In this regard, critical realism is utilized, both as a theoretical framework, but also to position myself ontologically and epistemologically. The PPCT approach is used as a middle range theory and focuses on the interactions that enable or constrain developmental trajectories, while the concept of deservingness adds to my understanding of how these interactions are altered. Subsequently, I define what I mean by social inclusion, inspired by Levitas et al. (2007). The material and methods employed in this thesis are then presented, consisting of one case study, semi-structured interviews, focusgroup interviews, an 'online conference', and surveys, along with a section on ethical aspects, positionality, data analysis and validity. A summary on the included articles follows, and I discuss the thesis' findings in three sections where I: i) tie together socioecological models, evaluation research, and 'deservingness'; ii) discuss the proposed link I make to community work through a more in-depth analysis; and iii) offer a more critical perspective on the thesis overall.

The Swedish landscape: the retreating welfare state and implications for social work practice

The transforming welfare state and social work

To understand why sports would be capable, or even interesting, to explore in the context of Swedish social work and refugee reception, it is imperative to illuminate how the boundaries between public and civil society have been blurred. This erosion of traditional barriers has had implications for how, and who, is carrying out welfare provision, and increasingly shifts the emphasis toward civil society actors. Therefore, an understanding of how welfare provision and social work have been transformed in the changing welfare context, with a particular emphasis on civil society and the sport movement's increasingly salient role is needed. However, first, it is important to outline what I mean by 'welfare services' in the context of this thesis. As this chapter will show, there has been a shift from a more holistic view of migrants in Sweden, to a stricter idea of quick integration into the labor markets and such. I view the potential role of sports clubs as related to the former, where individuals' social, psychological, and physical health are the matters that receive the most attention. One could say sports is therefore a 'soft' form of welfare provision, but it is one that is nevertheless important to consider.

To situate this thesis in its current context, it is perhaps easiest to refer to Esping-Andersen's (1990) welfare regime typology. According to Esping-Andersen's (1990) typology, the relationships between the market, the state, and individuals make it possible to discern different models of welfare regimes in a Weberian sense. In this case, Sweden has historically been framed as a Social Democratic welfare regime. Within a Social Democratic welfare regime, there is a strong and broad emphasis on public social policy, and social insurances, along with a political commitment to questions of employment (Hutchinson, 2009b). This is complemented by high rates of taxation and high rates of social expenditure vis-à-vis GDP according to Hutchinson (2009a). In short, such a model attempts to ensure sufficient quality of social services and the benefits of middle classes, as well as to "...guarantee people with low incomes full participation in the quality of rights enjoyed by the better-off" (Hutchinson, 2009b, p. 16). Indeed, from the middle of the 19th century onward, under the reign of the Social Democrat party, a distinct 'Swedish model' was shaped as part of the political vision of Folkhemmet [the people's home]. The welfare state was characterized by generous and redistributive benefits, intended for the entire population (Borevi, 2014). Active labor market policies and employment were highly

prioritized by the government, and were supplemented by strong public services and extensive social insurances (Dahlstedt & Neergaard, 2019). For example, the government initiated *Miljonprogrammet* [the million program]; low-cost and high-quality housing that could cover the housing needs of the Swedish population (Grundström & Molina, 2016). In short, although Esping-Andersen's typology has been critiqued to some extent, features of the Social Democratic regime have been very prevalent in the Swedish model. What this means in the context of Swedish social work is that professional social work maintained a strong position and acted as a main conduit for welfare provision through these policies.

In 1980, this foundation was gradually affected by other ideas, such as new public management, which emphasizes that private actors, along with choice and competition would make welfare provision more efficient and effective (Hutchinson, 2009a; Popple, 2015). These ideas have become prevalent since then, critiquing what is perceived as the 'paternalistic' element of the welfare state, and increasingly affecting how welfare is provided (Linde & Scaramuzzino, 2017). Importantly, this critique emanated from both left- and right-wing voices (Hutchinson, 2009b), where the right-wing critique entailed the need for welfare provision to be more liberal and driven by market logic, whereas the left-wing critique was concerned with the weakened position of grassroots initiatives. Over the last two decades, researchers argued that the emergence of mixed welfare states, new public management, and marketization logics have "...transformed the core social fabric of what was previously known as the (Social Democratic) Swedish welfare model" (Dahlstedt & Neergaard, 2019, p. 122). Instead of governing by means of welfarism, there has been a strong shift toward advanced liberalism, emphasizing governing individuals' behavior (Ekholm, 2016), and redirecting focus toward individuals' autonomy, responsibility and freedom, in favor of strong collective rights and equal distribution of resources (Dahlstedt & Neergaard, 2019). Accordingly, market-type relationships have now penetrated the Swedish welfare state in a rapid manner and affected Swedish social policy, which in turn, has affected people of migrant backgrounds. These policies address, among other factors, housing, education, and welfare provision (Jönsson & Kojan, 2017), while, at the same time, marketization has spurred fast-paced segregation along ethnocultural, spatial, and socioeconomic markers (Grundström & Molina, 2016). In the urban peripheries, these areas are characterized by exclusion of various kinds, and, as Grundström and Molina (2016) note, this constitutes an exclusionary and racialized process. That is, socioeconomically disadvantaged individuals—often of migrant backgrounds—are displaced to these areas, which tend to have poorer infrastructure (Dahlstedt & Ekholm, 2019). These lacking infrastructures connect with Jönsson and Kojan's second point (2017), in which they emphasize that schools in underserved areas are of poorer quality, thus affecting educational achievement for the populations residing in these areas (Jönsson, 2015; Jönsson & Kojan, 2017). From a historical perspective, Brännström (2004) found no neighborhood effects on educational outcomes during the 'golden era' of Swedish

social programs, leading him to suggest that "...the observed non-effects may also indicate the impacts of welfare state organization" (p. 2533). According to Jönsson and Kojan (2017), some reforms that emphasize outsourcing welfare services have instead caused *increasing* costs of social work- and welfare interventions, and many private organizations have benefitted from selling their services to the state (Jönsson & Kojan, 2017).

While the above examples are brief illustrations of broad sectors that partially overlap with welfare provision, I will here spend some space in elaborating on how welfare-provision and political rhetoric have changed in connection to refugee reception. To begin with, following the thought that privatization would make social interventions more effective and cost-efficient, changes in interventions, ideas, and efforts within Swedish refugee reception are no different (Jönsson & Kojan, 2017; Östman, 2019). A brief look back in history, as provided by Schierup and Ålund's (2011, p. 128) discussion on the 1975 immigration policy reform can serve as a starting point:

The reform was principled on a promising merger of a powerful and equitable institutional welfare system, a liberal universalist conception of citizenship with social citizenship as centerpiece, and an inclusive multicultural conception of the nation. In combination with a, in those days unique, reform of the Swedish electoral system in 1976 it guaranteed, in terms of 'denizenship' (Hammar 1985), a principled access to almost all rights of civil, political and social citizenship even for immigrated noncitizens. A generous asylum policy and permissive rules for family unification were backed by guarantees for fast naturalization based on criteria of residence, without restrictions in terms of language te[s]ts, oaths of allegiance, income criteria, etc. 'Freedom of choice' was backed by a range of special measures concerning, among other, access to language training of children in vernaculars of the countries of origin, support to migrant communities for access to and use of media and press and support for the organization of migrant communities premised on corporate criteria of ethnonational background.

The quote by Schierup and Ålund represents the conventional idea of the inclusive and multicultural Swedish model, which is still present (at least in part) in stereotypical conceptions of contemporary Sweden. The humanitarian value was also evident in the way that social workers approached working with migrants. According to Jönsson and Scaramuzzino (2022), social workers were guided by the Social Services Act, and extensive focus was placed on refugees' social- and psychological well-being. In her analysis of Swedish migration policies between 1970 and 2000, Borevi (2002) also shows that initial policies sought to promote and preserve migrants' culture. For example, in 1975, the government decided that ethno–national organizations would receive funding to become a part of popular mass movements in Sweden (Kings, 2013). As Kings (2013) notes, although the format itself still exists, the content of it has changed, and from 2000 onward, the most important function was 'integration'—not preserving culture (Kings, 2013). Indeed, as time passed, such

ideas faded; we have instead adapted stronger ideas on 'civic assimilation' according to Borevi (2002). In contemporary times, it is fair to say that the content of *Tidö-avtalet* (the Tidö agreement) represents further development of this trend, where the focus on enabling easier deportation, reduced support for the newly-arrived, and on encouraging health professionals to report migrants who illegally reside in the country all send a strong signal. According to some, Tidöavtalet is a re-definition, or the 'end of integration' (Pelling et al., 2023).

As social policies from the 1980s onward were transformed, ideas of multiculturalism were traded for discourses on 'diversity management' (Scarpa & Schierup, 2018), and principles of equity in distribution were traded for refugees' responsibility to integrate properly. The case of the Establishment Reform is illustrative. The refugee reception system was reformed in 1994, in which municipalities were granted the power to offer non-mandatory introduction programs to asylum-seekers. A major change came into being in 2010 when the 'Establishment Reform' was put into practice. This reform did not remove the voluntariness of the already-existing introduction programs but enabled greater potential financial benefits compared to the social assistance received by non-participants. However, this turn indicated a "...shift towards a more duty-based and sanction-orientated approach" (Scarpa & Schierup 2018, p. 203), in part because the municipalities could now refuse social assistance in the case of non-participation in the programs, and the additional benefits from the Establishment Reform could be rejected based on noncompliance (Borevi, 2017). An additional feature of the Establishment Reform was to standardize the programs and transfer the responsibility of these efforts to the Public Employment Services; it did not take long before Public Employment Services started contracting these services out to private actors. A significant insight from this reform is that the idea has shifted from the state's responsibility to employ people into making refugees themselves responsible for being employable (Scaramuzzino & Suter, 2020). Jönsson and Scaramuzzino (2022, p. 3) argue that "...the reform has implied a change in the integration system both from an organizational and from an ideological point of view".

It is safe to say that the retrenchment of the welfare state, marketization, globalization, and forced migration have kept on altering social work practices. In the wake of 2015—the so-called 'refugee crisis'—much stricter migration policies were put into place, along with the evolution of a much tougher political rhetoric on immigration. Across the political spectrum, politicians voiced concerns that the asylum situation represented a 'system collapse'. Swedish social services were heavily strained during this period of time, and often lacked quality in terms of welfare services (Seidel & James, 2019). Following this period, as Gustafsson and Johansson (2018) note, national security versus human-, and especially refugee rights, have subsequently been positioned against each other, a construct manifested through the new 2016 law which imposed restrictions on family reunions and permanent residence for refugees. Other austerity measures have included the use of 'bio-politics'

when assessing refugee youths' age to decide whether they should enjoy welfare benefits and social services (Elsrud, 2020). The focus has tipped towards refugees' resettlement processes and integration toward a conflict-oriented perspective which is ideologically incompatible with the idea of Swedish 'exceptionalism' (Borevi & Myrberg, 2010).

Moreover, according to Jönsson (2019, p. 212), the national security discourse and the neoliberal agenda have permeated social work, enabling a shift from social workers as "...promoters of 'welfare of the people" to "...bureaucrats within a neoliberal organization..." In conjunction with shifting responsibilities, roles, and adding to the more restrictive national migration policies, changes have also taken place in municipalities, and in the every-day practices of social workers. In some places, social assistance provision has been reconfigured into discouraging regularized migrants to reside in Sweden (Nordling & Persdotter, 2021), and a range of social service actors are encouraged to motivate such migrants to return 'home' (Holmlund, 2021). The restrictive turn places migrants in a precarious situation, where their deportability has become more salient and stressful than ever before (Moberg Stephenson & Herz, 2022), where the social worker is conceived of as lacking knowledge about migration (Östman, 2019), and is framed as a 'passive bystander' who occasionally exerts his power to affect refugees' lives (Herz & Lalander, 2019).

In summary, the emergence of a mixed welfare-state coincides with stricter migration policies and notions of refugees' responsibility to integrate properly, while less consideration is given to structures that may inhibit integration. This trend is noticeable in contemporary social work practice. However, this turn has not only retrenched the welfare state and affected professional social workers; it has also paved the way for civil society to address refugees' needs (Gustafsson & Johansson, 2018), thus situating civil society as a powerful complement—or alternative—to public welfare provision.

Making space for civil society in the provision of welfare

While the emergence of the mixed welfare state has transformed who provides welfare and how welfare is provided in favor of private actors, civil society organizations have also increasingly emerged as important welfare providers. Civil society organizations' increasingly important role can be discerned in the debate as to whether they are complementary to, or represent substitutes for public welfare provision (Johansson, 2005). However, it is also important to emphasize that social work emerged as a philanthropic movement in Sweden, later became professionalized, and now, over the last few decades, have resurfaced as important social work actors (Linde & Scaramuzzino, 2017).

Civil society is not easily defined, but according to the Swedish government, civil society is often defined as civil society associations acting within the third sector, who have some sort of altruistic agenda, and who are often driven by some sort of

ideological consciousness (SOU, 2016: 13). This largely corresponds to the seminal work of Salamon and Anheier (1998) who distinguish five features of civil society associations; they are organized, private, non-profit, self-governing, and voluntary. I will use Salamon and Anheier's (1998) broad definition of civil society (associations). This definition, by default, excludes the informal forms of social mobilization and activism that occur within civil society. These are powerful elements in civil society (Polanska & Chimiak, 2016), particularly within the current context of the conflict in Ukraine (Cullen Dunn & Kaliszewska, 2023), but are excluded because I am concerned with formal and organized sports clubs.

In the early 1990s (a temporal hot spot for shifting ideas of welfare provision) a governmental report was produced, calling for more attention to be paid to the importance of the 'voluntary social work' that was conducted within civil society (SOU, 1993: 82). As previously noted, however, 'voluntary' social work existed long before this report was produced. Nevertheless, the Swedish model had traditionally been conceived as one where strong governmental welfare arrangements were at the forefront, while welfare provision of civil society organizations seemed peripheral. In adhering to this idea of Scandinavian countries, Weisbrod (1997, p. 542) argued that "...we find that [Scandinavian] governments are in fact considerably larger in those countries, whereas the nonprofit sectors are relatively unimportant", and as shown by Salamon and Anaheir (1998), Swedish civil society seems futile when considering paid services in civil society organizations. In a critical response to Weisbrod, Lundström and Svedberg (2003) break down the development of Swedish civil society's welfare-providing functions and outline its trajectory from mass popular movements into welfare-providing services.

Historically, the major Swedish civil society organizations were mainly configured as mass-membership popular movements that pursued democratic ideals and gave voice to the needs of special interest groups. However, as public welfare-provision has been weakened, and as the government has increasingly highlighted the potential of civil society (SOU 1993: 82; SOU, 2016: 13), many of the major civil society organizations have been reconfigured to provide a welfare-related complimentary function to the state. Lundström and Svedberg (2003) explain how up until the 1990s, research on civil society was dedicated to exploring how civil society organizations taught democratic ideals and fostered citizens, while the international literature was more oriented towards, for example, labor opportunities. This changed during the 1990s, and several multi-country comparisons were carried out. The picture of an unimportant Swedish civil society (Weisbrod, 1997) seemed unmotivated in light of these comparisons. When accounting for its membership-base and the amount of unpaid volunteering that occurs in Swedish civil society, the picture is vividly different (Lundström & Svedberg, 2003; Salamon & Anheier, 1998). Membership rates in civil society organizations are particularly high in Sweden compared to other countries (Lundström & Svedberg, 2003), and approximately half of the adult population volunteers in some way; a number that has remained consistent over three

decades (Von Essen & Svedberg, 2020). When exploring the economic importance of this work, Sweden stands out in international comparisons (Salamon & Anheier, 1996, 1998). Unpaid voluntary work was, at least at that point, an underutilized lens to understand the (economic) value of civil society (Grassman & Svedberg, 1996). This underutilization has not shed a fair light on Swedish civil society, where grassroot membership and unpaid volunteering are critically defining characteristics, emanating from popular mass movements. It is fair to say that the sheer size and voluntary engagement of the membership base in Swedish civil society merits exploration of their capacity to provide welfare services.

Further, and more recently, policy changes made it even more incentivizing; for instance, the government introduced the Civil Society Public Partnership (*Ideburet offentligt partnerskap*; IOP), an initiative that made more economic resources accessible to civil society organizations for welfare-service purposes (Reuter et al., 2012). Through IOP, civil society organizations could collaborate with the public sector to enhance their welfare-providing abilities and, through this configuration, alleviate the welfare state. In later governmental reports, civil society is reinforced as a viable actor, contributing to the democratization of its members, and to social cohesion and trust, and to their ability to both conduct advocacy on behalf of marginalized groups, and to offer services needed by specific groups (SOU 2016: 13). An argument was made here that civil society needs to be further strengthened through, for example, systematically improving public sector officials' knowledge of civil society actors, and generally enhancing the conditions for civil society organizations in their pursuit of providing welfare (SOU, 2016: 13).

Unsurprisingly, research on civil society and welfare provision has increased remarkably over the last decade, notably in conjunction with the political recognition of civil society's more fleshed-out role (Henrekson & Neubeck, 2022). In Henrekson and Neubeck's (2022) review on welfare provision within the Swedish voluntary sector (161 articles), most of the social-work-oriented articles pertain to the context of refugee reception. In this context, civil society organizations can often be thought of as 'emergency responders' (Ideström & Linde, 2019), who can act swiftly and be a 'humane' complement to the public sector, which is often framed as paternalistic and inhumane (Povrzanović Frykman & Mäkelä, 2020). According to Elsrud and Lalander (2022, p. 79) in their study on unaccompanied minors, while "...stategoverned social work has mainly excluded and separated, voluntary social work has reduced the suffering created for those separated from, and no longer supported by, welfare systems". Elsrud and Lalander's quote is illustrative of how civil society tends to be positioned in contrast to public welfare provision and the development of increasingly harsh migration rhetoric. Several Swedish major civil society organizations reacted critically to the government's restrictive migration policies after 2015 and pointed to features that would compromise a human-rights perspective (Scaramuzzino & Suter, 2020). This is an element of ideological nature often found within civil society organizations that also risks spurring the notion of an overly

authentic and 'good' welfare-provider compared to a rigid, mechanic, and inhumane welfare-providing state. This is, however, not an accurate reflection of civil society organizations' welfare-providing function.

While some civil society organizations and social movements maintain strong ideological roots, many of the major civil society organizations have adapted to the logics of marketization and the effects of a mixed welfare state. Reflective of the international literature on civil society organizations' increasing professionalization (Maier et al., 2016), Swedish civil society organizations are being increasingly geared towards marketization and professionalization (Åberg, 2013, 2015). Swedish civil society organizations are increasingly competing for public funding (Östman, 2019), and must become efficient in 'pitching' ideas and 'packaging' their projects to suit the requirements of funders (Herz, 2016). In contrast to Esping-Andersen's (1990) ideal construction of a Social Democrat regime—one in which civil society organizations as welfare providers do not exist—these organizations now have an immense potential to act as welfare providers (Lundström & Svedberg, 2003). However, these organizations are not isolated from wider trends, and they should not be uncritically conceived of as heroes that carry out a mission that was initially intended to fall within the purview of professional social work. What Lundström and Svedberg (2003) also pay attention to is the ideological turn that places civil society organizations in discussions of welfare-provision performance; auditing, monitoring, further emphasizing their professionalization. As Ekholm (2017a) notes, entrepreneurially-minded individuals can now seize the moment and become welfare providers in the civil society context. This is akin to what Hartmann (2001), in the US context, calls the emergence of the 'social problems industry', and how sports interventions are merged into this phenomenon and orchestrated by a range of different actors. In the Swedish sports 'social problems industry', large increases in funding have enabled more resources to be distributed to volunteer-based sports clubs, but have also enabled more mid-range positions (e.g., in federations) that conduct interventions from 'the top' (Arnoldsson et al., 2019).

As I shall show in the subsequent section, the Swedish sports movement fit neatly into the picture illustrated above. In this sense, it is also worthwhile to note that sports (organizations) tend to fall outside the definition of civil society welfare providers in Sweden. For instance, in Henrekson and Neubeck's (2022) review on the subject in Sweden, no article contains "sport". An explanation for this is provided by Linde and Scaramuzzino (2017). Linde and Scaramuzzino argue that, within the already difficult-to-define welfare-providing organizations within civil society, cultural, recreational, and sports organizations generally do not have contributions to welfare as their primary aim and can therefore be disregarded. Other researchers agree that, while Swedish sports clubs quantitatively dominate the civil society sphere, it is, indeed, a matter of culture and recreation—not social services (Johansson et al., 2011). I agree with these observations to some extent; sport organizations and federations have historically been relegated to the periphery when it comes to welfare

provision (this is also a matter of defining welfare provision). Moreover, the inherent 'logic' of sport also assumes, to some extent, that some sports are excluded because of their competitive element (Skille, 2011), which runs counter to ideas on inclusion and integration. In this sense, it is not peculiar that most civil society organizations within the social work literature have an explicit social work scope (e.g., the Red Cross). Here, we might understand the sport movement's potential role in light of what Jönsson and Scaramuzzino (2022) called a re-definition of integration; i.e., a shift away from a focus on individuals' wellbeing (for a review of the changes in what civil society and professionals social workers consider important, see Gustafsson & Johansson, 2018). The sports movement could, perhaps, serve as compliment or even as a substitution when considering markers of health (social, psychological, physical), if public professional social work has (partially) left this particular domain. Given the sports movement's rapid emergence within this context, we could benefit from thinking of how to properly utilize the sport movement's unique properties, reach, and breadth to address social-work-related outcomes. Another key aspect here is, of course, how to properly conceptualize and delimit what the sport movement is actually capable of doing.

My interpretation is that the legitimization of sport as a *social work* practice would gain from a practical conceptual lens, directly situating sport within already-established social work concepts. As I will show in the subsequent section, the sports movement is moving towards a social-work-oriented agenda, where welfare provision is an explicit aim. The sports movement is also legitimized by governmental reports and funding to this end, further raising the question of whether sport really should be, without exception, excluded from such definitions.

The Swedish sports movement

In this section, I will situate the Swedish sports movement through a more formal overview of its structure, organization, and purpose. The sports movement is then inserted into the Swedish civil society context, and I briefly draw a distinction from other conceptions of 'sport social work' that have emerged in other countries. This distinction serves as a gateway into my own understanding of sports as a welfare-providing producent in the Nordic milieu: through the literature on (Nordic) community work.

An overview of the Swedish sports movement and its cornerstones

Sweden shares many commonalities with neighboring European countries with regards to sports policy and delivery, such as the ingrained notion of 'sport-for-all'; meaning, as the name suggests, that sports should indeed be accessible to everyone. In 1976, the European Council decided on the creation of the sport-for-all charter, which has since been a robust notion of sports as a basic human right. In Nordic countries, sport-for-all is a highly pursued idea, where participation rates indeed are higher compared to most other countries (Skille, 2011). In Sweden, the governing body of sport, the Swedish Sports Confederation (SSC), has remained rather stable since its inception in 1903, and has enjoyed state support for a long time (Fahlén & Stenling, 2016a). The SSC serves as the link to the state, while simultaneously catering to the needs of their members and is seen as a democratic and horizontal organization (Stenling, 2015). The administrative structure is best described by Fahlén and Stenling (2016a, p. 522), in which sports clubs "...are affiliated with some 1000 district sport federations (DSFs), with regional authority over one specific sport; also, to one of the 21 regional sports federations (RSFs) providing administrative support to and representing all sports; and finally, to their NSF [national sports federations] (70 in total), with national authority over one specific sport". One interesting observation that speaks in favor of the sports movement's potential to be welfare providers is their dominance, coupled with their size. Specifically, the SSC has an almost complete monopoly on sport, and a large member base; as already mentioned, they are the largest popular movement in Sweden (SOU, 2008: 59). To put this in perspective, whereas Åberg (2013) analyzed nine Swedish study associations with a total of approximately two million participants, the SSC alone govern well-above three million participants and over 20,000 sports clubs (Fahlén & Stenling, 2016b). It should therefore not come as a surprise that there is a desire and expectation from Nordic governments that a certain degree of welfare provision will be carried out by these sports clubs (Agergaard, 2011).

The cornerstones of the Swedish sports movement are membership-based sporting, communitarianism, volunteerism, and democracy (Fahlén & Stenling, 2016a). Already here, we can discern the emphasis on the community, and the value of 'voluntary social work' that can be leveraged through the sports movement. While volunteerism ideology and non-profit work are highly touted as one of the main engines driving most European sports clubs' work, a brief exposition of research shows that this particular feature is perhaps even more profound in Sweden compared to most countries. In line with the John Hopkins comparative project (Salamon & Anaheir, 1998), one way of assessing how much unpaid work is happening in the sports movement is to look at the number of paid positions (i.e., how professionalized, or how 'pure' the sports movements are). In the latest internal reports, 25% of Swedish sports clubs had some type of paid employee (SOU 2008: 59). In turn, the project 'Social Inclusion and Volunteering in Sports Clubs in Europe' (SIVSCE), a multinational comparative project in Europe, offers some comparisons in their investigation of sports clubs' welfare-providing function. The SIVSCE project looked at European voluntary sports clubs (n = 30,000) in 10 different countries, exploring structures, problems, and opportunities (Seippel et al., 2020), volunteering satisfaction (Nagel et al., 2020), migrants' social integration (Elmose-Østerlund et al., 2019; Nagel et al., 2020), migrant status in relation to volunteer status (Elmose-Østerlund et al., 2021), characteristics of sports clubs that offer initiatives for underrepresented groups (Elmose-Østerlund et al., 2022), the integration of disabled individuals into sports clubs (Albrecht et al., 2019), democratic participation in sports clubs (Ibsen et al., 2019) and much more. Importantly, the project covers how many sports clubs employ paid staff. Some comparisons are offered here: in Denmark, 30% of sports clubs employ paid staff (Elmose-Østerlund & Ibsen, 2020); in England 37% do (Nichols & James, 2020); in Germany 49% (Feiler & Breuer, 2020); in Hungary, 35% (Perényi, 2020); in Norway and Spain, 29% (Llopis-Goig & García-Alcober, 2020; Seippel, 2020); in the Netherlands, 51% (van der Roest et al., 2020); and in Poland, 60% (Piątkowska & Gocłowska, 2020). The only countries to have an equal or lower percentile compared to Sweden are Belgium (24%; Corthouts et al., 2020) and Switzerland (15%; Nagel, Stegmann, et al., 2020). These comparisons contain errors because of the time lap between surveys, and questions of whether the sports clubs are nationally representative (see e.g., Nichols & James, 2020), but they allow for a rough estimate. Following a general trend (Grix, 2009; Ronkainen et al., 2022), the Swedish sports movement has also experienced professionalization over the 20th century, but a reasonable expectation is that Sweden likely remains in the lower quartiles of these comparisons. Under this assumption, volunteer ideology and unpaid labor is particularly strong in Sweden, even when compared to other European countries.

The SSC serves as the representative of the sports movement; in parallel, the SSC governs and allocates governmental funding to the rest of the sports movement. This duality of roles has proven to be difficult to balance, both on the SSC's part, and on the government's part. The main issue is that, as part of civil society, the SSC is an autonomous and is a 'by members, for members' organization. However, the SSC has also increased their societal and political relevance through strengthening their position as a middleman located between the state and the sports movement (Stenling & Sam, 2017). Norberg (2011) argues that the relationship between the SSC and the government has gradually been renegotiated. The nature of this renegotiation is reflected in more auditing, higher demands for transparency, and most importantly, in an emphasis on the sports movement to provide evidence of their work (Österlind, 2016). In turn, this is akin to what Lundström and Svedberg (2003) call the emergence of 'contract culture' in civil society literature, due to marketization (Henrekson & Neubeck, 2022); whereby the government has increasingly expected voluntary associations to act as executors of political decisions. This is very much the reality for the Swedish sports movement, and such expectations have come with increased statefunding to achieve social policies. Landmark projects include 'the handshake' (2002-2007), funded with 100 million euro; the 'lift for sports' (2007–2011), funded with 200 million euro; and most recently, 264 million SEK was granted for refugees' 'integration' between 2015 and 2018 (Arnoldsson, 2019). It is worthwhile to mention that, in a time of neoliberalist welfare reforms, public support for the sports movement has instead maintained a steady course, and even increased over a longterm historical perspective (Bjärsholm & Norberg, 2021). It has also become clear that these efforts have opened doors for the SSC, allowing and encouraging them to enter more powerful collaborations with both local and national politicians (Lindström & Blomqvist Mickelsson, 2022).

What follows is that a range of reports have been produced on behalf of the SSC, whereby sport and social inclusion (in some sense) are increasingly under examination (Arnoldsson, 2019; Edström, 2019; Eliasson & Fundberg, 2022; Linderyd & Leon Rosales, 2022; Lindström & Blomqvist Mickelsson, 2022; Molin, 2019; Wagnsson et al., 2019). In this regard, one of the most recent SSC report's titles is telling: *En match utöver det vanliga: om ett kunskapsbaserat arbetssätt i idrottssvaga områden* [A game beyond the usual: an evidence-based way of working in areas of poor sport infrastructure] (Lindström & Blomqvist Mickelsson, 2022). Cognizant of my own and my co-author Jonas Lindström's construction of this title, the title is also an expression of the development of research on sports and social inclusion Sweden focused on targeting underrepresented groups. In conducting the report, as well as in reading other recent reports, there are strong indications of a more evidence-based discourse permeating the sports movement. To further legitimize their organization, there is indeed a need to show that practices are not arbitrary or inefficient; on the contrary, to remain politically relevant, they need to be 'evidence-based'. Just like

other civil society organizations (Maier et al., 2016), the sports movement approaches social issues as being in need of evidence-based approaches.

Accordingly, while there indeed occurs a shift that weakens the public sector's social work, the (civil society) sports movement approaches ideas of evidence-based practices and increasing professionalization of their own. This observation aligns well with the transforming welfare context, how social work is being increasingly placed into the hands of civil society actors, and how civil society organizations are becoming increasingly professionalized overall. Secondly, it is still not clear how 'the social work of sport' (Lawson, 2005) is configured in the Nordic civil society sphere. I make this statement based on two assertions, however: I do not state here that conceptualizations of sports as means of social interventions do not exist. They clearly do, and some have been around for a long time. What I am referring to, and my first argument, is rather how sports as a social intervention has been appropriated largely by other disciplines such as the multidisciplinary sport-for-development program, sport management, sport sociology, sport psychology—all of which with only minor social work representation (see e.g., Schulenkorf et al., 2016). My second argument is that, given the highly institutionalized setting sports fall within in Sweden, and when considering the relevance of sports' role within civil society, we could further explore 'Nordic' sports social work by combining established social work theories and fields, and embedding these within the civil society literature.

It is here fitting to briefly shine a light on, and make a distinction to, a very clearlyformulated 'sports social work' that has emerged over the last decade in the US context. In the US, sports social work has emerged as a strong subfield of social work research, with, for example, the advent of the Sport Social Work Journal and special issues (e.g., Anderson-Butcher & Bates, 2021). This literature is grounded within a positive psychological framework and 'the-person-in-the-environment' construct, and is often centered at individual development and adaptation, and concerned with youth- and collegiate athletes (Moore et al., 2020; Moore & Gummelt, 2019; Newman, 2020; Newman & Anderson-Butcher, 2021; Newman et al., 2020). This sports social work is not exclusively oriented towards these populations, nor is it contained to only these theoretical perspectives, but they are strongly present within this body of scholarship and serve as a good contrasting illustration to what I am about to present. Accordingly, this idea of sports social work thus takes into consideration how athletes are a vulnerable population, and an emerging body in this area seeks to identify and combat issues "...through direct practice, community organizing, advocacy, policy development, education, and research on micro, mezzo, and macro levels" (Gattis & Moore, 2022, p. 6). The focus on athletes is also evident in the first-ever sports social work book (Moore & Gummelt, 2019). The athletic focus in this sport social work can be interpreted as somewhat context-specific, seeing as, for instance, collegiate athletics are a big enterprise in the US. Emanating from this line of research and this particular setting has been a strong focus on how to integrate and link sports to professional social work practices (Newman et al., 2019, 2021; Tarr et al., 2023), and

to education (Bates & Kratz, 2022; Magier et al., 2022), which will be further discussed in the subsequent section. Moreover, this research is often carried out within the context of *programs*; for example in summer-camps (Anderson-Butcher et al., 2013; Henert et al., 2021), prisons (Jacobs & Wahl-Alexander, 2021), and schools (Pierce et al., 2022). To re-iterate: while there is some emphasis on community sport (Anderson-Butcher & Bates, 2021), there are discrepancies between how sports social work is delivered in the US context in comparison to the European context, where voluntary sports clubs and civil society are dominant features. Accordingly, while the US context has a much more clearly staked-out notion of sports social work, there are question marks on how to approach sports social work in the civil society context of Sweden. I will here argue that we need to analytically situate the Swedish sports movement within the community work literature.

Community work and Swedish sports: a Nordic sports social work

In this part of the thesis, I will introduce the field of community work, and briefly draw a few parallels to sports clubs. Specifically, I consider the branch of Nordic community work as a viable field in which to situate the sports movement. As I will return to in the discussion, the examination of sports-for-development and sports science in general as geared towards social issues has often been conducted in academic silos (Haudenhuyse et al., 2020). This is a key issue I address in study I, where I make the explicit link to (Nordic) community work. In Nordic regions, community work has been on the periphery, both as a professional activity, as well as an academic (sub)area of social work (Turunen, 2004, 2009). Lately, there has, however, been a resurgence in the academic interest of community work in the Nordic regions (Sjöberg & Turunen, 2022), and my hope is that this thesis could make a modest contribution to this process. The chapter here partially builds upon a forthcoming work (Blomqvist Mickelsson & Kings, forthcoming), where Lisa Kings and I seek to illustrate how a Nordic sport social work can be understood from Rothman's (2007) social intervention typology. The chapter will commence with a historical oversight on how community social work emerged, how it relates to the contemporary Swedish landscape, and then briefly make use of Rothman's typology.

Origins and development of community (social) work

Historically, two different approaches within social work emerged simultaneously: that of individual case work (micro), and that of structural social work (macro). The former, primarily pioneered by Mary Richmond, sought to serve individuals and families in need of aid, while the latter was spearheaded by Jane Addams, who was a strong advocate for environmental changes and social reform (Rothman & Mizrahi, 2014). Jane Addams' founding of the Hull House in Chicago marked the beginning of the settlement movement and a strong orientation toward structural social work.

Recognizing the need to go beyond addressing (and perceiving) individuals' deficits as problems to be solved in clinical practice, Addams advocated for broader social change, and Hull House became a point of departure for such work through its focus on the issues of poverty and marginalization, and on empowering underserved communities (Addams, 1910). Richmond and Addams are generally conceived of as the founders of how we conceive social work today. Amongst many things, Addams was a strong voice for migrants' rights (Lundblad, 1995), and she was also, most likely, one of the first to utilize recreational and sporting activities to facilitate social outcomes (Reynolds, 2017). Addams (1910) believed that sports could serve to improve personal development and facilitate relationship building, and, as a matter of fact, Addams created the first youth sport social work certificate—which likely is the first field training program in sports social work ever (Clark et al., 2022). Jane Addams' pioneering role thus marked the onset of community (social) work; a macro approach that exists within professional social work, but one that has nevertheless become marginalized in favor of case work in contemporary times (Rothman & Mizrahi, 2014). Moreover, and important to this thesis, is that this branch of structural social work encompasses the public, civil, and private sectors and emphasizes inter- and cross-sectoral collaborations. It is here fitting to briefly define the concept of 'community' and 'community work' before further outlining the bumpy road of community work.

Community work is a broad definition, is difficult to define, and contains a plethora of sub-terms and umbrella-terms, such as 'community development', 'community social work', 'environmental social work', 'structural social work', and more (Popple, 2015). In Nordic regions, community work has also transitioned from social work to other disciplines (Turunen, 2009) such as social entrepreneurship (for a Swedish sports example, see Bjärsholm, 2020). In the Social Services Act, community work corresponds to what is referred to as 'preventative social work' (SFS 2001: 452). A basic definition of community work is, according to Turunen (2009): "...a strategy and a set of methods for meeting local needs and mobilizing local communities and resources for social change and development". Following this interpretation, community work is therefore about supporting, intervening, and mobilizing communities to combat local issues and enhancing groups and areas' quality of life in some way. In this regard, the 'community' is often highlighted as an important hub of welfare provision, and many times is connected to the neighborhood area (Popple, 2015). The main idea with communities is that they constitute a local space with an interest to provide for, and combat, local issues (Popple, 2015; Rothman, 2007). However, communities do not need to be exclusively locally defined, but can also relate to groups (such as diasporas) as a community (Brubaker, 2006; Popple, 2015; Rothman, 2007). These factors are all consistent with the work of Jane Addams.

Following the inception of community work, as understood by the works of Jane Addams and by this definition, community work practices have been integrated into

the social work curriculum and are, at least internationally, an integral part of social work (Sjöberg & Turunen, 2022). A considerable amount of work has been invested into how community work can be effectively launched, focusing on the necessary conditions, strategies, different types of capital, individuals, and goal-setting (Popple, 2015; Rothman, 1964, 1996, 2000). Emerging out of this research is a broader consensus about the complexity of community work (interventions). One key dimension that is systematically stressed by researchers is how community work needs to be foregrounded in collaborations in order to properly be able to deal with serious social issues (Chaskin, 2001). The community, whether local or imagined, will encompass a range of relevant actors. Accordingly, community social workers have to navigate this plethora of actors and initiatives that emerge outside of professional social work (Johnson, 2004). In the US, Johnson (2004) raised concerns over how different valuable community actors seemingly emerged, and operated, without clear links to the social work profession; the critical importance of joining common forces is seemingly evident across geographical contexts, and is, to phrase Grander et al. (2022) the 'magic wand'. However, with time, it has also been highlighted that collaboration is no easy task. For instance, in the UK, community work gained a lot of traction at the turn of the century, and governmental support increased for projects addressing community development in underserved areas (Popple, 2006). Simultaneously, Gilchrist (2003) argued that issues persist in UK community work, where community projects are conceived of as policy-implementation initiatives, but where the importance of community participation in itself was too often downplayed, thus undermining local voices. Seeing as community work is, fundamentally, about empowerment and a bottom-up approach (Addams, 1910), this briefly illustrates the complexities inherent in community work practice when interlinked with higherorder authorities and social policy.

Briefly connecting this back to the UK context and to sports, the case of Sport England is illustrative. Sport England is an NGO, but with a mandate and support from the English government to support underserved areas through sports and physical activity. Like the SSC, they fund sub-federations and projects to such ends, and their mission directly ties into strengthening and developing underserved communities in the shape of a higher-order 'authority'. In the wake of critique of Sport England's inefficiency, several reforms were implemented according to the logics of new public management (e.g., Houlihan & Green, 2009), emphasizing evaluation, increased efficiency, and so on. Thompson et al. (2021) found that when federation employees attempted to implement the new directives aimed at the sports clubs, several issues emerged. One such issue was the perception that these bodies started losing sight of the sports clubs' interests and that grassroot-relationships therefore eroded. These results are symptomatic of Gilchrist's (2003) critique of power imbalances in community work.

Naturally, sports social work in the US has been heavily inspired by the works of Jane Addams, and, to phrase Clark et al. (2022, p. 56), many practitioners and

scholars have argued that their work in sport seamlessly intersect "...with social work values, ethics, knowledge, and skills". Such intersecting core values in the work of sports social work practitioners are, according to Moore and Gummelt (2018), reflected in the strong emphasis on: i) service, ii) social justice, iii) dignity and worth of the person, iv) the importance of human relationships, v) integrity, and vi) competence. Each of these values are transferable from the 'conventional' domain of social work into sports, such as how the importance of human relations is evident in the coach-athlete relationship (Moore & Gummelt, 2018). This transferability of values and practices has been acknowledged by social workers who move between conventional social work and sports social work (Newman et al., 2022). To this end, the social worker has been argued to be uniquely positioned to make a distinct contribution in the field of sports (Moore et al., 2020). In the US, sports social workers now exist within professional social work and within the sports system, as bridges between the two institutions and the wider community. Although sports social workers in the US maintain that there is a need for further clarification and professionalization to make their profession more visible (Newman et al., 2022), this issue takes on a considerably different nature in Sweden. Whereas the US now has a growing body of curricula, titles, and positions that apply explicitly to sports social work(ers), there is no such terminology in Sweden. However, it is, to me, clear that we have people, positions (both voluntary and professional), and institutions working in the intersections of sports and social work—but we need a vocabulary. Rothman's typology can offer one way to begin sketching out such a vocabulary. Prior to introducing Rothman, a brief overview of Nordic community work is given.

Nordic community work

Since the 1960s, community work has been an established method in Swedish social work (Hutchinson, 2009a). During the 1970s, community work was re-invigorated because of the expansion of the Swedish welfare-state (Sjöberg & Turunen, 2022), and later on in the 1990s, a growing body of concepts emerged, such as social entrepreneurship, empowerment, etc. (Turunen, 2009). According to Sjöberg et al. (2018), the latest development in how community work is undertaken is tied to the emergence of the mixed welfare state, which is certainly the case in Sweden, where actors outside professional social work serve welfare-providing purposes. These actors are diverse and include, for instance "...public administration, voluntary association[s], NGOs, social movement[s], cooperatives, religious congregations, and social and private companies" (Sjöberg & Turunen, 2022, p. 210). According to Turunen (2020), community work within public social work in Sweden is close to extinct. Moreover, although community work-approaches, methods, and interventions are encouraged by Nordic public sector social services legislation, mainstream social work in the Nordic regions is conducted as individual case work combined with macro-level social policy, and work on the community level is given less attention (Turunen, 2009). This is the case despite governmental reports calling for preventative structural social work, and for professional social work to be involved in community planning (SOU 2018:32).

Despite the peripheral status of community work as a perspective in the Swedish social work landscape (at least in the eyes of the public), there are signs of a revitalized interest in Nordic community work. This is perhaps most evident in the release of new books across the Nordic region (Sjöberg & Turunen, 2018) and special issues on the subject matter (Sjöberg & Turunen, 2022; Sudmann & Breivik, 2018). It is within this time and space that I wish to discuss the sports movement's role within community work more explicitly.

Sports clubs—community capacity development

As noted, how community work is exerted is not straightforward but can take on multiple forms and configurations. Following some of the leading community work scholars in the Nordic region, one way to assess how community work initiatives are configured has been to deploy Rothman's (1995, 1996, 2007) intervention typology. Rothman is one of the most influential figures within the community work literature and has, in a rather pragmatic sense, attempted to outline strategies, how-to guides, and, most importantly, developed a typology of social work intervention that he has refined over the course of several years. In their most recent book, Sjöberg and Turunen (2018) offer an overview of Rothman's (1995) three initial categories: locality development, social planning, and social mobilization according to the respective categories' broad features. See Table 1 below.

As recognized by Sjöberg and Turunen (2018), and by Rothman (1996, 2007) himself, these categories are not mutually exclusive but tend to overlap. In further developing these categories, Rothman (2007) elaborated on the various combinations, ending up with a total of nine categories (e.g., locality development mixed with social planning). I will here look at the sports club- and the federation-level, and apply the typology briefly.

The sports club can be discerned in Rothman's typology by a few distinguishing characteristics related to the 'pure' category of community capacity development. This approach, related to the local development category, encourages broad participation by diverse participants in the community, and is characterized by consensus, self to self-help techniques, and 'soft' approaches to change. According to Rothman (2007, p. 23) the overriding "...goals are to educate participants and nurture their personal development" through an approach emphasizing highly idealistic and ethical values. Rothman (2007) mentions examples such as settlement houses, federation agencies, and civic associations. These have the potential to become problem-solving infrastructures that may contribute to individual- and community well-being, and Rothman (2007, p. 23) distinguishes at least four themes here: i) empowering community members, ii) strengthening relationships between

diverse individuals (social integration), iii) participating and gaining experience in taking civic action, and iv) leadership development.

Table 1. Rothman's typology based on origins, goals, focus, methods, and roles within each category of social intervention (adapted from Sjöberg and Turunen (2018)

	Local development	Social planning	Social mobilization
Origins	Colonial developmental work and charity	Welfare state and social policy	Social and popular mass movements
Goal	Local development in rural and urban milieus	Social service and social aspects in urban planning	Social justice, equity, and transformation of power relationships
Focus	Participatory and capacity development	Citizen participation and collaboration for social and sustainable planning	Mobilization of power and influence for social change
Method	Neighborhood work and capacity building	Participation in planning and citizen dialogue	Self-organizing and collective empowerment
Role	Starter, capacity builder	Coordinator, expert	Critic, organizer, activist

Sports clubs can be considered an important infrastructure in the local area, with the potential to organize, promote, and facilitate a range of developmental outcomes in the community. Sports clubs can, as evidenced by the literature, be actors that intervene and help in times of 'crisis' (Stura, 2019; Tuchel et al., 2019), and are often driven by a bottom-up approach, since Swedish sports clubs are mainly situated in a volunteer environment. In relation to Rothman's (2007) four themes as outlined above, there is a large body of scholarship that has addressed sports clubs' role in empowering its members (e.g., Blinde & Taub, 1999; Deem & Gilroy, 1998; Kay, 2010), stimulating social integration and inter-ethnic friendships (e.g., Burrmann et al., 2017; Janssens & Verweel, 2014; Spaaij et al., 2019), using civic action to challenge other structural issues (Sabbe, 2019; Sabbe et al., 2020, 2021), and enhancing individual and organizational capacity through educating young leaders (Gould & Voelker, 2012; Jones et al., 2020). It is here important to recognize and re-iterate, that sports clubs do not automatically generate these outcomes. Another element is the broad participatory dimension, where local communities unite around a particular issue through inter, and cross-sectoral collaborations. As shown by, for instance, the case study by Ekholm and Holmlid (2020), sports clubs with a social mission in underserved areas cooperate with a plethora of external and local actors to combat a commonly-experienced issue, and these collaborations are often rather specific to the local context.

To put this into concrete Swedish sports examples, the studies of Bjärsholm and colleagues on social entrepreneurship in sports are illustrative (Bjärsholm et al., 2018). Bjärsholm and colleagues has shed light on several sports clubs and initiatives that have been critical as leveraging important initiatives and empowering specific groups and areas. One case stands out in this respect; Visingö AIS (Bjärsholm, 2020). Visingö AIS is located on an island and is separated from the mainland. Approximately half of the island's residents are members in the sports club; the sports club thus provides ripe opportunities for many of the locals to interact, and creates opportunities for further community development. Important to this context is that Visingö AIS also closely cooperates with the National Board of Institutional Care, and directly collaborates with the island's institution so that youths with criminal records and substance abuse records can partake in sports, and interact with the other locals. The key premise is that these youths are treated as other locals, while a side-aim is also to help these youths leave their, e.g., substance abuse behind them (Bjärsholm, 2020). Accordingly, the youths are blended into what Bjärsholm (2020) calls a "strong social club with great camaraderie", and they are viewed as a resource.

Another key aspect of Visingö AIS is that they engage a lot of people through democratic approaches and encourage substantial civic participation. This approach leaves room for ideas to flourish from a bottom-up perspective, and enables people that perhaps had not been into sports previously, to be heard. This is something that can be viewed as rather emancipatory, and a way to challenge conventional ideas and practices in sports, where ideas usually come from people in already-strong positions and with extensive backgrounds in sport. A final critical aspect of Visingö AIS is their position, and ability, to network (Bjärsholm, 2019). Visingö AIS is held in high regards in the local municipality, where these authorities recognize the community work that Visingö AIS is carrying out; this generates more incentive to fund Visingö AIS, and this relationship therefore becomes reciprocal. (Bjärsholm, 2020). According to these authorities, Visingö AIS represents a strong societal element at the island because of the sport club's power to mobilize people, and to address issues beyond sports (Bjärsholm, 2020). Other important actors surrounding Visingö AIS are donors, the SSC, tourist-related businesses, local- and national politicians, to name a few, indicative of the intrinsic web of actors and collaborators that participate in community work initiatives.

What Bjärsholm's case illustrates is how a sports club can mobilize and unite many people, and for different purposes, to improve their lives and empower locals. Taking this back to Jane Addams's vision of settlement houses, there is a strong correspondence between how these entities are run philosophically, such as an emphasis on the value of bottom-up approaches, and ensuring that underserved people and areas are brought to the forefront in various ways. Notably, this is one example of how com-

munity development can be thought of in the context of sports clubs, but it bears mentioning that sports clubs are clearly involved on a continuum in community work, and in different ways.

Sport federations—a community planner

Although sports clubs make up the 'operative' part of the Swedish sports movement, it is important to recognize that they are not operating in a vacuum, but instead are entangled into political missions that are mainly negotiated by the overarching sports federations and the SSC. Accordingly, the SSC also has a (very) relevant role to play within Rothman's social intervention typology. Importantly, the SSC's division is complex (the overarching SSC, the regional federations, national federations, etc.). It is of little interest to pinpoint what federation is involved in what enterprise, but I rather examine this as an aggregate entity that is 'top-down' oriented (but with ideas about bottom-up approaches, nevertheless).

Rothman (2007) engages with a combination of two categories relevant to my interpretation here: i) the planning and policy category, and ii) community capacity development category. I will here refer to the federation(s) as 'community planners'. This form of social intervention thus commences with elements from both the grassroots level, and from 'higher' levels, such as in the shape of national social programs. A central feature of this combination is that it still contains rationalistic planning, and a data-driven mode coupled with skills is needed to sway politicians and influence local- and national politicians, but at the same time to consider the participation, and voices, operative at the grassroot-level. According to Rothman (2007), this complex approach requires planning efforts that integrate multiple levels and "...may fail if local communities are not brought into the effort or are left behind in the results" (p. 26). As such, when launching initiatives, there is a need to have accumulated and activated enough local social capital (Rothman, 2000). As an initial starting point, we can say that this is consistent with the configuration of the Swedish sports movement that is predicated upon democratic participation throughout its structure and configuration, but I will return to the innate tensions that arise within community work collaborations due to power imbalances that are also relevant here.

First, it is important to recognize that the SSC has been adamant in advocating for sports' societal significance with politicians. As Stenling and Sam (2017, p. 696) note, sports are discursively situated "...as welfare activities" and thus are an inherent part of the welfare system. By continuously making these claims, the SSC steers into the direction of developing Swedish sports that is more geared towards social interventions. In the last years, the SSC has developed political advocacy programs, and generally went "...from a role as a 'passive custodian' to one as an 'active advocate'" (Stenling & Sam, 2020 p. 458). However, the sports movement's ambitions are, in this sense, not a new phenomenon. In 1995, the document *Idrotten Vill* [what sport wants] is created (Riksidrottsförbundet, 1995). This document frames the sports movement's explicit ambition and is a normative yet visionary document:

Through What Sports Want and with the sports movement's common values, we take responsibility for promoting tolerance and respect, facilitating women and youths, individuals, and communities' abilities as well as goals concerning health, education, and social inclusion. In the long run, the sports movement takes responsibility for a more sustainable world. (p. 8)

Besides contributing to mental and physical health, other broader goals are emphasized, such as 'involuntary loneliness'. Through its organization and emphasis on collective belonging and membership, loneliness is constructed as an outcome of sports competition. Importantly, the sports club is positioned as an inherently valuable part of the local area, and "...contributes [...] to the local or region's development and develops a sense of connection and belonging..." (p. 8). In short, the sports clubs function as local hubs; an infrastructure with the power to improve the community's overall well-being and development. In the following governmental inquiry (SOU, 1998: 76), and with reference to Idrotten Vill, the government contended that these goals and values are consistent with what the government wishes for the sports movement to pursue, but in reality, it still seemed like too little attention was paid to these matters. The turn of the century sparked the onset of a myriad of large-scale and state-sponsored sports interventions. Some of these interventions are mentioned in previous sections regarding the SSC. Importantly, although there has been a certain expectation on the sports movement on the government's behalf for a long time prior to this, these ear-marked interventions can be interpreted as a starting point of using sports more explicitly as social interventions under the new public management logic (Blomqvist Mickelsson & Kings, forthcoming).

The practical configurations can be discerned in the way that federations orchestrate social interventions from the above, but with the emphasis on 'local voices'. Historically, the SSC has occasionally attempted to implement initiatives themselves, but realized they need to have the local sports clubs on board. Otherwise, such projects rarely end up in any enduring infrastructure in the area, and risk leaving the locals disappointed and 'projectified' (Herz, 2016; Lindström & Blomqvist Mickelsson, 2022). These attempts follow a history of political ideas and interventions in underserved areas, where locals often have felt disconnected and disappointed (Lindström, 2021). A key insight has therefore been to recruit enough social capital in the area of focus (Rothman, 2000), and leverage initiatives through local sports clubs.

Since ear-marked funding increased substantially at the turn of the century, a natural approach has been to incentivize sports clubs through these funds (Fahlén & Stenling, 2016b). The generic model for doing so has been for the government to pass a loosely-formed directive to the SSC, which is interpreted and then delivered 'down the line'—all the way to the sports clubs, who can apply for funding if they intend to satisfy these policy goals. Accordingly, sports clubs have been able to apply to their federation(s) for funding and have subsequently been supposed to carry out work aimed at addressing a specific policy goal (e.g., integration). This procedure is by now established, but other ways have also been introduced. For instance, the sports

movement has attempted to re-invent themselves by introducing new forms of sporting, such as 'drive-in' sports (Stenling, 2013) primarily to attract young men with migrant backgrounds (Stenling, 2015). Ultimately, drive-in sports are initiatives that are also mainly orchestrated in collaboration with sports clubs (e.g., Fahlén, 2017). So, one factor that I address, especially in tudy III, is how the federations incentivize sports clubs, and how they choose sports clubs to be these policy-implementers. Another key theme, also addressed in tudy III, is that the federations donot simply select anyone; they also educate sports clubs to prepare them for being policy-implementers. Ultimately, the balance between the federations' need for local voices, and local sports clubs' wish to pursue policy goals, constitute a critical factor in how well their collaboration will work out.

In summary, these interventions can be negotiated at a national level, but they are also very much locally orchestrated, and can be tied into other local collaborations. In relation to the sports clubs, the SSC represents a higher-order element that negotiates the societal position of sports clubs and their political significance. We can conclude that they do so rather successfully—funding for the sports movement has historically increased for social policy goals (Bjärsholm & Norberg, 2021). Importantly, in relation to Rothman's typology, the SSC represents a range of important roles. They are (political) advocates for sport's significance, and they are the glue that keeps the link intact between the government and grassroots sports clubs. More importantly, they are positioned as rationalistic planners; they have the responsibility for meeting the goals of the government (Norberg, 2011), while they are simultaneously supposed to represent a democratic popular movement that carries the sports clubs' voices (Stenling & Sam, 2020). Their role as community planners is therefore characterized by an increasingly strong element of evidence-based practices (Lindström & Blomqvist Mickelsson, 2022), and as Rothman (2007) notes, an at least desired, conception of a sturdy fortress with solid data-driven techniques that guides the enterprise. This is also important to emphasize—the federation is not simply pouring money into sports clubs but engages in a lot of elaborate ways to make sure the money is spent correctly, and how to further refine their approaches. A telling example of this is, for instance, the federation's recent use of GIS (geographical information system) to map out underserved areas (i.e., "idrottssvaga områden"; Lindström & Blomqvist Mickelsson, 2022), and their link to poorly-developed sports infrastructures in these areas, coupled with subsequent action plans to address these issues. So, while community capacity development is not alien to rationalistic planning, this category is predicated on a large(r) data-driven and conspicuous logic that exists within the federation. To further evidence this claim, is it precisely the lack of the federation's methodological competence that has been hotly debated when the effects of social interventions have been unclear, poorly documented, or simply left out of the conversation (Karp et al., 2012). It is also, partially, this critique that has driven the federation towards an even more staked-out data-driven and evidencebased mode; a lá rationalistic planning.

A final but equally important feature that Rothman (2007) points out is that, within this rationalistic planning category, the "...locality—and its voluntary associations—becomes an operational arm of the policy/planning apparatus, implementing programs or services that were designed at a higher level" (p. 17). This is perhaps the most crucial aspect of the mechanism through which sports interventions are enabled—voluntary grassroots sports clubs need to be involved in the delivery of community work, and it is up to the federation to make this happen. The sports clubs in this context are therefore what Rothman (2007) refers to as the 'operational arm' of the SSC, and without the sports clubs, federations have few tools to address social issues and policy goals.

Finalizing thoughts and issues in the Nordic sport social work

The concept of Nordic sports social work, as I introduce it here, invites further development but serves as a rough outline to how sport social interventions are configured and leveraged in Sweden. Notably, these levels work in tandem—an interesting setup that enables channels of funding, education, and resources—but it can also be problematic.

We could therefore start with the problematic aspect that I, insofar, have not addressed in depth. A salient issue when viewing sports as an intervention across the sports clubs-federation divide is the issues that commence when power imbalances become too palpable and when the shift switches from being driven by a bottom-up to a top-down approach. One telling example is Stenling's (2013, 2015) work on how sports clubs have navigated their position as policy-implementers when adding drivein sports to their activities. Sports clubs that were approached by higher authorities found sub-ways to benefit from this request, such as recruiting talented youths, or only superficially integrating the initiative into their business. In other words, when the responsibility is moved down the organizational ladder (from federations to sports clubs) and tasked with achieving certain goals (see Fahlén et al., 2015), this seemingly translates into poor practices simply because the engine driving the initiative is from the top, and not the bottom. Moreover, when sports clubs have applied for funding, where the overarching goals are loosely defined, one finding is that many sports clubs instead have strengthened their existing activities and structures, but rarely succeeded in reaching underrepresented populations (Karp et al., 2014). Such findings may also be symptomatic of some sports clubs' non-desire to contribute to wider societal goals. In this sense, Stenling and Sam (2020) have postulated the question of whether federations can accurately represent sports clubs, or whether 'what sport wants' is a question of what the federations desire. Accordingly, a key issue that the federation and the government grapple with is the voluntary nature of Swedish sports clubs. They cannot be mobilized and achieve greater things simply by formulating a policy goal with associated funding, but there is indeed a need to understand that sports clubs must be the main engines behind

their own initiatives. In this sense, the order should be reversed; sports clubs—specifically the population that these clubs serve—should formulate their own goals and agendas, and the overarching federations ought to preserve and support these endeavors.

Despite these findings, it is also worthwhile to mention a careful trend. While previous research has shown that many sports clubs are reluctant to explicit social missions and do not identify themselves as 'welfare-providers' (Stenling & Fahlén, 2016), there are also several indications that many sports clubs do carry out social work. Out of 18,000 sports clubs, almost 3,000 were funded to aid refugees from 2015 (Arnoldsson et al., 2019); aside from these, we can reasonably assume that many more sports clubs were involved without being recognized in this statistic, since we can assume that not all applied for funding. As such, there are indications of an at-least moderate correspondence between how the SSC is promoting and organizing sports, and how many, and how willing, sports clubs are to partake in this development. This is not to say that this logic is the dominating one in Swedish sports (see Stenling & Fahlén, 2009), but it might be stronger than it was before. Moreover, these are of course indications that should be interpreted with caution, since forms of longitudinal statistics on this subject matter are scarce, and since some sports clubs might be involved for the 'wrong' reasons (Stenling, 2013). This is something in need of further exploration, but at face value I, carefully, would argue that a good portion of sports clubs seem to be more in-tune with a branched-out identity that involves community work.

To summarize this section—as put by Lienard (2022), although community work has both been, historically, 'evicted' from the conventional social work discipline, and then reintroduced, the rise of neoliberalism seems to reinvigorate the use of community work; something Skille (2015) frames as a "quasi-neo-liberal turn". Since (Swedish) social services now are hard-pressed (especially in times of migration; Seidel & James, 2019), and there is more emphasis on communities' and individuals' responsibility, the concept of community work seems to benefit from this development. The concept of the 'community' is also appealing to both policymakers and grassroot practitioners in sports because it seems to emphasize a 'natural' foundation that voluntary sports clubs possess (Skille, 2015). This natural foundation is often embedded within the notion of communitarianism, authenticity, and personal relationships (Rich et al., 2021). As such, the sports club as an inherent and potentially valuable part of a given community has been given considerable attention in the sports literature (e.g., Doherty et al., 2022; Edwards, 2015; Jones et al., 2020; Rich et al., 2021, 2022; Sabbe et al., 2020). However, to date, sports clubs have not been subject to an analysis of a social work intervention typology akin to Rothman's (1995, 1996, 2007). In conclusion, in the Swedish landscape—in which sports are highly institutionalized and where we have solid mechanisms in place that enable the use of sports as social interventions—we could benefit from applying a typology to more

clearly understand and articulate more how sports are configured from a social work-intervention perspective in Sweden; a Nordic sports social work.

Sport in the context of refugees' social inclusion

There is a rather substantial body of scholarly literature on sports and transnational migration (for a recent review, see Rojo et al., 2022). Transnational migration is, however, different than that of forced migration. Transnationalism is typically associated with a particular type of migration, and with an analytical lens that emphasizes global connectivity, cultural hybridity, and sustaining ties across countries. Accordingly, transnationalism has often been applied to the case of elite migrant athletes (Agergaard, 2017; Agergaard & Ryba, 2014; Agergaard & Ungruhe, 2016; Botelho & Agergaard, 2011; Ungruhe & Agergaard, 2020). In turn, forced migration and refugee studies have been given less attention within the context of sports (Spaaij et al., 2019). In what is increasingly becoming a benchmark publication, Spaaij et al. (2019) reviewed the existing literature, including 83 publications on the subject matter, and found a significant increase in publication output after 2015, which also coincides with the so-called 'refugee crisis' (Michelini, 2021). This research has often been conducted at the micro-level of refugees' experiences (Tuchel et al., 2021) and foregrounded in three themes: 1) health promotion, 2) integration and social inclusion, and 3) barriers and facilitators to participation (Spaaij et al., 2019). This dissertation is, for better or worse, mostly grounded in a managerial perspective, given the absence of Ukrainian refugees' voices. So, while previous reviews have, more broadly, synthesized research on refugees and sport across a wider variety of contexts (both geographically and in terms of sport delivery), I sought to acquire a more fine-grained understanding of sport and refugees' inclusion. This narrower scope entailed reviewing the literature on voluntary sports clubs in the European context from the managerial perspective. Accordingly, in this chapter I present an integrative review (Blomqvist Mickelsson, forthcoming) on the subject matter and complement this review by considering the sociocultural factors that may also play a key role in sports delivery for refugees.

European voluntary sports clubs and refugee receptions: an integrative review

To acquire the aforementioned fine-grained understanding, I conducted and wrote an integrative review on European voluntary sports clubs' enabling and constraining features on refugees' social inclusion¹. The review was specifically situated in the European context and aimed to address research that had been performed after 2015. The review was conceptualized according to Bronfenbrenner's PPCT framework. The

¹ Currently under review as a paper on its own

PPCT framework, which will be explained in more depth in the theory section, is an extension of ecological systems theory, where the analytical components center around the 'person'. The person is then connected to her existing surroundings, both near and distal, in order to examine the development of a specific outcome.

Methodologically, six databases were searched, including ERIC, Scopus, SportDISCUS, PsycINFO, Web of Science (including Science Citation Index, Social Science Citation Index, Arts and Humanities Citation Index and Emerging Sources Citation Index), and PubMed. Back- and forward searches were performed, and several major benchmark articles on forced migration and sports were scrutinized (Hudson et al., 2022; Middleton et al., 2020; Smith et al., 2019; Spaaij et al., 2019). Twelve articles were included (Agergaard et al., 2022; Anderson et al., 2019; Blomqvist Mickelsson, 2022; Doidge et al., 2020; Dowling, 2020; Fingerle et al., 2021; Hertting & Karlefors, 2021; Michelini et al., 2018; Nowy et al., 2020; Simonsen & Ryom, 2021; Stura, 2019; Tuchel et al., 2021).

The studies were predominantly conducted in Germany, and utilized mainly qualitative methods and a range of heterogenous theories. The main findings, along the axes of the PPCT framework were as follows: (person) refugee initiatives are usually run by a few passionate, ambitious and highly-driven individuals. These individuals usually have a pre-existing interest and passion for social justice, meaning they were engaged prior to 2015 in some form of philanthropy. The individual nature of their work entails a high workload, however, the strong autonomy of sports clubs and the loosely configured boundaries that govern their work mean that they can also respond quickly to events, such as the 'refugee crisis'. However, in their perception (which forms another key dimension of the person construct), refugees were often constructed as resource-weak and 'problems to be solved' for sports clubs. This is why many sports clubs representatives adopted a minority-deficient sentiment.

Contextually, sports clubs are contingent on human and financial resources that serve as the basis for how refugee initiatives are launched and sustained. In these findings, the former stood out as particularly important. If sports clubs have several trainers, volunteers, and other officials, they are able to sustain these initiatives—this finding is then closely tied to the previous section, where the individual nature of this work was highlighted. By de-loading these central individuals, it seems like refugee initiatives are more likely to survive and have better quality. Another key contextual facet was how well sports clubs were able to initiate collaborations. These collaborations were a necessity that could help the sports club sustain initiatives through supplying them with resources and by helping with recruitment processes. An illuminating example is, for instance, when sports clubs work with social workers who engage with migrants and refugees. By involving the social worker who, in an ideal case, has formed a healthy relationship with the refugees, the social worker can act as a confidante and ease refugees' inclusion into the sports clubs. This, of course, requires the sports clubs to work intimately with the social worker.

In mapping out the *processes*, there exist salient synergistic effects between the individuals and the overall sport club's organizational culture that can either spur social inclusion or hinder it. The 'logic' of sports clubs was an important component which could steer the sports clubs as whole units. These logics could therefore work for, or against, the individuals who engaged with refugee initiatives through multiple pathways. Specifically, competitively-oriented sports clubs seemed less interested in social inclusion, whereas sport-for-all-oriented sports clubs were more refugeefriendly environments. This meant that there was a spectrum in terms of compatibility between the individuals running the refugee initiatives, and the overall sport club logic. Other processes include refugees' further integration into sports clubs by means of volunteering. By enabling volunteer positions for refugees, they may deepen their relationship with people in the sports clubs, and develop a collective sense of belonging to the sports club itself. Accordingly, it is assumed that volunteering brings about several positive effects, but a general limitation is that 'higher-ranking' volunteer positions are rarely attained by refugees. Instead, there is a salient social stratification in the volunteering ranks.

The review provides a benchmark for what we can expect from sports clubs in the context of refugee reception. From the outset, this article provides a first effort to explore the connections between contexts, individuals, and their mechanisms in producing the intended outcomes. However, a salient limitation is that the refugee populations included in the review are not Ukrainian, which is a concern for a variety of reasons. More on this below.

Sport delivery for diverse individuals: a question of sociocultural influences?

Adding to the above review was a related branch of literature on sport, physical activity, and refugees. Specifically, in adjacent scientific areas, researchers have investigated sociocultural influences regarding access to and participation in physical activity among culturally-diverse populations (e.g., Caperchione et al., 2009, 2011). Caperchione and colleagues' findings suggest that a myriad of factors are important to consider, ranging from demographic factors to family commitment, religion, gender norms, and other features that can emanate from grander value systems. These ideas clearly exist within sports literature; as an example, Agergaard (2018) has voiced concerns over how authorities often view migrants and refugees as a homogenous group despite their superdiversity. Luguetti et al. (2022) utilize what they refer to as a 'culturally relevant pedagogy' in their study on African–Australian refugee coaches and make the case that such in-depth understandings are necessary to facilitate social outcomes. Both Block and Gibbs (2017)) and Jeanes et al. (2015) have shown that when coaches lack such understanding, they usually fail to include refugees.

To briefly illustrate to the extent to which this might be important, I will swiftly reference the literature on Muslim women and sport. Muslim women have often been noted to not partake to any lengthy extent in (organized) sport or physical activity; hence, Muslim women's experience in sport, or exclusion from sport, has often been under scrutiny in the sports literature (Ahmad et al., 2020; Benn et al., 2013; Maxwell et al., 2013; Miles & Benn, 2016; Pfister, 2011; Rozaitul et al., 2017; Walseth, 2006, 2010). The results emanating from these studies share common features, all pointing to the need to consider Muslim females' preferences. For example, Maxwell and Taylor (2010) showed how one community sport initiative gradually became more inclusive by re-arranging their policies and advocating for Muslim women's right to partake in sport. This was done, for example, through advocating for Muslim females' right to wear Hijab during games. This particular barrier has been prevalent in Sweden too, preventing Muslim women from competing in Thai boxing for a quite long time, and in Swedish sports interventions, stakeholders are occasionally interested in governing the intervention's dress code, with implications for hijabwearing women (Flensner et al., 2021). Other important factors that emanated from Maxwell and Taylor's study was the use of women-only training sessions. All in all, these considerations were key to establishing a relationship founded on trust between the sports club and Muslim girls and their parents, and is clearly indicative of the need to take sociocultural influences into consideration.

These works inspired my thought process when I attempted to justify the need to explore post-socialist migrants and sport. In the beginning, this started out very broadly, using Central and Eastern Europe as reference points. In this line of thinking, I contemplated more broad features of the post-socialist system and how they could potentially shape experiences and perceptions of sport in a migration context. In this sense, there was no-to borrow from Luguetti et al. (2022)-- 'culturally relevant pedagogy' regarding CEE migrants. Notably, this definition of 'CEE migrants' is also problematic, since these countries are an ethnic mosaic, making it difficult to talk about aggregate and overarching features. At the outbreak of the war in Ukraine, a myriad of researchers called for immediate attention to be paid to Ukrainian refugees' needs (Javanbakht, 2022; Ludvigsson & Loboda, 2022; Ociepa-Kicińska & Gorzałczyńska-Koczkodaj, 2022; Su et al., 2022; Übleis et al., 2022). Researchers in the intersection of sports and refugee studies have also voiced the need to scrutinize the reception of Ukrainian refugees in sports clubs (Michelini, 2023). Accordingly, there was an urgent need to research Ukrainian refugees in the current context, to understand whether, and how, they are being received and are adapting to their countries of destination.

In other words, these events gave shape to a clearer group of interest; Ukrainian refugees, consisting of mostly women, youths, and elderly. I think it is here important to emphasize that my interest does not exclusively center on *culture*; what interests me is the particular composition and intersection of sex, age, sociocultural influences with regard to adaptation, and host society reception.

The Ukrainian landscape

In this section, I will provide a brief timeline of Ukraine's history, starting from the dissolution of the Soviet Union up until today's conflict, and in a subchapter, I will present how the Ukrainian sports system is configured. The latter presentation is done so as is to get an understanding of what ideas and discourses have shaped the Ukrainian sports system, its organizations, and potentially, its members. I conceive of this as one potential socializer in the lives of Ukrainian refugees that will be negotiated in the Swedish sports context. I will finish by expanding upon—in light of current events and broader findings—why some knowledge on Ukrainian refugees' inclusion into sports is needed. Within this section, a lot of significant historical events are swiftly referenced, which serve as a general background to the development, and current state, of Ukraine.

Ukraine—a brief timeline

In 1991, with the collapse of the Soviet Union, Ukraine became an independent state, and the political and social landscape changed. Ties were maintained with Russia due to primarily economic reasons. Some of Ukraine's industrial outputs were produced as part of cross-border production processes, and Ukraine's manufacturing processes were mainly dependent on Russian gas (Dragneva & Wolczuk, 2016). Russia also launched several integration projects, seeking to establish regional stability, incentivizing the remaining connection between the two countries (Dragneva-Lewers & Wolczuk, 2015). Simultaneously, Ukraine also opened its borders to the west and allowed for other (western) influences (Krugliak & Krugliak, 2020). Accordingly, from the outset of Ukraine's independence, a key issue pertained to how Ukraine would maintain their sovereignty while simultaneously remaining dependent on Russia's financial support.

At the turn of the century, Ukraine was a country with high levels of corruption (Khodunov, 2022; Laverty, 2008). In 2004, reports emerged on a rigged election in favor of the pro-Russian president Viktor Yanukovych, which in turn sparked public outrage and mass demonstrations, which were called the 'orange revolution' (Laverty, 2008). Eventually, the results were overturned, and Viktor Yushchenko rose to the power. Contrary to his precursor, Yuschenko was critical of Russia, and, according to some scholars, there was a growth in media freedom and less governmental censoring in the aftermath of the orange revolution (Lutsevych, 2013). However, in 2010, Yanukovych once again rose to the power, and according to Khodunov (2022), the democratic transition started to reverse. In 2013, another significant event took place, when Yanukovich refused to sign the Association Agreement (BBC, 2013). The

Association Agreement would have allowed free trade with the EU, but Yanukovych instead accepted Russian financial assistance (Dragneva & Wolzcuk, 2016), thus taking a significant step *away* from EU membership. The public response was daunting (BBC, 2013), and in 2014, the 'Euromaidan' took place (Shevsky, 2022). In late 2013, thousands of civilians gathered in Kyiv's inner center, the Independence Square, and set up a massive protest camp. Tensions escalated, and eventually, the police clashed with civilians (Shevsky, 2022). Shortly after, Yanukovych fled the country. In subsequent events, Russia initiated the annexation of Crimea, further sparking regional, national, and international political turmoil (Dragneva & Wolczuk, 2014). Some scholars argue that one partial trigger of this event was Yanukovych's escape, which led to a destabilized Ukraine (Bebier, 2015). Naturally, since the annexation of Crimea, the tensions between Ukraine and Russia have remained, and have grown stronger over time.

These tensions accumulated until they reached the breaching point we are now experiencing. In late February 2022, Russian forces entered Ukraine, and missile and artillery attacks were launched at major cities, such as Kyiv (Reuter, 2022). This full-scale invasion has since been riddled with atrocities, such as the bombing of civilians, nuclear power plants, and the alleged murder of prisoners of war (Aljazeera, 2022b). Importantly, the number of externally-displaced Ukrainians skyrocketed quickly. Only days after the invasion, over one million Ukrainians had crossed the border (Aljazeera, 2022b), and as this is being written in March 2023, close to eight million Ukrainians have been externally displaced (UNHCR, 2022).

At the outbreak of the conflict, the Ukrainian regime passed a sex-selective martial law, where men 18–60 years of age were legally required to reside within Ukraine (Carpenter, 2022). Naturally, the passing of this martial law has shaped the demographic characteristics of Ukrainian refugees to a lengthy extent. Ukrainian refugees who are externally displaced are mostly youths, women, and the elderly (UNHCR, 2022). Almost three million out of these have fled to Russia or, to a lesser extent, Belarus, while the majority have sought respite in neighboring European countries. Accommodating over one million Ukrainian refugees respectively, Poland (Reliefweb, 2022) and Germany (UNHCR, 2022) are among the top European destinations. Countries like Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Finland accommodate a total of approximately 150,000 Ukrainian refugees, and Sweden accommodates for nearly a third of these (UNHCR, 2022).

Ukrainian sports: a Soviet model in transformation

Sports in the Soviet Union have been researched from a historical perspective, often emphasizing how the Soviet Union utilized sports as means of nation building, and as a vehicle to show the dominance of the socialist system compared to the bourgeois capitalist western system (Riordan, 1988, 2009, 2013). The old Soviet Union's emphasis on sports as nation building and a means of engaging in nationalism can

still be found in contemporary Russia through, for instance, mega-events (Arnold, 2018; Makarychev & Yatsyk, 2018). As shown by Arnold (2018) and Makarychev and Yatsuk (2018), such events are often configured to display the 'greatness' of Russia and are remarkably reminiscent of how the Soviet Union used sports to promote their international standing (Riordan, 1988). The Soviet Union was also a huge ethnic mosaic, and sports and physical culture became vehicles to create a collective identity independent of ethnicity (Mertin, 2008).

Importantly, sports in the Soviet Union were highly centralized and controlled by the government (Riordan, 2009). It was therefore easy to implement large-scale programs, which became the case when the Soviet regime started promoting 'mass sports' and 'physical culture', seeking to shape strong and capable individuals. Alongside this idea of mass sports, it needs to be mentioned that the Soviet Union had tremendous competitive success, producing some of the best athletes the world has ever seen (Green & Oakley, 2001). Since competitive success was valued in a variety of ways by the Soviet regime, they were also in the forefront of developing training systems—one such training approach, known to most sport coaches as emanating from the Eastern bloc, was the notion of early specialization (Malina, 2010). The drive to produce world-class athletes led the Soviet regime to establish age requirements and started training youths harder at a younger age. These practices have been critiqued to a lengthy extent (Dufraisse, 2020). However, as Dufraisse (2020) also notes, Soviet sports are often wrongly depicted as the 'big red machine'; a totalitarian machinery infused with a homogenous ideology. This is a simplistic picture of Soviets sports, since sports development in Soviet regions was not linear (Dufraisse, 2020). However, carving out the full picture of Soviet sports would be more apt for a sports historian thesis, so I must content myself with sketching out the rough outlines.

Although sports in Ukraine, and the former Soviet Union, play(ed) a significant societal role, there is surprisingly little written on *Ukrainian* sports from a wider social perspective. Ukraine, as we should know by now, has had a different sociopolitical trajectory than Russia. In general, post-socialist and post-soviet states have had different developmental trajectories, making it difficult to generalize broadly about an aggregate and uniform development of these regions (Rookwood et al., 2020). Being one of the few to address and acknowledge this scarcity of research, Krugliak and Krugliak (2020) recently gave an overview of sports in Ukraine, mostly centering on athletes as opposed to the general population. Drawing from reports, media, and other grey material, Krugliak and Krugliak (2020) still manage to convey how the Ukrainian sports landscape has changed after Ukraine's independence in 1991.

Embarking on their own journey, and implementing a market economy, the sports movement both changed, and maintained some distinct features of the old system. First and foremost, the dissolution brought about a degradation of the sports system in Ukraine, rupturing an established model of exclusively state-centered sports, and introduced other ways of promoting sports (Krugliak & Krugliak, 2020). Simultaneously, the Ministry of Youth and Sports coordinates and supervise a good

deal of the development of Ukrainian sports, maintaining a state-centered feature. The state budget for sports has fluctuated up and down, but expenditure on sports management, public organizations aimed at youths, and aiding the public organizations of physical culture and sports are peripheral compared to what is spent on high-performance sports (Krugliak & Krugliak 2020, p. 141-142). Some Ukrainian researchers are critical to this configuration, arguing that private actors could reinvigorate Ukrainian sports (Tkalych et al., 2020) and that the governmental control of sports prevent youths in the rural Ukrainian areas to partake in sports (Dorofieieva, 2022). In short, Ukraine still produces top-level athletes, but in very specific sports, such as rhythmic gymnastics and martial arts (Krugliak & Krugliak, 2020). Simultaneously, the sports system has been destabilized since the dissolution of the Soviet Union, and, according to Krugliak and Krugliak (2020), grassroots sports programs seem to be on the decline. In the current context, Tamuz Hildir, one out of many to flee Ukraine, has launched heavy critiques against the elite tradition that he claim is still, partially, inhibiting youth sports in Ukraine (Isaksson, 2017). Hildir speaks from the position of a former federation employee at the Ukrainian floorball federation, now residing in Sweden.

These changes tell us little about the population itself in relation to sports participation, and no clear-cut statistics exist on the subject matter, to the best of my knowledge. However, results from non-representative samples suggest, according to Roberts and Fagan (1999), that the reforms did not play out in favor of increased sports participation—instead, public authorities' inability to maintain adequate standards on facilities and other issues seems to have led to decreased participation public-oriented leisure. When considering health, a marker arguably closely tied to potential sports participation, early reports from WHO (2001) indicates that the health status of Ukrainian people, in general, is low, and fraught with excessive smoking and high mortality rates. From a nationally representative study, Gilmore et al. (2002) concluded that Ukrainians have worse self-reported health compared to people in western societies. These findings have, since then, been corroborated in large-scale multi-country comparisons (Alvarez-Galvez et al., 2013), and the lifeexpectancy of people in Ukraine is considerably lower compared to the average lifeexpectancy in Europe. According to the Worldometers (n.a), Ukrainians generally live until they are 72.5 years of age, but with a significant sex gap: while women tend to live until they are approximately 77 years of age, men live, on average, until they are 67 years of age (Worldometers, n.d.). In contrast, the average life expectancy in the EU is approximately 83 years of age for women and 77 years of age for men. Other findings worth considering is the recent review of Ludvigsson and Loboda (2022), who, two months after the outbreak of the current conflict, assessed the research on Ukrainian youths' health. The results were rather grim, and Ludvigsson and Loboda conclude that Ukrainian youths generally seem to be at a higher risk of diseases or of having had adverse childhood experiences.

Knowledge on Ukrainian migrants' social inclusion in sport—why is it necessary?

Scrutinizing the produced reviews on sports and migrants (Middleton et al., 2020; Smith et al., 2019; Spaaij et al., 2019) it is clear that although the sport and forced migration literature has produced a substantial body of literature over the last decade, this literature rarely includes refugees from CEE countries. In this regard, CEE migration overall has been highly selective, and often analyzed from a labor-migration perspective (Mood, 2022). So why is there a need for CEE-specific knowledge on sport and social inclusion in the refugee context? I have a dual perspective on this: on one hand, as has been argued by De Coninck (2022), plenty of factors exist that *unite* refugee groups, and I have a genuine admiration for the experiences, resilience and hardships that unite refugee groups. On the other hand, a reductionist approach that treats refugee groups as homogenous is analytically dubious and perhaps degrading to these individuals' experiences. As recently stated by Mood (2022, p. 6) in a report from NordForsk:

In seeking to learn from earlier migrant experiences, diversity among migrants must be acknowledged. Averages and typical experiences for an undifferentiated group of 'migrant youth' may not be particularly relevant for understanding the specific challenges that Ukrainian children and young people are likely to face.

However, before diving into the sports-specific part, we must understand the broader debate about Ukrainian refugees compared to other refugees.

An array of popular media reports and anecdotal accounts have voiced concerns about the differentiated treatment of Ukrainian refugees compared to other refugee populations. The reactions to the humanitarian crisis by the western world has been compared to the events in Afghanistan by De Coninck (2022), where he suggests a range of mechanisms that underlie the different reception of Ukrainian refugees. First, Ukrainian refugees do not pose the same symbolic threat as Afghan refugees do because of their racial, ethnic, and cultural similarities with the western world. Secondly, Ukraine poses as perhaps one of the final outposts against Russia, making geographical proximity likely to affect Europeans' attitudes. Mood (2022) largely agrees with such propositions, as she believe that Ukrainian refugees will experience less stigma since they are a non-visible minority, which will have a likely positive impact on their social and mental health. All in all, such mechanisms are likely to produce more receptive attitudes, and overshadow the many similarities between refugee groups (De Coninck, 2022). De Coninck's suspicion is partially corroborated by Rosstalnyj (2022), who, through analyzing media reports, speeches and media statements, finds that Ukrainian refugees are perceived as more deserving of sympathy compared to other refugee groups. In a similar vein, McCloskey (2022) notes a large amount of disturbing comments by officials and journalists, referencing Ukrainian refugees' differences compared to other groups. For example, reporting from the Polish border, ITV reporter Lucy Watson stated "this is not a developing, third world nation, this is Europe", and David Sakvarelidze, Ukraine's Deputy Chief Prosecutor expressed how the unfolding crisis in Ukraine is "...very emotional for me because I see European people with blue eyes and blonde hair being killed" (McCloskey, 2022, p. 140). Such examples seemingly exist in excess.

Notably, such reactions are not isolated to the individual level, but perhaps are also reflected in the first-ever activation of the 'mass influx directive' by the EU, enabling a range of benefits for Ukrainian refugees. Other structural discrimination is apparent too, as Canadian health workers are reacting to the rapid, and free, reception of Ukrainian refugees while other refugee populations are also forced to wait for several months (Cukier & Vogel, 2022), or how universities respond with 'othering' initiatives aimed at Afghan and Syrian refugees, but not Ukrainian refugees (Viczko & Matsumoto, 2022). Viczko and Matsumoto's (2022) study refers to how initiatives frame the 'problem' of different refugee groups differently; Afghan and Syrian refugees are conceived of as 'in need', while Ukrainian refugees and the associated crisis is rather viewed as a global and encompassing issue of relevance to everyone. In academia, we can also see that Ukrainian scholars are being supported to a different extent (mobilezation grants and crisis support) than what had previously been customary.

Of interest to the context of this thesis is that Polish civil society, praised for its generous reception of Ukrainian refugees (Byrska, 2022; Ociepa-Kicińska & Gorzałczyńska-Koczkodaj, 2022), also had a strong anti-refugee movement during the 'refugee crisis' in 2015 (Narkowicz, 2018). Other concerning stories are being raised as prime examples of racism, as ethnic minorities within Ukraine are being abused at the boarders, thrown off busses, and displaced to towns where shops allegedly only sell supplies to 'native' Ukrainians (Bajaj & Stanford, 2022). All in all, the point made here is that an emerging body of evidence points to Ukrainian refugees' differential treatment, both at individual and structural levels. Accordingly, it is not only, or even primarily, about different groups' characteristics, but how countries respond to and perceive of different groups.

As we connect this to organized Swedish sport, more questions arise. Swedish sports clubs are struggling to include migrants and refugees, and one issue is the daunting bureaucracy of Swedish sport. Excessive rules and divisions, commitment to competition, short-term project funding to include underrepresented populations, and most refugees' inexperience with organized sport are serious issues that hamper refugees' inclusion in Swedish sports clubs (Hertting & Karlefors, 2013, 2021). Moreover, the building blocks of volunteerism are usually poorly understood (Lindström & Blomqvist Mickelsson, 2022), preventing further inclusion into sports clubs, as well hampering sports clubs' capacity and sustainability. Similar to Ronkainen et al.'s (2022) findings on Finnish youth coaches who are less interested in defending 'amateur ideals' in contrast to the older generation, sports volunteerism is not a strong feature of many migrants' home countries. Adapting to the Swedish sports

milieu, which is heavily centered on volunteerism, this becomes a challenge (Lindström & Blomqvist Mickelsson, 2022).

Sports in Sweden are highly bureaucratic, and in some sense, a reflection of our wider society (e.g., voluntaristic, part of a strong civil society, founded on democratic ideals, played in organized format). Such a format of sport delivery is not the reality for many refugees, and, naturally, some are confused by concepts such as (sports) volunteerism (Michelini, 2018). These glimpses of frustration and friction can also be elicited from coaches' narratives on how many refugees do not understand basic tenets of Swedish sports (Carlman et al., 2020; Carlman & Vikström, 2018). Carlman and colleagues' findings are symptomatic of a grander and problematic discourse on refugees' adaptation, or assimilation, but also points to an interesting feature; sport is exercised, and has different functions, depending on where you are geographically. Sport in Ukraine is not identical to how sport is exercised in Afghanistan. In this regard, sport in Ukraine is not identical in its function and structure to Sweden either, but there are key similarities that are of analytical importance.

There is little research speaking to the experiences of CEE migrants' inclusion; never mind CEE refugees and sport. Spearheading the research on CEE migrants and sport in the US, Stodolska and her colleagues have made several observations. One observation is that leisure participation is stratified according to socioeconomic status, different groups' levels of assimilation/integration, and generational status (Stodolska, 2002). Initially, Stodolska found a rather even split between CEE migrants who continued, quit, or started leisure activities (Stodolska, 2000). In further elaborating upon these results, CEE migrants ceased, or desisted, leisure participation mainly due to extreme labor conditions (Stodolska, 2002) or because of poor language skills (Stodolska, 1998). However, again, Stodolska and colleagues' findings are based on migrants, not refugees. Adding to this is that it is perhaps even more important to consider Sweden as a context, given its different cultural and political climate in comparison to the US. However, research focusing on CEE refugees and sport in the Swedish context is, to my knowledge, non-existent.

As I gradually realized there was a scarcity on this particular combination, I attempted to synthesize the conducted research on CEE migrants and sport in the Nordic region. Sweden was replaced with the Nordic region at large to accommodate more articles. However, even this generalization became too narrow, and I had to branch out to physical activity (which is a broader variable, with more medical research). The main results emanating from the review were that CEE migrants seem to be less physically active compared to native Nordic inhabitants, particularly women (Mickelsson, 2021). Yet, no clear contours of factors specific to CEE migrants emerged—rather, the review perhaps illuminated what is more context-specific about Nordic regions and physical activity (e.g., *friluftsliv*, a concept entirely out of this thesis' scope).

Ukrainian refugees in Sweden

Finally, we need to understand some broader contours regarding how Sweden has reacted to the conflict in Ukraine, and what we know of Ukrainian refugees in Sweden, currently. The latter topic is severely under-researched for obvious reasons—as this is being written in early 2023, the conflict has been active for only slightly over one year.

On March 4, 2022, the EU activated the Temporary Protection Directive to facilitate quick assistance to the people fleeing from Ukraine. Sweden is bound by this legal framework, and thus accepted EU's activation of this directive (Berlina, 2022). What this directive means for Ukrainian refugees in Sweden includes: i) help with food and housing, ii) the right to work, iii) access to basic healthcare, iv) access to schools for their children, and v) financial support. Short-term housing is provided by the government, and is then subsequently handled by municipalities when it comes to long-term housing. Access is granted immediately to the labor market upon the permit's acceptance, and Ukrainian refugees are supported through Public Employment Services. The permit also allows Ukrainian refugees to partake of the same services and access financial assistance as asylum-seekers, meaning €195 is granted each month (without considering costs for meals). Access to education includes preschool, primary school, lower secondary and upper secondary education, and vocational training if the individual speaks Swedish. The latter is unlikely, especially since introductory language courses (SFI) are not available to Ukrainians. No tuition fees have to be paid to Swedish universities, but no funding or loans can be granted from the Swedish Board of Student Finance (CSN). Scholarships are granted to Ukrainian researchers to re-locate and continue their job in Sweden. Access to healthcare is limited to emergency medical and dental care for people over 18 years of age, while youths under the age of 18 can access the regular care provided in Sweden (Berlina, 2022).

According to the Migration Agency, the directive only applies to Ukrainian refugees who: i) were residents of Ukraine, ii) have a residence permit as a refugee or have subsidiary protection status in Ukraine, or iii) who are accompanying family members of the previous categories (Migration Agency, 2022). The directive only applies if the person in question has arrived in Sweden on, or after, October 30, 2021, and does not have an already existing residence permit that allows the individual to register in the Swedish population register. The Migration Agency has also announced that there will be no refusal of entry, and neither will any Ukrainian be deported back to Ukraine because of safety reasons. The temporary protection is valid for one year and can then be renewed for up to three years in total. In summary, we can say that the policies in place partially run counter to the previous and much tougher migration policies that were put in place after 2015.

According to UNHCR's estimations, approximately 150,000 Ukrainian refugees reside in the Nordic countries, where Sweden currently hosts approximately 50,000

Ukrainian refugees (UNHCR, 2022). Data from the Migration Agency shows that the vast majority of people who fall under the mass-influx directive category are adults, and children with their families, while unaccompanied youths make up a very small minority as shown in Figure 1 below.

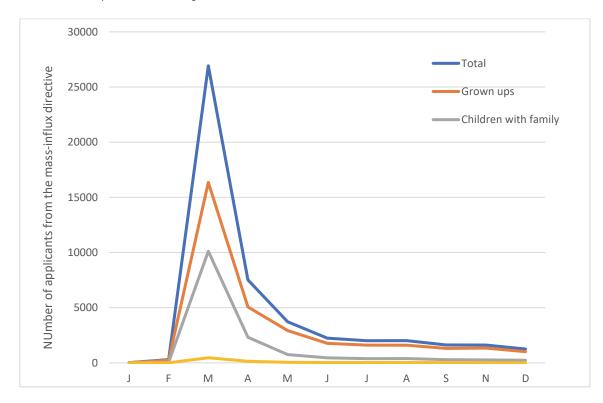


Figure 1. Number of unique applications from the mass-influx directive from January to December 2022 in Sweden. Source: The Swedish Migration Agency

Moreover, most people are between 35 and 44 years of age, followed by age spans of 25–34, and 45–64 respectively. Females are, because of Ukraine's sex-selective martial law, overrepresented in statistics, as shown in Figure 2 below.

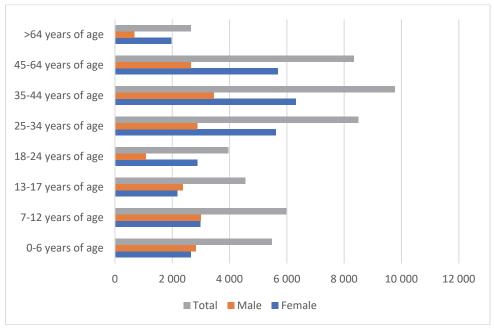


Figure 2. Number of unique applications under mass-influx directive split on age and sex in Sweden. Source: The Swedish Migration Agency

In summarizing the above graphs, we can conclude that out of the Ukrainian refugees currently residing in Sweden, most are females between 24 and 64 years of age, and a considerable portion of Ukrainian refugees are youths. According to Berlina (2022), 64% of Ukrainian refugees live in private accommodations, 29% live in accommodations provided by the municipality, and 4.5% live in temporary accommodations provided by the Migration Agency. Moreover, four out of five Ukrainian children (between the ages of 6 and 17) attend, or have applied, to schools in their municipality. As Berlina (2022) notes, the responses from civil society have been overwhelmingly positive, and crucial for Ukrainians' housing situation. Andersson and Wadensjö (2022) discuss the importance of previous flows of migration from Ukraine (and Belarus), and argue that, although marginal compared to other migrant groups, these compatriots can play a significant role in Ukrainian refugees' resettlement process in Sweden. In reality, it would seem like many civilians and civil society members are helping, independent of ethnic or national backgrounds.

From a more critical perspective, and keeping in line with the previous sections, researchers have voiced concerns regarding how reception practices and political rhetoric in Sweden and other Nordic countries are permeated by more good will in comparison to previous 'refugee crises' (Näre et al., 2022). Näre et al. (2022) reference, for instance, the Sweden Democrats and their position toward Ukrainian refugees. In a debate article earlier this year, Jimmie Åkesson, leader of *the Sweden Democrats*, and now, in 2022, the second largest party in Sweden, stated "[t]here is a difference

between refugees and 'refugees'. Period."; meaning that Ukrainian refugees were worth helping, while others are not (Åkesson, 2022).

Theory

This thesis' methodology is intertwined in a critical-realist way of thinking, making it more appropriate to begin by sketching out the theoretical concepts used in this thesis before introducing the methodology. Here, I will describe three theoretical streams, each stream 'embedded' into the next. Critical realism is the guiding metatheory of this thesis, forcing me to be explicit in what I believe is 'true' about this world and the knowledge this world contains. Critical realism is the meta-theoretical foundation of this dissertation. The second theoretical stream is an approach inspired by Urie Bronfenbrenner's Process-Person-Context-Time (PPCT) framework. The PPCT is a systems theory approach, which, at its core, is concerned with how the individual interacts with her milieu, and how this affects relevant outcomes. I have chosen to embed the PPCT approach within critical realism from a structure-agency perspective. The final perspective I use here is that of 'deservingness' and 'promising victimhood'. This lens is a vital part of Ukrainian refugees' micro-settings—in the case of this thesis, sports club officials. This perspective fits neatly into the PPCT framework, which does consider how the milieu 'responds' to individual characteristics (e.g, demographics), but somewhat lacks theoretical depth that other perspectives can add. As I will also discuss, these perspectives somewhat differ in their scientific tradition—whereas critical realism and system theories are easy to situate within a tradition of evaluation and intervention, the concept of deservingness is not.

Critical realism: A stratified ontology, analytical dualism, and realist evaluation

The study objective, the framings of the research questions, and the methodology are all derived from the meta-theoretical foundation of critical realism. Critical realism is a philosophy of science, initially derived from the works of Roy Bhaskar. Critical realism assumes a mind-independent reality but acknowledges that knowledge is conceptually and socially mediated. In this regard, critical realist researchers strive to explore an 'objective' reality but must always be aware that a range of filters apply that may obscure the interpretation of reality. Accordingly, knowledge is always fallible, but one scientific explanation may be better suited than another. Blom et al. (2013) postulates that social workers must ask themselves whether their way of working is effective—this calls for an ontological understanding of 'effective', and the acknowledgement one way may indeed be more effective than another way. Similarly, in sport-for-development research, realist research (Pawson & Tilley, 1997) saw a huge

upswing after Coalter's (2007, 2013) seminal work on sport and 'program theory', where he (re)iterated a central realist question in sport-for-development intervention research: what works, for whom, and under what circumstances? In this thesis, this core realist question translates into understanding if, and how sports can 'work' (conceptualized as social inclusion) for Ukrainian refugees, in Sweden, and in voluntary sports clubs.

Some critical realist key concepts must be accounted for. These are necessary to understand my position on ontology and epistemology, as well as my take on structure and agency. First, the thesis derives from one branch of critical realist theory—that of Margaret Archer's work (e.g., 1995, 2003, 2020). Archer shares some fundamental beliefs about certain things in critical realism, such as stratified ontology. Stratified ontology refers to the stratification of the 'real' world, and consists of three domains: the empirical, the actual and the real. The empirical domain is the dimension of reality where we can feel, experience, and sense things; simply put, it is where we can collect empirical material. The actual domain is the dimension where events occur, whether we are aware of them or not. Finally, the real domain is the dimension where latent and deep powers operate, invisible to the human eye (Collier, 1994). These 'real' forces are also called generative mechanisms, which feed the events in the actual domain, and eventually also the empirical. Given the un-observability of the real domain, critical realism relies on a transcendental argument, and theory testing and crafting. Stratified ontology, and critical realism terminology overall, can be abstract, which is why a concrete example is warranted. I borrow here from Wiltshire and Ronkainen's (2021, p.163) analogy of a flower:

...we have found it helpful to imagine looking down at a flower from directly above. The petals are in relatively clear view (the empirical domain) but much of the rest of the flower (the actual domain) is not, although we can reasonably infer that it is actually there and that we could see it if we were to look from another angle. The soil in which the flower is growing and the nutrients that it contains (the real domain) are out of the reach of our visual field. This means that we can only know anything about its predisposed properties—such as the quality of the soil—by observing the real effects that they have on the flower and building a theory about it.

This can effectively be translated into the sports club setting. We can easily comprehend the practices and outputs of the sports clubs in their projects (the empirical domain). We might also be able to tease out how these came into being by peeking into board rooms, and by observing important conversations and other factors that maintain the practices within a given project (the actual domain). Finally, the forces that drive specific effects within a sports club's project are not visible—for instance, the overarching logic of competition might inhibit more inclusive aims.

The second concept that needs to be carved out is the conception of the old debate of structure and agency. Archer (1995), partially through her development of what she calls the 'morphogenetic approach', has developed an understanding of structure

and agency as analytically separatable, yet related to one another. Importantly, Archer (1995) invokes a temporal dimension which makes it possible to analyze how one affects the other in a sequence. This concept is called 'analytical dualism'. Before describing exactly what this entails, it is informative to understand what Archer critiques. First, she critiques the view of human beings as deterministically driven by structural features which leaves the individual deprived of agency ('oversocialized'). Secondly, she critiques the view of human beings as driven by agency, which neglects structural features ('undersocialized'). Third, she critiques the view that agency and structure are different sides of the same coin, and mediate each other, and are therefore analytically inseparable (Giddens, 1984). Analytical dualism instead assumes that the structure precedes any individual; all individuals are born into a pre-existing social strata, a family with certain living conditions, a neighborhood with particular social vulnerability, a prosperous country, a conflict-ravaged country, and so forth. Importantly, these structural features impose certain limits on the individual. A girl born into the lowest caste in India is less likely to obtain higher education, compared to a boy born in the highest caste, since there are cultural, financial, and social barriers for the former. These structural features also 'mold' the individual to a certain extent, and these molding mechanisms are exerted through the institutions that the individual encounters; family, school, sports teams, the labor market, etc.

This is not to say that an individual is doomed to a certain fate, only that structural features have a certain impact on their surroundings and initial possibilities of a given individual. In the second phase, individuals contemplate and react to their structural surroundings. In this regard, Archer (2003) conceives of the individual as capable of making informed decisions, and of being aware of her own thoughts, feelings, and circumstances. The individual may not adopt a factually-correct view of everything, but she has a degree of self-consciousness and cognition. The final phase in Archer's (1995) temporal schematic is when the individual has negotiated with her surround-dings and consolidated certain paths and decisions. This may be a transformative experience, where the girl from the lowest caste in India is somehow to move up the social ladder by means of a cognitive strategy (or incident), or it may be a form of social reproduction, where she maintains her societal position and the livelihood which is customary for her class. Given the lack of upward social mobility and social stratification, we know that social reproduction is more recurrent than transformative.

This might be interpreted both from the refugees' perspective, and the sports club perspective. Sports clubs, and individuals within the sports clubs, will encounter political agendas and ideas regarding their function as welfare-providing entities; they will also encounter the people whose needs they are intended to address. A sports club will have been molded in various types of norms and traditions during its creation and existence, typically colored by norms already established within Swedish sports. When encountering new people, new political agendas and local and global trends that in some way affect the sports club, a transformational procedure might occur—this is, perhaps, what is in the works right now, since the Swedish sports

movement has set out on a 'transformative journey' (Arnoldsson et al., 2019) regarding questions of inclusivity.

The final tie that must be made is to realist evaluation research. The reason for this is that I conceive of this thesis as following an evaluation tradition, and one which follows a realist-inspired ontology. In this regard, I note that critical realism is much more absent from both general intervention research, as well as in sport intervention research. In this thesis, I draw inspiration from the methodological propositions suggested by Pawson and Tilley (1997). Pawson and Tilley (1997) are in the forefront of developing and establishing realist evaluation, which shares common philosophical ground with critical realism. Pawson and Tilley's Context-Mechanism-Outcome (CMO) configuration has gained considerable traction and is often used as a foundational construct in evaluation (sport) research (Coalter, 2013; Harris, 2018; Oatley & Harris, 2021; Verkooijen et al., 2020). In this regard, there are very few advancements and how-to guides within critical realist methodology. There are nuances and differences within the realism approach, and methodologically, it should be mentioned that Pawson and Tilley have offered a methodological critique of critical realism. This has been debated to some extent (Pawson, 2013, 2016a, 2016b; Porter, 2015, 2017). I do not intend to dive deeply into this debate and disentangle these differences to their full extent, but I will highlight a few key concepts where critical realism and realism seem to depart from one another, and where I think it could be fitting to advance a thought on critical realist intervention and evaluation research.

The first is agency; Haudenhuyse and Debognies (2022) provide a profound critique of realist evaluation, partially based on the lack of attention paid to power dimensions between participants and evaluators. I concur with this idea—realist evaluation struggles with power inequalities, and as Porter suggests, this somewhat diminishes participants' agency. It is, again, here that I believe Archer's ideas more clearly articulates my own ideas of critical realist research and agency, as previously outlined. Secondly, a concern I had myself, which has been articulated elsewhere (De Souza, 2013, 2022) is that much of the CMO and realist evaluation (sport) research is centered explicitly on 'social programs', which risk becoming contextually detached. When we zoom in on the program at the individual and organizational level, we risk losing sight of the broader context that inevitably shapes the program¹. Despite that that Pawson and Tilley (1997, p. 70, italics in original) explicitly outline the importance of considering that "...programs are always introduced into social contexts...", I concur with De Souza (2013, p. 142), when she states that "...in order to understand the effects of social programs and to explain change, there has to be a deeper understanding of pre-existing contexts and the mechanisms in operation prior to the introduction of any social program". While a contextual setting is clearly necessary

¹ There is, of course, always the persistent problem of the limiting format of academic publishing, where broader contextual features may not be the most relevant topic or focus of the article. This is difficult to address, since one paper can not 'do it all'.

in any doctoral thesis, I could take this opportunity to emphasize that I conceive of the context (e.g., the retreating Swedish welfare state, civil society emergence, volunteerism, etc.) as being of immense importance in understanding voluntary sports clubs as 'social programs'. Critical realist evaluation could therefore be said to have a broader view of the issue under examination. There is also the fact that I engage with ongoing initiatives in which I am not a participant. In other words, I have not orchestrated an intervention myself, and therefore, the pre-existing factors and contexts become salient.

In summary, these are the key concepts that have shaped the thesis' questions, methodology, data collection, and overall thinking process. They constitute a foundation for what I believe is an appropriate and satisfactory way of conducting research, since the knowledge claims are bold (I assume that I provide at least a simplified picture of reality), but at the same time imply a certain humbleness in light of new scientific discoveries (I assume that the knowledge I have generated is fallible). However, being a meta-theory, critical realism lacks some nuances that a middle-range theory can explain.

Bronfenbrenner's Process-Person-Context-Time approach

While the CMO configuration is intended to be the realist-grounded middle-range theory, I believe that Bronfenbrenner is surprisingly under-utilized within this line of research. In practice, Bronfenbrenner and Pawson and Tilley (1997) go about their thinking largely the same way, but Bronfenbrenner has, to my interpretation, developed a more fine-grained model. There has also been a consistent issue when researchers have attempted to apply the CMO configuration empirically. This issue has been grounded in the vagueness of what constitutes 'a mechanism' and has become a palpable issue within the realist evaluation community. Recent reviews have shown that researchers tend to fail when attempting to distinguish between different components in the CMO configuration (Lacouture et al., 2015; Lemire et al., 2020). Other recent reviews have shown that the concept of 'context' is also often not fully explained in realist evaluations (Nielsen et al., 2022). These findings are not surprising, as Pawson and Tilley (1997, 2004) have offered a rather generous and broad definition of mechanisms and contexts. The difficulty in applying the CMO configuration is best expressed by Spiby et al. (2015, p. 167):

The CMO can 'slide'; that is, a Context may sometimes be viewed as a Mechanism (e.g., provision of support), a Mechanism may sometimes be viewed as an Outcome (e.g., self-efficacy), and an Outcome may, itself, become a Mechanism for a longer-term Outcome.

Within the sport-for-development literature, Verkooijen et al. (2020) experienced this first-hand, as their participants argued that sometimes "...mechanisms could hardly be distinguished from outcomes, depending on the context of a program" (p.

158). With these difficulties kept in mind, I have intentionally made the decision to abandon the terminology on the CMO configuration and 'mechanisms', altogether, in favor of Bronfenbrenner's terminology. I now turn to Bronfenbrenner's remedy for using 'mechanisms', and his overall approach to research.

In this thesis, I take inspiration from Bronfenbrenner's final iteration of his socioecological model, turned into a proposed research design—the Process-Person-Context-Time approach. Bronfenbrenner's ideas have been influential across disciplines, and have been frequently cited in social work research, which has relied heavily on system theoretical approaches (Fearnley, 2020, 2022; Ungar, 2002; Ungar et al., 2013). However, as Tudge et al. (2009) noted, Bronfenbrenner's later versions have often been overlooked, ignored, or remained unknown. In revisiting whether scholars had updated their knowledge on Bronfenbrenner, Tudge et al. made the same remarks seven years after their first publication (2016). A range of authors from various disciplines have recently come to the same conclusions (Arakelyan & Ager, 2021; Dickson & Darcy, 2021; DiSanti & Erickson, 2021; Eriksson et al., 2018).

Bronfenbrenner's early work (Bronfenbrenner, 1977, 1979) emphasized the interdependences between the nested structures that contain the individual. These structures included micro-level settings, such as children's parents; meso-level settings, such as links between parents and coaches; exo-system settings, such as sports clubs' negotiations with overarching federations; and macro-system settings, such as conditioning policies or (sub)cultures that permeate individuals' ways of life. Bronfenbrenner expanded his framework for two central reasons. First, the early versions omitted the agency and characteristics of the person, thus failing to discern reciprocal effects between the individual and the environment. Bronfenbrenner (2005) distinguishes between three personal factors. First, *demand* factors are features such as sex, age, ethnicity, and physical appearance. Secondly, *resource* factors concern the resources an individual has at her disposal. Finally, *force* factors represent the persons' agency. Accordingly, the individual chooses whether to engage with the skills available. The person's characteristics and agency become important to understand in the bridge between individuals and context; i.e., the proximal process.

Although his early version linked the structures to each other, it remained unclear how the developmental processes took place, how they were shaped and what the direction and strength of the processes looked like. This elaboration came to be his main contribution in the PPCT approach; namely the *proximal processes*. Bronfenbrenner (2005) conceptualizes the proximal process as the interaction between a biopsychological human organism and the individuals, systems, and objects in the individual's ecology. This interaction must occur with a certain degree of frequency, over time, and work reciprocally. The proximal process is the engine of development, and has been emphasized as the core element of the PPCT framework (Tudge et al., 2009). This process occurs between the individual and the proximal setting. The final addition of Bronfenbrenner was *time*. This can be further divided into micro, meso, and macro-time. For brevity's sake, the latter temporal aspect is important. Macro-

time refers to history; i.e., broader segments of time that witness critical events and responses that are shaped by several agents and institutions.

I have chosen to marry the meta-theoretical underpinnings of critical realism with the PPCT model, which in turn has several implications and assumptions. First, I assume that the individual is born into a pre-existing structure that will impose certain limitations on her, but that the individual at the same time possesses agency (the latter is emphasized by both Bronfenbrenner (2006) and Archer (1995)). Secondly, I assume that these institutional mechanisms mold an individual over time, gradually predisposing her towards certain trajectories that nevertheless are negotiable. Within these molding mechanisms, the proximal processes play a key role, since the concept carefully maps out how directions, relationships, and the object under study *develop* as a result of the individual and her surroundings over time. This more fine-grained analysis is lacking within a critical realist framework. However, while the proximal processes contain a relational element, a criticism of the PPCTframework as a whole has been that it lacks a clear understanding of power, and can therefore be used to uncritically reinforce existing structures (Truskewycz et al., 2022). The PPCT framework can be used, pragmatically, to understand how certain things develop a certain way, and how a set of significant individuals and elements interact with each other in the making of this development. However, while we can intuitively know that systematic abusive behavior from a parent or a coach will cause a downward spiral of mental health issues for youths, the PPCT framework do not offer an in-depth account of these power-laden structures and relationships. In this regard, critical realism complements this by offering an emancipatory and deeply relational approach that is attentive to power relations. The relational approach is key here. Just like banks exist, in relation to, and for the purpose of handling money, most workers will have a superior; within that relationship, there are salient power dimensions that in part shape the relationship (Danermark et al., 2019). In the sporting context, this can be translated into the coach -youth relationship. Coaches can be the main agents of change, facilitating a range of developmental outcomes (Camiré et al., 2014; Santos et al., 2017), but they are also in the position to seriously violate their youths in a range of ways (Burke, 2001).

Finally, I seek to be explicit in this regard: this thesis is not supposed to be a perfect demonstration of how the PPCT model should be implemented, and there are several facets of the current study that deviate from how the PPCT model is applied in, for instance, developmental psychology and mental health studies. Notably, these are deviations that also enable a broader, and different, understanding of various components in the PPCT model, which I will briefly discuss here. As a developmental psychologist, Bronfenbrenner was i) interested in the developing child; and ii) at the outcome level, he was interested in skills or capabilities that could be developed to some extent in interactions with, for instance, parents (e.g., reading skills). In these regards, I deviate to some extent from a traditional application of the PPCT model. First, I do not have data on Ukrainian refugees themselves, for a variety of reasons.

Instead, I have sport club representatives' views and perceptions of Ukrainian refugees. Secondly, and interrelatedly, since there is no direct data on Ukrainian refugees themselves, it is difficult to have an outcome that can be 'measured', or even discussed, on a continuum (e.g., health). What would a sport club representative tell me if I asked to them to discuss or 'measure' someone's mental health? Serious validity issues would emerge. Instead, I focus on social inclusion, which I will in due time define more elaborately (in the chapter 'Social Incusion: a conceptual quagmire'). I understand social inclusion, very briefly, as one's right to partake in mainstream society, as defined by the principle of equity. Whether people participate in sport, and how this participation is conditioned, is possible to understand from sports club representatives' perspectives. In this sense, I apply the PPCT model more from a structural perspective, but, as will be shown, I still carve the proximal process that occurs between the perceived individual characteristics in relation to sports club environments. Approximately the same application of the PPCT model has been done in the review by Moulds et al. (2022) on youth dropout in sports; in short, Moulds et al. also examine a somewhat binary outcome (one does not dropout on a continuous scale), and much of the review is dedicated to contextual factors. Finally, and connected to the absent scope of measuring developmental effects, is the fact that the temporal aspect of the PPCT model is largely absent. No actual longitudinal research has taken place.

Importantly, these are not mere limitations as previously mentioned, but they also contribute to theoretical development. Despite being a developmental psychologist, Bronfenbrenner was adamant in his pursuit of developing a model suitable to multiple levels and disciplines. As noted, despite this, these applications are often located within the realm of developmental psychology. By situating the sports club as the analytical entity of interest, and adopting a stronger structural approach, I would argue that I contribute more to the theoretical understanding of *context* in Bronfenbrenner's model. Since the thesis centers on sports clubs, including the federation, there is a very strong meso-, and exo-level (as understood by Bronfenbrenner's model) emphasis here that is clearly interlinked with how interactions between a set of individuals are shaped. The key theme here is that the structural- and contextual settings are more closely scrutinized compared to other applications of the PPCT model.

Refugees' 'deservingness'—why are some more welcome than others?

It is difficult to write a thesis on Ukrainian refugees and their reception without considering the burgeoning examples on how Ukrainian refugees seem to be treated better compared to other refugee groups. However, such an endeavor calls for the addition of more theoretical concepts. The *person* in the PPCT framework has some measureable analytical features—for instance, Bronfenbrenner (2005) suggests that the demographic characteristics of a given individual will trigger responses from her

surroundings. These might be how a woman is discriminated against based on her sex, or how refugees receive xenophobic slurs because of their visible ethnic minority status. However, sometimes, the depth of the concepts included in Bronfenbrenner's *person* is rather limited.

Here, I take inspiration from Welfens (2022) and her concept of 'deservingness' and 'promising victimhood', hereinafter just called 'deservingness'. According to Holmes and Castañeda (2016, p. 12), refugee reception is often characterized by framing who is 'deserving' of support and hospitality, and, in this sense, the practice effectively "...demarcate[s] the 'deserving' refugee from the 'undeserving' migrant and play into fear of cultural, religious, and ethnic difference in the midst of increasing anxiety and precarity for many in Europe". With populist winds blowing strong across the globe, the concept of deservingness is as relevant as ever when we consider who is allowed, and deserving, of the welfare state's services (Bell et al., 2022; Donoghue & Kuisma, 2022). This notion of 'welfare chauvinism' is also intimately connected to the rise of neoliberalism (Grdešić, 2019); something particularly relevant to Sweden.

At its core, the concept is then interested in the different categories that can either make up the good deserving refugee, or the vile and undeserving refugee. A range of factors are in the making of the framing of refugees' deservingness, and, adding to Holmes and Castañeda (2016), we can also understand sex, age, and temporality as critical componenents. In the Swedish context, unaccompanied youths have often been the focus of public scrutiny (Wernesjö, 2020), where ideas of 'problematic masculinity' and cultural othering are common framings (Herz, 2019). Here, gendered ideas about refugees and cultural patterns related to masculinity shape the public opinion on how potentially deserving they are of citizenship, belonging, and the welfare state's services. Welfens (2022) outlines three specific tensions that may affect host society reception; namely the perception of refugees' vulnerability vis-àvis their i) potentially threat security-wise, ii) their cultural 'fit', and iii) their economic performance. Together with broader demographic markers (sex, age, education) refugees are conceived of, on a continuum, as being 'good' or 'bad'. In conjunction with critical realism and the PPCT approach, refugees' deservingness is symptomatic of xenophobic and racist powers and structures in western societies (i.e., 'real' forces), that can be found within practically every level of society, ranging from individuals to policies. In the thesis' material, these framings and beliefs are found at the refugee's micro-level; in the perceptions of the sport club representatives.

As mentioned in the beginning, this final concept deviates from the previous realist- and system theoretical approaches, in the sense that it is neither inherently realist, nor used in intervention research. Instead, it is very much critical, and often used in conjunction with intersectional frameworks (e.g., Welfens, 2022). I do not see this as an issue, but I see it as an addition to my conception of (critical) realist evaluation research. As previously noted, a critical realist evaluation is not overtly centered on the social program in and of itself, but is connected to the wider con-

textual settings (De Souza, 2013). The concept of deservingness has been noted as a distinctly western feature (Aljazeera, 2022a; Cukier & Vogel, 2022; De Coninck, 2022; Rosstalnyj, 2022). To add a critical lens is to introduce a component that explains how a structure might be particularly inclusive to one group, but not to another. This, to me, could be an evaluative feature.

Social inclusion: a conceptual quagmire

Social inclusion is not a straightforward concept and has been subject to debate about its meaning and content. In describing a sociological concept of social inclusion, Allman (2013, p. 1) argues that:

...whether one is welcomed, represented, or provided for by the mainstream, or whether one is ostracized, ignored, or bemired, the outcome is a collection of social practices. These social practices result from various degrees of intimacy and interactions between friends, strangers, families, colleagues, kinship groups, communities, cultures, and even whole societies...

In this regard, social inclusion encompasses and includes a range of societal levels. Importantly, social inclusion or exclusion are not only found within the interpersonal domain, but are also reflected in physical space, which is important; especially considering the escalating spatial, ethnic, social, and socioeconomic segregation which is unfolding in Sweden. These matters are intertwined, in the sense that individuals (often with migrant background and poor economy) are being displaced to urban peripheries, where infrastructure is tangibly poorer and crime levels are higher (Dahlstedt & Ekholm, 2019). Displacing people with poor resources to such areas becomes a developmental downward spiral. For instance, since school quality is poorer in these areas, it is no surprise that the inhabitants rarely go on to higher education (Dahlstedt & Ekholm, 2019). Only this starting paragraph should illustrate how social inclusion, as a concept, easily becomes widened and increasingly difficult to operationalize, as we move from "...interactions between friends, strangers, families..." (Allman 2013, p.1) to discussing spatial and systemic injustices that inhibit equal opportunities to access important societal institutions.

My interpretation of social inclusion can be contextualized within Theeboom et al.'s (2021) discussion on the subject matter, which is defined by means of carving out what social exclusion entails. Theeboom et al. (2021) distinguish between several important concepts. Firstly, the analysis is often pitched at two levels. One level is aimed at structural characteristics, factors, and processes, whereas the second level explores and scrutinizes the experiences of individuals within these structures (Levitas et al., 2007). To further situate this in the European context, Theeboom et al. (2021) shows that European policies on sports and social inclusion, in the context of vulnerable youths, are dominated by two discourses on 'social inclusion': a weak version and a strong version. The former emphasizes how individuals enhance their

skills, knowledge, and capacities; sports are vehicles to improve the individual. Such an approach emphasizes individual improvement and adaptation, and one interpretation I make here is that, according to this discourse, sports participation is a means of encouraging individuals to live up to societal standards and expectations. In contrast, the 'strong' version concerns the structures that impede social inclusion through unequal opportunities and, in general, those who are exerting this kind of power. In scrutinizing reports from the European Commission, Theeboom et al. (2021) conclude that the 'weak' version is much more dominant. Another interpretation of the weak and strong versions is that the weak version is much more individual- and psychologically oriented, whereas the strong version is more inclined to a more structural and sociological orientation.

Moreover, Theeboom et al. (2021) discuss the important distinctions between access to sports, and developmental outcomes due to sports, tapping into another vague conceptualization of (social) inclusion. There has been a lack of clarity as to whether the analyses concern sporting inclusion, or social inclusion through sport (Suzuki, 2017), and are occasionally conflated with social integration (Schaillée et al., 2019). Even when researchers are explicit regarding social inclusion through sport, this can include amorphous markers such as health, crime reduction, economic impact, educational impact, social capacity, and influences on participation (Coalter, 2017, p.141). Providing a clear definition of what I mean by social inclusion is imperative here, and a few factors have been critical regarding how social inclusion is conceptualized in this thesis. One reason is inherent to the data collection—no refugees are present, meaning it is difficult to measure whether any developmental effects have taken place as a result of sports participation. The thesis is therefore not concerned with 'developmental outcomes', or Coalter's (2017) critique of social inclusion through sport (e.g., crime prevention, employment). Instead, I examine at the managerial perspectives which are to be interpreted as features of structures in Swedish sports. Naturally, my understanding is therefore more oriented towards the 'strong' version of social inclusion, where I look at structures, and not the (vulnerable) individual's experience within these structures (Levitas et al., 2007). While structural approaches can be deployed from the sports club's perspective, attempting to address other areas of exclusion for a given group, I treat sports clubs as the structure that needs to be addressed. To this end, I conceive of sport as a societal sphere that should be accessible to everyone. Accessing sports is a basic human right, and is recognized as such by a range of international authorities (see Veal, 2022). As early as 1959, sports were recognized by the United Nations as a fundamental right for children, based on the assumption of associated positive outcomes (Beutler, 2008) —I am, therefore, interested in access to sports. When connected to the theoretical framework in this thesis, the PPCT model is pragmatically used to discern how participation is conditioned both in terms of the sports clubs' structures, ideas, and how their expectations and perceptions of specific individuals affect inclusionary efforts and outcomes. In this sense, it should be clear that social inclusion is not a binary variable.

People can be included in sports clubs, but on different terms that affect their participatory experience (e.g., one can be discriminated against within the sports club due to several factors, ethnic origin being only one).

Two quotes can summarize this section. First, in the context of sport interventions and youths, and according to Theeboom (2007, p. 51):

The question can be asked as to whether sports indeed need to fulfil all these expectations or should rather be viewed as an accessible activity which attracts a lot of young people, and by doing so offers the opportunity for teachers, sports coaches, educators, youth workers...to work in an open-ended environment with a wide variety of specific groups in a positive manner

Here, sports clubs present themselves as powerful vehicles within which a range of opportunities exist. Notably, I do not assume that sports participation will deterministically address everything that stakeholders believe it does; something Coakley (2011) would label as the wishful thinking of sport evangelists. The 'accessibility' mentioned in connection to sporting activities is therefore in the forefront of my understanding of social inclusion. It can be added that while a range of social policy goals often underpin sport interventions, a range of works in the Swedish context have shown that these intervention participants often conceive of the activity as meaningful in itself (Ekholm et al., 2022; Ekholm & Dahlstedt, 2022). The quote by Levitas et al. (2007, p. 9) can summarize my view on sports and social inclusion, as defined by what is meant by exclusion:

It involves the lack or denial of resources, rights, goods and services, and the inability to participate in the normal relationships and activities available to the majority of people in a society, whether in economic, social, cultural or political arenas. It affects both the quality of life of individuals and the equity and cohesion of society as a whole.

Method and Material

In this chapter I present the method and the material used in this thesis. First, I present my positionality as a researcher. I then introduce a methodological roadmap, intended to make it clear how data collection commenced, and how it can be interpreted. Subsequently, I offer a detailed description of each article's method and material. I then discuss my data analysis strategy, inspired by a critical realist thematic analysis. I give an overview of methodological reflections, discussing how I situate my dissertation within a critical realist mixed methods framework, and I then discuss validity and reliability.

Researcher positionality

Researcher positionality "...both describes an individual's worldview and the position they adopt about a research task and its social and political context" (Holmes, 2020, p. 1). In short, one's situatedness in the world, beliefs, values, and more will shape the research process and output, warranting a brief inquiry into my own position and how this relates to my research. This has not been particularly straightforward, but rather a negotiation.

Thinking about socializing mechanisms at multiple levels in a critical realist sense, it is worthwhile mentioning that I am pretty much born and raised within the Swedish, and Nordic, sports movements. During this course, I have held multiple roles; the five-year-old child in the conventional soccer team, the competitive youth and young adult, a volunteer coach, a paid coach, an amateur athlete, a professional athlete, and finally, a father to my eldest child who has just now taken her first trembling steps into sports. This embeddedness into a Swedish sports setting is, from a cultural perspective, important when outlining my positionality (Milner, 2007) since it also, in some way, signals an absence of other 'ways' of sporting. My initial draft of my PhD project emanated partially from my role as a youth coach in a Norwegian mixed martial arts gym. Cognizant of the wider role the sports movement had begun to take, I was also struck by the nature of the 'voluntary' work occurring behind the walls of the gym; voluntary work I had myself been subject to during my years as an adolescent and young adult. While the aforementioned personal history may perhaps signify a strong commitment to (Swedish) sports, and implicitly be interpreted as my enjoyment of the perceived benefits of sports, my understanding and experiences of sports has been radically ambivalent. Except for the benefits of sports, my experiences from sports encompass what I have already touched upon in this thesis; the strained sports club, sport capital's conditioning effect on youth work, competition as a leading convention, obsessive behaviors, and other problematic aspects.

Regardless, these kinds of (multiple) insider-status positions have enabled a range of conversations about sport as a vehicle for social policies; mainly from the view of an insider. This kind of pre-understanding has, of course, shaped my approach to researching how sports are utilized for various social ends. Over the course of my PhD, I also became acutely aware that I most likely would have taken other theoretical and methodological approaches if I had not entered with this pre-existing knowledge and background. For instance, stemming from a psychological background coupled with an athletic background, it was initially much easier to comprehended 'weak' versions of the EU policy on social inclusion, and I engaged more in-depth with this kind of theorizing (see e.g., Blomqvist Mickelsson & Stylin, 2021). The leap into understanding structural approaches and being able to discuss such approaches adequately took considerable time. Had this understanding been consolidated in earlier phases of my doctoral journey, perhaps this dissertation would have been much more firmly situated within community work theories or other structurallyoriented frameworks. Moreover, in this dissertation, it is fair to say that I am following a tradition of research that serves the authority of Swedish sports, and which, initially, intends to strengthen and develop an existing structure. Taking a broader outlook, I think this is coupled with my more initial individual-oriented approach, where individual adaptation was at the center of analysis. Understanding transformational and critical perspectives on the structures were a distant cry from this psychologically-oriented individual perspective and therefore took time to develop.

Simultaneously, the results from this research can also be interpreted from a more critical perspective; one where the status-quo of the existing sports structure should, perhaps, not be taken for granted. This has, however, not been a very explicit scope of mine but rather an interest that has emerged in the later phases. Regardless, I believe the insights I have accumulated about how my position has affected knowledge production is indicative of a broadening of my repertoire as an emergent early research scholar. In this regard, I have not switched fundamental beliefs about how research is done or what we could possibly know of the world, but slowly realized that I am curious, eclectic, and lack a dogmatic approach to research. I now possess a more dual perspective; I know I can be evaluation-, psychologically-, and pragmatically oriented, and I feel I have seized more control over a structural school of thought. This dissertation is the result of a mixture of both perspectives, although the former is dominant.

A methodological roadmap

Entering this PhD almost exclusively schooled in quantitative methodology coupled with an educational background in psychology and criminology, I had both the joy and terror of engaging with several qualitative research approaches. In due time, I discovered that I am a strong believer in mixing qualitative and quantitative research and have developed a keen interesting in mixed-methods research. Critical realism is

very welcoming to mixed-methods research, since critical realist researchers are epistemological relativists (Collier, 1994). Being an epistemological relativist means that one is open to the use of multiple different methods, spanning the full qualitative-quantitative spectrum. This does not mean that one uncritically uses whatever method for whatever purpose. As argued by Danermark et al. (2019), the method that one deploys is contingent on the research question, an approach they call 'methodological pluralism' (not to be exchanged with 'methodological relativism). In this sense, critical realists are well-suited to operate in the vacuum between the conventional, and by now rather outdated debate, on positivism coupled with statistics, and relativism/constructivism coupled with qualitative approaches. Instead, I reiterate Pawson's (2016b, p.138-139) idea that "...researchers begin with a broad attachment to a paradigm, select a subset of protocols most pertinent to the scope of their inquiry and then translate them into a research design to fit the problem under investigation". In this dissertation, the bulk of my work is qualitative in character, and a minor part is quantitative. The quantitative component has been used to strengthen, reinforce, and make more explicit the necessary components for refugee inclusion into sports clubs.

Practically, and roughly speaking, I have conducted four separate, but interrelated, rounds of data collection that make up the empirical bulk of this dissertation. The data emanating from these data collection periods has been split, as in the case with the studies on sports clubs representatives and the SSC representatives (studies I and III), used for single studies (studies II and IV), and the two final studies (V and VI) use the same material but are interpreted with different theoretical frameworks. These are summarized in Table 2 below.

Table 2 is meant to serve as a pedagogical and clarifying roadmap, but to provide further clarity, each article will be accounted for separately in the next subchapter(s). Before going into details on each article's method and material, I will provide a short overview of what has been done and how I wish the method and material to be interpreted. The studies presented here, and their methodology, can be summarized as follows. Study I and II are intended to set the scene, through scrutinizing 12 (good) 'extreme cases' and one, at face-value, good 'extreme case' (Flyvbjerg, 2004). These cases are coupled with the data from the SSC's perspective (study III), where good practices are discussed more from an eagle-eye perspective that the federations arguably have. Shortly summarized, the composite of these three studies makes up an empirically dense stage-setter before turning to the case of Ukrainian refugees. The Delphi study (IV) can be conceived of as a first attempt to tease out what early markers of 'superdiversity' would look like in a CEE sport-for-integration setting. In conjunction with the events in Ukraine, the focus then shifted to sports clubs' receptions of Ukrainian refugees specifically (studies V and VI). Accordingly, the three first studies show a generic roadmap of how sports clubs can work to be more inclusive of underrepresented populations (in which migrants and refugees are found). In turn, this stage is used to understand the landscape in which Ukrainian

refugees become the focus. When this focus shifts, the studies not only consider sports clubs' structures, but what 'new' opportunities and barriers they encounter with respect to Ukrainian refugees. I will re-connect to this section later in the chapter 'Method reflections', where I also discuss the relevance of a critical realist mixed-methods framework.

Table 2. Data collections coupled to the relevant studies, their material, and samples

Data collections	Studies	Material	Sample
SSC collaboration	I, III	Semi-structured interviews, focus group interviews, documents	Sports clubs representatives (<i>n</i> =12) and SSC representatives (<i>n</i> ~35)
Case study	II	Semi-structured interviews, participant observation, documents	Sports clubs representatives (<i>n</i> =5)
Delphi	IV	Open-ended survey questions followed by quantified statements	CEE sports-for-integration experts $(n = 19)$
Ukrainian refugees	V, VI	Semi-structured interviews	Sports clubs representatives (<i>n</i> =17) and SSC representatives (<i>n</i> =3)

Article I

The first article is derived from a joint project with the SSC, exploring how sports clubs in socioeconomically underserved areas work on social inclusion. The project was permeated by a notion of attempting to establish a beginning to some sort of 'best-practices'. This article is therefore intended to, partially, answer research question one: what conditions, actors, and processes between them are necessary to facilitate refugees' social inclusion in Swedish voluntary sports clubs?

Methodologically, the article consists of 12 semi-structured interviews with sports club representatives. The sample procedure was controlled by the SSC and their regional extension; the districts. Key people within the SSC first identified relevant districts for the scope of the study, and then a request was sent to these districts, asking them to nominate five sports clubs each. The districts based their nominations on their knowledge of the sports clubs in terms of experience, engagement, and

'success' with the study issue. Success, in this case, is a rather vague operationalization but can briefly be translated into the sports clubs' ability to recruit underrepresented groups. The underrepresented group, in this case, was exclusively mentioned as individuals with migrant background living in underserved areas. Online interviews were conducted, lasting between approximately 40 minutes to 1.5 hours. This data was collected between October 2021 to January 2022. The data was subject to Wiltshire and Ronkainen's (2021) critical realist thematic analysis.

Article II

The second article is a case study, where I have explored the remains of a refugeeintegration project in a Swedish sports club. The article addresses the same research question as article I. Initially, three sports clubs were asked to participate, but only one agreed to do so. I have used a case-study approach (Yin, 2011), and the material consists of five semi-structured interviews, a document analysis, and three months of participant-observation. The interviews were conducted in person (n = 3) and online (n=2), were audio-recorded, and lasted between 45 minutes to one hour. The informants were selected based on their involvement within the sports club, and contained the sports manager, board members, and coaches; all of whom were in relevant, but different, positions to talk about the refugee project. For example, the sports manager could talk about the initiation and logistics of the project, whereas the coaches held a more favorable position to talk about practical sports delivery. All interviews were transcribed verbatim shortly after the interview ended. The interview guide was, in large part, consistent with study I, with the addition that more questions were directed at the specific refugee initiative. The document analysis served as a preunderstanding of the sports club's values and philosophy. In some sense, these documents represented the official position on a range of matters for the sports club, and I revisited these documents during the participant observation period to situate my findings within their official statutory. In total, the documents consisted of approximately eight pages of history, values, aims, and missions of the sports club. Finally, participant observation occurred during, after, and prior to training sessions. Abductively, I went back and forth between documents, interviews, and observations, and I attempted to observe how values and constructed rituals played out that were intended to reinforce feelings of social cohesion in the sports clubs. Notes were taken before and after training sessions, and when possible, during breaks at the training sessions. I had a set of systematic observations surrounding the same scenarios (e.g., greetings between members prior to training) while simultaneously attempting to capture nuances outside of these systematic observations (e.g., small talk with practitioners, jokes, etc.). These observations and notes were later developed to provide some clarity and breadth around important events. The data was subject to Wiltshire and Ronkaine's (2021) critical realist thematic analysis.

Article III

The third article is also derived from the same project mentioned above (study I), but takes as its departure, not the sport club-level, but the regional district level of the SSC. The work being carried out here can be critical in supporting the sports clubs' work on social inclusion, with the mentioned population, and within these areas. Accordingly, the same 'best-practices' idea permeated this study, and therefore also connects to research question one.

Methodologically, the data and approaches are more eclectic than those in article I. I will account for the data collection chronologically. First, the same sampling procedure as in article one was applied: key persons within the SSC identified relevant districts, and put us (I and Jonas Lindström, who was also part of the project) into contact with them. Focus group interviews commenced with a range of people from these districts holding different positions. As I was told by the (current) head of research and evaluation at the SSC (Jonas Arnoldsson), it is not easy to pinpoint the titles and positions in this project, because they have fluctuated, and some titles might include similar job tasks, while others have overlapping features. However, at the time of these interviews, these included two heads of districts, four sports club consultants, one manager of operations and six coordinators for a total of four focus group interviews. The interviews lasted between one and one and a half hours. These results were preliminary analyzed, which implied that this data collection took a rather datadriven approach. Following up on these interviews, the research and evaluation department of the SSC invited coordinators for a two-day online conference (a total of ten hours of active participant engagement). In total, 16 coordinators participated in the conference, however, due to anonymity, it is possible that a few coordinators had already participated in previous focus group interviews. In this regard, the exact number of unique individuals participating in this study is not clear, but a total of 35 cases of participation, independent of whether the same individual had participated in multiple interviews, were recorded. Based on the findings from focus group interviews, Jonas Arnoldsson developed a schedule for the conference, with the conference divided into several blocks. The first block contained work directed at the clubs. Respondents were asked to contemplate the implemented strategies, their success or failure, the mechanisms underpinning these outcomes, and inconsistencies between districts. We understood the vaguely defined concept of 'success' as the joint effort by the SSC and the sports clubs to attract as many participants as possible to the sports clubs and to make sure the sports clubs could operate sustainably. The second block contained the work directed against the targeted population. The same questions were applied. The third block considered the indirect job intended to build an enduring infrastructure around the initiatives. The same questions were applied. The fourth and final block considered work with external actors. Besides the same questions, I also asked whether some collaborations were more valuable than others and if collaboration with external actors always was beneficial. Moreover, we considered the role of alternative associations and modes of exerting sport. These examples include ethnic associations or spontaneous sport that did not directly fall under the jurisdiction of the SSC. Data from the conference were used, both from the small group discussions and when all coordinators were present and discussing relevant topics. Finally, one focus group interview was held with the SSC operations managers across all districts beyond the four districts initially sampled. Here, I asked the districts to speak about their key insights related to the aforementioned questions. In respect of these individuals' limited time, the interview took place as part of a bimonthly SSC meeting (all other data collection was made exclusively as part of the research project). The interview lasted one hour and contained seven activelycontributing operations managers. As previously mentioned, however, it is possible that some of these mangers of operations had previously attended other phases of the data collection. In its entirety, the data was collected between September 2021 to February 2022, and all interview material was transcribed by a professional transcription company. The data was subject to Wiltshire and Ronkaine's (2021) critical realist thematic analysis.

Article IV

Article four is a Delphi study with, initially, 19 sport-and-integration experts from CEE regions. Here, I mainly address the first research question, and in part the second research question concerning the unique factors that may prevent or facilitate Ukrainian refugees' inclusion into sports clubs. The reason I write 'in part' is because the study was conducted in the context of CEE migrants. Ukrainian refugees, arguably, fall into this category, but I find it important to be explicit about such a category's vagueness and suboptimal accuracy. Before accounting for the Delphi method itself, some brief notes are necessary to understand the trajectory of this paper. Chronologically, this round of data collection was the first to commence during my PhD and data were collected between January 2021 and March 2021. This means that article three was produced in the beginning of my PhD, where I, vaguely, had an interest in CEE migrants, at which point Ukraine had not yet been invaded by Russia. Article three is also explorative in its nature—it was my way to preliminary explore whether a 'culturally relevant pedagogy' (Luguetti et al., 2021) was even needed in the context of CEE migration. The questions asked here were therefore rather exploratory and sought to inform me as to whether the scope of my PhD was worth pursuing.

The Delphi method, as employed in this study, is a consensus-building process, and includes multiple rounds of data collection. As with article one and two, the conceptual idea with Delphi studies is to establish 'guidelines' for given issues. A core feature of Delphi studies is to collect 'expert' opinions; in this sense, the scope of the study needs to be complex and requires in-depth expertise. This puts pressure on the sampling procedure, and I adopted several strategies. Known sport scholars and CEE

universities with relevant departments (e.g., physical education, sports management, sport psychology, sport-for-development) were contacted first. Information on the study's purpose, timeline, and other relevant details were given, and I encouraged departments to inform me as to whether they had appropriate candidates. The second purpose of this outreach was to gain more information on other organizations that could be beneficial (e.g., NGOs). When such information was received, the NGO(s) mentioned during outreach were subsequently contacted. In total, 19 'experts' were initially recruited.

According to the conventions of Delphi studies, the first round utilized openended semi-structured questions in a survey. These questions are considered the first round of data collection. The questions were discussed between fellow scholars, and then further validated through relevant persons in the SSC (Henrik Hedberg; former operation of managers). The questions were also professionally translated into each representatives' native language, and each respondent could choose either the English-version survey or another language they felt comfortable in. While 19 experts were recruited, only 16 finished the first round of surveys. The answers from these questions were then coded (see Data Analysis for further information on this), and quantified. A simple fictive illustration is, for instance, if someone argued that sports contribute toward improved school grades, then quantification could translate into asking to what extent a respondent agreed with the following statement: "sports contributes towards better school grades". In this quantification-phase, I took inspiration from Anderson et al.'s (2019) Delphi study, supplemented with compilations of 'how-to' engage with Delphi methodology (Okoli & Pawlowski, 2004), and I decided upon a seven-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). Options six and seven (agree/strongly agree), or vice versa, one and two (strongly disagree/disagree) were considered to count toward consensus. The calculations were made in percentages, where at least 75% of the sample had to answer agree or strongly agree (or 75% of the sample strongly disagreed). Adding to this, the respondents were encouraged to contextualize and motivate their responses through qualitative feedback. This, then, was considered the second round of data collection, and 16 experts finalized this round. In the third and final round of data collection, items that were completely dropped from the analysis received below 50% of expert support. However, if items were above 50% but below 75%, they were refined based on the qualitative feedback. One (real) illustration emanated from a question that asked respondents to rate whether they agreed that sports contribute toward improved school performance. In refining this question based on the feedback, two mediating pathways appeared: school performance might be enhanced through sport's capacity to develop discipline, and sport's capacity to promote role models and networks. Fifteen experts finalized this round of data collection. The data was subject to Wiltshire and Ronkaine's (2021) critical realist thematic analysis.

Article V

Article five is the first to directly address Ukrainian refugees, through semi-structured interviews with sports club representatives. As such, article V is primarily concerned with research question two. In this article, 17 sports club representatives were interviewed. When recruiting for this study, only one criterion was considered; namely whether the sports clubs in question was engaged in working with Ukrainian refugees. To reach potential sports clubs, three strategies were employed. First, all 21 regional SSC federations, and all 70 national sports federations were contacted by email¹. This first contact aimed to provide information on any sports clubs within the regional federation's regional area, or within the national sports federation's particular sport, that were engaged with Ukrainian refugees. All the suggested sports clubs from these sources were subsequently contacted. Secondly, a thorough search on Google was done with the search terms "Ukraina [Ukraine]" and/or "ukrainska flyktingar [Ukrainian refugees]" in combination with various types of sports. The types of sports in the search string followed from the existing types of sports from the national sports federations. As such, 70 different sports were searched in conjunction with key words on Ukrainian refugees. These Google searches revealed, through their websites as well as through local media, another range of sports clubs across Sweden that had engaged with Ukrainian refugees. Finally, the third strategy was developed during data collection. In an abductive fashion, sports-specific themes emerged, notably connected to (rhythmic) gymnastics. I refer to this abductively, as I moved between the data, recruitment, and other analytical processes. As such, all Swedish rhythmic gymnastics clubs (n = 18) were directly contacted. Through these strategies, 72 sports clubs were contacted through email. Out of these 72 sports clubs, 17 replied to the email. All 17 consented to their participation. The recruitment phase took place between May and June 2022.

Prior to data collection, an interview guide was constructed. Briefly summarized, the interview guide covered three broad themes: i) the sports club itself, structure, visions, philosophy; ii) the current engagement with Ukrainian refugees, including the practical arrangements, purposes, definition of integration; and iii) the sports clubs' engagement with Ukrainian refugees vis-à-vis their engagement (or non-engagement) with other refugee populations. The questions started broadly, for example; "Please tell me about yourself and your organization", and then segued into more fine-grained inquiries into the subject matter. The questions were open-ended and semi-structured, allowing informants to steer the direction of the conversations themselves. The open-ended nature of the questions allowed respondents to engage in various depth about specific issues. For instance, informants who had been engaged with several refugee populations provided extensive accounts of strategies, similarities, and differences between refugee groups, while less experienced sports clubs informants talked about the ongoing events from a more general point of view.

¹ Two mail addresses malfunctioned. Accordingly, 68 national sports federations received the email.

Moreover, the questions were formulated to connect with the PPCT framework through an emphasis on understanding the contextual settings (sports clubs, visions, practices, philosophies), as well as to illuminate the characteristics of the Ukrainian refugees (as perceived by the informants). By contextualizing the sports clubs first, it was easier to understand the background from which representatives spoke, and how this tapped into relevant themes and potential synergies, such as refugees' sporting capital or cultural capital in the context of highly competitive VSCs. Online interviews were conducted and recorded (n = 13) and over the phone with handwritten notes (n = 4) at the request of participants. The interviews lasted between 40 minutes to 1.5 hours. Data were subject to Wiltshire and Ronkaine's (2021) critical realist thematic analysis.

Article VI

In my sixth and final article, I have re-used material from the above sport club representatives (n =17), and added one additional follow-up interview with one representative, and three interviews with key personnel at relevant SSC districts. The SSC representatives were approached in conjunction with the search for sports clubs, since they were often the ones replying to the email and provided further suggestions. This article addresses research question two, but from the more critical perspective of 'deservingness'. While sampling procedure and data collection is outlined above, I will only add the remaining context here. The concept of 'deservingness' did not explicitly guide this study, nor did it guide the construction of research questions. However, since the final question in the interview guide was concerned with Ukrainian refugees in comparision to other refugee populations, it was easy to apply the lens of deservingness when re-reading the material. The data was subject to Wiltshire and Ronkaine's (2021) critical realist thematic analysis.

Data analysis

All the collected qualitative data were analyzed using the data analysis scheme proposed by Wiltshire and Ronkainen (2021). I will provide a brief outline of Wiltshire and Ronkainen's argue for their method, and then utilize their practical examples to illustrate how their thematic analysis is conduced, and subsequently give an illustration on how the same procedure has been applied to my data.

Furthering the development of a (critical) realist methodology, Wiltshire and Ronkainen (2021) are the first to develop a thematic analysis according to a such an understanding. Wiltshire and Ronkainen explicitly state that within qualitative research, traditionally, there has been a rigid distinction "...between procedures, accuracy, reliability and consensus on the other hand, and being reflexive and thoughtful on the other..." (p. 162), and that one is not incompatible with the other. A bit simplistically, this refers to the conception of (post)positivistic obsession of procedures, pre-defined codebooks, and control (generally speaking), and the softer

relativist emphasis on reflexivity and understanding that does not necessarily comply with the former procedures. In turn, these polar opposites are linked to what Braun and Clarke (2021) refer to as 'surface-level' descriptions of patterns in a neo-positivist codebook fashion, while the latter is a form of reflexive and organic approaches to thematic analysis, emphasizing the richness and depth of the data. Given this binary, Wiltshire and Ronkainen (2021, p. 161) argue that "…an obvious tension may arise for those wishing to integrate reflexive TA [thematic analysis] with quantitative methods as part of a broader study…", which is partially the case in this thesis. Moreover, Wiltshire and Ronkainen suggest that both procedural commitments and reflexive action can co-exist within the same thematic analysis. Using this approach to thematic analysis, I have attempted to both apply a stricter procedure for the practical coding, while simultaneously engaging in theory-building and what I conceive of as a more 'deep' and reflexive commitment to the data.

Practically, the analyzed data is grouped according to Bhaskar's three levels of stratified ontology (the empirical, the actual, and the real), translating into Wiltshire and Ronkainen's categories of: i) experiential themes, ii) inferential themes, and iii) dispositional themes. Experiential themes are the empirical findings observed and experienced by participants. These can be "...participants' subjective viewpoints and experiences, such as their intentions, hopes, concerns, feelings and beliefs, as they are evident in the data" (Wiltshire & Ronkainen 2021, p. 166). I followed the steps proposed by Wiltshire and Ronkainen and read the first transcript and noted nascent experiential themes as they emerged through the analysis. This was a fairly datadriven procedure, although my initial research was to, some extent, theory driven. So, while I had a theoretical pre-understanding, which had shaped interview guides for instance, I first attempted to engage inductively with the first transcript and allow the analysis to be data-driven by the emerging experiential themes. After finishing the first transcript, the subsequent transcripts were analyzed in a deductive fashion, informed by the previous transcript(s). Here, existing experiential themes from previous transcripts guided the analysis, and notes were made if these themes existed within a given transcript (or not). Simultaneously, new experiential themes were noted, and then checked against both the previous and the forthcoming transcripts. This stage of coding was, to my interpretation, defined by its emphasis on patterns and sought consensus on dominant themes in the data.

In the second phase, the experiential themes were analyzed to generate inferential themes. Accordingly, sensitive to the notion that social phenomena are not always observable, the inferential themes are an attempt to go 'beyond the data' (Wiltshire & Ronkainen, 2021). This mind exercise pertains to the notion of 'recontextualization' (Danermark et al., 2019). Recontextualization allows the analysis to take on a more abstract shape and encourages the researcher to actively contemplate existing theories that may inform why, and how, a particular experiential theme is shaped the way it is. Wiltshire and Ronkainen (2021) illustrate this with their data, showing how one experiential theme (*Helping the club:* [Some/many/most] participants in this study

[strongly] felt compelled to help the club in matters other than coaching) were analyzed, and by means of inductive and abductive thinking, carved out an inferential theme (Solidarity: Coaches [could/often/are likely to] feel a sense of commitment to and solidarity with their club). Here, the "... lay-language used for the experiential themes..." (Wiltshire & Ronkainen 2021, p. 171) is converted into a more abstract form that can tell us something about the nature of this experiential theme at a deeper level (e.g., 'helping the club' is conceived of as driven by coaches' solidarity). This redescription is thus contingent on the researcher's knowledge of existing theories, and the conceptual landscape, as well as their ability to generate new conceptual ideas. Accordingly, theories are treated as initial, and fallible, in informing the findings, and the researcher needs to exercise caution and retain open-mindedness to other theories and interpretations. In contrast to the first phase, I conceive of the second phase as much more reflexive, less steered by a pre-defined protocol, and much more contingent on a deep theoretical commitment.

In the third phase, the themes were further analyzed so as to create dispositional themes. The dispositional themes are attempts to understand the 'real' latent power that drives a particular phenomenon. According to Wiltshire and Ronkainen (2021), the dispositional themes (naturally) rely on the previous experiential and inferential themes, but ask the researcher to engage with questions on what deeper mechanisms, and their intrinsic properties, could possibly underpin the phenomenon under investigation (Jagosh, 2019). To further illustrate Wiltshire and Ronkainen's work, three inferential themes were partially supported by one underlying dispositional theme. Specifically, the inferential themes consisted of: i) service to others; ii) coaching as subsidiary; and iii) solidarity, all of which themes were interpreted as being underpinned by a volunteer ideology (p. 174-175). Operating in the Nordic context, with its strong emphasis on volunteerism within sports, the argument that these experiential and inferential themes are underpinned and driven by volunteer ideology seems to be a coherent and logic conclusion. As Wiltshire and Ronkainen (2021) note, different dispositional themes may emerge from the same findings, and overlap to some extent—this also depend on other theoretical approaches that inform the researcher (e.g., rational choice theory versus behaviorism).

Providing some concrete clarity into how this procedure informed my project, I first offer an illustration of two particular themes that manifested themselves through the analysis, namely the experiential themes of i) competitive sport skills, and ii) experience with organized sports.

Table 3. Example of coding scheme

sport club.

	Tr	anscript 1		
Contextual information	The participant expressed that	Illustrative excerpts	Experiential theme	
Female, 57 years old. Karate instructor in small competitive sport club (~90 members) in high-SES suburban. Refugees include two young boys and their mother, integrated into regular practice	The competitive skills enabled easy access	"I mean, this was a supermatch [] we would have received them anyways, but this was a supermatch [] Ukraine has such a huge karate tradition"	Sport skills	
0 1	[]	[]		
	[]	[]		
	Tr	ranscript 2		
Contextual The participant information expressed that		Illustrative excerpts	Experiential theme	
Female, 46 years old, started as volunteer and then part time hired in sport club. Sport club is a large multisport VSC (~2,000) members, with an open 'drop-in' session where refugees can come and train. Aiming to integrate refugees into existing	Youths have experience with organized sports	"there is a sport culture in Ukraine, you can tell that many of the youths have played organized prior to this"	Experience with organized sport	

Here, each experiential theme is assigned to a unique row, and the themes that emanated from transcript one were deductively checked against transcript two, and so on. The first transcript contained sentiments and appreciations of how Ukrainian refugees integrated into the sports clubs mediated by their strong sporting capital. The short-hand label for this experiential theme became 'sport skills'. In the second transcript, Ukrainian youths' experience with *organized* sports emerged as a salient theme, and was given the short-hand label 'experience with organized sports'. These two themes were corroborated through a range of other representatives' narratives on Ukrainian youths' integration into the sports clubs. Moving from phase one into

phases two and three, I then attempted to generate inferential themes and disposetional themes. These are depicted in Table 4 below.

Table 4. Illustrations of empirical themes coded by the experiential, inferential, and dispositional categories

Experiential theme	Inferential theme	Dispositional theme
Sport skills	Transferable sporting capital	Sport's inherent logic
Experience with organized sport	Transferable cultural capital	Cultural similarity

Here, I drew extensively from the existing literature, and from concepts and researchers that had already engaged with similar findings. Both in the international literature (Dukic et al., 2017; McDonald et al., 2019), the Swedish literature (Hertting & Karlefors, 2021; Wagnsson et al., 2019), and in my integrative review (Blomqvist Mickelsson, submitted), it became apparent that sports skills is an almost unavoidable theme in the context of social inclusion into sports clubs. In a migration context, having acquired the necessary sporting capital needed for sports clubs to be receptive could therefore be understood as a form of transferable capital that many Ukrainian youths possessed. At the deeper level beyond 'sport skills', this was a salient resource and a capital that Ukrainian youths could transfer from one context to the other, and which enabled inclusion. This constituted the inferential theme. As a further step to develop the dispositional theme, further thinking about the causal powers that drive and maintain this finding was necessary. Thinking more broadly about this theme led me to the deeply ingrained and embedded notions of sport's inherent logic. Skille (2010, 2011) has, in the context of Norwegian sports clubs, addressed the limitations of using sports clubs for social goods. Sports is a part of an institutionalized field, where certain dominant conventions guide sports clubs in their practical work (Skille, 2009). Since competitive elements are inherent and fundamental to sports (Skille, 2011), this can be seen as a dominant and underpinning logic of sports in general. Accordingly, this inherent logic is a significant conditioner, and a main drive, when considering whether people are allowed in, or excluded from, sports clubs.

The second concept of 'experience of organized sports' could also be understood as a form of a transferable *cultural* capital. Again, I re-visited the concepts previously used and the existing empirical findings, and a main finding within western societies has consistently been that *lacking* knowledge of organized sports as an exclusionary mechanism (e.g., Stura, 2019). In fact, as a critique of the organized format and its inaccessibility to some groups, other alternative forms have emerged (see Stenling, 2015). By further thinking about this from the perspective of a dispositional theme, one concept seemed apt to explain, at the broader level, why representatives spoke favorably about Ukrainian youths' experience with organized sports—cultural

similarity. Since both the Swedish and the Ukrainian sports system are predicated upon organization, there are cultural similarities that ease Ukrainian youths' inclusion into Swedish sports, since less structural transformation is conceived of as necessary. The discourse on cultural similarity is broad and double-edged and does not stop at similarities in sporting experiences. Regardless, I conceive of it as a major latent force that can be traced to this particular experiential theme.

Some notes should be made here. Importantly, as with most qualitative work, the whole coding procedure and the full-scale results that emanated from every level of the analysis (experiential, inferential and dispositional) have not been presented in the articles. The reason for this is partially due to word limitations (which have been a constant struggle in every article I have written), and because I quickly felt that presenting and justifying, every level of the analysis took too much focus away from the actual practical results; it shifted focus from what I had empirically discovered, to elaborate discussions on the philosophy of sciences in relation to qualitative data analyses. Additionally, since the bulk of the articles used Bronfenbrenner's PPCT framework, it quickly became messy to present a results section that would comply with the PPCT framework *and* present the full analysis according to Wiltshire and Ronkainen's thematic analysis.

Methodological reflections

In this dissertation, I have used an array of different sources and materials. Although the bulk of the empirical material and methods are qualitative in character, there is also the Delphi study, which is informed by quantitative methodology (although not very advanced quantitative methodology). As initially stated, I have found a genuine interest in mixed methods research, which is highly compatible with critical realism (Ryba et al., 2022). Here, I briefly situate my studies within such a framework, centering specifically on the notion of *theoretical generalization*. The material here can be understood in two parts: the setting of the stage (studies I, II, and III) and the case of Ukrainian refugees (studies IV, V, and VI).

As for the first part: a main point in gathering these extreme cases was to elucidate the mechanisms and conditions that can, theoretically, be generalized. Study I is exclusively done with semi-structured interviews, which have pros and cons. One drawback is the 'snapshot' nature of interviews, and that the mechanisms at play are never actually observed by the researcher. Another distinct drawback here is that one can only get so much depth from a single semi-structured interview. In summary, sudy I allows for, perhaps, an understanding of the broader contours that are of importance when considering underrepresented population's inclusion into sports. Study II should primarily be seen as commencing from these methodological drawbacks and broader contours, and, at least partially, remedying these flaws by conducting a more in-depth case study. Going into this case study, there was partially an ambivalence between what was said in i) different interviews, ii) what kind of voices

seemed to be missing, and iii) the observations I made. So, although the sports club seemed to have taken an appropriate approach to refugees' inclusion at first, the material eventually generated other, and more nuanced, insights. These insights related to how ideas that intended to be inclusive, were (ironically) translated into exclusive practices. Importantly, by engaging with the field more deeply, the data from this case study showed that it is not enough to have adequate financial- and personal resources, but that the logics of the sports clubs must be actively addressed. Even when such exists, coupled with good intentions, lacking qualifications, and knowledge of vulnerable groups may cause their exclusion, as was the case in Study II.

At the federation level, substantial information has accumulated over the past year on how to facilitate underrepresented groups' participation in sports. Here, the methodology has been slightly different, adopting focus-group interviews. This was not only by intention, but also for logistical reasons, but has, nevertheless, generated important information. These districts have been well-informed of the issues and opportunities of sports and understand their conventional configurations as a natural part of their job, but they do so from different positions. The focus group interviews allowed these representatives to contemplate their work from a more holistic perspective (Powell & Single, 1996)—from the most managerial position to the representtatives that operated closely with the sports clubs. Since these interviews also were, in part, conducted district-wise, these representatives were able to jointly reconstruct historical illustrations of their districts' work that proved valuable in understanding the trials-and-errors that had led to their contemporary solutions. A core limitation of focus group interviews is, however, matters such as 'dominant voices' (Smithson, 2000), where one or a few individuals dictate the themes, discussions, and perceptions of the group discussion.

Related to the above, and turning to the second aspect (the case of Ukrainian refugees), study IV is perhaps the most methodologically interesting, since Delphi studies effectively bypass the phenomenon of 'dominant voices'. Through allowing participants to remain anonymous, never to be confronted by each other face-to-face, the Delphi study holds a significant advantage over other methods in terms of 'unbiased' elicitation of information. Another feature of the Delphi is that participants must *actively* consider each other's statements in the quantification phase. This feature allows conflictual responses to emerge, without disrupting a group dynamic, which could be the case in focus groups. Another point here is that the previous studies' results (I, II, III) in the Swedish context are being compared to a roughly equivalent sample in the CEE context, which would lead me to further believe that I have managed to tease out theoretically generalizable results across contexts. A salient limitation of the Delphi study is that, given the survey mode, information may not be as rich as in conventional qualitative approaches, where one can follow up participants' statements with questions and prompts.

Studies V and VI use the same material, with the addition of four semi-structured interviews in the latter study; hence, from a methodological and critical realist

perspective, they are not particularly innovative or complimentary to each other. I rather view these studies as the end of my PhD, and a venue for further research with potentially complimentary methods. Another drawback here is that I conducted these interviews fairly rapidly after the conflict's outbreak; I thus have captured what is likely to be the first sports clubs' receptions of Ukrainian refugees, but I have no longitudinal perspective, which surely would have been useful.

In short, I view the described process above as one where I have attempted to triangulate information with a range of methods, specifically semi-structured interviews, documents, observation, focus group interviews and the Delphi method. By deploying these different methods, they have not only complemented each other, but also corroborated each other to a lengthy extent. With regards to the three first studies, I believe they in large part corroborate one another, and only add rather modest 'novel' (but still important) findings to the dissertation. From a critical realist mixed-methods perspective, they should therefore be viewed as a solid bulk of research showing a set of important, and theoretically generalizable, factors. These emanate exclusively from qualitative sources, but I also find it amusing (and perhaps provocative to the more hardcore qualitative researcher) to point out that the sheer sample size in the three first studies actually complies with conventional statistical laws, such as the Central Limit Theorem (CLT). I do not intend to flesh out this section to statistical laws, but to simply point out that the CLT would argue that approximately 30 observations would 'force' a specific value to be normally distributed. Findings from my first three studies suggest that most of these sports clubs converge in their experiences and perceptions of 'success' factors. So, although they are drawn from a sample of 'extreme cases', they seem to agree with one another on the important factors in sport delivery for underrepresented populations; something you could compare to the idea of normal distributions. Accordingly, I draw from both breadth and depth in my attempt to situate the thesis into a critical realist mixed methods niche (Ryba et al., 2022).

Validity

In essence, and following the paths already taken in this dissertation, the realist position I take here inherently assumes that some explanations or interpretations are 'better' compared to others. Taking such a position is inevitably tied to the, perhaps, broader and more ambitious claims I am making here. These follow from an ambition to make my results interesting to stakeholders. How 'better' is defined is partially a question of how valid one's interpretation is, thus calling into question what validity is. According to Hammersley (1992), validity from the realist point-of-view is akin to whether one's account accurately describes the features and properties of the phenomenon under investigation. In short, to make the claims I wish to do, there is also a need to display to what extent quality and credibility characterize the undertaken research. To judge the validity of my interpretations, and of research more

broadly, I have primarily considered the parameters put forth by Ronkainen and Wiltshire (2021). These are: i) ontological plausibility, ii) empirical adequacy, and iii) practical utility. To understand whether the undertaken research meets the principled goals of these three parameters, Maxwell's (2017) ideas of descriptive, interpretative, and theoretical validity are here discussed.

Ontological plausibility, empirical adequacy, and practical utility

Ronkainen and Wiltshire (2021, p. 22) argue that "...research accounts can be more or less valid by being more or less [...] plausible...", meaning different interpretations are more or less likely to represent the reality 'out there'. As is being repeatedly iterated across realist scholars, the positivist notions of 'constant conjunctures' and linearity do not capture the complexity of the social world (Archer, 1995; Collier, 1994; Pawson & Tilley, 1997). Predictable outcomes are, in opposition, only possible under a set of specific circumstances and conditions (Pawson & Tilley, 1997), meaning the findings we discover are contextually and temporally bound. Moreover, as has been detailed, the mechanisms in which I am interested do not tend to operate at a visible (empirical) level—therefore, Ronkainen and Wiltshire (2021) conclude that 'ontological plausibility' is an adequate concept meriting adoption. Ontological plausibility emanates from taking putative descriptions of the world, and by means of empirical investigation, exploring whether such theories correspond to the reality 'out there' (Harré, 1996). In this case, a key quest is to test theories and accounts we have adopted to give the phenomena under investigation a chance to prove us 'wrong' (Maxwell, 2012). In this sense, ontological plausibility also shapes empirical investigation. In my case, I believe that there are a set of factors that would characterize 'good practices' when working with underrepresented populations; this would imply that different sports club representatives could experience and perceive the same underlying factors to be important, making it appropriate to collect data from a range of representatives through interviews. Simultaneously, Maxwell (2012) is also careful to note that we should not take participants' perspectives at face-value; they might be mistaken. Here, it naturally becomes important to make carefully-informed methodological decisions that could inform the researchers of potential discrepancies between what is being said and what is being done. As has already been laid out, in study II for example, I was able to engage more in-depth with the field and make a more fine-grained analysis based on the empirical data and the theoretical framework already adopted. Relatedly, Maxwell (2012) argues that a main practice realists should be concerned with is to rule out different alternative theories. For instance, in study II, I initially commenced with an organizational theoretical perspective derived from new institutionalism, but did not find it to explain the phenomena of interest to any useful extent. I did, however, find critical realism, as a framework, to be both a stimulating mental exercise (rather novel to the field), and able to make sense of the data. Importantly, and as implied already, adequate validity and ontological plausibility are therefore not exclusively the results of the methods used, but also have to be

assessed in relation to the circumstances and purpose of the research in question (Maxwell, 2012).

Empirical adequacy refers to the notion that researchers should have gathered enough data to support the claims being made, as well as to have recorded what has been said and heard as precisely as possible. As noted by Ronkainen and Wiltshire (2021), the degree to which one fulfills empirical adequacy will be dependent upon the specific project, but a general feature would be to, for instance, ensure that suitable participants have been recruited. The notion of this form of validity is therefore highly relevant for the Delphi study, for instance. As for the first, regarding whether enough data has been collected, I have counted each time a participant has participated in data collection, for a total of 114 occasions. These include repeated data collections with the same participant (as in the case of the Delphi study), and participants who participated one time. In attempting to make a rough estimation of the unique number of participants in the study, a qualified guess is that at least 85 individuals have participated. Out of these, all have been concerned with underrepresented populations in sports, making the case that, to answer my first research question, the thesis is empirically thick. However, to address the second research question pertaining to Ukrainian refugees specifically, data from only 20 respondents has been collected (excluding the Delphi sample who were asked about CEE migrants). I do believe there are more to be gauged with regards to Ukrainian refugees, both in sports, and in general, and I believe my own findings should be used as building blocks for further inquiries (long-term commitment, ethnographic observations, etc.). That being said, the findings of the current study are not invalid, but they are tentative, and some of the first in the context of Ukrainian refugees. This, of course, warrants some caution when interpreting the findings.

Third and finally, practical utility is, by common sense, a parameter that should be held in high regards in the applied discipline and profession of social work. In short, practical utility refers to what we can do with the scientific output in the real world. According to Ronkainen and Wiltshire (2021, p. 22-23, italics in original): "...research that can demonstrate its findings can be used as a means for doing things in the world-in all its complexity, fluidity and multifaceted nature-should reasonably be judged to have greater validity than research that cannot". While I do re-iterate theoretical concepts, I do not conceive of the raw results as very abstract, difficult to grasp, or difficult to convey to a broader audience. They are also directly drawn from the practical day-to-day business of, mostly, sport club representatives, and thus build upon practical knowledge. My interpretation is that a part of this applied nature of the thesis is derived from the collaboration with the SSC, who undoubtedly is the dominant actor in the fields of Swedish sport 'voluntary work'. Taking a broader outlook on the subject matter, I have also engaged, and co-authored papers with, sports federations to enhance their education courses (Blomqvist Mickelsson & Stylin, 2021), which should be indicative of my practical anchoring.

Descriptive, interpretative, and theoretical validity

Maxwell's (2017) notion of descriptive validity is, perhaps, mostly related to the empirical material gathered in a practical sense. Shortly put, descriptive validity can be interpreted as factual accuracy (Ronkainen & Wiltshire, 2021), and flaws in descriptive validity can refer to caveats during data collection, researcher bias, selective note-taking, and faulty memory, to name a few (Maxwell, 2017). According to Maxwell (2017), most of these practical issues are usually solved by means of ensuring rigor during data collection, where audio- or video recordings are preferred. The bulk of the data were gathered through open-ended surveys and recorded interviews, while four interviews were conducted over the phone, and with handwritten notes. The majority of the data collection has thus been done with rigor, or at least by means of certain standard qualitative research that should be upheld (from the descriptive validity point-of-view). As for the remaining four interviews, I am cognizant of how the depth and richness of these conversations did not transfer without friction into the handwritten notes although I, to the best of my ability, attempted to mitigate this.

Interpretative validity refers to whether one has captured the intended meanings and perceptions of the participants (Maxwell, 2017). So, while participants could have differing perceptions of the same event, interpretative validity refers not to distinguishing which account is more accurate than the other, but to ensuring that the two differing perceptions have been understood accurately. Interpretative validity is therefore partially contingent on descriptive validity, and important for ensuring appropriate empirical adequacy as well. According to Ronkainen and Wiltshire (2021), ensuring adequate interpretative validity can be done several ways, and one way is to naturally to have multiple coders so to both ensure descriptive- and interpretative validity. Data from studies I and III, emanating from the SSC collaboration, were first jointly coded and processed with senior lecturer Jonas Lindström (Lindström & Blomqvist Mickelsson, 2022). The themes and interpretations made here are joint efforts, and they have been further scrutinized by the SSC research department personnel. Here, both descriptive and interpretative validity have been discussed on multiple occasions. The remainder of the studies (II, IV, V, VI) have been coded exclusively by me. This is, perhaps, an ambivalent crossroad, where questions of validity (as understood here) are in some sense in opposition to displaying academic independence and capacity, as is the scope of completing a doctoral thesis, but it is also a typical situation. Considering the other parameters of, e.g., ontological plausibility, my own interpretations of the remainder of the studies have been consistently compared against the multiple-coder coded studies, where many themes have converged. From the realist position, this would imply that i) common 'real' factors exist across different people, and that ii) this in turn means that potentially distorted and flawed interpretations of the same themes, regardless of whether they were coded by myself alone or by multiple scholars, seems more unlikely.

Finally, theoretical validity is built upon the premises of descriptive and interpretative validity and seeks to establish whether the explanations provided are robust. According to Wiltshire and Ronkainen (2021, p. 24)

...we could say that research accounts with greater ontological plausibility can empirically and practically demonstrate that (i) their observations more accurately reflect the events of the real-world (descriptive validity), (ii) their interpretations more accurately reflect the perceptions and experiences of participants (interpretive validity) and (iii) their theorizing can more coherently explain the events of the real-world and participants' experiences of them (theoretical validity).

The main function of theoretical validity is to offer a more abstract and robust explanation of the phenomenon under investigation. The explanation we put forth should ideally stand the test of time and alternative rivalry theories (Maxwell, 2012, 2017). One example of how such alternative theories are ruled out or considered further is by means of changing the conditions in which something happens—so in the thesis' case, most sports clubs have pre-dominantly worked with refugees from the countries that were central to the events in 2015, while post-socialist migration is a novel phenomenon. Explaining how, and why, reception practices are either characterized by equality, equity, and constancy, or by differentiation and variance is therefore a key facet of theoretical validity.

Ethics

Migration studies are ethically sensitive, since vulnerable peoples' situations are highlighted and subjected to the academic gaze, and can, in worst cases, be used to stigmatize certain groups (Eriksson & Helgesson, 2013). My initial intention was to write this thesis from the perspective of refugees; this goal changed gradually over the course of my PhD, and the dissertation now has a managerial perspective. This means that all participants are people who are 'staff', and hold a position of power; coaches, board members, SSC representatives and so forth. This also means that the dissertation, and all the included articles, contain no refugee respondent, and that the participants here are not the subject of questions of their health, integration, ethnic origin, and much more. The project has, however, been ethically approved by the Swedish Ethical Review Authority (DNR: 1285-3.1.1-2022) with the point of departure of including both vulnerable populations and questions of their ethnic origin, political views, and health. Specifically, studies II, V and VI are included in this ethical review, and in the preceding stages I attended ethical vetting workshops to ensure the thesis would follow sound ethical directions. Studies I and III were part of a project involving Delmos and the SSC. This project did not have the character required for ethical vetting according to the Ethics Reviews Act, since no sensitive information was collected from the participants (ethnic origin, political views, religious or philosophical affiliation, union membership, health, sex life, sexual orientation, genetic and

biometric information). Similarly, the Delphi study, since it did not include refugees or vulnerable populations, nor collected data on any of the categories that signify sensitive information, per the Swedish Ethical Review Authority did not have the character required for ethical vetting according to the Ethical Reviews Act. These matters were attended to at the ethical workshop.

At the more fine-grained level, I have considered all the basic tenets of conducting ethical academic research, including informed consent, anonymity, confidentiality, and the right to quit whenever a participant wished to do so. In addition to respecting all the basic ethical principles, I have always been careful and explicit in what I am researching during this project. This is perhaps most important when asking people about sensitive and politically-charged issues, which defines questions of migration and migrants. Accordingly, in studies IV and V, when asking about Ukrainian refugees in comparison to other refugee populations, responses have been vividly different. Some have shied away, responding quickly and in a neutral fashion, simply stating that, for instance, 'all are welcome'. To the best of my ability, I have attempted to stay in-tune with my respondents' moods and feelings, and not pushed boundaries or dug further into subjects that my gut-feeling tells me a respondent is not eager to talk about. I have respected these responses although I have, right or wrong, suspected that there is 'more to it' occasionally. Secondly, I have also taken precautions to ensure that these representatives have the opportunity to review and edit their responses. I informed all sports club representatives from studies V and VI that they were allowed to partake of the transcripts produced from their interviews and provide me with an edited version should they wish to do so. Here, only one sport representtative requested her transcript, and made minor amendments, consisting of adding more information around certain events.

Another ethical consideration has been made with regards to Study I. Study I and study III were collaborations initiated by the SSC, where the sampling procedure was largely steered by relevant SSC employees. This has already been described in the methods section in study I, and I will not re-iterate the details here. However, the way this sampling procedure commenced had ethical implications that are otherwise rare, since the sports club representatives were explicitly asked about the SSC's role in supporting the sports clubs. Accordingly, since the SSC districts nominated sports clubs they saw as being fit to the task, they had pre-existing knowledge of the potential participants. In study I, I have intentionally avoided systematically presenting the sport club representatives in a way that would allow the SSC districts to make qualified guesses. I have not presented the participants' sex, or age, nor have I explicitly stated which regional area, whether they were urban or rural, or what structural features characterized the sports clubs. I have only presented a rough, and aggregate, presentation where I describe that the majority of the sample were sport coaches, while a minority held administrative positions, and outlined the sports included in the sample. No position of any representative was connected to the sport they representted. This is therefore a weak methodological section, in favor of the ethical aspects.

There are other factors worth mentioning considering study II. Since study II contains an ethnographic element, there is a pertinent need to discuss the right to quit whenever the participant wished to do so, and of informed consent. This is a difficult debate, clearly highlighting the medicalization of ethical approval. Transferring a medical idea of ethical approval into the social sciences, particularly an ethnographic context is problematic, since it is difficult to 'control' the environment in which you are in. Study II took place in a large sports club, where it was logistically impossible to gain verbal- or written informed consent from every practitioner, especially since different practitioners partook in different sessions. It was therefore logistically impossible to gain verbal or written consent at every practice I attended from each individual practitioner. The alternative was to announce my own position in the sports club through at least two means. First, the management of this sport club was informed about and approved of my participation. Second, attempts were made to put up posters, informing people at the entrance of the project and its nature. I also made my position clear whenever engaging in interactions with practitioners in the sports clubs.

Summary of articles

Article I.

Blomqvist Mickelsson, Tony. (2022). Facilitating migrant youths' inclusion into Swedish sports clubs in disadvantaged areas. *Nordic Social Work Research*.

The first article sought to explain the factors necessary for facilitating migrant youths' inclusion into Swedish sports clubs, specifically in underserved areas. Through a collaboration with the SSC, 12 sports clubs were recruited based on their showcased ability to do so, and interviewed by means of semi-structured interviews. In this article, I have conceptualized sports clubs as community work initiatives according to Rothman's (1996) typology, and then further analyzed the factors, people, and relationships that constitute the basis for sports clubs' work with migrant youths with Bronfenbrenner's model. The main findings can be divided into four important themes: i) the sports coach holds a critical position, often steering initiatives and creating a climate where everyone should be comfortable. Considering the voluntary nature of their work, these people are ambitious, generous with their time, and driven by social justice. This is illustrated through a range of experiential themes, where participants explicitly declare this passion for justice, or make it visible through exemplifying concrete actions (e.g., "I am there seven days a week"), and later interpreted as an inferential theme (e.g., "personal commitment"). Secondly, ii) to keep the 'vigor' of the sports clubs, and improve and maintain their capacity to carry out these initiatives, a common strategy is to foster and use youth trainers who can carry on the work. By giving ownership to the youths, a sense of collective belonging (exemplifying another inferential theme) and pride can grow, which serves to both empower these youths as well as to contribute the sports club. Third, iii) to reach youths in the local community, relationships with parents are a critical factor. The segregation within these areas also entails a certain unfamiliarity with Swedish associational life, which may inhibit contact with the parents. These parents need to be met on their terms, which, in the data, seem to be grounded in the representatives' ability to form personal and authentic relationships with the parents, and earn their trust. Finally, iv) sports clubs need to engage in collaborations—these collaborations may serve different purposes, such as financial aid, personal resources to the club, or recruitment, but they are often needed in order for social inclusion initiatives to be durable. In summary, the study shows that sports clubs require holistic solutions, and that sports clubs, as part of a local community, must work in tandem with other important actors and institutions. A main argument I make in this thesis is that it is not the empirical findings that should be at the forefront; these factors have been illuminated elsewhere (see my review on sport-for-integration and refugees in Europe). It is rather the first connection made to community work that is of interest here.

Article II.

Blomqvist Mickelsson, Tony. (2022). A morphogenetic approach to sport and social inclusion: a case study of good will's reproductive power. *Sport in Society*.

Article II is a case study on a Swedish sports club that had engaged in a refugee initiative. The study took place in a Swedish sports club, and the material consisted of a three-month period of participant observation, document analysis, and five semistructured interviews with key personnel within the sports club. Importantly, this study builds on the findings from study I, where I attempt to discern these factors, conditions, and mechanisms myself, primarily through participant observation. The findings can be summarized as follows. In essence, the study shows what happens in the absence of several factors important for refugees' inclusion. The sports club had good organizational capacity, a strong membership base, good reputation for being important actors in their community, and good economy. Notably, the sport club had a strong emphasis on their philosophy and their (perceived) inclusive culture. Training fees were, initially, removed, and then heavily subsidized, equipment was handed to the refugees, and collaborations with a refugee center were initiated to enable refugees' participation. These factors make me inclined to argue that this specific case, at face-value, could be categorized as another 'extreme case' in the good sense, similar to the sample in study I. One major factor seemed to underpin the reversed outcome of what the sports club intended. Ironically, this was their inclusive culture. The culture reinforced strong ideas of volunteerism, social solidarity, and a general sport-for-all notion, and a collective attitude ('me-for-all'). The refugee initiative had been dissolved, with only one remaining factors—quitters were problematized as not willing to 'put in the work' of a 'me-for-all' attitude, engage in the sport the wrong way, and overall, as not being able, or eager to be there. In a critical realist sense, I interpreted the informants as continually reinforcing this 'good' culture and believing in the greater good of it, at the expense of a greater understanding of the refugees' perspective. While a range of measurements were taken to ensure refugees' inclusion, the sports club did not seem take into account the voices and preferences of the refugees. Main experiential themes included how the refugees were conceived of as practicing 'wrong', or not making the necessary efforts to be included. The inferential theme derived from this became 'displeased' and the dispositional theme became 'assimilation preferences'.

Article III.

Blomqvist Mickelsson, Tony. (2022). The Role of the Swedish Sports Confederation in Ensuring Sport in Socioeconomically Deprived Areas. *International Journal of Sports Policy and Politics*.

The third study explored an important part of sports clubs' work as framed from the federation's perspective. A significant factor influencing how sports clubs are able to work with underrepresented populations and in socioeconomically underserved areas, is the support they receive from their SSC district. Crucially, the SSC, and the respective districts, incentivizes, motivates, and must support sports clubs that work on social inclusion in a variety of ways. The specific research question guiding the study was: how do meso- and exo-level persons and processes within the SSC promote or hinder social policy goals of increasing access to sports in socioeconomically underserved areas? To this end, approximately 35 SSC representatives were interviewed through focus-group interviews and a conference (16 SSC representtatives attended). The results were interpreted according to the PPCT framework and illuminated a range of important factors and processes. The results show that the SSC foregrounded their practices by initiating inter-sectoral collaborations to ensure sustainable funding to clubs and that a 'principle of closeness' permeates the practices; every link in the process is locally embedded and builds upon the strength of the clubs. The sport club consultant, acting as the direct link between exo-level directives and the clubs' micro-setting becomes a key factor which individual characteristics become a decisive factor. In conclusion, the SSC works in a complex collaborative sphere in which specific individuals become central in reaching and interacting with the clubs. Importantly, the SSC adopts a bottom-up approach, recognizing the strength and resourcefulness of the locals.

Article IV.

Blomqvist Mickelsson, Tony. (2022). "Understanding Central- and Eastern European Migrants' Inclusion in Sport: A Delphi Study". *International Journal for Sport Policy and Politics*.

The fourth study was conducted before the outbreak of the events in Ukraine and was framed as an exploratory study in the context of 'Central and Eastern European' migrants' integration through sports. Chronologically, it is the first data collection that was carried out, which has implications for the findings. However, a range of findings have been corroborated by later studies. A Delphi study is built upon expert assessment about a niche topic. The topic of this study was the same as that of the other studies; only 'social inclusion' was traded for 'integration' and Ukrainian refugees were traded for CEE migrants. Although social inclusion is a contested concept, it is fair to say that 'integration' is even broader. The reason for this switch is

connected to the temporal aspects of my PhD. At the outset of this study, I went back and forth between different concepts of inclusion, integration, and acculturation. I decided to proceed with this matter empirically, and not theoretically, by letting the experts define integration. In other words, I asked what can be done to ensure CEE migrants' integration through sports, and if there are specific components to consider for CEE migrants. The sample consisted of 19 sport experts in the CEE context, including NGO representatives, politicians, and researchers. The data collection unfolded over three rounds, starting as an open-ended survey, and finishing with two rounds of the experts rating coded statements to reach consensus. The data were interpreted using the PPCT model. Integration was defined by the experts and was characterized by learning the host society's language and norms and mixing with natives. Secondly, a range of organizational and inter-personal features were agreed upon. Some of the findings included socializing atmospheres, building connections to other societal spheres through the sports clubs, and establishing trust between sports clubs and migrant communities to ease recruitment and retention. The experts also agreed that CEE migrants come from a background of organized sports; this is an enabling feature that makes inclusion into sports easier in the western European context. The experts also agreed that many CEE migrants are labor migrants, are drastically short on time for leisure, and that the transnational nature of labor migration may require different recruitment strategies. Although this was framed in light of CEE (labor) migration, the results have implications for the overall dissertation. Specifically, organized sports experience is a resource from which postsocialist migrants can draw, regardless of refugee status or labor migration-status.

Article V.

Blomqvist Mickelsson, Tony (2023). Ukrainian refugees and the European sport movement—new opportunities and challenges *European Sport Management Quarterly*.

In the fifth study, 17 Swedish VSC representatives, currently engaged with Ukrainian refugees were recruited to explore the 'new' nuances of the migratory movement and its implications for the Swedish sports movement. Semi-structured interviews were performed, and the data were again interpreted using the PPCT framework. The sport club representatives spoke up to various degrees about how Ukrainian refugees had been 'integrated' into, and through, sports club with reference to other refugee populations. Notably, some key themes are presented in this paper. First, there seems to be an influx of very sports-specific skilled youth refugees. Although it is difficult to quantify this finding, it was striking how strong this (experiential) theme emerged in the data. Informed by my review and other literature, such a theme has only been peripheral otherwise. This theme connects to my initial contemplations of overarching post-socialist systems, specifically sport, and how these regions produce a great number of skilled athletes. This finding also tapped into the next theme; namely

that many sport club representatives had the perception that Ukrainian refugees understood organized sports better in comparison to other refugee populations. These findings translated into inferential themes on transferable capitals, and later into the dispositional theme of 'cultural similarity' and 'sport's logic'. However, in some extreme cases, some sport club representatives also explained that they and the Ukrainian refugees had issues with discrepant ideas about youth sports. In essence, this could be traced to a way of exerting sport in Ukraine within a post-socialist system, emphasizing early specialization that was incompatible with the sport club's understanding of the ratified Children's Convention by the UN.

Article VI.

Blomqvist Mickelsson, T (2023). Swedish sports clubs reception of Ukrainian refugees: 'deservingness' and 'promising victimhood'. *European Journal of Social Work*.

The sixth and final article concerns the emerging discourse on how Ukrainian refugees' treatment highlights how western societies construct 'hierarchies of victims'. Building on the fifth article's material and four added semi-structured interviews with sports club representatives and federation employees, I here explore the Swedish sports movement's reception of Ukrainian refugees in comparison other refugee populations. Inspired by perspectives on 'deservingness' and 'promising victimhood', I demonstrate two themes. The sports club representatives, to various degrees and in various ways, talk about Ukrainian refugees as, indeed, different compared to other refugee populations. Specifically, a share of the participants explicitly express how Ukrainian refugees are perceived to be culturally and economically better 'performers'. What this means is that they are perceived to share Swedish values (e.g., work ethic), and are perceived as willing to contribute to Swedish society, whereas other refugee groups are depicted as lazy and culturally deviant. Secondly, the perception of Russia as a threat to the whole of Europe makes respondents sympathize to a greater extent with Ukrainian refugees. This sympathy further increases when representatives consider Ukrainian refugees' vulnerability in demographic characteristics: most are women and children. These ideas needs to be challenged to not further facilitate inequalities in refugees' reception.

Discussion

I will structure this discussion into three main segments. In the first, I sew together the findings across these studies into two models/figures that should be seen as complimentary to each other. Here, I discuss the evaluation perspective juxtaposed with the critical concept of deservingness. In the second part, I discuss my suggestion of conceptualizing the Swedish sports movement as an actor within Nordic community work. The third, and final, section will center on further prospects and offer a more critical perspective on the thesis, its framing, and the use of 'evidence' based rhetoric.

Evaluation, socioecological models, and deservingness

One challenge with utilizing socioecological models is that the data one retrieves are of broad character and span multiple levels. The data thus becomes a broad and comprehensive material that needs to be conveyed in a clear and concise manner, according to academic standards. The use of system theories is in these regards challenging, and because of the aforementioned, the analysis itself may become so comprehensive and broad that the final analysis is either self-fulfilling or lacking in analytical depth (e.g., counting barriers at several levels).

Here, I hope to have avoided such a broad analysis by consistently tying the analysis into the concept of proximal processes, and by showing how these processes are conditioned by the overarching levels in the system. Specifically, as shown in study I, the coaches have the perhaps most profound responsibility in constructing an inclusive milieu, ensuring that the sports club is equipped to address social issues in their areas and that the contact with the target group is of satisfactory quality. It is then the latter that is the concrete proximal process. This is consistent with a range of other works on coaches' importance (e.g., Haudenhuyse et al., 2014; Haudenhuyse et al., 2012; Schaillée et al., 2021; Van der Veken et al., 2022) and is no novel finding in and of itself. A range of contextual conditions seemingly impact how well the coach and the sports club succeeds in including migrant (youths). As shown in the Delphi study, a total of 36 items were considered important—I will not cover them all in here. Instead, in an attempt to stake out a clear picture of some of the essential components, I encourage the reader to interpret Figure 3. This is by no means a complete picture of all the factors within the migrant youth's complex ecological system, but it can serve as a rough roadmap.

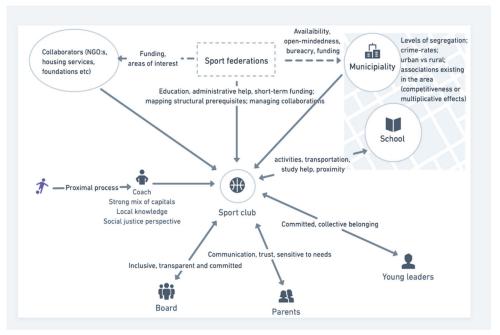


Figure 3. A map of the migrant youth-coach relationship in the wider ecology

Two interrelated things are worthwhile considering here: resources of various kinds, and how these factors ultimately affect the process between the migrant youth and the coach. While sports clubs may state that they do not need funding or resources to be an 'open and inclusive' arena, study I in particular shows that if the ambition is to be a 'real' force in the community, resources are likely to be a crucial component. This is not to say that resources will compensate for lacking awareness of other peoples' perspectives, as shown in study II. Regardless, initiating collaborations with external stakeholders and the municipality have been critical components, boosting the sports clubs' organizational capacity and resilience. With regards to youth leaders, they have a dual mission: be a source of organizational capacity, and a vehicle for recruiting fellow peers (Blomqvist Mickelsson, accepted). These are sentiments echoed in study II as well, but from the federation perspective; sports clubs will need to go beyond the support that SSC can offer, and be creative. Here, the SSC can act as a third-party 'brokerage' organization (Jones et al., 2017), setting up collaborations and ensuring that sport-based social interventions commence on good conditions. This is for instance reflected in study II, where SSC representatives might probe the terrain with different municipalities to understand how inclined they are to cooperate.

While I am here discussing organizational logistics, resources, and capacity that can emanate from different sources, these are all, eventually, tied to how the coach (or any other sport club representative) reaches out, and interacts, with migrant youths (i.e., the proximal process). In other words, these are factors occurring and interacting in a more distal system, but they will inevitably impact the migrant youth—

coach relationship. We might engage in some critical realist-retroductive thinking to lay out the land (Archer, 1995; Collier, 1994). This way of thinking in this context would appeal to a question such as: in a Swedish voluntary sports club, located in an underserved area, what are the necessary conditions and mechanisms when considering including migrant youths?

Based on what we know of the Swedish sports climate, 'idrottssvaga områden' and recruiting and retaining migrant youths, we know that sports clubs potentially need to construct new ways of recruiting and engage with multiple significant people and institutions to do so. They might also need to create additional activities, tailor-made for a specific group (e.g., girls and women). Since the sample is voluntary sports clubs, and not exclusively timestamped interventions, the sports clubs also have their regular day-to-day business that likely remains a major source of their financial survival. To create new pathways for recruitment, re-configure conventional logics, potentially create new attractive activities, while simultaneously meeting the needs of parents and other significant individuals, there is something to be said about resources. If a coach is expected to—on his free time—engage in all of the above, we could reasonably expect that this individual would need: i) a genuine interest in social justice; ii) time to engage with such matters; iii) the resources necessary, both materially, financially, and knowledge-wise; and iv) support, or at least a lack of resistance, from fellow colleagues in the sport club.

Taking the reverse argument—when one or several of these components are flawed, the contact and relationship with the intended target group risks being of poor quality. When, for instance, sports clubs are lacking in their awareness, and refugees are expected to assimilate into a strong sport culture, they risk becoming implicitly excluded (Mickelsson, 2022). Similarly, if the intentions are disingenuous, it rarely matters how many resources a sports club has; the outcome is more likely to be exclusionary in character (Dowling, 2020). As can be discerned in study I, if coaches have the interest, but are lacking in their capital, networks, and their resources overall, they are not likely to cope with the additional side mission of including 'hard-to-reach' populations. In short, the quality of the proximal process between the coach and migrant youth risks becoming of poor quality if a coach is close to burnout or does not have the time to adequately develop healthy relationships. A final mention here is that I do not claim that all of these components need to co-exist in order for sport interventions to be successful, but they do have synergistic effects.

While the above section is concerned with sports and inclusion from a more general migration and area perspective, I will now turn to how we can understand Ukrainian refugees' (studies IV, V and VI) entrance into Swedish sports. As I have stated within the Theory section, I have in some sense appropriated a concept with clear roots in intersectionality and put it into an evaluation framework. Most realist evaluation research is concerned with how the program components interact or interfere with some form of outcome but have empirically remained rather detached from their context. Embedding deservingness into an evaluation framework is

equivalent to De Souza's (2013, 2022) idea that social programs need to be understood in more depth in relation to their context. My line of argument here is that these sports interventions do not emerge as blank papers where resources, significant individuals and collaborations can be approached without considering the social, political, and cultural context. Quite the opposite; all these sports interventions and initiatives are deployed within a highly sensitive climate, where migration rhetoric is changing, and where conceptions outside of sports are highly likely to impact refugee reception both inside and outside sports.

We could say that Figure 3 is quite generic in the sense that it not particularly sensitive to such a context. Another critical component is that is does not take into account the characteristics of the target population, besides rough categories such as 'migrant' and 'youth'. I will return to this in a moment. When considering what the context is here in De Souza's (2013, 2022) and Archer's (1995) sense, I am not exclusively talking about a local, or even national, context. Instead, what I am referring to here is the emergent discourse on how refugees are being treated differently based on cultural, ethnic, social, and political factors. In addition, I do not view these as 'only' discourses; instead, the discourses presumably contribute to Ukrainian refugees' differential treatment. Regardless, this is a phenomenon we see in a western setting, where western societies across multiple levels respond to, and frame, Ukrainian refugees as more deserving of our protection and of the nation's benefits (Bajaj & Stanford, 2022; Benoit et al., 2022; De Coninck, 2022; Gallant, 2022; Pepinsky et al., 2022; Viczko & Matsumoto, 2022). This is the context in which all our interventions, be they sports-based or not, take place, and this factor will need to be explored and accounted for. In returning to a visualized format, I, in a less advanced way compared to Figure 3, have constructed the Ukrainian refugee as the middle of the conventional socioecological circles, encapsulated within the other ecological layers. This is an attempt to situate the Ukrainian migrant within the possible contextual factors that will impede and facilitate the relevant interactions and processes. See Figure 4 below.

It is primarily the three inner circles, and the fifth, that are empirically highlighted in the articles, but it bears mentioning that the material also consists of narratives on media's role in magnifying the fear of Russia and enhancing sympathy for Ukrainian refugees. The model carves out the most distinctive features, and is, again, a simplified model of 'reality'. Much of the material in studies V and VI is represented in the innermost circle (the Ukrainian (primarily) youth), the sports club, and Study VI also contains data from a few $(n\ 3)$ sports federation representatives on their engagement with Ukrainian refugees. When we consider Figure 4 in relation to Figure 3, my intention is to give a clearer picture of: i) who the migrant youth is; ii) how the sports clubs respond and react to these characteristics; and iii) how this is connected to the broader context, discourses, and perceptions in which the sporting intervention takes place. It is a critical interrogation of these practices while simultaneously trying to understand how these perceptions and receptions translate into practices. As for the first, who the

individual is has significant implications for the proximal process. I will here sketch out these characteristics in relation to the sports clubs in studies V and VI.

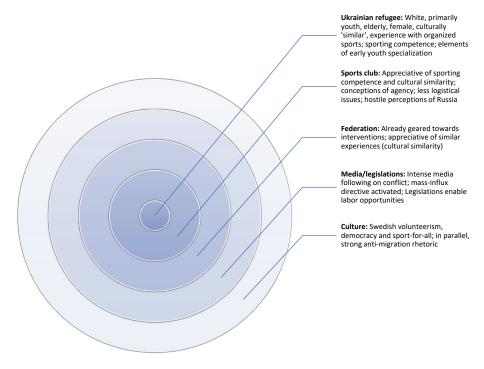


Figure 4. The Ukrainian refugee in the Swedish sports system

In comparison to study I where 12 'good' cases were sampled, the sample of sports clubs with the Ukrainian refugees followed no such logic. For instance, a range of the sports clubs had never been involved with refugee reception prior to the current conflict in Ukraine (almost all the gymnastics clubs). Some of them did, in fact, make only minor reconfigurations to accommodate the Ukrainian youths, and still expressed that they thought their initiative was functioning very well. The most common denominator in these sports clubs were that: i) their Ukrainian youths had a sports habitus that was equivalent, or more intense;, compared to Swedish youths; and ii) lacking sporting skills were of no concern, which we have seen can be an issue elsewhere (Dukic et al., 2017; Hertting & Karlefors, 2021; McDonald et al., 2019; Wagnsson et al., 2019). Similarly, not a single representative raised the issue about not understanding organizational sports; quite on the contrary. Logistical issues, such as not arriving on time, not understanding the rules of the game, or how a common practice was configured were not discovered in the material. Again, these are factors that coaches in Sweden have reacted to, and problematized to a lengthy extent (Carlman et al., 2020; Carlman & Vikström, 2018; Reyes, 2007). In short, some of these organizations therefore did very little to reconfigure their sports clubs—this

would seem contradictory to what I have written above, about the extensive work that sports clubs do.

They key explanation I find suitable here is that we have a clear expression of how the proximal process is altered based on the individual's characteristics and capacity in relation to the sport club's characteristics and logics. The competitive sport club was happy to receive a competitive Ukrainian youth, and the 'normal' club was happy to receive moderately-skilled Ukrainian youths who could partake easily and not 'disturb' the common practice of the sports club. In that sense, many of the sports clubs followed a rather conventional sport logic (Skille, 2011), but since the Ukrainian youths 'fit' that logic, their inclusion into the sports clubs was met without friction. This is a practical assessment; when we consider a more critical stance, we also see that, at least a subset of the participants are already more pre-disposed to help Ukrainian refugees in comparison other refugee populations. It is therefore not *only* a matter of 'cultural similarity', but also a perception of Ukrainian refugees as more deserving; a perception that will make people more inclined to construct extra sessions, engage with outreach activity, and be a welcoming host.

Another route might be taken to illustrate how specific configurations in the youths' meso-system can impact the proximal process, such as the contacts and relationship between coaches and the youths' parents. The parental aspect is not explored in-depth in the articles presented here, but still holds value as an analytical illustration. For instance, ethnic minority youth girls, who are often Muslim, are the most underrepresented population in sports (Strandbu et al., 2019; Walseth, 2006b, 2008, 2015a, 2015b; Walseth & Strandbu, 2014); their absence is often problematized by trainers (Ekholm et al., 2019); and there are, seemingly, many misperceptions and actions that need to be taken to proper facilitate sporting opportunities for this group (e.g., Ahmad et al., 2020). As seen in study I and elsewhere (e.g., Stefansen et al., 2018; Strandbu, 2005), a major factor here is parents—they can enable or prevent sporting participation by exercising their ideas and thoughts, but they can also be approached in several ways. A deformalized way of approaching parents is highlighted in study I (also, see Gjesdal & Hedenborg, 2021) and is connected to ideas on gender and sporting culture. At the backdrop of these findings that pertain to non-Ukrainian youth girls, we must consider Ukrainian parents. The underrepresentation and (cultural) barriers regarding girls' participation in sports is not an existing theme in the material; the gymnastics clubs are all populated by almost exclusively Ukrainian youth girls for instance, and no critique is leveraged against parental (non)involvement. When we consider the emphasis on contact, and accommodation for parents (study I), this task seems heavily reduced in the context of Ukrainian youths and parents. In reality, this would mean fewer logistical issues, more time, and less strained sports clubs, with more time dedicated towards nurturing a healthy relationship with the youth itself. This is but one theme that shows how factors interact across levels, and affect important interactions in the youths' vicinity.

Moreover, I see it fit to discuss the main theme that, unfortunately, underpins Ukrainian refugees' inclusion: cultural similarity. The sports movement has, consistently, been oriented towards spreading the sport-for-all message, and this message has turned into an intended transformative journey where internal structures are scrutinized in favor of individuals' health-related behavior. Regardless of the scope of spreading sports (e.g., crime prevention, health, integration), my interpretation is that having reasonable opportunities to access sports is good in and of itself. It is a basic right that might lead to other developmental outcomes. The question is, what happens with this transformative journey when the transformation may not be conceived of as necessary, as was the case in, for instance, 2015? At the federation level, we could suspect that this transformative journey will, officially, continue as usual¹. We know, however, that there is a gap between policy-making at the federation level, and policy-implementing at the grassroots level in sports (Skille, 2015; Stenling & Fahlén, 2016a). While sports clubs might state that everybody is welcome, we have research showing that everyone is not equally welcome (Agergaard et al., 2022; Dowling, 2020; Simonsen & Ryom, 2021). The sports clubs will have the final say in this, and given that they are not under public scrutiny, they are more likely to make decisions that aligns with narratives on cultural similarity; especially if it benefits their organization.

Finally, I will make a brief theoretical comment. From a realist perspective, I also believe the embedding of the PPCT framework offers detailed and straightforward ways of handling 'mechanisms' or 'processes' that the conventional CMO configureations seem to struggle with (Lemire et al., 2020). Reconnecting to what Haudenhuyse et al. (2020) initially refers to as theoretical stagnation within an academic sports silo, a number of works have elucidated how Bronfenbrenner is consistently mis-specified, and that the mature version of his model is often ignored (DiSanti & Erickson, 2021; Eriksson et al., 2018; Tudge et al., 2009, 2016). Bronfenbrenner's later versions are rarely utilized within this thesis' topic, or even adjacent topics (for exceptions, see Högman, 2021; Truskewycz et al., 2022). In this thesis, I do not claim to present a blueprint of a PPCT model accounting for all the components and pre-requisites such a model would entail, which is a debate on its own (Merçon-Vargas et al., 2020; Navarro et al., 2022; Siraj & Huang, 2020; Xia et al., 2020). I do, however, claim to raise theoretical awareness, and urge both sport-for-development researchers and social work researchers to clearly examine their use of Bronfenbrenner, and if needed, as I saw fit in this thesis, to modify and take inspiration from the PPCT model. In my ongoing and forthcoming works, I am attempting to show how 'real' realist evaluators may use Bronfenbrenner when the CMO configuration begins to slip.

¹ Perhaps especially so since the SSC has not managed to obtain extra funding from the state for accommodating Ukrainian refugees specifically (at the time of this writing)

Mind the gap—connecting sports to the community work literature

Positioning sports clubs as a viable community work actor is, for me, both a novel and redundant endeavor mostly tied the audience to which I am speaking, which is directly tied to one of my first points. One of the longstanding, and recent, calls for sport-for-development researchers have been to connect to adjacent literatures and to engage in disciplinary boundary-spanning (Coalter, 2013; Haudenhuyse et al., 2020; Lawson, 2005). These calls can be divided into two main key concerns: i) the sports field needs to engage with actors beyond themselves to become a proper social force; and ii) theoretical and conceptual stagnation may occur when sports researchers keep feeding the 'inner-circle' of sport research while remaining detached from how theories are applied, and developed in response, to mainstream issues (Haudenhuyse et al., 2020).

As for the first: Lawson (2005) was quick to notice that one of the most significant challenges that sports movements will face in their pursuit of becoming a reliable community actor and welfare provider in general, is to engage with both authorities and other important collaborators. We can say that Lawson's prediction aged well, in particular in the Swedish context; sports clubs, federations, and many sports actors in between who are taking an active role in welfare provision are currently occupied with earning the grace of local and national authorities, as well as initiating local collaborations. This is no secret to the sports researcher, but what Haudenhuyse et al. (2020), in the context of sport-for-development, pinpoint nicely is this:

...research projects are conceptualized and managed in the offices and hallways of Sport, Health, and Kinesiology university departments. For the most part, we publish our work in peer-reviewed sport journals wherein journal scope is decided by editorial boards (sometimes almost) entirely made up by sport scientists, and where double-blind peer-reviews are performed by sport scholars. When PhD examination committees are formed, we often invite colleagues from our own fields, thus perpetuating institutional and disciplinary boundaries. And for the most part, we present our work at sport scientific conferences.

Having been admitted to a social work program has, in this regard, both been intellectually stimulating and draining when attempting to expand these boundaries. Echoing the above quote from Haudenhuyse et al. (2020), I initially found it difficult to convey my message and, for instance, publish in conventional social work journals (this was obviously a result of deficits in my ability as a researcher, as well). In conjunction with previous experience with the sports field, I ultimately found myself within the sport sociological and psychological field, evidenced by both the content and choice of journals (Blomqvist Mickelsson, 2020, 2021; Blomqvist Mickelsson & Stylin, 2021; Blomqvist, 2022; Mickelsson, 2022). My trajectory therefore went from being rejected from these journals, to seeking out the sports field, and then, in a later

stage of my PhD, coming back to attempting to carve out a position for my research in the conventional social work sphere.

Finding this place mainly came into being by being introduced to community work in the Nordic regions. Here, I have drawn from concepts of established social work scholars, and simultaneously witnessed and learned how 'community' has grown to be a topic of interest in the sports field (Edwards, 2015; Jones et al., 2020; Middleton et al., 2020; Spaaij et al., 2016). A key statement I make in study I is that I believe that the empirical contribution in study I is perhaps more a means to an end in the broader mission to connect sports clubs to Nordic community work literature. To this end, the choice of journal (Nordic Social Work Research) was not arbitrary either. In doing so, I hope to have attracted the attention of non-sports scholars in social work that might further inform the research on the sports movement from a community work-lens. As I have also stated in study I, my hope is that bringing together sports research with Nordic community work will serve to reinforce and strengthen each field in numerous ways. I here also want to exercise some caution and say that I am not the first social work researcher with a sports-related thesis that has attempted to connect to a wider audience. Notably, Sabbe, with colleagues in the Flemish context (Sabbe, 2019; Sabbe et al., 2020, 2021) have been successful in elaborating on how sports programs work from a community-perspective. Apart from the community perspective, I also feel the need to pay due diligence to the preceding Swedish social work researchers who have engaged in this kind of bridging between fields, such as in Ekholm and Dahlstedt's (2020) emphasis on the geographical space and use of urban geography when understanding sports-based interventions. Adding to, perhaps, specifically Sabbe et al.'s work here is my use of Rothman's typology to better understand how entire sports movements can be conceptualized as a social intervention. As Payne (2005) argues in his historical assessment of social work, by teasing out the development of social work, we understand how it transforms, and how to use the different tools we are given. By applying an intervention typology, we might more easily understand how sports in Sweden are leveraged as social work interventions.

Critical reflection and practical reflections

The PhD in its entirety is a process of constant learning, which can be difficult for both the narrow-minded as well as the curious. Unapologetically, I would like to think of myself as the latter, which has had implications for my final reflections of this thesis. A more critical perspective is apparent in the preceding discussion and in some of the articles. This is, however, not limited to how refugees are constructed as 'different' but also: i) to what extent organized sports can tackle social issues, and ii) how (organized) sports for underrepresented groups are delivered.

These are not original thoughts—Ekholm and colleagues (Ekholm, 2017a, 2017b, 2018; Ekholm & Dahlstedt, 2019, 2020b; Ekholm & Lindström Sol, 2020) and seminal

sport sociologists (e.g., Coakley, 2011; Coalter, 2013)—have consistently voiced critical voices of sport's exaggerated role when combating social issues. As Ekholm (2016, p. 136) states "...sport practices and social services are generally not equivalent", meaning that sports are ill-suited to tackle grander issues, such as segregation, crime, and unemployment, whereas social services are better positioned to deal with these issues. Similarly, in the context of refugees, Elsurd and Lalander (2022, p. 85) assert that "...civil society's authority to act is often limited to reducing harmful effects, rather than changing the outcome [...] or creating new opportunities in Sweden". I would agree with both – sports interventions are mainly complimentary. Although efforts are being made to conduct sport-for-employment interventions, notably by Coalter et al. (2020) and Commers et al. (2022), I am hesitant when I compare these interventions to the voluntary sports climate in Sweden. In short, these interventions seem generally to be so refined that the voluntary, and civil society, character of Swedish sports clubs feels alien. This also brings us back in a circular motion. If sports clubs need to be re-arranged, rather drastically, in terms of their logics and practicalities to combat larger issues, then the appeal of a strong and vibrant civil society partially fades. That is, as framed here and elsewhere, the strength of the Swedish sports movement is often conceived of as the quantity of people both participating and volunteering. This is embedded within a glorified narrative on the volunteer ideology and a collective belonging to this ideology. Indeed, unpaid "...voluntarism is said to be the driving force of Swedish sports" (Stenling, 2013, p. 502).

The first issue is that most sports clubs will likely not make this shift in logic (Stenling, 2015; Stenling & Fahlén, 2016) and are likely to quit if external funding ceases (Hertting & Karlefors, 2021; Molin, 2019). Incentivizing sports clubs through funding is often conducted in a piecemeal fashion (Blomqvist Mickelsson, 2022) and is likely not enough to make them transform into a full-blown sports-based intervention, as might be the case with Coalter et al. (2020) and Cummels et al.'s (2022) employment interventions. If they, against all odds, make the transformation, it is likely that a certain degree of professionalization occurs. A sub-finding occurring in the data, and present elsewhere, as well (e.g., Nowy et al., 2020), has been that *paid* employees in sports clubs correlate with their engagement with social issues, and how well-functioning the sports club is. The glorified voluntary aura then gradually fades, and may perhaps quickly transcend into Ekholm's (2017a) much more critical assessment of how individuals seize moments to become entrepreneurial and semi-professional welfare-providers in an emerging sport-for-welfare- and social problems industry (Hartmann, 2001).

Second, the domination and monopoly of organized sports have serious implications for funding structures and might impose forced goals that may not necessarily align with the target group's actual preferences and wishes. This is not an alien thought within the sports movement; spontaneous and drive-in sports were, for instance, launched by authorities to accommodate diverse preferences (Stenling, 2013, 2014, 2015). This sort of 'informal' sports participation is also evident elsewhere

(Alemu et al., 2021; Jeanes et al., 2019). Notwithstanding that such activities have been critiqued for reproducing participation patterns (Fahlén & Karp, 2010; Fahlén, 2017; Högman, 2021; Stenling, 2015), a main goal of these activities in the Swedish context has consistently been to bridge people into the organized sports format. A fundamental reason behind this end-goal is most likely to drive up participation statistics and serve as evidence when further advocating for sport's social role in Swedish society.

This leads to the next question of advocacy on behalf of the SSC. In a range of articles, Stenling and Sam question whether the SSC's increasingly intense advocacy benefits the sports clubs. In one article, the authors conclude that it is dubious whether advocacy is conducted as a way to represent the sports clubs' genuine interests (Stenling & Sam, 2020). Instead, advocacy is based on the understanding of central SSC documents, and it becomes at times difficult to disentangle what is being done to further ensure the current power position of the SSC, and what is being done to benefit sports clubs. Per this notion, other authors have argued that sport-for-all is incompatible with the competitive logic that is inherently ingrained within the current structure of the Nordic sports movements (Skille, 2011). According to Skille (2011), achieving sport-for-all is not about launching isolated and temporally-limited social interventions, but to restructure initiative so that associations partake directly from state subsidiaries. In relation to Ukrainian refugees, there is also a possibility that if Ukrainian refugees indeed do integrate more easily into Swedish sports because of 'cultural similarities', this could be used to reinforce the status quo of the current structure. The danger in this would be to implicitly argue for individual adaptation in favor of structural transformation—which inevitably would disfavor other refugee groups without the same pre-existing experiences with organized sports.

Limitations

Some limitations merit mentioning. First, the research I have conducted here, and the data I have collected, has been done prior to and at the very beginning of the conflict in Ukraine. Accordingly, this is a rather 'shaky' and dynamic context. The western response to this conflict, as De Coninck (2022) pointed out early on, is overwhelmingly positive. This is not to say that these perceptions and receptions will remain static in their content and intentions over time. For example, more recent work has looked at how anti-Ukrainian attitudes are shaped in Poland (Nowak et al., 2023). How these things potentially change is beyond the empirical material I have gathered, meaning a longitudinal perspective is missing here.

Secondly, what is also missing from the empirical material is the voices of refugees. This is a limitation that is critical to highlight, since a salient perspective emanating from my results, and elsewhere, is that it is important to avoid a 'one-size-fits-all' approach in the sport-for-integration research (Agergaard, 2018). It should be clear then that the Ukrainian youths themselves could have provided perhaps the most

valuable information in this regard. This is also important to recognize with respect to the community work perspective I have adopted here; a bottom-up process is needed with respect to the local sports clubs, but it is even more critical with respect to the target population that the sports clubs are supposed to serve.

Relatedly, and thirdly, the vagueness of categorizing migrants into a 'CEE' category, with reference to study IV, must be mentioned. I recognize that the CEE region is highly diverse, and that the trajectories and histories of the countries within the CEE region differ from one another. This limitation also connects to the timeline of the dissertation, where the scope of Ukrainian refugees came, in effect, late. I have here attempted to construct the thesis in two stages: one generic pre-understanding of sports clubs' work with primarily migrant youths; and then to proceed with the case of Ukrainian refugees more specifically. Had this dissertation commenced with only Ukrainian refugees as its target population, the results would have been more rich and potentially less preliminary.

A final limitation I will address here is methodological. Although the thesis is framed within a mixed-methods framework, the quantitative part is subordinate to the qualitative part. Statistical analyses could have shed light on, for example, how many sports clubs applied for funding in 2015 from different sports federations, compared to the current events, thus giving us an (nationally representative) idea of how the interest has potentially shifted. These are all flaws that should be addressed in further research.

Conclusions

In this dissertation, I sought to understand factors necessary to consider when including underrepresented groups in Swedish sports clubs, and more specifically, to explore whether Ukrainian refugees pose unique challenges and opportunities in this regard for Swedish sports clubs. Understanding Swedish sports clubs' role as welfare providers, and as community actors, requires a thorough understanding of their preconditions, the milieu in which these sports clubs work, and who they attempt to address. This complex and broad web of factors points to the need to think of the subject matter from a system perspective. Moreover, my contribution here to the case of Ukrainian refugees' treatment in sports clubs is the tip of an emerging iceberg of empirical research that, insofar, unequivocally shows that reception practices, perceptions, and general attitudes favor Ukrainian refugees in several areas. This is a finding that warrants caution. What this means from the point of view of social work is that the profession needs to be vigilant about the implications of such treatment for other refugee groups. Especially problematic in this context is that welfare provision is increasingly outsourced to civil society actors, such as the sports movement. Although the sports movement's ambition is honorable, it is also problematic in the sense that potentially unqualified social work is carried out. Here, the sports federations and the SSC will need to continue their educational work with sports clubs in

such matters, but also to scrutinize themselves. These differing perceptions of different refugee groups likely exists within the sports federations, just like it exists in other societal spheres. That is, the same introspective examination that emanated from previous 'refugee crises' might be needed here, as well.

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Swedish sport is characterized by the 'sport-for-all' idea, proclaiming that everyone should be able to access, and enjoy, the benefits of sports. This thesis explores the Swedish sports movement's work with underrepresented populations, and in underserved areas, with the idea that Swedish sports clubs nowadays can be thought of as community work. In the latter part, the thesis looks at the case of Ukrainian refugees specifically, and sports clubs' perceptions of including Ukrainian refugees.

The results show that sports clubs in Sweden need to adopt holistic strategies, acquire different types of capitals, and work systematically and with consistency to be inclusive structures that can benefit the wider community. When sports clubs work with Ukrainian refugees, novel findings emerge – sports clubs are overwhelmingly positive to the inclusion of Ukrainian refugees, often with reference to the sporting competence and knowledge of organized sports that Ukrainians bring with them. However, a range of representatives also construct Ukrainians as more 'deserving' vis-à-vis other refugee groups based on ideas of culture, ethnicity, and security. This threatens the 'sport-for-all' idea.

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