Inclusion of Outsiders Through Sport

Authors' contribution:
A) conception and design of the study
B) acquisition of data
C) analysis and interpretation of data
D) manuscript preparation
E) obtaining funding

Michael Fehsenfeld

University of Southern Denmark, Denmark

ABSTRACT

Social work strategy is increasingly applying sports and physical activity programs as a vehicle for the social inclusion of outsiders. The underlying assumption is that interactions between diverse social groups generate social capital, which can potentially function as a social lever for socially disadvantaged groups. Knowledge about how and when this levering process occurs is, however, insufficient. The generation and acquisition of social capital requires adequate qualities in the relationship between social entities. Hence, meticulous research is essential to expound on the mechanisms and circumstances under which the socially disadvantaged can benefit from social capital generated through sports and physical activity. The article is primarily based on qualitative interviews with different groups of socially disadvantaged people. The interviews were conducted as part of a large-scale investigation of participation in sports in socially deprived neighborhoods. Subsequently, the findings from the qualitative interviews were triangulated with findings from an assessment of documentation and evaluation reports covering about 200 projects, and findings from a scientific literature review. The findings suggest that strategies aiming at social inclusion through sports and physical activities need to take social context into consideration.

KEYWORDS

inclusion, sport, socially disadvantaged

Introduction

Most research concerning the socially disadvantaged and participation in sports and physical activity is based on quantitative research methods, demonstrating a significant social inequality in this area. Substantial evidence confirms that socially disadvantaged groups do not participate in sports and physical activity to the same extent as the average level of participation among the general population (Pedersen, Holst, Davidsen & Juel, 2012).

This body of knowledge has called for comprehensive measurements seeking to increase the participation of the socially disadvantaged. Two lines of argument substantiate this endeavor: the health argument and the social inclusion argument. This article will address the latter and explore the opportunities for social inclusion through sports and physical activity from the perspective of disadvantaged groups.

The data presented here is derived from qualitative group interviews with individuals from very distinct socially disadvantaged groups: the mentally disordered, the homeless, former substance abusers, the unemployed, and people living in socially deprived neighborhoods. In total, 12 focus group interviews were conducted, including more than 60 individuals. The informants were recruited from nine different sports projects aimed at specific target groups, geographically dispersed across Denmark. The interviews were conducted as part of a large-scale study of the participation in sports in socially deprived neighborhoods (Ibsen et al., 2012).

Apart from the fact that the different groups are all represented in the institutionalized definitions and designations of socially disadvantaged groups, and are thus targeted for social work, these groups have very little in common. On one hand, this diversity can be seen as a weakness in the analysis of interview data, as social reality for these groups and individuals undoubtedly assumes very diverse dimensions, thereby impeding the task of generalization. On the other hand, the fact that data was collected among a population this diverse also strengthens the validity of the findings. The diverse social and geographical positions substantiate the findings in that concordant assertions crossings these gaps are more likely to have general validity than research conducted in a more narrow social setting.

The analysis of qualitative data was included in a methodological triangulation of data gathered from international scientific literature, and documentation and evaluation reports were gathered from about 200 Danish government and NGO programs applying physical activity in social work (Ibsen et al., 2012).

Sports as a social lever

It is reasonable to ask why people living disadvantaged lives should be concerned about participating in sports and physical activity when issues of greater significance are preoccupying their daily lives and restraining a substantial part of their limited resources. In the endeavor to increase the participation of socially disadvantaged groups in sports and physical activity, two arguments stand out.

First, there is the health argument. Research shows that the mortality rate amongst groups living socially disadvantaged lives is 10 years below average and of such significance that it must be dealt with (Pedersen, 2009). Second, the idea of social inclusion through sports and physical activity has gained influence in the discourse of social work targeting the most socially disadvantaged groups. Primarily the latter argument will be addressed in this article.

The "social inclusion argument" implies that participation in sports and physical activity facilitates and promotes interaction between socially differentiated groups and thereby constitutes an arena for the production of social capital. The idea of social inclusion seems to inherit a great deal from the notion of social capital delineated by the theoretical work of Robert D. Putnam, especially in its adherence to the perceived potential of bridging social capital.

Bonding in social capital is referred to as social networks between homogenous groups. The shared social norms and cooperative spirit from bonding provide social safety nets to individuals and groups to protect themselves from external threats. Bridging in social capital is referred to as social networks between socially heterogeneous groups. Bridging allows different groups to share and exchange information, ideas, and innovation, and builds consensus among groups representing diverse interests. This widens social capital by increasing the "radius of trust".

The political compliance to this line of thought was demonstrated in the fall of 2012, when the Danish minister of social affairs, after granting 20 million DKK. For the integration of adapted sports initiatives into the established sports clubs in a press release stated:

"It is important that socially disadvantaged people become part of the social club life on equal footing with everyone else. Therefore, we have to incorporate sports for socially disadvantaged people into ordinary sports. We know that sports have a positive influence on people that can help break down negative patterns and create the fundaments for a new existence" (*20 mill.*

DKK. For sports for disadvantaged groups. Danish minister of social affairs, Press release, June 21. 2012)

The Danish minister, however, is not a political maverick. The statement above follows the line from the European Commission. In a paper titled "Developing the European Dimension in Sport" from 2011, the Commission elaborates on the "White Paper on Sport" from 2007 and articulates its stance on the subject of sports and social inclusion:

"[Sport] contributes to social cohesion by breaking down social barriers (...) Sport can also be a vehicle to promote social inclusion of minorities and other vulnerable or disadvantaged groups and contribute towards better understanding among communities, including in post-conflict regions".

The argument seems to be that participating in sports and physical activity alongside socially divergent individuals and groups increases bridging social capital, and therefore it will work as a social lever for socially disadvantaged groups.

Barriers to participation

Among the general population, the typical barriers to participate in sports and physical activity are identified to be identical to the factors that, according to various government and NGO listings, define and characterize socially disadvantaged life. Deprivation in areas like social support, economy, family, school, work, etc. are identified as the largest determining factors at the individual level (Ibsen et al., 2010).

Social support, participation in social networks, and social cohesion have been shown to be decisive when it comes to participation in sports activities (Cleland et al., 2010; Ball et al., 2010; Franzini et al., 2010; Lindstrom et al., 2001). The risk of living a life in inactivity for those who do not experience social support is therefore double to the opposite (Stahl, 2001). Concurrently, social isolation and loneliness is a widespread condition if you are living a socially disadvantaged life. Furthermore, it has been shown that sports programs targeting socially disadvantaged groups have greater success when participants share common values and experience a sense of confidence and comfort (Cradock et al., 2009; Cerin & Leslie, 2008).

The theoretical foundations of the political agenda and the scientific knowledge apparently all point in the same direction: social inclusion of the socially disadvantaged through sports and physical activity is evidently a non-negotiable affair. The endeavor has good intentions, and social inclusion is obviously a cause worthy of being pursued, not least from the perspective of the socially disadvantaged. The methodological framework, however, has not been sufficiently explored and developed. This deficiency, according to Thorsager et al. (2007, p. 63) is a general propensity regarding the methodological aspect of social work in Denmark.

Cochrane (2008), in an argument for a shift away from the individual to a more social ecological focus, delimits five requirements for sustainable physical activity programs. The activities must be arranged in a way that makes them *available, accessible, affordable, acceptable,* and *appropriate* to the targeted group. The three former requirements refer to the structural organization of the activities, i.e., physical location, subscription costs, information strategy, etc. These are important in order to draw people there in the first place. The last two are vital for keeping them enrolled. This article will address issues of acceptance and appropriateness, and suggest that these are connected to the process of the construction of meaning. Acceptance and appropriateness relate to the construction of meaning in the social sense, and this process is to a great extent intersubjective. Meaning is continuously constructed and reconstructed in social interaction with others, and whether participation in a certain activity is considered acceptable or appropriate also depends on the social setting and the negotiation of meaning taking place between the agents participating in the activity. Delineates the human need to feel that we belong in the social settings we take part in:

"Belonging necessarily creates a situation of insiders and outsiders. Belonging involves becoming an insider within a group, organization or a somewhat less structured network of

people with common attributes or beliefs…Belonging is not necessarily something people actively consider except at points of crisis or when they stumble into a new experience of belonging. Nevertheless, some level of belonging is a constant requirement, providing a sense of surety in order to be oneself, and to face the risk of rejection or failure which emerges when we set out on new enterprises, meet new people or go to new places" (Crisp, 2010, p. 124).

Therefore, when integrating sports programs for the socially disadvantaged in ordinary sports clubs, it is of great significance for sustainability that questions of social cohesion, shared values, ascription of meaning by the target groups, and the sense of belonging are addressed.

The sense of belonging – or being "in the same boat"

During the interviews with very different disadvantaged groups, certain themes became very present across the groups. One of the themes touches on a distinct sensitivity to the feeling of being seen as an outsider versus being stigmatized. In several interviews, the attitude of the surrounding environment and the experience of a certain established discourse around health and sports was emphasized:

"In Denmark, there is much talk about sports and exercise and about the healthy body. It is like a status symbol when you have a healthy body and eat healthy food. So if you go exercise and do sports, you're in with the in-crowd….You're respected–You're of good repute because you make an effort" (Interviewee from a sports program for socially disadvantaged people, Odense).

The quote above expresses a sensitive concern about being considered an outsider. The quote also displays that the health discourse and the increasing public attention to desirable and non-desirable lifestyles are not unknown to socially disadvantaged groups. Very often, there is awareness about the risks connected to living inactive lives, eating unhealthy food, substance abuse, etc., resulting in guilt about not being able to meet the requirements.

Simultaneously there is, on the one hand, a desire to belong to the "in-crowd," and on the other hand, a feeling that the effort required to be considered an "insider" is insuperable. It is not necessarily participating in physical activity itself that seems unfeasible, but rather the general lack of resources connected to many lives of the socially disadvantaged. Low participation in sports and physical activity among socially disadvantaged groups is therefore not to be understood as an expression of reluctance, but rather as a consequence of the necessity to prioritize where resources are most needed.

For example, a young woman from a sports program for former substance abusers in Copenhagen *expressed her experience with sports participation in an interview by saying:*

"It [sports] is not something I grew up with. There wasn't any time for this–it was all about surviving. Sport is a luxury that I really appreciate today".

In principal, the different groups of socially disadvantaged people accept the notion of sports as an activity that does well for the individual. To a large extent, accepting and wishing to participate in some kind of physical activity, the interviewees often mentioned the social framework as an important factor that potentially could make them abstain from participation.

Discussing participation in ordinary sports clubs versus sports programs for specific target groups (i.e., former substance abusers, the homeless, the mentally disordered, etc.) exposed a perception of participation in the ordinary sports clubs as too demanding. This perception was not referring to the level of physical performance, but rather the social and mental performance. Some interviewees had had experiences with participating in ordinary sports clubs where they felt an unspoken pressure from other participants that made them perform beyond their means and, in the end, quit the activity:

"I don't think I would have started doing sports again if it wasn't for this project. I wouldn't be able to join an ordinary club or a gym. I'm not geared for it(…).I couldn't stand it(…).I need room for being slack and in a bad mood. A room where focus is on well-being rather than

performance. I find that extremely important because this performance thing is exactly what I need not to do. That's my problem, I've had to perform way too much, and that's why I've been taking drugs. I need to focus on well-being and that it's possible to come totally sad and depressed and just make a few exercises. Here we don't have to do the same or at the same pace. The atmosphere is really comfortable, and it's allowed to say: 'Damn it, yesterday I had a wild craving for drugs' or something like that. It's like within these four walls, right?" (Interviewee from a sports program for former substance abusers, Copenhagen).

"It was an enormous pressure. It is definitely the most massive pressure that I've ever experienced. It wasn't like I found it funny or exciting going to soccer, and I was really nervous every time I had to go there. It was because of the jargon(…).The tone was even rougher than I'm used to. On the other hand, I was happy when I got home and had survived and it went well. Usually it went well, but it was a massive pressure each time. Maybe I could have gotten used to it if I had stuck to it" (Interviewee from a sports program for the mentally disordered, Vejle).

As displayed in these quotes, the interviewees perceive a demand for performance in the ordinary sports clubs that they are not able to meet. The perceived demands are expressed not only as being linked to physical performance, but just also to social performance. The often unsaid codes of conduct seem to be trammels of social conventions for these individuals.

The distance between the social competencies of the agent, bodily embedded in habitus, and the social capital at stake in the field determines the perception of belonging – or the opposite – to the field in question. Hence, not being able to meet the social requirements in a certain field leaves the agent with a sense of not belonging. And conversely, when agents have a sublime sense of the social rules and hence do not perceive the performance as an effort, it is because habitus as the embodiment of the social feel at home in the field that has given rise to it (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1996, p. 113). When agents do not perceive social interaction as performing or making an effort, when we feel like fish in the water, it is because habitus and the objective social structures of the field are in concordance.

Several of the interviewees expressed confidence in their physical ability to manage participation in an ordinary sports club. Several are, or have been, simultaneously active in sports programs with specific target groups and ordinary sports clubs. Across the differences in social conditions related to the different socially disadvantaged groups, the uniformity in the experience of an alienating effect of social conventions in ordinary sports clubs that make the interviewees feel that they don't belong is striking:

"On the national soccer team for homeless people they are all very open. It might be that they have experienced a harder life than many others, but when they are in the field playing, they are very open. In the running club they are much more reserved, and I don't really have contact with any of them, and I don't talk with anyone in the club. So I'm all by myself, only focused on myself"(Interviewee from sports program for homeless, Copenhagen).

"Well, right now I feel that I could join other clubs. Sportswise that is. But I would never be able to open up in the same way to the people going there. And that's why it's really important that projects like this one continue" (Interviewee from sports program for mentally disordered, Sønderborg).

"Here you can just be you. You don't need to put up a façade like you do many other places in society. Just come as you are. We all know about these problems in one form or the other….Well, I could join another club, but it would take some mental surplus first" (Interviewee from sports program for social disadvantaged people, Odense).

In project evaluations and scientific literature, positive assessments of the social environment are described as a significant precondition for sustained participation in sports and physical activity. However, social structures are often correlated with structures of a more functional character like availability, accessibility, and affordability that can easily be adjusted. This understanding of social cohesion presents the

social as something that renders the activity acceptable because the participants get *"something to talk about as well as an opportunity to talk"* (Carless & Douglas, 2008, p. 150).

In this research, mutual life experiences and a sense of belonging seem much more essential for sustained participation in sports and physical activity. The social issue goes beyond the functional and physical as a mere motivational factor. Likewise, in a qualitative study of motivation for exercise among the mentally disordered, it is described how social relations, more than being of motivational character, were to be understood in connection with the ascription of meaning by the individuals. Soundy et al. (2007) conclude that socially comfortable relationships were a requirement for the mentally disordered to participate in sports and physical activity because:

"the development of trust was seen as a major difference between their service and a typical mainstream gym facility" (p. 502).

This perspective allows for an expanded and profound understanding of social comfort and trust, which does not essentially reduce these elements to the level of simple coziness or having the opportunity to spontaneously talk to someone. Social comfort and trust, in this context, are about shared experience horizons, pre-understandings, and a common understanding of life circumstances with the socially disadvantaged.

The type of social cohesion that is articulated in the interviews affirm that some degree of shared values and common experience are fundamental to the experience of social comfort, and that the experience of social comfort is a prerequisite to the sense of belonging. The social comfort given expression here entails a certain view of the world, certain ways of navigating the world, and a certain point from where one contemplates the world and from where the production of meaning takes place. It is expressed through specific articulation, gesticulation, behavior, and knowledge about how to behave in certain social settings – otherwise known as the habitus.

It is, in a terminology borrowed from Bourdieu, thoroughly embodied distinctions like these in which habitus is a marker of culture and diversity in culture, thereby being determinant of the sense of belonging. In the focus group interviews, there was a clear sensation of these distinctions among the interviewees, and across the different groups the need for a sense of belonging was emphasized. One interviewee from a sports program for the socially disadvantaged in Odense stated that:

"Somehow you feel that you're in the same boat. Here we all know that we, one way or the other, are socially disadvantaged",

while another interviewee agreed, saying:

"Yes. You don't feel all alone in the world when you're in this group".

An interviewee from a sports program for the mentally disordered in Copenhagen echoed similar sentiments by expressing that "You know, it's something special, some kind of tie between people who are mentally vulnerable…and I think it is that which is good about this place." Likewise, an interviewee from a sports program for the mentally disordered in Soenderborg said the following:

But we are all in the same boat here, and there isn't much to be afraid of when you know that the others also suffer from the same. It is much easier to pass that threshold and get out of [your own] home.

An interview with two members of a sports project from a deprived neighborhood in Horsens went as follows:

"Interviewer: What's the difference between playing here in this sports project and in a regular soccer club?
M: You have friends here.
H: You know everyone around here, and when you go here you play with your friends, and when you play in the club you're all alone".

In addition, an interviewee from a sports program for former substance abusers expressed the following on the topic:

"When you come here, you share some life experiences. You support each other and you see how one of the others gets better after a few weeks. And when he can get better, then I can get better too. We support each other and have a nice time together. That is very important, and like she said, here you can talk about things you have done, your background. You can't do that in an ordinary gym. They wouldn't understand what you're talking about, and they would say: 'You're just an old junkie, we don't want to be bothered listening to you.' But we do bother, because we know about it, you see".

The quotes above are from interviews conducted in geographically widespread settings and with interviewees that are designated as being socially disadvantaged on the basis of absolutely incomparable backgrounds. In this light, it is noteworthy how similar, almost identical, the articulation of the experiences are expressed.

First, with the importance being on the social performances, rather than the physical performances, the experience seems insurmountable because the participants feel like strangers, not knowing the conventional social codes.

Second, there is a sense of social cohesion and connectedness with other participants in the sports programs with specific target groups. The body of equivalent statements points in a direction where social cohesion is based on a shared set of basic life experiences and, consequently, a sense of connectedness that cannot be reduced to participants having the opportunity to talk and having something in common to talk about. It is a feeling of connectedness that goes beyond a functional or practical social connection, and surmounts the personal experiences of being outsiders by providing the participants with a sense of belonging.

The building of bridging social capital by increasing the "radius of trust" in regular sports clubs does not seem to be an opportunity in the present situation. Instead, they seek comfort in the shared social norms and cooperative spirit from bonding social capital that provide them with social safety and a feeling of connectedness and belonging.

A sense of connectedness alone does not necessarily imply social inclusion. Neither does the feeling of belonging. According to Crisp (2010), connectedness and belonging can exist without the other; they can be co-existing, or there may be a causal association between them. This distinction is important for social workers and other professionals involved in the planning and delivery of programs designed to address social exclusion. For example, concludes that it should not be assumed that a program which aims to increase connectedness will necessarily result in participants feeling a greater sense of belonging, or vice versa (Crisp, 2010, p. 129).

This article has sought to demonstrate the distinctions between experiences gained by socially disadvantaged people participating in sports and physical activity in clubs or programs respectively with specifically defined target groups and without target groups. The qualitative interviews show that experiences gained in the non-target group activities promote a sense of alienation and disengagement, whereas experiences gained in activities with specific target groups promote a sense of connectedness and belonging. In these activities, the participants have a feeling of being "in the same boat," corresponding to what Thomas Hylland Eriksen (2006) calls an "indisputable we-feeling," which is fundamental to the establishment of a sense of community.

Shared understandings and common horizons of experience are fundamental to the establishment of social trust and comfort. The importance of these values is connected to the basic need to feel competent and have confidence in one's own ability to manage and master social life. Those who support the endeavor to use sports and physical activity as an inclusionary social lever for disadvantaged people need to take these needs into account.

Paradoxically, this knowledge is not only relevant regarding the participation of disadvantaged people, but also applies to community participation in general. According to Agergaard (2008), participation in associational life is, disadvantaged or non-disadvantaged, based on a community of interests, and interests are, following Bourdieu, a manifestation of embodied social structures (1994, p. 97). Participation in community life, in this way, reflects and reproduces the position that agents adopt in the social field.

Concluding remarks

It has been shown that the notion of sports and physical activity as a social lever for disadvantaged people is closely tied to theories of social capital, and that this notion is reflected in initiatives at the political level. The integration of sports and physical activity for the socially disadvantaged into ordinary associational life is intended to provide opportunities for marginalized and underprivileged groups to interact and integrate with other social groups, and thereby contribute to social cohesion by breaking down social barriers.

At the individual level, participation and interaction with other social groups is believed to result in disadvantaged people breaking down negative patterns and creating fundaments for new existences. The assumption that sports and physical activity hold this potential are far from being based in evidence.

Scientific literature has shown that the factors that determine the general barriers to participation in sports (social network, economy, employment, education, etc.) are identical to the ones that define disadvantaged lives. Therefore, the most significant barriers to participation in sports and physical activity are more concentrated and comprehensive in this population. From this perspective, it is not surprising or even remarkable that the socially disadvantaged have a lesser degree of participation.

Politics and social intervention strategies, however, seem to have confused the indicators for causal relationships and are now trying to reverse these causal connections. The chain of reasoning seems to be that if socioeconomic factors indicate social exclusion, and social exclusion implies a decline in participation, by increasing participation it is possible to increase social inclusion and thereby break down negative patterns and create fundaments for new existences.

But it is not necessarily the case that establishing a chain of connections between socioeconomic factors, social exclusion, and participation in activities implies that it is a causal chain of connections, and even if so, there are no guaranties that the causal effects can simply be reversed.

Consequently, if we wish to understand the motivation and incentives for participating in sports and physical activities, more research is needed. This research should be based on lived experiences of the groups we wish to study.

We have confirmed knowledge about the present state of a socially distorted participation in sports and physical activity. In order to apply this body of knowledge properly by implementing it into real-life interventions, we need to produce insight about settings and contexts where the socially disadvantaged perceive the activity as acceptable, appropriate, and meaningful. This kind of insight would be of immense value to the planning of interventions aiming at social inclusion and the everyday work of social workers.

The fact that trust and social comfort are of such great importance to the participation of three very heterogeneous groups of socially disadvantaged people is not an idiosyncrasy. In fact, research into inequality and quality of life has shown that there is a close connection between socioeconomic status on the one side and arenas for social comfort and trust on the other (Eriksen, 2006).

Likewise, a Danish report evaluating the integration of ethnic minorities through sports clubs describes how real integration, in the "melting pot sense" where diverse ethnic groups adapt just to synthesize into a new whole, never took place:

"The barrier to this process is the fundamental premise that sport clubs are built around a community of interest and pre-established networks; you meet with your own kind around uniform interests" (Agergaard & Michelsen La Cour, 2011).

Experiencing trust and social comfort in social relations is closely tied to the sense of consistency between the self and its surroundings. It presupposes a sense of belonging based on common values, interests, and ideas (Støvring & Rudbeck, 2008).

In the social field, predictability reigns because those who are included already know the unsaid and unwritten codes of conduct and know what behavior is accepted and what is not. This is what generates social trust and comfort, and this is why these are generated spontaneously in social relations between like-minded people. The sense of social cohesion when participating in activities with similarly disposed agents that is reflected in the interviews is equivalent to the relationship between the habitus and the social field:

"It is a basic ontological complicity that ties agents and the social world together….Habitus being the social incorporated, it is 'at home' in the field it inhabits, it perceives it immediately as endowed with meaning and interest" (Wacquant, 1989, p. 45).

If we want to increase the participation of socially disadvantaged people in sports and physical activity, it is of decisive necessity that the marginalized target groups – just like the rest of us – perceive the activity as acceptable, appropriate, and meaningful.

Meaning is not produced in isolated pensiveness but is, to great a extent, ascribed in social relations, i.e., between the habitus' inhabiting the field in question.

We only take part in the activities of a field if we recognize it as meaningful, and we only find it meaningful if we have a certain degree of social comfort and trust. At any rate, the meaning we attribute to activities that leave us uncomfortable and with mistrust is not a meaning that provides sustainable involvement. Assuming that the purpose of programs aiming at social inclusion is to provide opportunities for marginalized and underprivileged groups to interact with other social groups, it is vital that the social context provides not only a feeling of connectedness, but also, and more importantly, a sense of belonging.

REFERENCES

Agergaard, S. & Michelsen la Cour, A. (2011). *Sporttrack. Evaluering af projekt for lederuddannelse af etniske minoritetsunge til det aarhusianske idræts- og foreningsliv.* /Sporttrack. An evaluation of a project for education of ethnic minority adolescents managers for sport and club life in Aarhus/. Copenhagen: Institut for Idræt, Københavns Universitet.

Agergaard, S. (2008). Unges idrætsdeltagelse og integration i idrætsforeninger i Århus Vest. /Adolescent participation and integration in sportclubs in Aarhus/. Retrieved october 21, 2014, from http://www.idan.dk/vidensbank/downloads/unges-idraetsdeltagelse-og-integration-i-idraetsforeninger-i-aarhus-vest/4ff838ad-54f8-4f52-823f-9af000f7512d

Ball, K., Cleland, V.J., Timperio, A. F., Salmon, J., Giles-Corti, B. & Crawford, D.A. (2010). Love thy neighbour? Associations of social capital and crime with physical activity amongst women. *Social Science & Medicine,* 71, 807-814.

Bourdieu, P. (1994). *Af praktiske grunde. Omkring teorien om menneskelig handlen*. /Practical reason. On the theory of action/ København: Hans Reitzels Forlag.

Bourdieu, P. (1995). *Distinksjonen: En sosiologisk kritikk av dømmekraften*. /Distinction. A social critique of the judgement of taste/. Oslo: Pax Forlag.

Bourdieu, P. & Wacquant, L.J. (1996). *Refleksiv Sociologi - Mål og midler*. /An invitation to reflexive sociology/. Copenhagen: Hans Reitzels Forlag.

Carless, D. & Douglas, K. (2008). The Role of Sport and Exercise in Recovery from Serious Mental Illness: Two Case Studies. *International Journal of Men's Health,* 7, 137-156.

Cerin, E. & Leslie, E. (2008). How socio-economic status contributes to participation in leisure-time physical activity. *Social Science & Medicine,* 66, 2596-2609.

Cleland, V., Ball, K., Hume, C., Timperio, A., King, A.C. & Crawford, D. (2010). Individual, social and environmental correlates of physical activity among women living in socioeconomically disadvantaged neighborhoods. *Social Science & Medicine,* 70*,* 2011-2018.

Cochrane, T. & Davey, R.C. (2008). Increasing uptake of physical activity: A social ecological approach. *Journal of the Royal Society for the Promotion of Health,* 128, 31-40.

Collins, M. (2012). Understanding social exclusion and sport for children. In S.Dagkas & K. Armour (Eds.), *Inclusion and Exclusion Through Youth Sport* (pp. 24-39). New York: Routledge.

Cradock, A.L., Kawachi, I., Colditz, G.A., Gortmaker, S.L. & Buka, S.L. (2009). Neighborhood social cohesion and youth participation in physical activity in Chicago. *Social Science & Medicine,* 68, 427-435.

Crisp, B.R. (2010). Belonging, connectedness and social exclusion. *Journal of Social Inclusion,* 1(2), 123- 32.

Eriksen, T.H. (2006). *Trygghet.* Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

European Commission (2011, January 18). *Developing the European Dimension in Sport.* Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, The Council, The European Economic and Social Committee and The Committee of the Regions. retrieved August 21. 2014, from http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52011DC0012&from=EN

Franzini, L., Taylor, W., Elliott, M.N., Cuccaro, P., Tortolero, S.R., Janice, G.M. (2010). Neighborhood characteristics favorable to outdoor physical activity: disparities by socioeconomic and racial/ethnic composition. *Health Place,* 16, 267-274.

Ibsen, B., Fehsenfeld, M., Nielsen, L.B., Boye, A.M., Malling, R., Andersen, L.G. (2012). *Idræt i udsatte boligområder.* /Sports in deprived neighbourhoods/. Odense: Institut for Idræt & Biomekanik, Syddansk Universitet.

Lindstrom, M., Hanson, B.S. & Ostergren, P.O. (2001). Socioeconomic differences in leisure-time physical activity: the role of social participation and social capital in shaping health related behaviour. *Social Science & Medicine,* 52, 441-451.

Pedersen, P.V. (2009). *Dårligt liv - Dårligt helbred: Socialt udsattes oplevelse af eget liv og sundhed.* /Poor life – poor health: Selfreported perception of life and health by socially excluded/. Copenhagen: Rådet for Socialt Udsatte.

Pedersen, P.V., Holst, M., Davidsen, M. & Juel, K. (2012). *SUSY Udsat 2012: Sundhedsprofil for socialt udsatte i Danmark 2012 og udviklingen siden 2007.* /Healthprofile for socially excluded in Denmark 2012 and the development since 2007/. Copenhagen: Statens Institut for Folkesundhed, Rådet for Socialt Udsatte.

Social-og Integrationsministeriet (2012, June 21). *20 mio kroner til idræt for udsatte grupper.* /20 mill. DKK. For sports for disadvantaged groups/. Press release, retrieved August 21. 2014, from http://sm.dk/nyheder/2012/20-mio-kr-til-idraet-for-udsatte-grupper

Soundy, A., Faulkner, G. & Taylor, A. (2007). Exploring variability and perceptions of lifestyle physical activity among individuals with severe and enduring mental health problems: A qualitative study. *Journal of Mental Health*, 16, 493-503.

Stahl, T., Rutten, A., Nutbeam, D., Bauman, A., Kannas, L., Abel, T. (2001). The importance of the social environment for physically active lifestyle–results from an international study. *Social Science & Medicine,* 52, 1-10.

Støvring, J. & Rudbeck, J. (2008). *Den sociale kontekst for tryghed og utryghed.* /The social context for safety and unsafety/. Roskilde: Roskilde Universitet.

Thorsager, L., Børjesson, E., Christensen, I. & Pihl, V. (2007). *Metoder i Socialt Arbejde: Begreber og Problematikker*. /Methods in social work: concepts and issues/. Copenhagen: Socialforskningsinstituttet.

Wacquant, L.J.D. (1989). Towards a Reflexive Sociology: A Workshop with Pierre Bourdieu. *Sociological Theory*, 7(1), 26-63.

AUTHOR'S ADDRESS: Michael Fehsenfeld
                          University of Southern Denmark
                          Institute of Sports Science and Clinical Biomechanics
                          Campusvej 55
                          DK-5230 Odense M, Denmark
                          Email: mfehsenfeld@health.sdu.dk