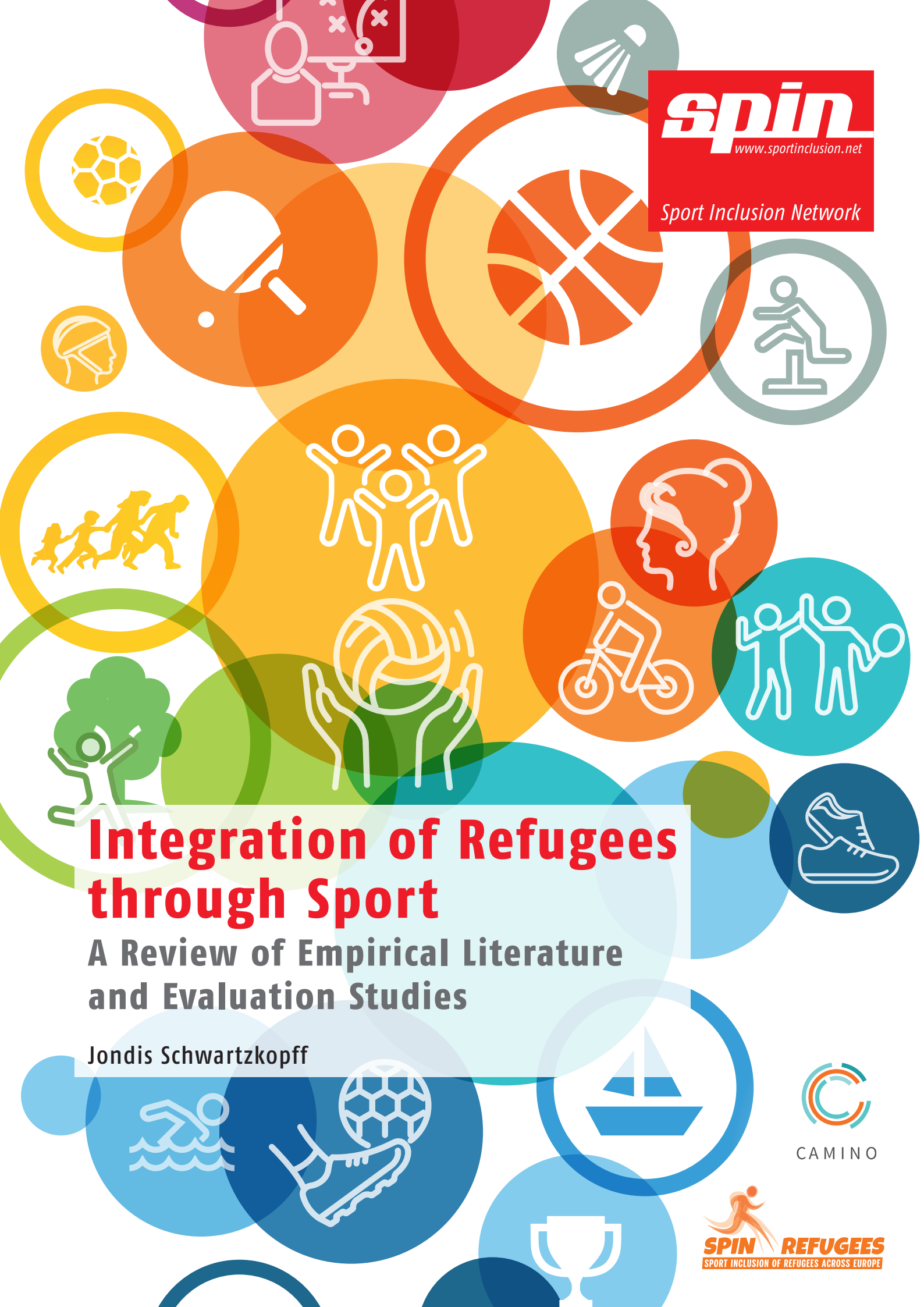

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Integration of Refugees through Sport

A Review of Empirical Literature and Evaluation Studies

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CAMINO

SPIN REFUGEES
SPORT INCLUSION OF REFUGEES ACROSS EUROPE

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For detailed information on the SPIN network, visit **www.sportinclusion.net**

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SPIN REFUGEES
SPORT INCLUSION OF REFUGEES ACROSS EUROPE

Content

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1. Introduction

Sport as a means of integrating refugees is a promising path that is being taken by many organisations and institutions, including sports clubs and sports initiatives, but also integration projects, refugee initiatives, migrant organisations, youth facilities, providers of after-school programmes, etc. Staff members of these organisations report positive effects that sport has on the social integration and wellbeing of refugees. For example, new contacts and friendships can develop, both with other refugees in similar life situations and with local people who can help with practical everyday questions. Access to networks and information can also be promoted in this way, e.g. education and training opportunities. Furthermore, sport has a health-promoting effect and can structure everyday life, which can be particularly helpful for refugees who have had to leave behind their own regular life and have to build a completely new one. Team sports teach not only sporting skills but also social skills such as fairplay and teamwork. Sports provide the opportunity to practice language skills, even though sport in principle also works without or with little knowledge of the language and thus promotes non-verbal understanding, which provides a unique opportunity for newcomers. Different types of sports offer the chance to experience new things and to get to know oneself in a new way, which can boost self-esteem. Finally, sport can also lead to social recognition through sporting achievements and/or voluntary work in the club.

The members and other cooperation partners of the Sport Inclusion Network (SPIN)[1] are well aware of sports' advantages. Their expertise has been collected and presented in the form of Quality Criteria in their "Guide to Good Practice in Europe" from 2018 (Schwenzer 2018: 39–42) and in study reports based on focus group discussions, workshops, and interviews both with refugees themselves and with coaches, sport educators and others involved in the inclusion of refugees in sports (Hohmann et al. 2021; Schwenzer 2020; Schwenzer 2017; Schwenzer 2016).

This review aims to provide further empirical evidence of the benefits of sport by analysing evaluations of sports programmes in terms of their impact and outcome.

A recent extensive literature review by sport sociologist Ramón Spaaij and nine colleagues (2019) reviewed 83 publications on the topic of "sport and physical activity as a means and context for refugee wellbeing and integration" between 1996 and 2019 in fourteen languages, noticing a "substantial increase in the volume of published research on the topic" since 2017 (Spaaij et al. 2019: 1). The studies reviewed are contributions from the health and social sciences. The authors identified three research themes:

- sport as health promotion for refugees,
- sport as a means and context for social inclusion and integration,
- barriers and facilitators to refugees' participation in sport.

Sport for refugees as a promotion of health considers that "forced migration and resettlement are associated with distressing circumstances that contribute to poor physical and psychological wellbeing," and thus, sport in this literature is "frequently framed through the lens of mental and physical health outcomes, such as fitness, general wellbeing, self-efficacy, and reduced stress [as well as] a pathway to structure, routine and re-gaining control" (Spaaij et al. 2019: 10).

In contrast, this review focuses not on the health promotion effects of sports but mainly on sport as an instrument for social inclusion and integration policy, reviewing a range of programme evaluations and empirical studies. Sport is considered a path to integration into a new society: by participating in sports, migrants learn about the host country's culture, can practice language skills, and can connect with people with similar interests. Participation in a sports club can also be considered integration into society by itself.

The findings in this review are grouped into four sections:

- sport events for integration,
- sport programmes targeted exclusively at refugees,
- integration of refugees into sport clubs and teams,
- qualification programmes with sport for refugees.

The following chapter explains the search method and gives an overview of the studies discussed in this review, chapter three presents the findings, and chapter four presents recommendations for future sport programmes for integration as well as evaluation studies concerned with the topic.

1) This review is part of the SPIN Refugees project led by the Vienna Institute for International Dialogue and Cooperation (VIDC – fairplay initiative) from Austria. Implementing project partners are Liikkukaa – Sports for all from Finland, UISP from Italy, the football players' union SJPF from Portugal, the Mahatma Gandhi Human Rights Organisation from Hungary, the Football Association of Ireland (FAI), Huis voor Beweging from the Netherlands and the research institute Camino from Germany.

2. Overview of Studies Discussed in this Review

2.1. Search Method

The literature search was limited to searching for literature in English, French, Spanish, and German due to the availability of language skills. We set the period of publications from 2015 until the day our search ended (19th of April, 2020). We aimed to include all evaluation studies of specific projects or programmes or empirical studies regarding the integration of refugees through sport. This means that we excluded studies that focus on the integration of second-generation migrants or other marginalised groups as well as theoretical discussions about the benefits of sport in a general matter.

The search was conducted in three steps:

- In the first step, I searched for evaluation reports on the topic. For this step, I used the search engine Google (Scholar), using the keywords "integration, sports, refugees, evaluation" in all languages.
- In a second step, I searched in relevant scientific databases (SSOAR, Social Science Research Network, Project MUSE, Open Edition, Mendeley, ResearchGate), this time using the search terms "integration", "sports", "refugees". In many cases, there were no results for this combination of search terms, which is when I left out "refugees" or exchanged it for "migrants."
- In a third step, I searched the relevant journals (European Journal for Sport and Society, Sport und Gesellschaft, Zeitschrift für Fußball und Gesellschaft, Journal of Sport and Social Issues, International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics, International Review for the Sociology of Sport) for publications that included the term "refugees" in the title, abstract or content. I also included relevant literature discussed in the publications I had already found.

In all steps, the titles and abstracts of the search results were screened to see if they fit our inclusion criteria (see above) and then, if found to be relevant, added to our database. Finally, I read the articles and reports to check for relevancy and quality and further categorise them.

2.2. Types of Studies

As described above, this review aims to present findings from applied and empirical research on sports programmes for the integration of refugees. We included project evaluation reports and empirical case studies, evaluation reports of funding programmes that benefited several projects, and exploratory research studies investigating the integration of refugees through sport.

The studies included under **project evaluation reports and empirical case studies** are Sterchele and Saint-Blancat's (2015) paper on the "Mondiali Antirazzisti" (the anti-racist world cup) held yearly in Italy, Rich and colleagues' (2015) evaluation of the "Community Cup", a yearly event in Ontario, Canada, Whitley and colleagues' (2016) "Evaluation of a sport-based youth development programme for refugees" from the USA, Dukic and colleagues (2017) case study of the "Asylum Seeker Football Team" in Melbourne, Australia, Nina Sponseiler's (2017) evaluation study of health-promoting sports programmes for refugees in Vienna, Austria, Doidge and colleagues' (2020) empirical case study of the "Brighton Table Tennis Club", Schnarr and Schwenzer's (2020) evaluation study of the Berlin Football Association's programme to qualify refugees as coaches and referees, and, finally, an internal evaluation of the Austrian project "Kicken ohne Grenzen" (2020) that includes reporting on their two qualification programmes.

This report also includes several **evaluation studies** that present findings on more than one project, such as Burrmann and colleagues' (2016) report on the outcomes of the German Olympic Sports Confederation's (DOSB) funding programme for projects providing refugees "orientation through sport" and Chonaill's (2018) evaluation of the Football Association of Ireland's funding programme "integration through football" as well as Schwenzer's (2016) overview on noticeable cases in Germany, Hungary, and Italy.

Finally, we also included **empirical research studies** that investigated questions of integration and sport not with a particular programme in mind but that was somewhat exploratory. Under this category fall Block and Gibbs' (2017) study "analysing different participation models" of integration of refugee children in Australia, Seiberth and colleagues' (2018) study on refugees as a new target group of organised sport in Germany, Stura's (2019) study investigating "the role of sport clubs in facilitating integration of refugees" in Bavaria, Germany, as well as several studies from 2020: Nowy and colleagues' (2020) study "investigating grassroots sports' engagement for refugees" in Germany, Manolopoulos' (2020) research study for REWINS (Refugee Women's Inclusion through Sports) and Nobis and colleagues' (2020) report on the intercultural opening of sports clubs in Germany, with a particular focus on girls and women.

2.3. Thematic Focus

While all research in this review is concerned with sport for the integration of refugees, the studies take different perspectives on the object of interest. Most studies are interested in the **benefits of sport for refugees**, mainly with regard to their **social integration into society** as well as their **integration and participation in sports clubs** (Rich et al. 2015; Whitley et al. 2016; Burrmann et al. 2016; Block & Gibbs 2017; Dukic et al. 2017; Chonaill 2018; Stura 2019; Stura 2019; Schnarr & Schwenzer 2020; Burrmann et al. 2016; Chonaill 2018; Manalopoulos 2020), with some touching on health benefits and one study explicitly focused on social and health benefits (Chonaill 2018; Sponseiler 2017). The other studies included here focus on **the perspective of sports clubs**, such as the aspects that make sports clubs more likely to be committed to the integration of refugees or how they organise their commitment (Burrmann et al. 2016; Nobis et al. 2017; Chonaill 2018; Seiberth et al. 2018; Nowy et al. 2020; Doidge et al. 2020).

2.4. Methodological Approaches

Most studies included in this review use a **qualitative methodology**, predominantly using **interviewing**, sometimes in combination with qualitative **document analysis** or **ethnographic participant observation** (Rich et al. 2015; Whitley et al. 2016; Burrmann et al. 2016; Dukic et al. 2017; Sponseiler 2017; Block & Gibbs 2017; Nobis et al. 2017; Seiberth et al. 2018; Chonaill 2018; Stura 2019). A minority of studies use purely or mainly **quantitative methods**. One German study used a large representative sample and statistical analyses (Nowy et al. 2020) and another one used an international but small sample of 25 coaches and 60 refugee women from four countries. However, they did not describe the sampling method (Manolopoulos 2020). The self-evaluation report of the NGO Kicken ohne Grenzen (2020) contained only a quantitative summary of one round of their projects with less than 40 participants. Finally, some studies employed a **mixed-methods approach**, combining quantitative surveys at two time points with qualitative interviews (Doidge et al. 2020) or focus groups (Schnarr & Schwenzer 2020) and participant observation.

2.5. Research Quality and Challenges

Many researchers discuss how **including refugee participants in research** posed a challenge, from language barriers to lack of commitment to participation (e.g., Stura 2019; Schnarr & Schwenzer 2020; Doidge et al. 2020; Rich et al. 2015). Attempting to adapt to the target population, Schnarr and Schwenzer used simple language and paper questionnaires for their surveys, and Manolopoulos (2020) used closed and multiple-choice questions for his survey. Whitley and colleagues (2016) decided to let the trainer interview the participants for the evaluation, valuing the trust and confidence the refugee children had in her over the objectivity of an external person. Consequently, the authors did not evaluate one of the dimensions of the programme; the relationship with adults. Regarding trust in an external researcher, the experience of Stura's (2019) study suggests that Whitley and colleagues took the right decision: Stura (2019) found that the refugees she interviewed did not voice any criticism or talk about negative experiences such as racism with her, while their trainers did report such incidents. Overcoming **language barriers**, Stura (2019) used peers to help with translation and only interviewed refugees in German, English, or French. Doidge et al. (2020) solved the issues they encountered with surveying and interviewing refugee participants by not including the survey in the analysis and employing less formal, ethnographic interviews and field reports instead of the formal semi-structured interviews. Similarly, Rich and colleagues (2015) chose snowball sampling over the preferred **method of recruiting** via an exit survey due to a turnout of less than 10%. They also noticed that much shorter notice and going where potential interviewees were instead of inviting them increased participation. Several studies did not include the participants' perspectives but instead relied on interviewing or surveying sports clubs' representatives such as trainers and board members or other facilitators (Burrmann et al. 2016; Nowy et al. 2020).

In summary, the studies included in this report (see table 1) are diverse, ranging from quantitative self-evaluation reports reporting the success of a project to published papers discussing conceptual differences of programmes (e.g., Kicken ohne Grenzen 2020; Block & Gibbs 2017). All studies included here were included after screening for quality criteria, namely: Definition and operationalisation of the evaluation goals or the research objectives, discussion of the methods used, discussion of the logic of effectiveness, and discussion of the target group and context.

Study, Location	Method & N	Target Group	Programme/Intervention Studied
Block & Gibbs (2017), Australia	Semi-structured interviews, N=10. Inductive and abductive analysis around themes raised.	NGOs, sports clubs, schools, and local governments; refugee children	Different actors approaching the integration of refugee children in their offers/offering sports for refugee children
Burrmann et al. (2016), Germany	Document analysis (N=45), structured interviews (n=28), participant observation (n=8).	Sports clubs; refugees	Different clubs approaching the integration of refugees in their offers/ offering sports for refugees
Doidge et al. (2020), UK	Survey (not included), ethnography, interviews (one club, several persons)	Refugees; all marginalised groups	Community Table Tennis club welcoming refugees
Dukic et al. (2017), Australia	Participant observation, nine semi-structured interviews. (one team over six months)	Asylum seekers	Asylum Seekers' football team participating in a mainstream league
Fonzo (2019, Italy	Previous research, observation, media	Immigrants/Refugees clubs in Campania, Italy	Four cases of immigrants/refugees clubs
Kicken ohne Grenzen (2020), Austria	Quantitative self-evaluation (24 and nine participants in two programmes)	Refugee youth	(1) Programme for entering professional training through football, (2) Programme for entering sports as a job
Manopolous (2020), country unclear	Survey with closed & multiple-choice questions (25 coaches –14 male, 11 female – and 60 refugee women)	Refugee women	–
Ní Chonaill (2018), Ireland	26 qualitative interviews, written comments from World Café discussion (14 alliances)	„Alliances" of schools/clubs/ federations for the integration of migrants and refugees through sports/football	Different approaches (mixed offers, special offers); funding programme by the FAI
Nobis et al. (2017), Germany	30 qualitative interviews (17 sports clubs), sampling strategy elaborated	Voluntary sports clubs; (refugee girls and women)	Sports clubs and associations' efforts to include refugee girls and women
Nowy et al. (2020), Germany	Statistical analysis of a representative quantitative sample (5,170 sports clubs) was obtained through an online survey. Data analysis weighted by club size. n=20,546; response rate=27.1%.	Voluntary sports clubs; (refugees)	Sports clubs and associations' efforts to include refugees
Rich et al. (2015), Canada	Participant observation, document analysis, semi-structured interviews, focus group discussion (nine interviews)	Recent immigrants and local community	Planning and playing in a „community cup" for integrating the newcomers into the community
Schnarr & Schwenzer (2020), Germany	Pre-Post-Survey, focus group discussions, participant observation	Refugees	Programme to become football referees
Seiberth et al. (2018), Germany	Five Qualitative interviews, comparative case study analysis (five cases)	Mainstream sports clubs; refugees	Successful integration of refugees in clubs/ teams
Sponseiler (2017), Austria	Qualitative online survey and feedback talks	Refugee women	Three months movement therapy programme
Sterchele & Saint-Blancat (2015), Italy	Longitudinal ethnography (observation and semi-structured interviews) conducted over six years (for one to four days each), 2006–2012	Society as a whole (football fans, migrants, etc.)	Mondiali antirazzisti (Anti-racist world cup), a yearly tournament/festival held in Italy
Stura (2019), Germany	Semi-structured interviews; 35 refugees and 32 professional and voluntary staff members from 15 clubs. Sampling method is described.	Mainstream football clubs; refugees	Refugee integration efforts and experiences by mainstream football clubs
Whitley et al. (2019), USA	Self-evaluation; 16 interviews (participant children between eight and 18)	Refugee children	Sports and exercise club for refugee children

Table 1: Studies Included in this Review

3. Impact and Outcomes of Sports Programmes for Refugees

This chapter presents a structured analysis of evaluation and research studies' findings concerning sports programmes for refugees. Based on the three models of participation by Block and Gibbs (2017), this chapter will be separated into four parts, with each focusing on one type of programme: (1) sports events for refugees, (2) targeted sports programmes for refugees, including teams and clubs, (3) integration of refugees into mainstream teams or clubs, and (4) qualification programmes related to sports for refugees. Each section presents some examples of reviewed or evaluated programmes and their outcomes, as well as difficulties, barriers, and facilitators factors for creating an impact.

3.1. "Refugees Welcome" – Sport Events for Integration

In their 2017 study surveying the programmes available to youth with a refugee background in Melbourne (Australia), Block and Gibbs (2017) group the programmes into (1) short-term[2] and (2) continuing programmes for refugees and (3) integration of refugees into mainstream clubs. While they report that "many of those offering short-term or continuing programmes for refugee young people acknowledged that opportunities to participate in mainstream clubs would be ideal" (Block & Gibbs 2017: 96), they still find that even short-term programmes and events for refugee youth can have benefits, citing a participant that was enthusiastic about the fun adults and children had playing football together (Block & Gibbs 2017: 95). Other reports and surveys find that many sports clubs or NGOs offer single events related to refugees and sports (e.g., Burrmann et al. 2016; Ní Chonaill 2018; Nobis et al. 2017). In most cases, however, these single events are evaluated in combination with other programmes or the overall engagement of a club. An example of this is Nobis' and her colleagues' study (2017) that focuses on the intercultural opening of sports clubs with particular regard for the inclusion of women and girls. Their study finds that most sports clubs do not consider refugee work as part of their regular club work but rather as a special form of commitment, often linked to a concrete source of funding or project (Nobis et al. 2017: 10). "Welcome culture" events were always an addition to other activities, and thus their impact was not evaluated separately in depth.

Exceptions are successful and larger events such as the Mondiali Antirazzisti in Italy (Sterchele & Saint-Blancat 2015) and the Community Cup in Canada (Rich et al. 2015, also discussed in section 4 of this chapter). These events **emphasise the fair play and social aspects of sport tournaments over competition and performance**, providing other activities besides sport, such as live music, games for children, food, and information for refugees. The sport tournament is used as one instrument among others to bring people together. As Sterchele and Saint-Blancat (2015: 6) describe in their analysis of the successful and influential Mondiali Antirazzisti:

> *"[Such] a multifocal/polycentric ritual has the potential to turn diversity into a common ground for interaction. […] Additionally, the blurring of social boundaries is often obtained by 'de-sportising' the sport activities. Examples of this include partly downplaying their competitive dimension, making sporting categorisations more fluid (through mixed-gender and mixed-generation activities), and breaking down the separation between protagonists and spectators." (Sterchele & Saint-Blancat 2015: 6).*

The annual Community Cup in Canada brings together newly arrived migrants and refugees with the local community (Rich et al. 2015). During the event, "the way the game is played is equally as important as the number of goals scored" (Rich et al. 2015: 135). The evaluation's authors argue that "this alternative version may be a useful way of promoting shared physical and social spaces" (ibid.: 137). However, the event with the tournament is only one part of the programme; the organisation of the event and the job fair that is held during the tournament are arguably the more important factors for integration (discussed in section 4 of this chapter).

Achieving an Impact through Sports Events: Necessary Conditions, Difficulties, Barriers and Facilitators

In summary, there is little empirical research on the impact single sports events have on the integration of refugees. Sports events that have been evaluated for their impact combine sports with other social factors, such as music concerts or a job fair. Sport itself can be successful in

2) The term "short-term" was not further defined by Block and Gibbs (2017) but grouped with events and oppositioned by "continuing" programmes as well as programmes "supporting integration into mainstream clubs" (Block & Gibbs 2017, p. 94).

"bringing people together", but for this end, special rules should be adopted. Examples are smaller and mixed teams (ethnicities, languages, age groups, gender) and valuing fair play over traditional winning criteria.

3.2. Sport and Exercise Programmes Targeted at Refugees

There are many different sports programmes that target refugees specifically and last longer than an event. These programmes are often linked to a specific source of funding, and thus, many run only for a defined amount of time. In many cases, they function as a stepping stone to inclusion in mainstream clubs. In other cases, the participation itself – even in shorter programmes that run for three months, a semester, etc. – is argued to be beneficiary to social integration since **sport can improve overall health and wellbeing and connect participants within their own community**. Sports projects for refugees differ in the way they are conceptualised and delivered and in the actors that offer them. Among the institutions that offer sports for refugees are civil society organisations concerned with refugee matters that set up a sports group as part of their work; sports clubs offering sports groups for refugees, sometimes in cooperation with the local refugee housing facility or an NGO; as well as programmes specially designed for refugees, provided collaboration with the local government or an NGO. While all of these offers have in common that they are directed only at refugees, their focus and functioning differ.

Loose Training Groups

Two extensive studies researching the integration efforts of sports clubs in Germany find that the most prevalent form of social engagement was setting up a training group for refugees (Burrmann et al. 2016, Nobis et al. 2017). This was true both for new clubs that were founded to provide sport for refugees as well as for established clubs that either organise a group proactively or in cooperation with another actor such as an NGO or refugee accommodation (Nobis et al. 2017: 11; Schwenzer 2016: 40). Several interviewees of these studies stress that these training groups are not "static" and some refugees that started in these particular groups are now included in regular teams or training groups, or that these particular groups are, in principle, open to everyone (e.g., Nobis et al. 2017: 11–12). Many club managers and trainers decide to first train the refugees in separate groups and then integrate them into the existing groups (Burrmann et al. 2016: 14; Schwenzer 2016: 41). As a general finding, these targeted sports groups at sports clubs are **more flexible and less formalised** than regular training groups or teams. Some participants might only last in these groups for a short time, either moving on to a more permanent team, but also sometimes due to a change of location, a forced return to their country, or, when their status changes, prioritising employment over sports (Dukic et al. 2017; Schwenzer 2016: 59).

However, these groups nonetheless can play an important role, since many of these *ad-hoc* refugee sports groups provide **more than just sports**: These groups are where

relationships are formed, trust is built, and questions relevant to integration are discussed, e.g., regarding residency status, housing or employment (Nobis et al. 2016, p. 12). In some of these looser sports groups, this social aspect is more formally integrated into the offer, as one coach explains:

> *"With the adults, we have established the Afterplaytime, we're still establishing it. This means, coming together after the session and being open for every topic. It happens, as there is that level of trust, that players bring letters and ask what they mean, what do I respond? Be it related to residency status, housing, or their job. We want to institutionalise this, meaning being there after every session and even inviting someone for that." (p. 12).*

The review of these projects shows that even *ad-hoc* established sports groups for refugees can play an important role in the integration process. They provide exercise, fun and connection during the stressful time of resettlement. Therefore, it is helpful that the offers are flexible and responsive to the needs of their target group, both in terms of acute needs and longer-term issues like access and participation in clubs (discussed in chapter 3.3.).

Specially Designed Programmes to Meet Refugees' Needs

Sports programmes for refugees are often also set up to improve health or integration, targeting refugees in general and not only those interested in a specific sport. In these programmes, **sport is not conceptualised as competition but rather as fun, leisure and an instrument to improve health or social skills**. These general "movement" or gymnastics classes often target women with a refugee background who have not been involved in sport before (Schwenzer 2016: 41; Sponseiler 2017).

One example is the "Movi Kune" programme at the University of Vienna, which was designed in cooperation between sports psychologists and sport sociologists of the University of Vienna for survivors of torture and war (Sponseiler 2017). **The programme cooperates with an NGO** that offers therapy for this target group, **which is also how participants are recruited** (ibid: 75). The class is a "movement therapy" gymnastics class including games, movement, stretching, pilates, relaxation, etc. The 8 to 12 participants of one of the classes evaluated by Sponseiler (2017) were women between the ages of 40 and 50 from the northern Caucasus region, Syria, Albania, Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan, Chechenia, and Somalia[3]. Each class runs for about three months. After these three months, Sponseiler (2017) finds a noticeable **improvement of self-esteem, increased body awareness, reduced stress, and improved sleep quality**. Some of the interviewed trainers also reported a noticeable change of fitness, and many participants reported a reduction in pain and increased strength. Furthermore, the programme helped the participating women **connect with each other as well as the trainers**, which sometimes led to friendships outside of the sports setting. The health-promoting sport programme also helped the **participants improve their general wellbeing**: Examples of participants' conclusions include "I feel happier with sports", "sport makes me feel good", "sport is the best therapy!" (ibid.: 64). However, concerning the sustainability of this short-term programme, the trainers were doubtful whether the participants had understood the functionality of the exercises and many participants reported that the group setting was the most motivating part. While some participants reported including their children in their training at home, others stated they would not have enough space or time to train on their own.

A similar project was evaluated by Whitley, Coble and Jewell (2016). The "Refugee Sport Club" (RSC) for children with a refugee background is located in a not further specified location in the USA. The programme was designed, implemented and evaluated based on the Teaching Personal and Social Responsibility Model (TPSR) (ibid.: 177). The TPSR focuses on "building relationships with peers and adults, personal empowerment, and transfer of life skills from sport and physical recreation settings into other domains" (ibid.). The RSC meets for one hour each week and is divided by age groups (between 8 and 12 and between 13 and 18), but not by gender. The sixteen participants interviewed in the study were all male and between the ages of 10 and 18. Girls were not interviewed as there were no female participants in the semester the study took place (ibid.: 181). The goals of the programme were defined after reviewing the literature for the needs of refugee children as (1) having fun, (2) experiencing and learning different sports, (3) feeling valued as members of a team, and (4) developing strong relationships with adults (ibid.: 183). Additionally, the TPSR set the following goals: (5) learning about respect, (6) learning about teamwork, (7) learning how to be strong leaders, and (8) transferring these skills to their everyday lives (ibid.: 183). In comparison with the Movi Kune project, which focuses more on physical and mental health, the goals the RSC pursued were more social. Following the interview analysis, the evaluation finds that all goals were reached, with the ex-

3) Sponseiler (2017) evaluates five sports groups seperately; however, this review focuses on the Movi Kune womens' group since this was the group with most participants and the findings can thus be considered the most valid. In general, findings of all classes were similar, except that the Movi Kuni programme had benefitted from three years of experience while another programme had just been set up in 2015/2016 (Sponseiler 2017: 47).

ception of goal number 4 which could not be evaluated since the researchers were also the facilitators. Most notably, the programme was especially successful at providing **a sense of belonging** since all 16 interviewees mentioned "how they felt a sense of belonging in the RSC", and two interviewees even discussed "how important it was for the team members to be with people of similar backgrounds", namely the same country and refugee backgrounds (ibid.: 186). The RSC was important for **the participants as they had fun, made friends and learned about the sports of the host country**, which in turn made it easier for them to make friends at their schools (ibid.: 185). Finally, the evaluation finds that most interviewees had understood the concepts of respect and teamwork, associated the RSC with **learning about respect and teamwork,** and many participants reported they had transferred these skills into their everyday and school life (ibid.: 190).

Teams and Clubs for Refugees

Football plays a special role for migrants and refugees since it is one of the most popular sports in both sending and destination societies and thus can serve as a first connection. Besides refugees joining established "mainstream" clubs, either in separate training groups (discussed above) or regular teams (discussed below in 3.3.), there are also many clubs that serve both as an organisation for refugees' rights and concerns in general as well as a sports club. Three examples from three countries are discussed here: Liberi Nantes in Rome, Italy (founded in 2007 by Italian football fans who wanted to engage against racism in football), the Asylum Seeker Football Team (ASFT), created in 2012 by the Asylum Seeker Resource Center (ASRC) (that was founded in 2001 as a food bank) in Melbourne, Australia; and the football teams of Mahatma Gandhi Human Rights Organisation (MGHRO) in Budapest, Hungary (founded in the 1990s) (Schwenzer 2016; Dukic et al. 2017). Fonzo (2019) also discusses four examples from the southern Italian region of Campania.

In addition to a football team for men, Liberi Nantes also has a successful hiking section and has, less successfully, offered gymnastics for women (Schwenzer 2016: 48). All three clubs participate in their respective local football amateur leagues for men, none of the clubs offer football for women (Schwenzer 2016; Dukic et al. 2017) and also the four clubs reviewed by Fonzo (2019) have not succeeded in including women. In the Italian cases, the teams were allowed to participate in the league, but could not score points: "The Italian amateur league allows only two players on the pitch who are not EU citizens, but the Liberi Nantes team consists almost exclusively of non-EU nationals." (Schwenzer 2016: 45). Fonzo (2019: 42–45) describes how the association adapted their rules after campaigning from some clubs engaged for the integration of foreigners. Both teams at MGHRO and the ASFT participate competitively in the league, with two different levels of performance at MGHRO (Schwenzer 2016: 51). All seven clubs combine their sports offering with **legal assistance, language classes, and additional social activities** and thus help their players with socio-cultural integration into the new society. As most sports clubs, they depend on volunteers for coaching and organisation. While the ASRC was able to establish a partnership with the [local government in Melbourne] and acquire a pitch with fields, a clubhouse and changing rooms for the football team "for an indefinite period" (Dukic et al. 2017: 102), the MGHRO has faced an increasingly hostile environment both in society as well as from the Hungarian government (Schwenzer 2016: 53). Fonzo (2019) describes how having to rent a pitch in the more affordable outskirts of a city can lead to the exclusion of refugees with lower financial capacities.

Participating in the league increases the chances of mixing with the receiving society but also the likelihood of negative experiences such as racism. This was reported to often happen in Hungary but also occasionally in Italy, Australia and Germany (Fonzo 2019; Schwenzer 2016; Dukic et al. 2017; Stura 2019). The MGHRO has, to a certain extent successfully managed this by adding more Hungarian players to their team (Schwenzer 2016: 54). Having visible refugees' teams as part of the local league increases refugees' visibility. The Liberi Nantes team uses football matches as an opportunity to educate about refugees' and asylum seekers' rights and circumstances. MGHRO holds more formal classes about human rights in schools and sports clubs, and even only participating in the league gives refugees the opportunity to change some minds and prejudices, as one interviewee of Dukic et al.'s (2017) study remembered an incident when they had won a match:

> *"[When] the game finished all their players come and shake our hand, 'we are so glad to play with you' and I ask 'why?' and they said 'we had a bad background uhh thinking about refugee people, we think refugee people are angry people and fighting'. That time I'm so glad we show the culture and we are not dangerous." (Dukic et al. 2017: 105).*

The evaluations find that players benefit greatly from participating in the team as it provides them with **consistency, familiarity and a sense of belonging** as well as a social network, a structure and a sense of purpose and responsibility in addition to the benefits of a healthier lifestyle (Dukic et al. 2017, Schwenzer 2016). In the stressful situation that migrating is, especially as someone seeking asylum, participating in a sport that people were familiar with had a positive impact. For many participants, it was also a foundation for friendships, connection with their local ethnic community or access to a social network more

generally, as well as a stepping stone for careers in other (either mainstream or ethnic) football clubs and thus, also played a role in integration into the receiving society. Even if players experience racist incidents during matches, the composition of the team of solely asylum seekers served as a safe space, where the players were able to "relax knowing they won't experience racism or aggression, whereas they may experience this in everyday life" (Dukic et al. 2017: 107).

Achieving an Impact through Targeted Sports: Necessary Conditions, Difficulties, Barriers and Facilitators

Many facilitators of short-term targeted programmes for refugees believe that programmes integrating refugees into mainstream clubs would be preferable (Block & Gibbs 2017: 96). Indeed, some of the targeted programmes established *ad-hoc* as a reaction to the so-called "refugee crisis" serve as a **stepping stone** for refugees to be integrated into mainstream sports clubs and teams or the first contact upon arrival (Fonzo 2019). However, these targeted programmes have proven to be beneficial as well if they are **flexible and responsive** to the needs of the target group. Notably, the **combination of exercise with social assistance, psychotherapy or education** should be underlined. Some participants of Sponseiler's (2017) study reported that they were happy their therapists had recommended their participation in the gymnastics class as they would not have done so on their own (Sponseiler 2017: 64). Furthermore, the experience of being among other newcomers and people facing similar problems can be beneficial.

A common difficulty of programmes directed at refugees is the struggle with **sustained participation**. Reasons for this include language classes at the same time, family duties, appointments related to immigration, but also relocation and sometimes deportation, as well changing priorities once employment is legally possible, and the weather (Sponseiler 2017; Schwenzer 2016; Dukic et al. 2017). Another challenge is that sports programmes for refugees rely on public funding or donations and volunteer work as well as cooperations with professionals and relevant actors such as refugee homes since the **offers should be free of charge**.

Dukic et al. (2017) emphasise the importance of the "football habitus" all players of the ASFT share. This is an important factor of success since the programme, in a sense, only provides the infrastructure and space for connection – all participants had played football in their home countries and already brought the **skills and specific knowledge necessary to participate** and connect with others. The MGHRO in Budapest offers a more performance-oriented and more fun-oriented team. Liberi Nantes also offers hiking for refugees that are not interested in football. However, all three clubs have struggled with offers for women (or have not attempted to target them). The evaluation of the Movi Kune class in Austria shows that **childminding and female instructors** should be considered or included in such offers (Sponseiler 2017). The authors of the evaluation of the "Refugee Sports Club" in the USA attribute the success of the programme to the structured design and implementation of the programme following the TPSR model: Every session starts with Relational Time and Awareness Talk, followed by the sports activities, and is concluded with a Group Meeting, Reflection Time and a second Relational Time. The focus of the programme is clearly on social skills, with **sport being the facilitator**. Sport is also used in order to improve refugee women's mental and physical health with the Movi Kune project. The research presented in this section underlines the benefits a refugee-only group can have, with the reservations of including social offers as well, offering diverse and mostly leisure-oriented sports types, and the challenges of increased experience of racism when facing other teams.

3.3. Integration of Refugees into Sport Clubs and Teams

In the two previous sections on how refugees' integration can be helped by sports events and targeted or exclusive sports programmes, integration into mainstream teams and clubs was already mentioned. While participating in an ethnic, migrant, or even refugee community could be interpreted as being integrated or involved within the respective community – many still consider mixed teams the ideal way to integration (Block & Gibbs 2017: 96).

Several research and evaluation studies have focused on the integration of refugees into sports clubs or, conversely, the intercultural opening of these – shifting the focus to the integration efforts made by clubs. Nobis et al. (2017) distinguish three types of clubs committed to the integration of refugees: those that are politically motivated against xenophobia and racism, those that are socially motivated and want to help refugees, and those that are looking for talented athletes among refugees. The studies' authors and also the subjects interviewed in studies concerned with mixed teams state that "integration is a dynamic two-way process of mutual learning for refugees as well as members of the sports clubs" (Stura 2019: 141). A case study by Doidge, Keech and Sandri (2020) evaluates the Brighton Table Tennis Club (BTTC) in Brighton, UK, a socially inclusive club that is decisively open to everyone, seeks to integrate marginalised groups, and uses table tennis "as a vehicle for community integration and well-being." It works with "a variety of demographic groups, including refugees, people affected by mental health is-

sues, cancer, players with Down's Syndrome, Women-only sessions and older people." (Doidge et al. 2020: 5).

Nowy et al. (2020) use a quantitative method to investigate commitment for refugees in mainstream German voluntary sports clubs, focusing on the perspective of the clubs. They find that **human resources** capacity is more relevant than financial capacity, and higher shares of **migrant members**, higher **voluntary involvement**, and having at least one paid board member increase the likelihood of a club being committed in the integration of refugees. Seiberth et al. (2019) investigate a similar question with a more qualitative approach in one area of Germany. They find that successful integration of refugees in existing teams is facilitated by limiting the number of refugees in existing teams so as not to overwhelm the existing teams, as well as strong personal commitment and initiative of members wanting to be active in integration measures. Moreover, a range of **structural help for clubs**, such as funds for recompensation of volunteers, information and exchange events organised by the sports association and offering insurance for participating refugees who are not club members, were found to be helpful (Seiberth et al. 2019: 271–277). In a research project for the Bavarian football association, Stura (2019) studied the conditions and factors for refugees' participation in sports clubs. Only about 30% of the clubs had actively tried to reach refugees, with the remaining clubs being approached by the local government or refugee homes staff as well as refugees themselves or their mentors.

Integration into Clubs: Necessary Conditions, Difficulties, Barriers and Facilitators

Established clubs state they have a limited capacity for integration, concerning the available facilities, time slots, and trainers (Seiberth et al. 2018, Nobis et al. 2017). Furthermore, some clubs have had to deal with members that did not understand how their club could offer free memberships only for refugees, but not other groups, or the clubs have to deal with prejudices among team members (Seiberth et al. 2018; Stura 2019). Commonly, interviewees mention the bureaucracy and paperwork as being high (Nowy et al. 2020, Nobis et al. 2017, Ní Chonaill 2018). This is due to the fact that many clubs depend on **external funding for their special commitment to refugees** – on the other hand, this external funding provides them with free materials and other benefits.

On the side of the refugees' difficulties, almost all studies report consistently that **transportation to the facility** is difficult and costly for many refugees and asylum seekers (Nobis et al. 2017; Ní Chonaill 2018; Stura 2019; Seiberth et al. 2019). As mentioned already in section 3.2., time constraints on the refugees' side are an issue: language classes, school, and meals at refugee homes may prevent refugees from participating (Nobis et al. 2017), but **irregular attendance** is also due to bad weather (Ní Chonaill 2018). Like in the case of Liberi Nantes discussed in 3.2., mixed teams have also encountered the residency status of refugee players to be an obstacle: Firstly, residency is needed for player passes and away games. Secondly, the insecure residency status is found to be especially difficult for integration into the club's structures (Nobis et al. 2017). Finally, a lack of knowledge about the local sports systems is considered too big to take on the club's responsibilities (Nobis et al. 2017).

Other challenges identified in the studies were already presented with solutions to them, such as **setting up a new training group** for refugees when too many arrived at once (as discussed in 3.2) **or limiting the number of refugees** in existing teams to a maximum of 10 so as not to overwhelm the existing teams as well as allocating the refugees according to their level or age in order to prevent frustration (Nobis et al. 2017; Seiberth et al. 2018; Stura 2019). Migrants (or other refugees) in teams and clubs can **help with translation** (Stura 2019). Both in reaching refugees and in making them feel welcome, strong personal commitment and initiative of club members that are already engaged in refugee integration elsewhere or for refugees to know members of the club or team were found to be important since many clubs do not yet approach refugees directly (Seiberth et al. 2018; Stura 2019). Furthermore, **transportation to the club** has been identified as an issue to which different solutions were found, among them picking them up physically (Seiberth et al. 2018, Nobis et al. 2017), giving them vouchers for public transport (Ní Chonaill 2018), organising car-pooling or bicycles (Stura 2019). Other initiatives cooperate with schools in order for the participating children to be already there (Ní Chonaill 2018). Additionally, most clubs provide **training gear and material**, either from private donations or paid for with external funding (Ní Chonaill 2018; Seiberth et al. 2019).

The **type of sports club** plays an important role in the type of refugee integration a club will pursue. Stura (2019) finds that clubs that focus on performance and sports only are more likely to be interested in the refugees' skills, and even if skill levels match, in these cases, the integration will remain superficial and not go beyond participation in the team (Stura 2019: 140). Conversely, clubs and teams that also participate in community activities can "help bridge cultural differences" (Stura 2019: 139). Doidge et al. (2020) also stress the welcoming atmosphere of the BTTC, with "Refugees Welcome" graffiti and a world map on the walls, and the club's philosophy of favouring fun and social interaction over sporting skills. Nowy et al.'s (2020) quantitative findings point in the same direction: The sports clubs they find to be more likely to be involved in integrating refugees are: Sports clubs with a higher share of migrants among members, sports clubs focusing

on youth work, sports clubs with an integrative social focus (targeting senior citizens, having offers for women, families, people with lower financial capacities, special needs, etc.), sports clubs with a focus on health. However, the research also shows that football clubs are especially involved in the integration of refugees in comparison with other sports (Nowy et al. 2020, Stura 2019).

The **role of the coach** was also found to be decisive. Stura (2019: 140) concludes that "the coach must play a crucial role and actively support a team's culture of mutual learning." Doidge et al. (2020: 8) report how the "BTTC run staff and volunteer workshops on how to build positive relationships, managing behaviour, and most importantly, how to make new players feel welcome and [successfully] foster a sense of belonging." Burrmann et al. (2016: 14) report how interviewees valued workshops for coaches and trainers on how to interact with refugees.

Finally, there were also some important **necessary preconditions** identified: Funds at the state-level or association-level to help with integration measures, information brochures, conferences for information, training and exchange among trainers (Seiberth et al. 2018: 271; Ní Chonaill 2018). Informing and reaching the target group of refugees to be included in the club through cooperation or communication with schools, the local council, refugee housing centres, etc. (Ní Chonaill 2018). Stura (2019) found that a fixed person of contact for refugees in the club is necessary in many cases. Seiberth et al. (2018: 277) conclude that the insurance provided by the state solved a problem for many clubs that wanted to provide participation without memberships. Finally, especially when translation is not available or possible, refugees need to have a certain level of language skills to be able to participate (Seiberth et al. 2018, Nobis et al. 2017).

3.4. Qualification Measures with Sport for Refugees

When conceptionalising sport as a means to integration beyond meeting members of the host society or learning about social skills, sport plus education or qualification measures come into play. For refugees familiar with a certain sport "habitus", such as football (Dukic et al. 2017), this approach has a low threshold and is approachable. For instance, the Liberi Nantes Football Club (discussed above) provided refugee volunteers with the opportunity to work in the rehabilitation of their pitch and its exterior areas, including a training course to learn the relevant manual skills and receiving a certificate (Schwenzer 2016: 46) – a valuable, possibly first, work experience in the host country. The refugee football organisation "Kicken ohne Grenzen" in Vienna, Austria, runs a programme called "Job Goals" that combines football training and professional orientation coaching for young refugees between the ages of 15 and 24 (Kicken ohne Grenzen 2020: 26). In the first run of the project, between December 2019 and June 2020, 23 of the 24 participants could be included in work, school, or training after completing the programme (ibid: 29). The programme cooperated with eight different companies from a range of sectors.

While "Kicken ohne Grenzen" is still mainly a football organisation, the Canadian programme of the Community Cup (mentioned above in 3.1.) has sport and qualification as its main focus: Over the course of half a year, volunteers help prepare the annual Community Cup in Ottawa, Ontario, Canada (evaluated by Rich et al. 2015). The Community Cup is a tournament organised for and with refugees and recent immigrants that uses "sport as the hook to attract participants but then explicitly [aims] to produce social outcomes" (Rich et al. 2015: 138). Women are not mentioned specifically in the study. The Community Cup started in 2012 and then developed into an annual event that connects newcomers with the community as well as sports and leisure clubs and professionals and potential employers of the city[4]. The aim of the programme is to bring together the newly arrived immigrants and refugees with the local community, including sports and leisure clubs and local businesses, and including refugees as volunteers in the organisation of the event can improve their resume (Rich et al. 2015).

The evaluators found that for those refugees and immigrants that were interested in football, the Community Cup was an opportunity to connect with other refugees, migrants and the participants from the community over a shared interest, making them feel welcome, at home and forgetting about the stressful aspects of migration. The volunteers interviewed for the study reported that participating in the organisation was a very important feature as it provided some first form of Canadian work experience, including references to find employment and experiencing and learning about Canadian culture in a more professional setting (Rich et al. 2015: 136).

Qualification for Roles in Organized Sport

Besides providing qualification and networking for employment opportunities, sport clubs and associations also increasingly recognise the potential of refugees as volunteers and coaches. Besides the "Job Goals" programme, "Kicken ohne Grenzen" in Vienna, Austria, has also developed a programme called "#BeASKillCoach", a course for youth with a refugee background to pursue a career in professional or volunteer career in sports (Kicken ohne Grenzen 2020: 30). In three modules, they learn football

4) According to the organisation's website **www.communitycup.ca**, the programme seems to be discontinued since 2016.

training methods, fair play and rules, as well as leadership and organisation skills. These soft skills can be transferred to daily life as well. Their skills are also needed in sports clubs, as Nobis et al. (2017) find that those sports clubs that do involve refugees as voluntary coach assistants, interns etc., experience this positively and actually can use their language skills.

The Berlin Football Association in Berlin, Germany, has started a more formal qualification course for refugees to become coaches and referees (Schnarr & Schwenzer 2020). The evaluation of the course found that women did participate in the mixed course (5 of the 36 participants in total). A necessary precondition to being eligible to participate was to have a German level of B1 and to complete the course, the participants needed to continuously participate. The goal of the programme was to empower refugees and qualify them in order to integrate them into football clubs' structures as coaches and referees (Schnarr & Schwenzer 2020: 10), to teach them about rules, club structures, skills in organising a training session, etc., as well as increase their awareness about the role of a coach, which includes social competences and values (gender equality, democracy, participation). The analysis of interviews conducted after the course confirms that participants have more knowledge and more confidence in the role of the coach; they feel empowered and confident to participate in their club's structures. Additionally, the course provided a platform for exchange and contact between Berliners with a refugee background and created networks and friendships.

Social Integration through Qualification Measures: Necessary Conditions, Difficulties, Barriers, and Facilitators

In the cases reviewed here, **civil society organisations** engage in qualification measures for refugees, in some cases in cooperation with the **local council** (Community Cup), with the help of **individuals' involvement** (Liberi Nantes) or **public funding** from the European Union ("Kicken ohne Grenzen").

The reports on "Liberi Nantes"' and "Kicken ohne Grenzen"'s qualification engagement do not discuss any barriers, difficulties or facilitators. The evaluation report by Rich et al. (2015) describes facilitators and necessary conditions for the success of the Community Cup: The **sufficient and skilled professional administration staff** and organisations depend on **an available location**: While Liberi Nantes' project of providing the manual training by renovating their pitch was only possible once, the Community Cup depends on an available location to both hold the tournament and provide the space for the planning teams to meet during the six months leading up to the event. As a facilitating factor for success, the evaluation underlines "an organisational culture that strongly values inclusion and providing a **welcoming environment**" (Rich et al. 2015: 134).

The success of all measures aiming to integrate participants into the labour market stands and falls with the **cooperation with local employers**. While "Kicken ohne Grenzen" reports on the number of cooperation partners, the evaluation of the Community Cup only states that they were invited to set up booths on-site, but does not report anything about the success of this part of the event (Rich et al. 2015). Similarly, the evaluation does not provide information on whether the volunteering experience, in fact, did help refugees to be employed faster than others, while "Kicken ohne Grenzen" (2020: 29) does provide a detailed number of 96% successful completions of the programme.

As facilitators to successful completion of the programme for qualification in sport, Schnarr and Schwenzer (2020) point toward the **low threshold of participation**: The programme employed **translators** with the relevant knowledge and the exam was offered as well in the **participants' native language**. Furthermore, some **facilitators** themselves had a refugee background, and all facilitators were found to be very motivated and committed. Finally, the programme offered a **mentoring** beyond the training course, with mentors accompanying the new coaches' first training sessions.

Both Schnarr and Schwenzer (2020) and Rich et al. (2015) discuss the challenge of **refugee participants' unstable situation and unpredictable availability** – changing or starting employment hindering them from completing the course, moving to another part of the city, increasing the distance (and cost of transport) to the training centre, an unclear residency status hindering longterm commitment. While Rich et al. (2015: 134) also mention varying education and language skills as a challenge, this issue was avoided by a language **requirement for participation** as well as **providing native speakers as facilitators** in the Berlin programme. On the other hand, the Community Cup was designed in a way that refugees **exiting the programme (when they had found employment) were seen as a success and not a problem**; the planning teams were "required to have at least one newcomer and one local volunteer, and ideally a post-secondary student", thus not only ensuring continuity, but also a social mix and inclusion at the organisation stage (Rich et al. 2015: 134). Moreover, the administrators placed the volunteers in roles that fit them, sometimes even creating roles for them, "based on what is most realistic for their needs and abilities" and that these volunteer positions were "flexible in order to **meet the diverse needs and abilities of participants**" (Rich et al. 2015: 138-139).

4. Recommendations for the Design and Evaluation of Future Sports Programmes for Refugees

The analysis of the evaluation and empirical studies presented above has shown that sport and fitness offers for integration can be successful when considering the specific situation of refugees. Generally, offers should be accessible (free of charge) and have a welcoming atmosphere. While the studies discussed here focus on refugees, asylum seekers, or recent immigrants, the target group should be clearly defined as an asylum seeker's situation may differ a lot from that of a recognised refugee or a recent immigrant, even if all are looking for social integration through sport and exercise offers. While programmes can work well for a mixed group, it is indispensable for programme designers, coaches, and evaluators or researchers to be aware of the differences in legal status and related rights and resources.

Many evaluations and research studies discussed here have either not mentioned women or discussed how the programmes did not succeed in incorporating women and girls. While all factors relevant to include refugees, asylum seekers or recent immigrants apply as well to the inclusion of women, additional factors need to be considered; it is not sufficient to be principally open for refugee girls and women to participate. Nobis and colleagues (2017) notice that some clubs "regret" not having any female participants but do not seem to know how to change this. Moreover, some clubs seem to believe that it is the refugee girls and women that should adapt and assimilate to Western values and participate in mixed sports offers (Nobis et al. 2017: 20). Schwenzer (2017: 12) argues that „[in] order to reach women and girls, special networks are required: It is useful to look beyond refugee homes when it comes to finding people who support the cause of offering sports for female refugees, e. g., at "women's cafés", venues for mothers, girls' clubs and in language courses targeting women in particular." Sports and exercise programmes that aim to include or target female refugees should be female-only and be located in secured and safe facilities with access only for females (Nobis et al. 2017: 20; Sponseiler 2017). The studies discussed above suggest that family responsibilities should be considered as well (e.g., by providing childminding services during training sessions).

Spaaij and colleagues (2019) identified four levels of barriers and facilitators in their review of the literature: structural, socio-cultural, interpersonal, and personal. In general, the barriers and facilitators to participation in sports offers summarised in their review can be confirmed by this review. The following table (see Table 2) is based on the findings of Spaaij and colleagues' (2019: 10–11) and the findings of this review. The factors in blue are found in both reviews, in green are factors Spaaij and colleagues did not mention in their review, and in red are factors by Spaaij and colleagues I did not find in the analysis.

Barriers and facilitators for the inclusion and participation of refugees and asylum seekers in sports found at the structural level concern the political sphere as well as the clubs and sport associations. Barriers on the political level include the welfare system for asylum seekers and refugees, resulting in resource and transport constraints; clubs can counter this barrier by organising financial accessibility and geographical proximity of programmes or transport to the location. It also results to be crucial for clubs and associations to communicate and cooperate with political and civil society actors to find solutions. On the club level, factors for increasing the participation of female refugees are offering gender-specific sports and exercise programmes, possibly with a childminding service included. Moreover, clubs and associations should encourage the participation of the target group in the design of the programmes for the inclusion of refugees. More generally, other cultures should not be viewed as a barrier to inclusion but rather worked with to broaden a club's offer.

Experiences of racism and discrimination in sports can be a barrier to participation – the club and coaches should do everything to create awareness and solidarity among their club and team members; for example, by educating the public and club members about asylum seekers' and refugees' situation has proven to be beneficial for an integrative club atmosphere, as well as demonstrating their openness in banners, on websites, etc. However, the studies have also shown that limiting the number of newcomers with different backgrounds (who do not speak the language etc.) helps integration into an existing team. Spaaij et al.' review (2019) state that the norms in refugees' communities hinder women and girls from participating in sports, which results in a lack of family support and can be worked with by engaging with the families of potential participants.

On the personal level, barriers to participation on the side of participants are language barriers, time constraints, limited knowledge about the sports system, and no prior experience in a sport. On the side of clubs, factors for increasing participation of refugees are trainers, coaches, volunteers, club members and directors that are motivated, committed, and have intercultural competencies and language skills.

	Barriers	Favourable Factors
Structural	♦ Policy gaps (e.g., rules of sports associations concerning nationality in amateur leagues) ♦ Resource constraints (welfare system for refugees) ♦ Transport constraints ♦ Lack of communication and collaboration between sporting and supporting organisations ♦ Lack of funding for targeted programmes/ bureaucratic effort for applying to funding/ Organisational culture and human resources available in sports clubs ♦ Lack of inclusive sporting practices (for women and girls)	♦ Financial accessibility of programmes/providing training gear ♦ Geographic proximity of clubs or venues ♦ Organising transport ♦ Flexible programmes ♦ Gender-specific sports programmes ♦ Providing childminding services during training hours ♦ Inclusive club culture ("refugees welcome" banners etc.) ♦ Incorporate refugees in the club's structure and training delivery ♦ Cooperate with NGOs from the community to recruit participants and learn about needs ♦ Positive political environment, e.g., concerning pitches
Socio-cultural	♦ Community norms (gender roles, especially for girls and women)	♦ Understanding the target group's culture, needs and context: combine sports/exercise with other offers ♦ Not viewing other cultures as barriers to inclusion ♦ Design programmes that emphasise group interests, cultural norms and strengths ♦ Educating the public about asylum seekers' and refugees' situation
Interpersonal	♦ Absence of family support (for children and mothers) ♦ Racism and discrimination experience	♦ Inclusion of the target group in the programme development ♦ Engagement of families ♦ Limiting number of newcomers to a team
Personal	♦ Language barriers ♦ Lack of time, family responsibilities, different priorities (especially finding housing and employment) ♦ Limited knowledge about sports culture, system and possibilities (to take on club responsibilities) ♦ No prior sports experience (lack of skills and habits)	♦ Trainers'/coaches'/facilitators' intercultural competences ♦ Committed club directors and trainers ♦ Highly motivated volunteers ♦ Language skills of club members and facilitators

Table 2: Barriers and favourable factors for Inclusion (based on the review of Spaaij and colleagues 2019)

blue: found in both reviews
green: found in this review
red: found in the review of Spaaij and colleagues (2019)

Depending on the goal and target group of a programme, different models of participation and integration in sport are available. The analysis has shown how each model has advantages and disadvantages: Sporting events for integration can bring many people together, but in order to create an impact, they should be embedded in a larger project and well-planned. Medium- and longer-term programmes (as well as clubs and teams) targeted exclusively at refugees have the advantage of being a responsive, safe space specialised to cater to refugees' needs, while integrative programmes, clubs, or teams have the potential advantage of bringing together different social groups. Sport can also function as a bridge to social, educational or professional integration. In the remaining sections of this review, I present concrete recommendations based on the analysis, structured by the four models of participation and integration (sport events, targeted programmes, inclusive clubs, and qualification through sport), before giving recommendations for the evaluation of sports programmes for integration.

4.1. Sport Events for Integration

Sport events for integration should be part of a larger project in order to create an impact. Examples of employment for different entities are:

- For sports clubs: introducing the groups and teams a club offers,
- For a programme: kicking off or finalising a programme,
- For a local government: bringing together a community.

Sport events for integration can be successful in "bringing people together", but for this end, special rules should be adopted. The event should be welcoming to the whole community and offer more than just sports. Examples of additional features are concerts, games, a food court, a job or sports club fair, information workshops for refugees, and presenting relevant NGOs – depending on the goal and target group of the event.

While the sport itself takes place, the fair play and social aspects of sport should be emphasised over competition and performance. Examples are smaller and mixed teams (ethnicities, languages, age groups, gender) and valuing fair play more than traditional winning criteria. The organisation of the event can be part of the programme itself, as exemplified by the Community Cup presented above.

4.2. Targeted Programmes for Refugees' Settlement

Sport offers targeted exclusively at refugees can offer a safe space during the times of arrival and settlement. They should be responsive and adaptive to the needs of the specific target population or group. As these offers should be free of charge, sufficient funding must be secured. The research presented here has shown that conceptualising the offer as flexible to sudden dropout of the participants and taking into consideration inconsistent attendance is important. Moreover, it has proven to be beneficial to combine sport with some other form of service, be it legal assistance, social assistance, social activities, or even language classes, education or psychotherapy – for these, cooperation with specialists is ideal. Sport can be a "hook" or bridge to other offers while offering consistency and familiarity into a turbulent life phase, creating a sense of belonging as well as providing a social network, a structure and a sense of purpose and responsibility in addition to the benefits of a healthy lifestyle. Therefore, other offers targeted at refugees (such as NGOs) and sports facilitators (such as clubs) should cooperate to maximise the benefit for the participants and benefit from the networking effect for recruitment.

While flexible groups are important in the unstable situation of arrival, the orientation groups for refugees can be a stepping stone for integration into existing (mixed or ethnic) teams or groups or for creating a more permanent team or group with a less institutionalised focus on the social aspect.

It is most important that sport groups targeted at refugees are responsive to their needs and function as a safe space from racism and worry and a safe place for exchange about common problems. In the same vein, the needs of girls and women should be taken extra seriously: It is recommended to actively approach women and girls and create female-only offers for women and girls with female instructors, with ideal time slots, transportation and childminding being some aspects that should be taken into consideration. While the competitive aspect of sport may be the compelling part for some, it is generally advisable to focus on the fun and leisure aspect of sport, a chance to practice health and social skills that help with everyday life. The trainers, instructors and coaches should therefore be specially qualified and motivated to work with the specific target group, and the programme should be designed carefully.

4.3. Opening of Clubs for Approaching and Integrating Refugee Members

Clubs have various reasons to be wanting to approach and integrate refugees into their clubs: some may be politically or socially motivated against xenophobia and racism and want to help refugees, others are looking for new members or talented athletes among refugees (Nobis et al. 2017). However, a basic willingness alone is not enough. Studies have shown that most clubs could be more active in approaching and advertising themselves to refugees.

The human resources a club has seems to be more important than its financial capacity: Clubs with more migrant members and a high share of voluntary engagement are more likely to include refugees successfully. A lot depends on individual volunteers. In terms of socio-economic conditions, many clubs already offer subsidised training gear and membership fees. The financial aspect of integration (additional coaches, recompensation of volunteers, providing training gear and offering reduced membership fees) often relies on structural help for clubs, such as state-level funds or sport associations. Clubs could also introduce a solidarity model of membership fees. Structural help for clubs goes beyond financial assistance, with information and exchange events organised by sports associations. Successful programmes, such as the Brighton Table Tennis Club, underline that the organisational culture and staff need to be trained in intercultural competencies and social skills. Trainers, coaches and instructors should be trained in intercultural competence and the basics of social work so they can understand and manage common problems. The many volunteers should be rewarded and motivated. It is recommended to include (refugee) team members in the clubs' structures and encourage volunteering as assistants or becoming trainers themselves.

A common difficulty for clubs and instructors is sustaining participation. Refugees, especially recent newcomers, have many priorities besides their commitment to sport, e.g., their residency status, finding employment and housing, as well as family obligations. Transportation was reported to be a barrier, especially in rural areas. Programmes that aim to include refugees should consider these circumstances, be flexible and responsive to the specific needs voiced. For example, by organising car-pooling partners, creating social responsibilities for team members or establishing a social setting to discuss relevant questions for the participants. This also gives an opportunity for evaluation studies to take a more active role in including the voices and views of the target population.

4.4. Social Integration through Qualification via Sport

Sport can be an instrument to advance integration beyond participation in sports teams. As mentioned in section 4.3., motivated participants should be encouraged to take on responsibilities in the club as coaches, trainers, assistants, or referees. While some clubs argue that investing in asylum seekers and refugees with unsure residency status is too risky, others have benefited from their language skills and motivation as assistant coaches etc. Refugees and migrants interested in sports can benefit from a qualification programme in cooperation with employers or sport associations either to become trainers, referees or even other professions not related to sport. Sport can function as a motivator, where the participants receive support and can practice teamwork, language and social skills. Similarly, responsibilities such as organising a sport event in a mixed team (as described in 4.1. and 3.4.) can serve as valuable intercultural work experience for everyone involved and should be recognised and appreciated as such.

4.5. Evaluating Sports Programmes for Integration

Most research in the field of sport and social integration has been rather exploratory or descriptive, with many case studies presenting successful cases. While one can undoubtedly learn from successful cases, futures studies should explore studying the effects of programmes and policies, for instance, by exploring causal models (e.g., by using RCTs, as has been done in the field of sport and (mental) health), comparing programmes or longitudinal studies. A pre-post-assessment should be feasible for all studies. This research review summarises the many barriers and facilitators that should be considered for a successful programme in the field of sport and integration and also discusses the advantages of programme types in comparison to each other (events, targeted exclusive programmes, integrative clubs and teams, and qualification via sport).

In terms of methodologies, a mixed-methods approach has proven to be best and is also recommended by Spaaij and colleagues (2019: 14). While including the views of refugees themselves seems to be extremely important, studies have shown that it is not easy. Researchers should consider the difficulties described above and design their data collection tools accordingly, for example, by hiring interpreters, using simple-language or translated questionnaires, or using focus groups or group discussions instead of formal interviews, which could bring back memories of the process of seeking asylum. Spaaij and colleagues also raise ethical concerns: The research process should be inclusive, "enabling refugee participants to play a more active role in setting the research agenda so that it is responsive to their needs and respects their concerns and values" (Spaaij et al. 2019: 15). They also suggest adopting what "refugee and forced migration scholars have [termed] an iterative model of the consent process, whereby consent is an ongoing negotiation (Mackenzie et al. 2007)" rather than a signed document before an interview (Spaaij et al. 2019: 15). Researchers should also be aware of the problem of (expected) social desirability when interviewing refugees who are concerned with their immigration status or application for asylum (Knappe et al. 2019a).

For both programmes and research and evaluation studies, the target group (refugees, asylum seekers, or migrants) must be clearly defined. The same applies to the concept of integration, i.e., the goal of the sports programme. Spaaij and colleagues (2019: 11) note that some research has "assimilationist tendencies," e.g. when the goal is to "integrate into the mainstream clubs" without looking at the clubs' intercultural opening or considering racism in sports, which are considerable barriers for integration. However, focusing on structures should not exclude the perspective and experience of refugee participants. When defining the research objective, evaluators should also consider defining the "markers" of integration: If sport is considered a path to integration, is participation in a programme or club already a sufficient marker of integration? Finally, researchers should be careful not to reproduce stereotypes about refugees and migrants and consider ethnic groups, immigration status, social and economic factors, among others.

Lastly, if the main objective is the well-being and integration of refugees, the assumption of sport being fundamental should also be subject to critical evaluation. This could be achieved by not only asking how participation in a certain programme affected refugee participants but also by looking at the role of sport in a broader perspective; i.e. the role sport and exercise can play for refugees' integration beyond socio-cultural integration, such as into the labour market or for language acquirement. More research is needed especially investigating the factors for the successful inclusion of refugee women and girls.

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