



# THE MYTH OF SPORT

*- a study of the street sport initiative  
Street Under Buen*

# **Master Thesis**

Development & International Relations,  
with specialisation in Global Refugee Studies  
Aalborg University in Copenhagen



**AALBORG UNIVERSITET**

## **Authors**

Sarah Aasebø Smith – 20191683

Natascha Berntsen Hyld – 20192246

## **Supervisor**

Danny Raymond

Characters: 160.238

Date: 28.05.2021

## ABSTRACT

The focus of this paper is an examination of the role of street sport in creating inclusive communities in the grassroots organisation Street Under Buen. This will be assessed in relation to the mythological status of sport in the Danish society. It will explore how sport associations are an integrated part of the Danish association culture and as such a direct reflection of the Danish democratic society. The discourse of sport as being a tool to create inclusive communities will be examined in the geographic context of Denmark to illuminate how street sport is breaking with the traditional idea of sport associations, but still incorporates various aspects of the hegemonic understanding of sport. This duality will be explored through six interviews with the founders and leading figures of Street Under Buen in order to understand how they perceive street sport as a break with the norm and to grasp its contribution to the development of youths from economically disadvantaged and privileged areas of Copenhagen. In grasping this, this paper will examine the ritualistic practices of street sport, the mythological language of (street) sport, and its abilities to create inclusive communities by instilling values in youth, which are central to the Danish democracy.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 PROBLEM STATEMENT.....	4
2. METHODOLOGY.....	5
2.1 ANALYSIS STRATEGY.....	6
2.2 METHODS.....	8
2.2.1 THE FOUNDERS.....	8
2.2.2 FIELDWORK.....	10
2.2.3 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS.....	11
2.3 THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS.....	12
2.3.1 DISCOURSE.....	12
2.3.2 HEGEMONY.....	15
2.3.3 MYTHOLOGY.....	15
3. LITERATURE REVIEW.....	16
3.1 THE UNIVERSE OF SPORT.....	17
4. ANALYSIS.....	21
4.1 STREET UNDER BUEN.....	22
4.2 THE POWER OF THE MYTH.....	24
4.2.1 DEMOCRACY & DISCIPLINE.....	28
4.3 THE 10 STREET COMMANDMENTS.....	35
4.3.1 THE BIBLE & RITUALS.....	39
4.4 STREET SPORT VERSUS ORGANISED SPORT.....	43
4.4.1 THE SPACE.....	47
4.4.2 SHAPING IDENTITIES.....	51
5. CONCLUDING REMARKS.....	58
5.1 CONCLUSION.....	59
5.2 REFLECTIONS.....	61
6. BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	63



# 1. INTRODUCTION

Sport is a worldwide phenomenon and has continuously been a central part of recreational activities due to its social and physiological benefits. This too is true in Denmark, where the development of sport is closely related to the expansion of associations in the Danish society. The organisational structure of associations first appeared in the beginning of the 1800's and differed from pre-modern corporations by having formalized rules, being a defined community of interest, by membership being voluntary and in principle open to all, and by having a democratic decision-making structure (Ibsen 2009:21, Balle-Petersen 1976, Clemmensen 1987). Associations and unions flourished in the 1850s with the constitution clause promising freedom of associations (Grundloven §78). Common for a number of these associations emanating from the peasant and labour movement, was that they functioned as democratic communities of practice in democratic environments. In the associations people were equal - at least on paper - and that was more than what they were in the surrounding society. The practice of co-operation in the associations on formally equal terms helped strengthen the demand for equality in other areas of society, just as one was trained in the art of making democratic decisions. In this regard, the associations gained considerable democratic socialising significance as it created social capital in the form of relationships and mutual trust between like-minded individuals in the mainly class-based associations. The association community consolidated and expanded from the 1900s to the 1950s. This meant that people increasingly met across classes in the associations, and subsequently started working together more frequently, with some forming umbrella organisations and others uniting in national associations. This expansion of the associations continued until approximately the 2000s and since then the density of associations has not decreased, though many associations have disappeared, new ones are constantly appearing. From the 1980s to today the municipalities and associations cooperate more and more, resulting in the associations getting seats on several committees and boards in municipalities and are being given an increasing role in organising the social efforts in the municipalities (Torpe 2009:16-17). Voluntary associations therefore represent an important role in our democratic society as they function as mediators of central humanistic and democratic values. The most common areas of society in which Danes are taught these values through associations are within the areas of culture, leisure, and sport (Ibsen 2009). While it is widely acknowledged that associations within all three areas are pivotal in instilling adolescence with fundamental democratic values across ethnicity, social class, and religious or political affiliation, there has been a specific focus on the abilities within sport

associations since the 2000s (Thing & Ottesen 2010). This is seemingly because of the availability of sport; everyone can participate to their own ability and most cities or villages have a sport institution. Due to the inclusive nature of sport associations, they play an important role in integrating and connecting Danes, raising trust between citizens and forming a breeding ground for widespread co-operation and knowledge exchange in our society. (Svendsen 2009). Although the framework of sport associations can be understood as being mainly competitive, non-victorious elements such as comradeship, and successful passes can paradoxically be experienced as affirmative and important for a person's self-esteem. In fact, sport's combination of physical exercise and the close social coexistence is unique in relation to the surrounding society, as it may aid in developing social networks, one's own competencies and a greater understanding of fellow human beings (Svendsen 2009; Mikkelsen 2006). Participation in sport associations, is therefore believed to train youths in understanding collective messages, be persistent and fight for the collective, not succumb to self-pity at the slightest push, take responsibility, be good comrades, meeting on time, etc. As such it has been argued that the coaches volunteering in sport associations help educate a large number of good citizens, for the benefit of all Danes (Svendsen 2009).

This understanding of sport as being capable of bridging cultural, geographical, and ethnical differences has long been an accepted truth in numerous democratic societies. This too is true in a Danish context, where sport associations are viewed as an expression of democratic practice on a micro-level, which can be used as a tool to enhance inclusion of youths from lower socio-economic classes. We are interested in the understanding of sport as a phenomenon capable of creating inclusive communities and want to examine this notion in the following paper. In this connection, we focus specifically on the grassroot initiative Street Under Buen, which is physically placed below Bispeengbuen, a former parking lot transformed into a cultural hub with weekly activities, including street sport, art, music, food courts and flea markets. Street Under Buen is a collaborative effort between the five organisations: Copenhagen Panna House, Street Society, Streetball Copenhagen, Danish Freestyle Football Community & BørneBasketFonden. Although the space presents a broad variety of activities, our focus will primarily be on those related to sport, as we will investigate why and how Street Under Buen uses street sport to create inclusive communities for the youths in the local area and compare this idea of inclusivity through sport to that of established sport associations. To further examine the founders of Street Under Buen's idea of how sport can create inclusiveness, we will look at how it is expressed in the design of the physical space. This physical and social

understanding of inclusivity created through street sport and the specific space at Bispeengbuen will be put in relation to the broader understanding of sport as a tool for inclusion within the Danish society to better understand how Street Under Buen is simultaneously a reaction to the established associations while also being part of reproducing the grand narrative of sport being able to include all people no matter their background.

Our motivation for engaging in this research has been the continuous political and academic focus on structured sport associations as being central to the Danish self-understanding and as a form of micro-democracy in which children from a young age are taught democratic and societal norms and values. Since the early 2000s, however, Denmark has experienced a shift from organised indoor sport to self-organised street sport in urban spaces and nature. This has resulted in more and more youths being able to participate in sport right outside their door, where there is no supervision and no one is being weighed or measured as would typically be the case in organised sport, school and other arenas that youths enter on a daily basis. For this reason, self-organised street sport has been claimed by its practitioners to be a free space for youths (Berlingske 2008, Pilgaard 2009:117). As street sport has won an impasse in society, there has been an increase in the demand for proper training grounds (basketball courts, football pitches, skater ramps etc). In order to have more impact when negotiating with municipalities many street sport enthusiasts have had to organise themselves into sport associations. Lately, street sport has thus become semi-organised, with Street Under Buen being an example hereof. In attempting to create better facilities as well as include those who did not get included in the established sport association, Street Under Buen has created a semi-organised association in order to bring together youths, create inclusive communities and teach democratic values, which are also embedded in sport associations. It is within the clash of the counterculture of self-organised street sport and the established structure of sport associations that our motivation for engaging in this research project stems. We are interested in assessing the extent to which the narrative of sport as a cure for isolation and lack of integration has been included in street sport and to understand the discursive process of this narrative to become dominant in street sport as well as established sport associations. As such, we are interested in sport as a phenomenon and how it is used as a tool to create social inclusion and communities across different social and cultural backgrounds. Sport is often perceived to be the solution to many societal issues and we want to investigate what it is that sport can do that other activities

cannot. Furthermore, we want to relate it to the sport associations in Denmark and the idea of inclusion, which is so inherent in the Danish democratic society.

## 1.1 PROBLEM STATEMENT

The problem statement has been formulated after completion of the fieldwork as the empirical data has been collected through an inductive approach. This has led to following problem statement:

*Why does 'Street Under Buen' use street sport in their intent of creating inclusive communities and how can it be understood in relation to sport associations in the Danish society?*

In asking this question we are interested in assessing how Street Under Buen as a non-traditional sport association believes street sport may be able to contribute to social inclusion in a way that traditional sport organisations are not capable of. In order to examine this role of street sport at Street Under Buen, we must first understand the phenomenon of sport and sport associations in Denmark, their central position in ensuring social inclusion and how these aspects are reflected in the design and structure of Street Under Buen. We therefore ask, *why* the sport initiative utilises sport, *how* this relates to Danish sport associations and *how* this can be seen in relation to the wider Danish society, as this encapsulates the reasons behind Street Under Buen's utilisation of street sport and positions it in relation to the surrounding society.



## **2. METHODOLOGY**

This chapter will present the genealogically inspired approach which guides this research as well as the methodological considerations and theoretical concepts central to the process of collecting and utilising the empirical data on which this thesis builds. The chapter is initiated by a presentation of our analysis strategy and its implications for shaping this thesis, and subsequently presents the methodological approaches used within it. The chapter concludes with a presentation of our theoretical considerations and concepts.

## 2.1 ANALYSIS STRATEGY

The analysis strategy employed in this thesis is inspired by genealogy, in order to most efficiently assess the geographical and historical structure of knowledge and how this affects and reflects the sport initiative Street Under Buen. In taking this approach, we are able to critically assess how neutralised forms of knowledge and institutions are historical creations and thus it challenges what has come to be accepted as ‘common sense’ (Bjerg & Villadsen 2006:87-89).

Using genealogy as a method is a time consuming and documentary task as disorganised documents, observations and interviews need to be ordered in time and space (Jørgensen 2002:38). One should not underestimate the interpretive element of genealogy as it opens up new perspectives on matters that have been hidden behind patterns of knowledge, which have come to dominate. The aim of genealogy is to challenge these social patterns by examining the circumstances and conditions under which they evolved (Ibid.:42). According to Foucault, genealogy brings attention to local and discontinuous knowledges rather than unifying theories and challenges what constitutes science and true knowledge (Foucault 1980:83). As such, genealogical research may carry on indefinitely, as indeed did Foucault’s own research. Due to obvious time constraints carrying on indefinitely has not been possible in this context, which is why we simply acknowledge that this research is inspired by Foucault’s genealogy and not bound by its vast nature of exploration. Using key concepts of genealogy in our analysis strategy, allows us to examine sport as a phenomenon and how the knowledge of sport has been organised geographically and historically. In this vein, the usage of genealogy allows us to focus on local knowledge instead of grand narratives. Following this understanding, we see power as something which only functions in the form of a chain, always circulating and never localised or centralised. In other words, our focus is on the power embedded in discourses and on the specific discourses, procedures and strategies of Street Under Buen, in which differences interact and operate in a specific context, as it is here that power is confronted, opposed and resisted (Jørgensen 2002:40-42).

The analysis of this thesis transcends from providing a detailed study of the concrete organisational practices of Street Under Buen to assessing larger societal patterns and how these contradict and/or confirm each other. This illuminates how sport as a phenomenon gradually emerges through the detailed study of discourses. Using genealogy as a

methodological framework makes evident that power does not emanate from a grand ideology but is concrete and embedded in methods of observation and research (Ibid.). We therefore employ genealogy as a critical approach to challenge assumptions about sport which are deeply rooted in the Danish society. We apply the lens of genealogy because of its opposition to grand narratives, as it has become evident through our fieldwork that such a grand narrative about the beneficial effects of sport exists. A narrative in which facts have unjustly been gathered under the same umbrella reinforcing a specific narrative of the phenomenon of sport and as such, the local knowledges and the histories that do not fit this narrative are being left out. In line with Foucault's critique of grand narratives, we therefore assess the uniqueness of each individual element as opposed to letting these be transformed into sameness. Instead, these should be understood as a collection of dispersed events with their own history and identity in their own specific context (Foucault 1980:82-83). Through our genealogical lens, we therefore record the events, which are left out of the unifying and systemising theory that constitutes the grand narrative. As a result, we do not see it as our role to impose an abstract or unitary order onto our data, but rather to portray how different narratives and discourses coexist and contradict each other. Thus, our aim is not to evaluate the effect of (street) sport but simply to make visible the various discourses existing within the Danish narrative on sport. To examine this wider narrative of sport in Denmark, this thesis functions as a micro study of the grassroot initiative Street Under Buen, which reflects the macro structures embedded within society.

## 2.2 METHODS

Having specified the genealogically inspired strategy of this project, the following will present how this is reflected in our methodological and ethical considerations. In accordance with Foucault's genealogy, we have left no stone unturned in attempting to gain an empirical overview and regarded nothing as non-empirical material (Triantafillou 2005:11). In this way, everything can potentially provide a valuable empirical insight. The empirical sources can, in Foucault's genealogical understanding therefore consist of anything from "[...] discourses, institutions, architectural design, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative precautions, scientific statements, philosophical, moral, philanthropic proposals and assertions" (Raffnsøe et al. 2008:217). The empirical sources can thus include anything imaginable to have a behavioural and stimulating effect on the individual's choices and actions. In congruence with this genealogical understanding, this research is built on a broad variety of sources, more specifically, the primary data on which this project rests consists of field observations and six semi-structured interviews, all of which guided by a series of predetermined questions and carried out in February and March of 2021. In acknowledging that these empirical findings cannot sufficiently answer the research question, we will complement our findings with secondary materials, to assess the role of sport and associations in Denmark throughout history. In relation to this project, genealogy will therefore serve the purpose of critically assessing the discourses surrounding sport associations in Denmark and how the founders of Street Under Buen position themselves within or outside of this discourse in a reciprocal struggle to define the phenomenon of sport.

### 2.2.1 THE FOUNDERS

Street Under Buen is placed below the famous and infamous Bispeengbuen on the border between Frederiksberg and Copenhagen Municipality - renowned for its central infrastructural role of connecting the two municipalities and notorious for the insecure environment below the structure. During the last decade, the space below the bridge has been characterised by insecurity and criminality, in short it has been considered a place to avoid during dark hours. Street Under Buen was created with the aim of transforming one of the city's most questionable areas into a centre of culture and sport (Street Under Buen 2019). The organisations constituting this initiative - which were brought together in an alliance formed by Urban 13, a socio-economic business which conducts all business activities below Bispeengbuen - are Street Society, Streetball Copenhagen, Copenhagen Panna House, BørneBasketFonden, and

Danish Freestyle Football Community, all of whom are central actors in the Danish street sport scene. Of these five organisations Street Society, which has a social focus centred around local role models and has incorporated training sessions only for girls, and Copenhagen Panna House, which is a one-on-one sport, but social in the way that personal development depends on others, are the two most prominent organisations at Street Under Buen with their daily activities and adult supervision. On the other hand, Streetball Copenhagen, BørneBasketFonden and Danish Freestyle Football Community are not daily users of the courts; with Streetball Copenhagen only officially using the courts for free, easily accessible tournaments. It is important to note here that members of the three latter organisations may indeed utilise the courts on a daily basis, in fact we know from our observations and interviews that Streetball Copenhagen's members do so, but that official programming for these organisations are limited at Street Under Buen simply because they have other outlets for their activities. Thus, while all of the organisations at Street Under Buen aim at disseminating street sport in its various forms, they have operationalised this goal in different ways. Considering these differentiations of involvement in the initiative, we have focused our resources on interviewing the main actors of Street Under Buen, a choice that was influenced by lack of response by BørneBasketFonden and the Danish Freestyle Football Community. The informants' whose voices constitute our primary empirical data therefore consist of Reda, co-founder of both Street Society and Street Under Buen and our primary gatekeeper providing us with access to the remaining informants, Trine, who runs Street Society's female programme at Street Under Buen and other local communities, Kristoffer, co-founder of Copenhagen Panna House and Street Under Buen, Marius, co-founder of Streetball Copenhagen, and lastly Alexander, who co-founded Urban 13 and has been instrumental in creating Street Under Buen qua his position in Urban 13. As such, Urban 13 is not directly involved with the street sport aspect beneath Bispeengbuen, but they expect that the close proximity between the sport courts and their cultural platform may help open the youths' horizons to other interests. These are five actors who play a central role in ensuring that Street Under Buen thrives and the stories they tell in regard to this specific space and street sport in general is therefore essential to understand the vision of this initiative and its relation to hegemonic discourses surrounding sport. The purpose of these interviews is therefore to illuminate how these actors at Street Under Buen attempt to construct or reconstruct the social aspects of sport. The interviews are thus to be understood as the individual narratives that the different actors wish to tell. This is evident in some interviews during which the answers seem almost rehearsed, whereas other interviewees

seem to answer more freely. In this project the stories revolve around the discourse of street sport and what they perceive as being its overlooked abilities.

### 2.2.2 FIELDWORK

We initiated this research process by conducting field observations at Street Under Buen, as these were conducted while the country was still in lockdown, they mostly served to provide us with a sense of the physical and social space. Immediately following these observational studies of the space below Bispeengbuen, we conducted an informal interview and tour of the space with one of its founders and our informal gatekeeper, Tariq, a volunteer and role model at Street Society. This initial conversation served as our access to the organisational life at Street Under Buen, as this informant provided us with the contact information to other informants, including our formal gatekeeper, Reda, and gave us greenlight to proceed our investigations. The subsequent five interviews were conducted through Microsoft Teams because of the current covid-19 regulations. We found that it presented challenges regarding the build-up of rapport which is easier overcome in face-to-face situations. Most notably, this was the case in instances of loss of connection, which created a distraction and awkwardness that had to be overcome before continuing the interview (Seitz 2015:4); as well as in the inability of looking the participant directly in the eyes during the interviews, which may be an effective method of establishing trust during interview situations (Petralia 2011:114). Furthermore, we found that the usage of non-verbal cues presented some challenges, as they can be difficult to communicate via screen. As we wanted to make the interviews as pleasant for our interviewees, we combined the use of verbal and non-verbal cues, such as smiling, nodding, and occasionally saying “yes” or “Mm” to encourage the participant to continue talking and thus attempting to avoid the interview seeming mechanical and cold (Cohen et al. 2007:153). During our final interview, we experienced how these non-verbal and verbal cues were much more readily understood by our informant as we sat face to face without any screens.

As the aim of this thesis has been to assess how the founders of Street Under Buen experience street sport as an important tool in creating social inclusion, we have opted to conduct interviews with only representatives of each association (with the exceptions of Danish Freestyle Football Community and BørneBasketFonden). We have made an intentional decision not to include the voices of the participants and volunteers, as we wanted to understand



the narrative and vision behind the initiative of Street Under Buen rather than the effects of the initiative or how the participants experience the space. Moreover, this decision was influenced by the current pandemic, which resulted in less practitioners using the fields on a daily basis. These two considerations combined have caused their perspectives to be excluded from this thesis. Instead, we have interviewed five actors, hereof one of them twice, who all play a central role to the establishment and to the daily operation of Street Under Buen. This amounted to six semi-structured interviews guided by a loose interview outline, which consisted of open-ended questions. This structure of our interviews allowed us to develop follow-up questions during the conversation and therefore include knowledge, perspectives and meanings that would have otherwise been unattainable (Skinner 2013:25). The questions can, exempt the explanatory ones, be roughly divided into two different layers, a micro layer, in which the nature of the questions revolve around the local milieu (i.e. the geographical placement and attendees), and a macro layer, which centres around the general abilities of street sport (i.e. freedom of street sport and difference from traditional sports). Including both perspectives allowed us to understand not only what the founders deem contributions of practicing street sport but also its broader societal contributions. During our data collection various themes became apparent and thus the semi-structured interview guide allowed room to ask questions regarding themes such as integration, success, values and freedom (appendix 1). These themes discovered throughout our interviews constitute the thematic approach utilised in coding our data. In this way, the information gathered through the interviews shaped the focus of our investigation and it allowed for our genealogic inspiration to shine through as it brought to the fore the previously unheard voices of Street Under Buen's founders, in a way that would not have been possible, had we conducted fully structured interviews (Kvale & Brinkmann 2015:258-259).

### 2.2.3 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Having accounted for our methods, we will now explain our ethical considerations in conducting our fieldwork and analysing our data. We are aware that a transcription can never accurately reflect the spoken word as the process of transcribing interviews is a translation of the spoken word into writing meaning that something will be lost when speech is translated into writing - this applies to body language as well as tone of voice, etc. Furthermore, our interviews have been conducted using the informants' and researchers' mother tongue, Danish, and only as part of our coding process have the quotes used in this thesis been translated into English. According to Svend Brinkmann, the analysis already begins with the transcript, where

one should consider *"how to most loyally translate statements from oral language to textual representation"* (Brinkmann & Tanggaard, 2010:442). In this context, we have chosen to translate direct quotes in the thesis to English in order to create coherence. Although we acknowledge that this produces a general chance of misquoting our informants, we believe that not one correct translation of an interview is possible as the readers produce their own understanding of the text and as such, the transcription in itself operates as a translation. In congruence with Sherry Simon we have instead sought to represent our informants' voices within the cultural meanings of the language rather than a direct lexical word for word translation (Temple & Young 2004:165).

Another ethical consideration important to the formation of this thesis, is our positioning in the field. As Street Under Buen is a grassroots initiative eager to gain political and societal attention, they readily engaged with us, expressing expectations of our research helping them gain political impact to be more recognised as a sport institution. It was evident that there existed an expectation of us taking part in promoting their initiative, which we made clear was not the intention of the thesis. However, they consistently asked us to conduct interviews with youths active in the planning and structuring of the activities at Street Under Buen even after we had made clear to them that this was not of interest to our research. Although this posed an ethical dilemma, we purposefully communicated that the purpose of our research was not to promote the initiative but rather to critically assess it.

## 2.3 THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Having presented our methodological considerations regarding the collection and subsequent processing of the empirical data, the following will disclose our eclectic choice of theories and our usage of them in order to shed light on this data. Furthermore, we will elaborate on the coherence and contradictions between our main theories and concepts.

### 2.3.1 DISCOURSE

This thesis employs a Foucauldian discourse analysis approach, which enables a scrutinization of the founders of Street Under Buen's communication about the initiative and the power relationships in society expressed through the language and practices. Michel Foucault (1981) argues that discourses are ways of talking about the world, but their functions are not simply

communicative, they also serve to classify, distinguish, evaluate, and measure. Foucault developed theories and concepts through several empirical studies making him a character most discourse analysts relate to in their work. We are interested in finding out when and which statements become accepted as true and meaningful in specific historical contexts. Most discourse analytical approaches follow Foucault's understanding of discourses being something relatively restricted by rules, which delimits what makes sense and thus, truth is something that is created discursively. In Foucault's genealogical work, his main focus is on power and how it, just like discourse, is not something that belongs to any specific agents. Thus, power becomes both what shapes our social worlds, but also what controls how the world can be talked about, and as such it constrains other possibilities of what can be said, making power both productive and restrictive. Foucault's interpretation of power and knowledge can be related to discourse, as it produces the subjects and objects and raises the central question of how the social world is constituted together with its subjects and objects in discourses (Jørgensen & Phillips 1999:21-23).

Convergent for our analysis is the Foucauldian interpretation of discourse, but we will additionally draw on Nibert Fairclough's (2008 [1992]) reading of discourse and intertextuality as it adds to the analysis by giving insights to how concrete language always points back to earlier discourses. Fairclough's approach is part of the critical discourse analysis and his focus is on how social practices both reproduce and challenge knowledge, identities and social relations including power relations. Through Fairclough's concept of intertextuality, we are able to show how text consistently draws on elements and discourse from other texts and as such always points back to meaning, which have already been established (Jørgensen & Phillips 1999:15). Thus, focusing on intertextuality has enabled us to see reproduction of discourse of sport as well as change of discourses through new compositions of words. We find Fairclough's discourse analysis useful as it is text-oriented and focuses on how discursive processes operate linguistically in text. Furthermore, Fairclough is inspired by Foucault and includes his macro-sociological analysis of social practices in his approach, but adds a methodology for analysis of specific text, which Foucault does not (Jørgensen & Phillips 2011c [2002]:6). We will also draw on Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe's interpretation of discourse as we find their concept of nodal points of identity essential for our analysis. They are inspired by Lacan's view of the subject being in a constant process of 'finding itself' by investing in discourses and they argue that identity is the same as identification with something (Ibid.:16). We are applying Laclau and Mouffe's discourse analysis, with the concepts of nodal

points and signifiers, to examine how Street Under Buen creates an identity. Their concepts are useful in showing how specific statements can follow a certain structure in persuading its reader. Further, we will draw on their framework in examining how a group identity can be created. Laclau and Mouffe are strongly inspired by Foucault and his view on power as being productive. However, they do differentiate themselves from Fairclough as Laclau and Mouffe see all practices as discursive, whilst Fairclough distinguishes between social practices and discursive practices (Jørgensen & Phillips 1999:29). Fairclough understands social practices as non-discursive because he, as the term implies, does not believe that this level can be understood through discourse analysis. He therefore argues that discourse analysis cannot alone sufficiently explain this level and calls for the utilisation of other relevant theories to fully grasp it. While he distinguishes the two practices, he simultaneously acknowledges their reciprocal relationship. This relationship is evident as the social practice influences how reality is described and put into speech in discursive practice and thus, discursive practice is embedded in the social structure and practice. This utterance works back as a constitutive effect on the social structure (Fairclough 2008 [1992]:27-28). In the same way, we see a dialectical relationship between discursive practice and social practice, thus we have included theories outside of the realm of discourse analysis in our assessment of the social practices unfolding at Street Under Buen.

The different approaches to discourse analysis included in this thesis, share some key premises. A congruous premise is the acknowledgement that the way we talk does not naturally reflect the world, identities, and social relations. Instead, the way we talk about the world plays an active role in creating and changing the world along with identities and social relations (Jørgensen & Phillips 2011a [2002]:2). The different discourse analysis approaches are all critical towards common sense knowledge, they are historical and culturally specific, see coherence between knowledge and social processes as well as knowledge and social practice (Jørgensen & Phillips 1999:14). We acknowledge that we as researchers are fixed in the same discourses as we are attempting to analyse and though our goal is to distance ourselves from these discourses, we are not under the illusion that we can portray one objective truth as it will always be embedded in discourses and therefore no singular objective truth exists.

### 2.3.2 HEGEMONY

The concept of hegemony is applied in this thesis to examine the discourses' ongoing struggle over meaning. The concept originates from Antonio Gramsci (1971), however, we will base our understanding on Fairclough's interpretation, in order to analyse how discursive practices are part of the hegemonic struggle and contribute to the reproduction and transformation of the order of discourse (Fairclough 2008:52). Following Gramsci, Fairclough consents that hegemony is a process of negotiation, in which all social groups participate in reaching a consensus concerning what is considered meaningful or common-sense (Jørgensen & Phillips 2011c:14). This concept will shed light on how specific ideas and ways to create inclusive communities exist and how grassroot initiatives such as Street Under Buen are part of a hegemonic struggle, as they too engage in the process of negotiating the meaning of sport.

### 2.3.3 MYTHOLOGY

In our project, the concept of myth is applied as presented by Roland Barthes (1957). According to him, myth is historically anchored and cannot occur naturally. The myth as a structural figure is a discursive form and can therefore not be defined on the basis of the objects that the myth deals with, but only on the basis of the structural form that conveys it's given content. The myth contains one moment of historicity in itself, but the point is, that it draws the characters into its own context, whereby this historicity is abolished. The myth transforms the actual concrete course to a narrative outside of time and space and simplifies the reality content and magnifies certain details while others are toned down (Barthes 1957:107-109). This concept is utilised to question the mythological nature of sport. We see this concept as compatible with Foucault's genealogical method as both look at how certain knowledges become established and accepted as truth in society. Though Barthes is more semiological in his approach, his understanding of myth being historically anchored, and a discursive form is concurrent with Foucault's understanding of discourse and knowledge. In this way, Barthes interpretation of myth adds valuable insight into how certain words or concepts can be emptied of meaning, yet still have its own narrative outside time and space.

These theoretical and conceptual approaches will be pervasive throughout the analysis as discourses, hegemony and myths are central in examining how Street Under Buen's use of street sport, in attempting to create inclusive communities, inscribes it in the discourse surrounding sport associations in the Danish society.

### **3. LITERATURE REVIEW**

The following is a presentation of the existing scholarly field of research on sport's recreational and societal effects as well as its restrictions. Within this presentation, we will clarify the contribution of our research to this vast field of research and specify how it differs from the scarce research conducted on street sport.



### 3.1 THE UNIVERSE OF SPORT

Today there is a widespread belief in the western world that sport plays an integral role in counteracting social and societal problems such as inactivity, as well as lack of integration and social cohesion (Council of Europe 1995, Theeboom et al. 2012). The Danish leisure tradition too is strongly influenced by this conviction and sport associations are continuously regarded as a measure to manage youths' activities and ensure their discovery and practice of democratic competencies through participation in leisure organisations and associations (Kaspersen and Ottesen 2001:118; Kofoed 2009; Gundelach & Torpe 1999). It is therefore assumed that such participation in a 'small democracy' prepares youths to take part in 'the great democracy' of society. This idea stems from the fact that associations arose at the same time as democracy was introduced as the form of government in Denmark and as such the formation of an association became a realisation of democratic ideals and principles (Ibsen & Levinsen 2016). In this way, it has been assumed that members of associations are schooled in democratic principles (Gundelach & Torpe 1999, Torpe 2013, Warren 2001). This assumption stems from Alexis Tocqueville's studies of the 1800 American society, showing that citizens that engage in local associations activities are more prone to engage in society as a whole (Tocqueville 1835). Additionally, participation in association-based sport has also been attributed to a number of other positive consequences, such as social integration, local affiliation and identity as well as physical activity (Wollebæk & Selle, 2002; Sivesind & Ødegård, 2003). It is thus evident that this understanding of sport's various social capabilities has been widely upheld by a variety of scholars, but perhaps none more prominently than Robert D. Putnam (2000), according to whom sport represents an important means to produce 'social capital', which is required to sustain healthy and free liberal democracies. Putnam's understanding of sport associations as democratically significant, has been widely scrutinised with various studies finding a compelling correlation between participation in associations and political interest, political self-confidence and knowledge of society (see e.g. Warren 2001; Putnam 2000). This correlation may be explained by the socialising effects of participation in team sport, but they may also be demographically explained, as individuals joining sport associations tend to be politically active already. If this is true, it is highly conceivable that sport associations are experiencing a skewing of their members resulting in the most privileged segment of the population with a high level of education, good position in the labour market and a large social network dominate the voluntary work and engagement in associations, while less privileged groups engage less (Fridberg & Qvist, 2014). Skinner et al. (2008) argue that this skewing of

members in sport associations obscures their ability to create opportunities fostering social inclusion and community development and consequently high levels of positive social capital. Rather, they argue, the current implementation of sport programmes frequently fails to address community needs by implementing ‘one size fits all’ programmes. In such cases, sport initiatives are not capable of creating sustainable change. The potential of Danish sport initiatives has been scrutinised by Sine Agergaard (2018) who argues that sport is not uniform, it is used and structured differently across geographic boundaries and types of sport. She identifies three specific shortcomings through which the current political belief in sport as a tool to integration must be examined. The three shortcomings revolve around policies of integration frequently being a one-way process of assimilation, ethnic minorities being presented as a uniform group in political debates and finally sport being seen as a uniform, integrative instrument. In light of these shortcomings, Agergaard shows how the current political belief in sport neglects to acknowledge the multifaceted nature of different sport activities and the diversity of people. Thus, she argues that sport as an integrative measure must be reassessed in order to create sustainable integration (Agergaard 2018). However, this idea of sport being an inclusion tool has been widely acknowledged, as there exists an understanding of sport associations being welcome to everyone and easily accessible independent of social status and ethnic background. As such, sport associations are being understood as being a breeding ground for widespread collaboration and knowledge exchange in society and therefore acts as an important tool for integration and connecting Danes by raising trust between the citizens (Svendsen 2009).

The belief in sport as integral in overcoming social challenges has been widely challenged by researchers such as Mark Dyreson (2001) who confronts Putnam’s understanding of sport as a means to create social capital as it rests on a long tradition of seeing sport as unifying. Instead, he emphasises how sport can have the powerful ability to create civic division and disengagement as sport has historically provided a powerful tool for segregating on the basis of gender and race. Furthermore, he argues that sport might not always create democratic communities as losing a game might rather contribute to sport practitioners blaming each other instead of unifying them. Dyreson also points to the difficulty of challenging the sporting ideology because promoters of sport believe so much in the benefits of it that they are rarely convinced otherwise even when research shows that sport is not as effective as presumed. Fred Coalter (2007, 2015, 2017) goes even further in his assessment of the social benefits of sport, as he postulates that existing research in this area has been largely inconclusive, hence further

research is necessary in order to conclude that sport is effective in development of social capital. He critiques existing research of sport for being based on politics as only research concluding that sport is a useful tool in developing social capital is being published. He contests that other research showing no results is simply not published and as such the idea of sport promoting social cohesion is maintained (Coalter 2017). It is therefore unclear what role sport clubs play in increasing types of capital and its contribution to the broader social regeneration agenda, rather it is clear to Coalter that the blind belief in and politicisation of sport clubs may undermine the strengths of voluntarism in sport associations. Coalter's contribution to the discussion of sport as an integrative and social capital building measure constitutes a critique of the politically unyielding belief in sport resulting in a dominant discourse in which only research affirming this belief is published whilst contradicting research is ignored. As a result, Coalter believes that more research is necessary to conclude whether or not sport activities have the desired effects. This notion is supported by Vail (2007), Craig (2007) and Spaaij (2009), who raise the critique of sport programmes frequently being top-down initiatives in which programmes are dropped into settings without proper needs assessment in the community. Many sport initiatives, they assert, are therefore 'off-the-shelf' programmes and thus fall short in delivering sustainable solutions to true community development. As a consequence of this critical deficiency, new forms of 'alternatively' organised sport have emerged, which potentially challenges the traditional association-based ways in which sport is conceptualised and practiced (Midol & Broyer 1995; Wheaton 2004). These traditional conceptualisations and practices are challenged through more local experiments with street sport, which is mostly arranged by enthusiasts within the community and offer a high degree of organisational flexibility. In recent decades these alternatively organised forms of leisure have begun to find an informal and formal foothold in Denmark, e.g. through self-organised musical urban practices (Sand 2014, 2017) and street sport (Larsen et al., 2017; Bäckström & Sand 2019). In spite of these looser forms of organisations gaining impasse into Danish society, it is continuously difficult for young people to create a space for their own street sport activities or projects. The process of establishing such an organisation is furthermore influenced by the way in which societal actors have traditionally established leisure spaces for young people - a process which has largely been managed by adults, partly through concrete laws and rules, but also in the form of more hidden norms and institutional logics for how one should organise oneself (Sand 2019). These norms are easily observable in Turner's study of skateboarders' experience of being expected to adopt certain codes of conduct in order to receive funding from a system whose hegemonic structures streamlines and standardises the projects awarded funds

(Turner 2013:1255-56). Turner argues that this constitutes a civilisation process of the skaters resulting in the very real change of the practice losing its natural characteristics, which may threaten participation in the association (Turner 2013:1259). This too is evident in Anderson's study of children's sport participation in Copenhagen (Anderson 2008), in which he finds that Danish association life has a long-standing tradition of creating categorical logics of children who are not participating in organised sport by utilising terms such as 'sport-passive' and 'association-less' (Anderson 2008:102-103). According to Anderson, sport associations are connected to specific understandings of how to act civilly, thus dictating behaviour in a way that may only be good for some (Anderson 2008:202). This illustrates how certain institutional logics in Danish leisure organisations dictate how leisure time should be spent in Denmark and how sport associations have been used as a tool to create and strengthen local communities.

Where the majority of research in the field of sport has focused on organised sport institutions, our focal point is the grassroots bottom-up initiative Street Under Buen created by street sport practitioners themselves. The focus of the initiative is on participation and making it an inclusive community, where the participants are part of creating the space by being included into important decision-making processes and as such, they are challenging the traditional understanding of a sport organisation. Our research adds to existing literature in this field by examining the phenomenon of sport that has developed into its own mythological universe. Furthermore, we illustrate how the hegemonic discourse concerning sport is challenged by this grassroots initiative, which does not fit into the traditional understanding of how a sport association should operate. On this basis, we add to the scarce literature on street sport by studying the case of Street Under Buen and analysing how they organise themselves, when they do not fit into the hegemonic discourse concerning sport associations and how they communicate values deeply embedded in the Danish democracy through street sport.

## 4. ANALYSIS

This analysis is initiated by a visual description of the physical layout and the atmosphere encountered during our field observations at Street Under Buen. The description will continuously be drawn upon throughout the analysis in order to contextualise various arguments relating to the design of the space, the geographical location and the numerous activities taking place below the bridge. Following this description, we will examine the mythological universe of sport and how the idea of sport being a tool for creating social change is embedded within this mythology. In this vein, we will show how traditional and non-traditional sport associations use sport as a tool to internalise democratic values in the subjects. These values, we argue, are visualised through the 10 street commandments, which are central in directing the rituals shaping the shared identity existing at Street Under Buen. Upon having analysed the initiative's values, our focus will turn to the duality in which Street Under Buen navigates, as their funding depends on them fitting into the idea of a traditional sport association, while they simultaneously insist on drawing a distinction between themselves and the surrounding society. This is evident in our analysis of the physical space as well as in Street Under Buen's focus on internalising moral values in the subject as opposed to traditional sport associations' focus on outer structures.

## 4.1 STREET UNDER BUEN

Located in between Frederiksberg and Nørrebro you will find Bispeengbuen – a six lane car bridge connecting the inner city to the suburbs. The bridge was built by the Social Democrat Lord Mayor Urban Willy Tage Hansen in his vision of creating a metropolitan city. The large, grey concrete bridge is in no way discrete and has for years been considered by many to be an eyesore which does not suit the city's aesthetic. The bridge has been a widely debated political topic with many different views as to whether or not it should be torn down. While these discussions are still prevalent, other actors have explored the possibilities that the space left underneath the bridge presents. For a long time, the space was used for additional city car parking, primarily due to the lack of more innovative ideas for utilisation of this unwanted space. This changed in 2014, as Urban 13 started drawing up plans to enhance the space underneath the bridge in a way that would benefit the local community.

Standing beneath the bridge the stark contrast between the two municipalities which surround the space is clear. When looking to the left of Bispeengbuen you see Lundtoftegade, a concrete rental apartment building with predominantly low-income residents. The housing area has previously been on the government's 'ghetto list', which contains a list of social housing areas having, amongst other things, a high density of people with a 'non-western' background along with high rates of criminality and unemployment. Looking to the right you will see some condominiums with a maintained façade expressing the wealth in Frederiksberg Municipality. Symbolically, squeezed right in the border field between the two areas, Street Under Buen is placed. A project aiming at uniting and integrating people on both sides of the bridge by creating communities across differences. Walking below the bridge you will see how this is expressed in the visual design of the place. There are nine different containers, each in different colours; one is an office space, one is an event space used for concerts and movie showings, one is a burger joint, one is a meeting room, two are used for sport equipment, one is for art and one is used as a clubhouse for Street Under Buen's street sport practitioners. Along with the containers is a soccer and a basketball field. The soccer field is made white, blue and red with a splash of yellow here and there and containers on opposite ends of the field – one is painted red and one is painted blue. The containers symbolise boxing corners and are painted this way to communicate the competitive element inherent within sport. On the soccer field, two hands fist bumping are painted to illustrate sportsmanship and fair play. The paint on the field is purposely painted outside of the side-lines indicating where the field starts and where



it ends. On the right side of the soccer field is a grey and yellow basketball court – it is half a court with one hoop and it is frequently in use, predominantly by young people from the area. Next to the basketball field is a fence keeping the balls from falling onto the street, where the cars are driving. A huge picture illustrating two young people's faces looking at each other decorates the fence. In between the two youngsters' faces is written 'The 10 Street Commandments' with ten statements about how to behave at Street Under Buen. The commandments are centred around having respect for other people, being yourself, as well as open, responsible and honest, to share knowledge, involve each other, represent the culture and spread good vibes.

When physically observing the space underneath Bispeengbuen, it becomes evident that this is a place where people of all ages gather for different reasons. In the space, there is an area with a skate ramp, where skaters are gathered and are practicing different skills. In the adjacent area, two women are exercising with a personal trainer, who is guiding them through their workout routine. In front of the blue office container, eight ladies with big headphones are furiously punching the air. In front of them a middle-aged man with the same headphones and a microphone attached is instructing their shadow boxing. As we walk by, he comes over and puts two extra pairs of headphones on us; music is playing and in our ears we can hear his directions and we start kicking and hitting along with the other ladies. After a short while we pass the headphones on and escape being dragged into a longer gym session. It seems like a lot of people pass through this space – some people use it actively and for some people it is just a space you passively pass through in order to get from one place to another. Nonetheless, this place, which was previously used only for parking cars, has been transformed into a space where people collectively gather together for a variety of shared activities.

## 4.2 THE POWER OF THE MYTH

The following will investigate the dominant societal understanding of sport having recreational effects and argue that this has created a myth of sport. Furthermore, we will scrutinise how Street Under Buen uses street sport as a tool for social inclusion by drawing on existing discourses, which reproduce the myth of sport. We will start by showing how sport has been argued to build sociality and how the story of sport has developed throughout time. This will be done to illustrate the existence of a specific narrative of sport, which is being echoed by the founders of Street Under Buen.

As illustrated in our literature review sport has continuously been viewed as being able to positively affect society by reducing crime, creating healthy communities and building active citizens, despite there being no real evidence hereof (Coalter 2007:538). A prominent advocate for the social benefits of sport is Robert D. Putnam (2000), according to whom sport represents an important means to produce social capital, which is required to sustain healthy and free liberal democracies. Putnam assessed that the individualisation of modern society expressed in people exercising sport alone could negatively affect the building of social capital, as it is the face-to-face meeting created through recreational, co-operative sport which produces not only social capital but also social democracy. This understanding of sport, as unifying and creating healthy democracies by instilling democratic values in its practitioners, has been largely embraced by western politicians, many of whom have invested resources in promoting sport initiatives (Coalter 2015:19). This integral role of sport in building healthy sociality has since been emphasised by numerous other academics (Jarvie 2003, Maguire et al. 2000). The importance of sport in the Danish society became evident in the 1980s where politicians began to actively involve associations and civil society in solving the state's welfare tasks (Ibsen & Ottesen 2005:369). Many people see these sport associations as arenas for social integration and informal learning because they mediate integral Danish values (Agergaard 2011:341). In this relation we see sport as a phenomenon, which has reached a mythological status as it has more and more actors accepting it as the solution to many societal challenges such as obesity, inactivity, integrations, loneliness etc. To help us shed light on sport as a myth we draw on Roland Barthes' (1957) interpretation of the concept as he seeks to grasp the relations between language and power, which he believes are integral in shaping and creating myths. According to Barthes, myth is a system of communication - a type of speech where everything can become a myth as long as it is conveyed through a discourse (Qvortrup 1992:100). As such, mythology

is based in history and cannot naturally occur. Barthes does not define his concept of myth on the basis of the objects that myths deal with, but only on the basis of the structural form that conveys a given content. The myth thus contains a moment of historicity in itself, but the point is, that it draws the characters into its own context, whereby this historicity is abolished. The myth transforms the actual concrete course to a narrative outside of time and space and as such he contends that myth helps naturalise particular worldviews. In this way, the myth simplifies the reality content and magnifies certain details while others are toned down (Barthes 1957:107-116). With this interpretation of myth in mind, we argue that sport has its very own mythological universe that, like all other myths, on one side reflects the society it is part of and on the other hand is elevated over any kind of historical and cultural frame of reference. As such, we argue that sport has reached a mythological status in society through the discourse surrounding the phenomenon and that this is being reproduced in the grassroots initiative Street Under Buen. In the following, we will examine how our informants talked about sport and how this is reproducing the discourse about sport already existing in society.

Reda is a full-time social worker and the co-founder of Street Society, which is an organisation practicing street soccer with youth in different social housing areas. The methodology of the organisation is built on the idea of role models, who are volunteers - often from the same social housing area in which the training sessions proceed. Reda is also a co-founder of Street Under Buen and invests a lot of his spare time and energy in the project. When asking him why sport is an important tool to create social inclusion, he answered:

*“Through sport you get lots of learning and development, networking. There are a lot of things you do not think about at that age, but which have an effect in the further course. The more actively you are part of a community, the easier it will be to engage in society as an adult. People in the social housing areas are a little more isolated - it is a different cultural understanding, it may not be parents with the greatest understanding of the rules of the game in society. Maybe they are not themselves integrated in the Danish labour market, maybe they lack linguistic knowledge. So the starting point can be a bit challenging for the individual young person, but through sport young people can have a positive adult contact and gain experiences of success that are crucial to youth and their self-confidence and self-esteem. All this is needed to be able to engage actively in society.” (Reda 16:00-18:00, appendix 4)*

In this quote Reda explains how he sees sport as integral for learning, development and networking. He understands sport to be essential for the individual's later development in life. He emphasises that when you are an active part of a community as a youth, it will also be easier for you as an adult to engage in society. This understanding of sport is similar to what we see at a political level, where sport is being promoted as a tool to solve societal welfare tasks. As such, we see Reda's understanding of sport as playing into the dominant societal story about sport, which is closely related to Putnam's interpretation of sport being integral in producing social capital, which is central to sustain healthy and free democracies. Furthermore, in the quote Reda expresses how he sees sport as a tool to integrate young people, whose parents might not be that well integrated and how it can be challenging for the parents who are quite isolated and do not necessarily understand the rules of the game called society. Here Reda is speaking metaphorically about society as a game with its own rules, drawing a reference to sport's specific rules on how to behave during a match. Thus, he likens the rules of sport with understanding the rules of society and emphasising that through sport one can be prepared for adulthood in the Danish society. However, there is no proven correlation between people participating in sport becoming more integrated in society (Coalter 2007:552), but there still exists a dominant narrative in society that sports are able to solve many challenges of the welfare state and build up good democratic citizens (sportsotland 2003, Game 2021, Idrætsprojektet 2019). This is where Barthes' interpretation of myth becomes relevant as it is closely interlinked with how we speak about a certain content. In a myth there are two semiologic systems; the language-object and the metalanguage. It is called the language-object because the myth gets hold of the language in order to build its own system and the metalanguage refers to the myth itself, as it is a second language where one speaks about the first (Barthes 1957:113-114). Myth is a unique system as it is composed from a pre-existing semiological chain and as such, it is a second-order semiological system. The materials of mythical speech such as the language, pictures, rituals and objects, are different at the beginning, but are reduced to a simple signifying function as soon as they are caught by the myth. In the myth all these different materials are seen as the same raw material and they are all united as they all come down to the status of mere language. This is also why the researcher is entitled to treat pictures and writing the same way as they are both signs with the same signifying functions. As such, they constitute each other, or to use Barthes terminology, they are language-objects (Barthes 1957:114). Looking at the myth of sport, we can see how it is a second-order semiological system in the sense that it is constructed from a semiological chain which existed before. The understanding of sport as having physiological benefits to the

individual and therefore the society is a pre-existing established truth, as the effect of exercise has been proven through research to be positive for the physical development of the body (Warburton et al. 2006; Theeboom 2012). Other research has also shown that sport can contribute to personal growth, social integration and social change (Wankel & Berger 2018). As such this idea of sport having recreational effects are built on an already constructed semiological chain. However, myth transforms meaning into form and as such becomes a language-robbery, where the meaning loses its value while keeping its life, which the myth draws its nourishment from (Barthes 1957:118, 131). In this way, the form does not suppress the meaning, but instead exhausts it and keeps it at one's disposal (Ibid.:117). Through this interpretation of myth, we see that sport has reached a mythological status where the discourse surrounding sport has resulted in a language-robbery, where the meaning of sport has lost its value and as such, sport has come to mean many different things, which does not necessarily have root in factual knowledge or real meaning.

In our further conversations with the founders of Street Under Buen, Marius, who is a basketball player and co-founder of Streetball Copenhagen, explains that everyone who has played team sport has experienced that it creates friendships, because you become connected through something. He emphasised that it creates a togetherness with people you would not otherwise hang out with. This understanding of sport creating fellowship is echoed in all of our interviews. Another informant, Trine, who is part of Street Society and leading their girl activities, explains that sport can build bridges between cultures as people can be wild and a little less civilised when playing ball together. This point is extended as she emphasises that when people are physical together it becomes easier to laugh and smile, which makes sport a good way to create new relationships. Kristoffer, the head of Panna House and co-founder of Street Under Buen, explains that street sport creates freedom and connects people because it enables everyone to suddenly talk the same language, the language of 'the ball'. In the quote by Reda, which has been presented above, we encounter a strong focus on people from social housing areas whose parents are not necessarily actively a part of the Danish society and how it is important that these youths get the opportunity to engage in a sports community and gain some successful experiences. In another conversation Reda explains that what they are doing at Street Under Buen is indirectly helping people to avoid winding up in gang environments or criminality, by offering an alternative community. Furthermore, Reda emphasises that sport is not the goal in itself, but rather that it is a tool to social inclusion and integration. He states that it is not an integration project, but that if what they are doing through street sport results in

integration, they feel like they have succeeded. Thus, the myth of sport is reproduced at Street Under Buen, where the understanding of sport having a vital role in including people is predominant:

*“It [street sport] is a strong social tool to include people. [...] Street sport is loose and flexible, so you can come and participate and commit to what you can with your resources and time [...] we value the social aspect.”* (Reda 06:51-07:19, appendix 4)

This idea of the social aspect being a vital part of street sport is echoed by Kristoffer in his metaphorical utilisation of an iceberg. He states that sport is the part of the iceberg visible above the water's surface, while various social and developmental aspects are hidden below the surface. These various elements are thus hidden from the immediate interpretation of Street Under Buen's work. This metaphor exemplifies how the physical activity of sport in itself is visually available, but that it is only one element of Street Under Buen's vision and as such, sport becomes the visual expression of the social work they are doing, thus making sport not a goal in itself but a tool to create social change. As such, this understanding of sport being able to reduce criminality and create positive experiences for the individual is a reproduction of already existing stories concerning sport circulating in society. Through their articulation of the benefits of sport they are reenforcing the myth of sport having recreational effects.

#### 4.2.1 DEMOCRACY & DISCIPLINE

Having established that sport is submerged in its own mythological universe, in which dominant narratives of its capabilities exist, we will now examine Street Under Buen's vision of overarching inclusivity of youth. This will be assessed by questioning how the vision of Street Under Buen engages with and may even be resulting from existing discourses surrounding inclusion in Denmark. Lastly, this chapter suggests that democratic values expressed in the sport initiative create disciplined subjects.

Street Under Buen has throughout our fieldwork been described by our informants as a project aiming at including youth from both sides of the bridge - both from Frederiksberg and from Nørrebro. Trine, who is a part of Street Society and works with inclusion of girls in street sport, explains the vision of Street Under Buen this way:

*“The vision is to create some easily accessible flexible communities for the young people both locally and for all the city's youth, where you can create friendships across age and gender and where finances do not play a role in terms of membership fees and equipment [...] So it [the space] is open to many different people.”* (Trine 12:11-15:48, appendix 5)

This quote illustrates that the vision of Street Under Buen is to create inclusive communities which embrace youth no matter their economic or social status. As such, the aim of the initiative is to include as many people as possible to create a diverse community. Kristoffer echoed Trine's sentiment when describing Street Under Buen as a 'melting pot', where people can meet across cultures, ages, genders, etc. Using the terminology of a melting pot brings to the fore the focus of cultural diversity inherent in the initiative of Street Under Buen. Furthermore, several of the founders emphasise that the project is able to include youth who would not otherwise fit into a sport association. Reda explains the importance of making it free to participate, so that young people from social housing areas can be part of it. He extends on this point by noting that they often experience in the streets that young people get caught up in bad stuff, which is a vicious spiral and thus he implies that by making them feel a part of the community at Street Under Buen this can be avoided. He also states that 'integration' is a term they have consciously stopped using and instead they focus on inclusion, because Street Under Buen is a non-excluding sport initiative, which also includes resourceful youth who do not have any social challenges. According to Reda they do not want to use the term 'integration' as that makes them feel limited in who they can reach out to. Furthermore, he argues that the various usages of the term have resulted in it changing meaning in different contexts. However, he admits that it can be a politically useful word and for that reason, in some contexts, they deliberately term the initiative as an integration project because it can be an effective buzzword when applying for funding. Reda adds that even though they do not view it as an integration project, he hopes that the outcome of it is successful integration. This understanding of Street Under Buen, though paradoxical, emphasises how the founders are extremely conscious about what words to use and which ones to avoid when explaining the initiative, as they constantly engage in different political arenas with different associated discourses. In this way, it is evident, through conversing with our informants about their vision and target group, that a narrative of Street Under Buen as being an inclusion project has been purposefully created; a way to include all those who the sport associations have not succeed in including, as well as making it a home court to the minority youth, who otherwise struggle to fit in. Though there

are discrepancies in our informants' statements about what this exactly means in practice, we found it interesting how 'inclusion' was a word that all our informants mentioned as important for the work they are doing at Street Under Buen. When asking about the demography of the participants the focus was mainly on youth with a minority background - especially young people from social housing areas with a Middle Eastern background. This is exemplified by Trine;

*“We would like to have more ethnic Danes with us, but maybe more like a 30-40% integration of ethnic Danes in the group - for example from Frederiksberg. It is always people with other ethnic backgrounds who have to try to fit into all sorts of communities here and there and there is never a place where they are allowed to just be.”* (Trine 33:18-37:50, appendix 5)

This quote illustrates clearly that the majority of the participants at Street Under Buen are youth with an ethnic minority background. However, at Street Under Buen they aim to make them feel like the majority while they would like ethnic Danes to stay a minority. In this way, when talking about integration, Trine flips the traditional understanding of the term around to focus on the integration of ethnic Danes into Street Under Buen, instead of people with a mixed cultural background, who are often the ones referred to in the mainstream political debate. However, this creates a dilemma as the founders of Street Under Buen on the one hand aim at including all those youngsters who sport associations do not accommodate, which are often young people with minority backgrounds from social housing areas, but on the other hand it is important that it does not become a space where people do not dare to engage in the community, because the ones on the courts do not look like someone the people walking by would normally hang out with. Trine emphasises this by stating; *“because you could well believe that if you come driving by from the outside that it is a fixed group where you cannot get in or something like that, so the communication must be clear, so everyone knows that they are welcome”* (Trine, 33:18-37:50, appendix 5). As such, there exists a dilemma between wanting to mainly include youth with minority backgrounds whilst also wanting to make sure that ethnic Danes take part in the community so everyone feels included. We see this focus on inclusion closely related to severe focus on inclusion in Denmark on a societal level, where the word for a long time has been on the agenda of public discourse, both in primary school and in research. However, since the enactment of the Inclusion Act in 2012, there has been an increased focus on inclusion and inclusion processes in the Danish political and educational policy debate



(Bjerg Petersen 2015:5, Inklusionsloven 2012). The sociologist Jørn Bjerre connects the concept of inclusion back to the sociological notion of solidarity and argues that the idea of inclusion is a performative contradiction, because a pedagogy, which must be able to create space for diversity, presupposes a common set of norms, which has a disciplining effect on the diverse (Bjerre 2015:159). As such the idea of the Street Under Buen being a diverse community, where everyone is welcome is paradoxical as people have to ascribe themselves to a specific set of norms when participating, which in turn blurs their differences and thus the community at Street Under Buen becomes more homogenous. This is exemplified in the 10 street commandments, which have a disciplining effect with its clear messages about how to behave at Street Under Buen and how to engage with other people, but also in the visual design of the place as well as the way they talk about the space. As we will elaborate on in more details later, it all communicates a specific message about how to interact and behave at Street Under Buen. In this way, it creates a common set of norms one needs to abide by in order to be part of the community and thus they have a disciplining effect, which to an extent erases differences among the participants at Street Under Buen and making it less diverse.

This way of internalising specific values within the individuals utilising the space, we relate to Michel Foucault's understanding of the disciplined subject. In his earlier work Foucault viewed the subject as a product of history and discourse, but later he analyses the subject as a precise and refined political product and as such he uncovers the concrete methods the disciplined subject is constructed in several of society's institutions; prisons, hospitals, factories, military and schools (Heede 2004 [1992]:92). The discipline is about getting individuals to achieve more in a rational interplay with others, whilst simultaneously securing the grip of power over them. As such, the body is in one and the same process made stronger and more docile. Through discipline, the subject is inserted into a power machine that searches it, deconstructs it, and puts it together on its own new terms. Thus, the body becomes, at the same time, a political anatomy and a power mechanism. The disciplining subjectification mechanisms do not permeate society at once, but are introduced in institutions and restructures society as a whole, which Foucault calls the great prison-like system, and the individual body on a micro level. This is done by the containment of the soul, which he refers to as the prison of the body. Discipline is thus a micropower, which fabricates individuals and it is a technique in which the individual acts as both the goal and the means for realising the disciplining processes. According to Foucault, power does not suppress subjects, but rather produces oppressive subjects (Heede 2004:95,97). We see this disciplining mechanism at stake at Street Under Buen in their acute focus on

inclusion, which of course, is a reflection of the political discourse on inclusion abounding in society. As such the focus on inclusion in grass-root initiatives like Street Under Buen is interconnected with the idea of democracy and civic engagement being an integral part of association life, creating inclusive communities and preparing youth for adulthood.

Research shows that voluntary associations represent an important role in strengthening democratic understanding amongst young people (Ibsen 2009). In a 2016 report written by researchers Bjarne Ibsen and Klaus Levinsen points out that participation in association life helps to strengthen young people's involvement in close democracy and their abilities as decision-makers in local communities (Ibsen & Levinsen 2016:7). In fact, associations have historically been important actors in the struggle for political representation and influence and are thus closely connected to modern democracy (Ibid.). This ideal of association life creating democratic engagement is an almost unchallenged discourse among both politicians and representatives of association life. Furthermore, to create democratically engaged citizens is the official goal of governmental financial support for sport, leisure and cultural activities aimed at children and young people (Folkeoplysningsloven 2018). The notion of the importance of associations for the Danish democracy is based on the assumption that an association functions as 'the little democracy', in which youths are indirectly taught democratic traits and values, which reflects 'the great democracy' that is the society. Common for associations in Denmark is that they must formally comply with a certain formal democratic structure, which means that there must be a set of articles of association; a board of directors must be elected at a general meeting, as well as the adult members having the right to vote and can be elected to the board of directors. Nonetheless, it is especially the social aspects of the association culture that are expected to contribute to the members gaining experience of democratic participation (Ibsen & Levinsen 2016). Therefore, we see the democratic values of Street Under Buen being closely related to the idea of inclusion. This is evident as inclusion hinges on youths being integrated into organised communities, exposing them to democratic values which they are expected to internalise in order for them to become disciplined subjects equipped for participating actively in society. We see the understanding of associations being important in shaping democratic citizens reflected in our conversations with the founders of Street Under Buen with statement such as; *"The more actively one is part of a community, the easier it is to engage in society as a grown up"* (Reda 16:17-18:59, appendix 4), *"in associations one gets additional tools to how to behave in life"* (Reda 18:59-20:39, appendix 4) and *"even though we are a sport platform, it is a platform for citizenship, we want the young*

*people to take those experiences into life and pass it on to other people, because [...] we want to instil it in the next generation.*” (Kristoffer 14:35-16:43 appendix 2). These quotes exemplify how this ideal of democratic influence in associations also is inherent in Street Under Buen’s self-understanding as they understand the initiative to reinforce democratic values by engaging young people in a local community, which prepares them for adult life in society. Furthermore, co-determination and democratic influence has been vital when creating the basket and football courts as well as the painting of a large snake on the asphalt, which is meant to act as a ‘path finder’ creating coherence between the different areas below the bridge. When the 10 street commandments were devised, a workshop was held for those who wanted to attend. This workshop was evidently a collaborative effort, with a clear focus on utilising the space under the bridge together with the young participants, who were heavily involved in the conception of the activities. In our interviews it was repeatedly emphasised that it is an important value to the founders that the space is not just for the users but also created by the users. Democratic influence is thus highly valued as they aim to give the youth ownership of the space and as such make sure that they feel respected and heard. As such, democratic values inherent in associations are very explicitly expressed at Street Under Buen, where there also is an increased focus on the individual and their internalisation of these values.

Applying a Foucauldian understanding of power helps us illuminate how the democratic values presented at Street Under Buen is disciplining the youth and how the 10 street commandments act as a panopticon constantly reminding the individuals utilising the space how to behave. Foucault analyses the panopticon as a metaphor for the modern power’s concrete and symbolic architecture. The idea of the panopticon originates from Bentham who described it as a central watchtower, which through a unique architecture could watch numerous prisoners without them being able to see each other or the watch towers’ overseers, which meant they could be constantly seen by anyone or maybe even no one. The purpose of the panopticon is that the individual is constantly conscious that they are being watched at any time and as such the surveillance becomes incorporated as a mental instance within the individual making external control bodies redundant. Thus, power becomes automated, de-individualised and anonymised before at last being internalised within the individual (Heede 2004:98). In a similar way, we see how individuals at Street Under Buen become schooled in how to behave in the demarcated area under the bridge, which operates as a micro scale community reflecting the greater society. Thus, they teach individuals how to behave in the surrounding society by communicating democratic values making them disciplined subjects who behave in a desirable manner.

Relating this back to the previous empirical statements it can be seen how it is a goal for the founders at Street Under Buen that the experiences they make there are instilled in the next generation, as such in a Foucauldian interpretation the subjects are not being suppressed by power, but instead it produces suppressing subjects, who reproduces a specific discourse. In this way, the modern panoptical exercise of power functions rationally, effectively and economically, without any bloodshed because its discretion, intangibility and anonymity do not create much resistance. Power today operates in the small and the hidden by neutralising the exploitation in institutional architecture and structure as well as their discourses and thus infiltrates society as well the interior of the individual (Ibid.:99-100). In this way, we see the 10 street commandments working as a panopticon as it is a constant reminder to individuals under the bridge about how to behave and thus works a watchtower, where subjects regulate that behaviour according to what is expected of them because they have a constant feeling of being watch, though there might not be anyone actually watching.

In this chapter, it has been illustrated how a prevalent societal discourse of sport exists, which has reached a mythological status, where sport is emptied of meaning and has become a mere form. This mythology is centred around an already existing discourse that revolves around the rationale of understanding sport as a useful tool in creating social inclusion. As such Street Under Buen is ascribing to this mythological narrative although they simultaneously understand their social entry to sport as being significantly different from that presented by traditional sports associations. The myth of sport, which prevails in the surrounding society, is therefore continuously being reproduced at Street Under Buen. In scrutinising this, we have examined how Street Under Buen understands their initiative, not only as a sport project, but more likely as a space where sport is used as a tool to create social inclusion. We have questioned the focus on inclusion and democratic influence in school and sport institutions in Denmark. Furthermore, we have examined how reproduced democratic values expressed through the grassroot initiative is part of a discipling process, in which the 10 street commandments act as a behaviour regulating panopticon. This, as well as other aspects of the 10 street commandments, will be further explored in the following chapter.

### 4.3 THE 10 STREET COMMANDMENTS

This chapter will examine the 10 street commandments and the values these communicate as being central to Street Under Buen, in order to scrutinise how they are connected to the dominant discourse concerning how to behave in society. Furthermore, it will be argued how sport can be seen as a ritualistic practice, of which the 10 street commandments are a symbol. The analysis of the ritualistic aspects of sport is central because rituals and myths are dialectically connected as myth is the underlying metaphysical frame of reference which the ritual reflects in its forms of action. As such, the ritual makes the myth understandable through its visualisation.

The physical space of Street Under Buen is encapsulated from the surrounding roads and parking lot by three colourful, multipurpose containers, as well as a stand and a fence. A large part of the fence is hidden behind a huge picture, which in the absence of any other explicit piece of street art (excluding the very visual design of the field), immediately seems significant to anyone entering the space. The picture itself resembles a close-up profile of a boy and a girl facing each other. We would later come to know that the profiles are of two talented street sport practitioners from the community. At the centre of the picture, right between the two profiles, a basketball, which is partially obscured by two knuckles meeting in a greeting, is painted in a dark blue colour. The lines of the basketball have been painted to illustrate a peace sign, right beneath the two knuckles and the two faces, thus indicating that this is a place of mutual respect and peace. A football has been painted beneath the basketball and in between these two balls in white capital letters is written 'the 10 Street Commandments'. This refers to the ten pieces of texts at either side of the back of the heads of each profile. There are five of these guidelines about how to behave and treat each other when hanging out at Street Under Buen behind each profile.

The headline of the first commandment is 'have respect'. This is followed by a short elaborating text stating that under Bispeengbuen respect is reciprocal. The second commandment is 'be yourself' and is followed by a description stating that Street Under Buen provides a space to be free and express oneself. The third commandment is to 'be open' and below this statement it is explained that here we are all one; there are no prejudices and people will not be judged on their sporting abilities. The fourth commandment is 'be responsible'. This is described as we take responsibility for each other and take care of the place like it is our own home. At the

lower left corner, the fifth commandment has been squeezed in. It states ‘represent the culture’, by which it is emphasised that at Street Under Buen we are part of something bigger. In the right corner, we find the sixth commandment, which is ‘share your knowledge’, this entails a common responsibility to aid in the development of others at Street Under Buen by teaching each other and sharing each other’s dreams. The seventh commandment is to ‘involve each other’. This is elaborated by stating that at Street Under Buen we take part in the community and involve others by being welcoming and helpful. The eighth commandment is to ‘spread the good vibes’. It is described that all emotions are welcome, but that the aim is to show trust and to create a good and safe atmosphere. The ninth commandment, which is partially obscured by a portable bench during our visit, encourages the practitioners to ‘be honest’ by acknowledging each other and being able to take the right talks at the right moment. The tenth and last commandment, which is only visible to us upon having removed the bench, states that ‘there is no limit’. This is described as participation in street sport being more than just fun with only one’s imagination setting the limit (appendix 7a; 7b).

The 10 street commandments can be seen as an expression of certain values embedded within the sport initiative Street Under Buen. Examining the individual words closer is relevant in understanding why some words have been prioritised over others and what practices this creates. In doing so we will draw on Fairclough’s understanding of critical discourse analysis. The main purpose of which is to examine the connection between language use and social practice (Jørgensen & Phillips 1998:9). According to Norman Fairclough a discourse entails three different dimensions; text, discursive practices and social practices. Text is to be understood to emerge through a communicative event and discursive practices involve the production, distribution and consumption processes associated with text, whilst the discourse occurs through social practices. These three dimensions are coherent as text produces discursive practices, which are included in social practices. As such, the relation between text and social practices are mediated by the discursive practice (Fairclough 2008:124-127). This is relevant in analysing the 10 street commandments, as the discourse communicated through them is constantly reproduced by the subjects, simply by the presence of the commandments as they act as a panopticon. At Street Under Buen these 10 street commandments serve as a constant reminder that the space is about more than performing well during a match or scoring the winning goal, rather they point to the equally central social and developmental aspect of the initiative. As such, the text of the 10 street commandments operates as a communicative event producing discursive practices, which are inherent in social practices. In reading the 10

street commandments it becomes clear that they are all structured around the phrase ‘below the bridge’, a slang expression referring to Street Under Buen. In trying to understand the significance hereof, we will draw on Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe’s discursive apparatus, in accordance with which the aforementioned phrase can be characterised as the discursive nodal point of the 10 street commandments (Laclau & Mouffe 2001 [1985]:112). This is so as it is the phrase around which everything derives its meaning. As such, the mentioning of the different values within the commandments, i.e. respect, honesty, openness and being true to oneself, can only be understood in relation to ‘below the bridge’, as they gain a specific meaning because of their close cohesion with this phrase. These values are thus ‘floating signifiers’, which when clustered together around the nodal point provides it with its identity (Jørgensen & Phillips 2011b [2002]:26). In linking together these otherwise mundane values and explicitly naming them they become signifiers identifying this space, where Street Under Buen takes ownership of the values and clearly signals that these are specific for the location and therefore not overtly inherent within the surrounding society. Through the 10 street commandments, Street Under Buen therefore attempts to differentiate itself from the surrounding society by offering a place in which everyone is treated fairly and equally. This distancing is evident in the continuous use of ‘below the bridge’ which in all but two commandments is followed by a ‘we’, which specifies Street Under Buen as a designated communal space that embodies behavioural values that are particular to that space. Values that the founders of Street Under Buen believe that the young people do not experience during their everyday humdrum in the surrounding society. These values can be seen as identifying markers specific to Street Under Buen, which become a category of difference from the surrounding society, and the ways of interacting and treating each other are thus understood as remarkably different. This is to be understood, as mentioned in previous chapters, in relation to the narrative that street sport has to positively influence children’s futures by ensuring inclusion on equal terms for those who might not otherwise experience this. As many of the practitioners of street sport, according to Kristoffer, do not fit into the established societal narrative in which everyone else is always deciding what to do, learn, eat, when and with whom (Kristoffer 15:03-17:08, appendix 2). Furthermore, many of these practitioners do not succeed in school or might come from families of ethnic minority origin, which are both factors that in and of itself can result in a feeling that the aforementioned values are especially important to create a shared sense of a safe community among the practitioners. This is reflected in the values of the 10 street commandments, which is why they play an essential role in creating and directing the community of Street Under Buen. The plywood on which the 10 street commandments are

painted therefore signifies more than simply values central to Street Under Buen, it unifies by reflecting something with which street sport practitioners can identify by erasing differences amongst users through a focus on shared values. It is through this representation, which centres around the cluster of signifiers and nodal points, that the collective group identity among Street Under Buen's practitioners exists. In this way, Laclau and Mouffe argue that discourses designate positions for the individual to occupy and in the same way we see the 10 street commandments creating a discourse, which individuals at Street Under Buen occupy when entering the space (Laclau & Mouffe 2001:115). In accordance with this, identity is entirely social, as individuals reduce their possibilities of identification when entering a group. That is, people are constituted as groups through a process by which some possibilities of identification are put forward, such as a shared set of values and the physical act of playing ball together, while others are disregarded, for instance economic capacity, ethnicity, and locality. This process takes place through the establishment of chains of equivalence as presented by Laclau and Mouffe (Jørgensen & Phillips 2011b:16). In the 10 street commandments, the chains of equivalence constitute the values ascribed to Street Under Buen, or 'below the bridge'. These include reciprocal respect, unity, acceptance, shared responsibility and street culture. In partaking in this group identity, the individual must therefore ignore other subject positions, that is differences within the group, in order to adhere to the broad characteristics of Street Under Buen. This resignation of other subject positions, as a way of breaking down boundaries within the group, clearly associates them within a project, such as Street Under Buen. This then accounts as what Laclau and Mouffe term the social imaginary, which exists only in the presence of a contrast, as the presence of this fulfils the boundary of the community (Rear 2013:10-11). This construction of a social imaginary is constructed around the nodal point 'below the bridge' which represents an ideological identity of the community; while simultaneously denoting a distance between the community below the bridge and the surrounding society. We therefore understand the nodal point 'below the bridge' as a constructed social imaginary in which respect, unity and equality are linked, and constitute values that the founders do not believe the surrounding society possesses. This social imaginary is further enhanced by the continuous use of 'we' in all but two commandments, as this 'we' simultaneously creates a feeling of unity and a distancing to the surrounding society. The central space afforded the 10 street commandments and their accessibility below Bispeengbuen thus plays a crucial role in the creation of social imaginaries and are vital in (re)producing the community of Street Under Buen. As such, people feel connected and part of the same community through the use of the ten written value-based, behaviour controlling guidelines.



This point can be further elaborated by use of Fairclough's concept of modality, which helps illuminate how the speakers commit themselves to the statement by various degrees. As such, in the 10 street commandments the 'we' creates a personification of the speaker and the reader as a conversation is simulated which contributes to a sense of equal relationship between the two (Jørgensen & Phillips 1999:22). We see this as a modality of truth, where the speakers commit themselves completely to the statement by describing specifically how they are behaving according to the values expressed in the 10 street commandments. Expanding on this we argue that using 'we' rather than 'I' or 'you' indicates a genuine communion with the reader, which can have a manipulative effect, as the reader becomes a co-signer, without necessarily having any real influence on the utterances. The responsibility for the statements is thus distributed among several persons, which indicates a genuine relationship with the reader and leads to a form of semantic coercion as the reader becomes co-signer of the sender's statement (Lindø 2002).

#### 4.3.1 THE BIBLE & RITUALS

Having examined how the continuous use of 'we' in the 10 street commandments produces a social imaginary, we now find it relevant to assess how the intertextual references embedded within the 10 street commandments becomes a symbol of the ritualistic practice of sport.

In analysing the commandments, we focus on the dimension of text and its associated order of discourse, which is to be understood as the sum of the discourses and genres that exist within a demarcated social area. Fairclough views discourses as linguistic perspectives on the world, while genres are particular ways of acting linguistically (Fairclough 2008:120-122). As such, interdiscursivity appears when different discourses and genres are enunciated together in a communicative event. Here interdiscursivity is to be understood as a form of intertextuality, whereby all communicative events draw on earlier events (Jørgensen & Phillips 1999:12). According to Fairclough, use of language always draws on already established discursive structures of meaning. Fairclough uses the concept of intertextuality to focus on how text draws on discourses from other texts (Jørgensen & Phillips 1999:15), as such he sees texts historically by explicitly drawing on other preceding text (Fairclough 2008:44). This concept is helpful in examining the 10 street commandments as it is evident that the title itself is an intertextual reference to the Bible's 10 commandments, the values of which have aided the formulation of various western countries' constitutions. The 10 biblical commandments have thus influenced

the values inherent in these communities and therefore this too is reflected in the 10 street commandments. As such, wording the guidelines at Street Under Buen as ‘the 10 Street Commandments’ is reproducing an existing discourse connected to the Biblical commandments, which have laid the foundation for the Danish constitution, which again is reflected in the moral codex inherent in society. The 10 street commandments centres around values such as responsibility, respect, and inclusion can therefore be seen as part of the already existing behavioural discourse in the Danish society, as they directly reflect some of the biblical commandments. More specifically there seems to be direct intertextual linkages to the bible in street commandment number nine, the headline of which is ‘Be honest’, this likens the biblical commandment that proclaims ‘thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour’. However, new elements are also added to the discourse by introducing commandments centred around representing the culture and spreading good vibes, which are commandments with no obvious connotations to the biblical commandments. Thus, by applying intertextuality as an analytical tool it becomes possible to both see the reproduction of discourses, where no new elements are introduced and the change of discourses through new compositions (Jørgensen & Phillips 1999:16). In this way, we see how Street Under Buen aims at distinguishing themselves from the surrounding society through the 10 street commandments, while simultaneously reproducing numerous of the values already existing within the Danish society.

In the critical discourse analysis, it is assumed that there is a rational basis for the usage and composition of words. Choice of wording implies processes where one lexicalizes or gives meaning to the world and can be both politically or ideologically conditioned (Fairclough 2008:124). An analysis of such chosen words intends to uncover which particular words are selected and rejected in order to contribute to the understanding of the discursive practice. Therefore, it is adjacent to look at how the particular word ‘commandments’ is used in the title rather than ‘guidelines’ or ‘advice’ as it contributes to understanding the discursive practice at Street Under Buen. When asking Kristoffer why this title was chosen he explains with the statement:

*“It was about us wanting to represent some values based on the young people's own words [...] it is also a cool story to the outside because they [the 10 street commandments] are now visually hanging down there. It is a story that we can create and everything we do can be framed within the commandments. We could also have called it the 10 street values, but now it just fitted right in with the 10*

*commandments, so it was just more of a gimmick than anything else.” (Kristoffer 11:52-13:45, appendix 3)*

According to Kristoffer the 10 street commandments are an integral part of Street Under Buen and their vision. It is a visual symbol of the organisation’s values and goals for the place. Furthermore, he sees the commandments as an umbrella that covers everything else they are doing. Though Kristoffer sees the wording of the commandments as a gimmick, we argue that it is an eye-catcher referring to something religious outside of a religious context and as such does draw attention as it seems out of place. Furthermore, Kristoffer’s comment about how the street commandments easily could have been called something else, but that the name ‘just fitted right in’ with the ten guidelines illustrates that there exists an - albeit unconscious - understanding of the 10 biblical commandments to be a mainstream reference frame. The 10 street commandments - as a written text with a specific local language - connects its fellow-readers in a social imaginary through its intertextuality and as such the title is meaningful only because of its universally well-known intertextual reference to the 10 commandments found in the Bible. As such, the title resonates with most people and draws attention because of its presence in an unexpected place. It is evident in the above quote that Kristoffer is aware that they are creating a specific narrative to the surrounding society through the 10 street commandments as he is emphasising ‘it is a story we can create’. He emphasises how everything they do at Street Under Buen can in its essence be captured within the 10 street commandments and as such, we see the commandments as a symbol of a discourse creating specific behaviours. We argue that the values expressed in the 10 street commandments are reproducing a certain discourse about how to behave at Street Under Buen, whilst these values simultaneously reflect values embedded in the surrounding society. While Street Under Buen perceives itself as being immensely freer than traditional sport associations because there is no one dictating when and how to exercise here, rather, they pose, the individual has the option to choose for themselves - thus allowing a much-missed free space for the youth to be in charge of themselves and their own development. This paramount freedom, however, is called into question by the presence of the 10 street commandments, which explicitly express rules that should be followed below Bispeengbuen. As such, it is a contradiction to the narrative we were otherwise presented to of street sport being loose and free without any rules, as it dictates the allowed behaviour at Street Under Buen. While traditional football clubs might present a schedule and a set structure that one must follow, Street Under Buen presents behavioural rules to follow. As stated previously, the 10 street commandments can thus be likened to Bentham’s

panopticon, as this ever-present plywood board and the values written on it constantly remind the practitioners about how to behave and pose a possible warning, if one does not behave as described (Heede 2004:98). The individual practitioner is thus made responsible for keeping on par with the values of Street Under Buen. In this connection, we see the 10 street commandments as a symbol of the ritual of street sport, in which the symbol functions as a deputy for holy things as found in religious contexts.

According to Marianne Qvortrup, a lecturer at Aarhus university at the institute for Culture & Society, religion has been overtaken by sport in numerous ways, as only two percent of the Danish population are regular churchgoers, while forty-sixty percent are involved in sport. Qvortrup argues that most people currently find community through sport just as many people used to find community in the church. Sport has in many ways become a place where people find their identity or even the meaning of life (Qvortrup 1992:92-93). In a similar way, we have experienced how Street Under Buen has been described - both by the founders and in the 10 Street Commandments - as a place for people to be themselves and be part of a healthy community. As such, it is viewed to be a place of community and a space where people come to discover and develop themselves. Qvortrup argues that even though sport does not have a religious function, it can still be seen as a ritual as the function of the ritual is to establish and maintain societal order (Ibid.:94). She emphasises that sport is a space for community and cohesion, in the same way as the ritual creates a steady foundation in a complicated world. As such, the function of the ritual is not different from that of a religious one. The ritual has a disciplinary function as it demands self-discipline and submission to participate in it (Ibid.). We see this clearly expressed in the 10 street commandments which edict how to behave at the soccer and basketball courts, which is a reflection of values deeply embedded in the surrounding society. Therefore, the act of playing soccer can be seen as a ritual with a disciplinary function equipping individuals for life outside of the confined area of Street Under Buen by conveying important values that are necessary to engage in social life. Furthermore, in the same way that attending church follows specific ritualistic patterns, so too does a match at Street Under Buen. Before and after the match, players are to 'knuckle' each of their competitors as a sign of fair play and good sportsmanship and the game follows the same structure, with the judge's whistle and signals describing the move after a goal, a free kick etc. Sport can be seen as the freedom from social roles and institutional obligations and at the same time the freedom to enter into a new symbolic world, where socially given boundaries are exceeded in a community across social divides. Football, which in its construction reflects the

surrounding society structures, is yet a freedom from this societal order. Conversely, the individuals have actively chosen to be part of the new order manifested on the football field and therefore submits to its specific rules (Ibid.:95). The ritual of sport thus functions as an expression and affiliation to abstract values that simultaneously serves as a reminder of the society's values, which all members have to applaud to create cohesion in society (Ibid.:94). Furthermore, the ritual has a cohesive function as it brings people together and helps people realise their common history and social foundation. As such, the ritual creates a feeling of community and well-being. The same way the founders of Street Under Buen claim that sport creates inclusion and healthy communities.

The 10 street commandments communicate values and continuously reiterate Street Under Buen as a designated space in which these values exist. This is instrumental in shaping the narrative of the space and therefore in creating its shared group identity. This identity is further enhanced by the commandments intertextual reference to the biblical commandments. This is so, as they serve as an evident reminder of an omnipresence observing one's behaviour at Street Under Buen and assessing whether or not it is acceptable within the behavioural values expressed through the commandments. Furthermore, we have illustrated how the values embedded within the 10 street commandments serve as symbols of the ritualistic practices of sport, which is a visualisation of the myth of sport. As such, each time an act, which can be seen as constituting these commandments, is performed the myth of sport is reproduced. In this way, Street Under Buen ascribes itself to the hegemonic discourse of sport, although the 10 street commandments act as a very visible attempt to distance themselves from this discourse.

## 4.4 STREET SPORT VERSUS ORGANISED SPORT

The founders of Street Under Buen continuously reiterated that they understand themselves as being in opposition to organised sport, thus this section will scrutinise the differences between the two in the way they ascribe to the myth of sport. In showing this, we look at how Street Under Buen engages with the hegemonic discourse of sport because they are compelled to fit the idea of a traditional sport association in order to receive funding. Furthermore, we show that the visual design of the space is projected in the narrative of Street Under Buen as a traditional sport association, before lastly examining how the organisation differs from traditional sport associations in its focus on internalising central values in its subjects.

At Street Under Buen they claim to offer something that other sport associations and after school clubs are not able to do. They see themselves as being able to include youth who for some reason find it difficult to fit into traditional sport associations. In our investigation of this narrative of street sport being able to reach those who do not fit into the established and organised sport, we experienced that the founders are extremely aware of drawing a distinction between themselves as a street sport organisation on the one side and other organised sport associations on the other side. Thus, Street Under Buen is forced to embrace the narrative of the traditional sport association, as the municipal and state funding, that is the existence and continuous growth, of the grassroots initiative demands this. Reda emphasises this dilemma as he states:

*“We started out as an informal community [...] we could see we had to establish ourselves to have a foothold in the municipality and have a board with statutes and general assemblies - and all that boring stuff. We saw it as necessary in being able to take it to the next level. Street sport is still seen as an alternative sport [...] it has not quite reached the political level yet. [...] Maybe there will be municipality and state funds in the long run. The more we are, the stronger the culture gets, and that generates more recognition of self-organised sport, which can create the same results and maybe better results than the established sport associations.”* (Reda 20:39-22:33, appendix 4)

From this quote it is evident that the founders of Street Under Buen feel forced to establish themselves in a more organised manner and conform to specific structures in order to receive the funding needed to develop the initiative. To understand their paradoxical position in

relation to traditional sport associations we find it useful to draw on Fairclough (2008) and his understanding of hegemony, which is build Gramsci's interpretation of the concept. Gramsci interprets hegemony as the leadership and dominance within economic, political, cultural and ideological domains in society. Hegemony is constantly subjected to political and ideological battles between different classes to construct, maintain or destabilise alliances and relations of dominance (Fairclough 2008:52). According to Fairclough the attainment of hegemony on a societal level demands a level of integration of local and semi-autonomous institutions and power relations (Ibid.:55). This can be seen in the context of sport associations as being key actors in collaborating with the state to ensure sport practices following a specific format. As shown earlier, sport associations have become an integral part of the Danish democratic self-understanding as the discourse of sport being able to create healthy democratic citizens is dominant. In this context Street Under Buen as a grassroots organisation is constantly challenging the hegemonic discourse in their struggle to get street sport on the political agenda. The concept of hegemony allows us to analyse how discursive practices are part of a larger social practice, which involves power relations. Discursive practices can thus be seen as aspects of a hegemonic battle that contribute to reproduction and transformation of the order of discourse, which it is also a part of. In this way, discursive transformation occurs when discursive elements are expressed in new ways (Jørgensen & Phillips 2011c:14). The more loose nature of street sport challenges the established hegemonic discourse surrounding sport and how to practice it and thus street sport enthusiasts are struggling with getting funding as they do not fit the dominant discourse about how to organise sport training. Our informant Kristoffer states how the space of Street Under Buen in some ways has become a free leisure club attended by more children than the amount of children actually using the after school clubs, which contrarily are fully funded by the municipality. He states that because Street Under Buen does not fit the traditional idea about what an association or a club is, they receive no funding from the government in running their activities. Thus, they have to conform partly to the hegemonic discourse to be able to receive the money they need to be able to continue the work they are doing. The same dilemma has been illustrated in the quote above as Reda explained how they had to organise themselves as an organisation with a board and statues to be able to get any foothold with the municipalities. However, they still see themselves as challenging the hegemonic discourse by referring to themselves as 'street boys' and stating:

*We are true to ourselves and our values [...] we will not be taken over by the greater powers. But through collaboration with the municipalities, you can help create some*

*new subject areas and learning methods. Maybe have a bigger impact on schools, clubs and so on.*” (Reda 23:09-25:02, appendix 4)

This quote illustrates how Reda is aware that they are at risk of being taken over by a greater power or, in other words, the hegemonic power. It is also evident how Street Under Buen has to partly conform to certain structures in order to receive funding, while simultaneously being conscious about staying true to their own values such as being a free space with limited rules. Through the unorganised format of street sport, Street Under Buen challenges the existing structures by contrasting themselves to traditional sport associations by not having a fixed schedule, a trainer leading the activities or a specific meeting time. According to Fairclough, every discursive order is dominated by one hegemonic discourse, which can be challenged by other discourses appearing in the discursive order (Jørgensen & Phillips 2011c:13). This is certainly the case with Street Under Buen, which is paradoxically forced to fit inside the hegemonic discourse to get funding, but simultaneously challenges it, which forces the hegemonic discourse to change. Fairclough argues that a discursive event can either reproduce traditional hegemonies or it can transform these through hegemonic struggle and can thus strive to solve dilemmas through innovation (Fairclough 2008:58). Fairclough is in this connection in agreement with Foucault, who argues that discourses are tactical elements operating in power relations. Here different and even contradictory discourses can exist within the same strategy. They can circulate from one strategy to another without changing its form and thus contradict strategies (Foucault 1981:10). In a Gramscian understanding of hegemony, these strategies may take the form of coercion or consent (Gramsci 1971). Consent relies on the power of hegemonic discourses to convince individuals and social classes to voluntarily partake in the social values and norms of an inherently exploitative system. As it relies on voluntary participation rather than threats of punishment for disobedient acts, it is diametrically different from the strategic measure of coercion, as this refers to a state’s capacity for utilising violence against subjects refusing to conform to the capitalist relations of production (Stoddart 2007:202-203). Whereas the coercive power lies exclusively at the disposal of the state; hegemonic power is mainly produced and circulated through the institutions of civil society (Ibid.). Below Bispeengbuen the state is exercising its coercive power by forcing Street Under Buen to conform to the state’s capitalist understanding of sport as being part of associations, which employ member sheets, structures etc. Should Street Under Buen refuse to conform, the state could disengage from the initiative and thereby retract its monetary supplements, which is the main source of income that keeps it afloat. Even more so, the creation and development of the initiative Street Under



Buen hinges on the municipalities and its funding, which reinforces the state's understanding of sport in a capitalistic system, where everything must generate surplus. That is, Street Under Buen is forced to conform in order to gain the economic resources needed for the place to be a reality. In using coercive power to make the sport initiative conform, the hegemonic discourse surrounding sport, which aligns with the narrative of the state, has encapsulated the counter discourse presented through street sport. Drawing on Foucault, we argue that the coercion of the discourse surrounding street sport functions as tactical elements within the continuous struggle of becoming the dominant discourse in society. In letting itself be immersed by the hegemonic discourse the counter discourse of street sport is, in Fairclough's conceptualisation, expanding and transforming the hegemonic discourse, which creates new hegemonic struggles.

#### 4.4.1 THE SPACE

In the following, this distinction between traditional sport associations and street sport will be further elaborated. This will be done through an examination of how the space below Bispeengbuen reinforces a specific discourse, as the design is developed as a response to the hegemonic discourse surrounding sport associations.

In the physical design of Street Under Buen nothing has been left to chance, rather it seems that every miniscule detail has been purposefully designed in order to communicate the central values of street sport, which the founders believe sets it apart from traditional sport associations. At Street Under Buen, the design of the space therefore visualises their narrative, as has been previously explained through Kristoffer's statement regarding the 10 street commandments being a visual way of them telling their own story. In assessing how the space communicates these values, it is central to examine the discourse which has shaped the space and those produced by the design. In a Foucauldian understanding, the word and the world are intrinsically intertwined and cannot therefore be represented independently of each other (Foucault 1979, Foucault 1978). The formation and reproduction of discourse is consequently shaped by the material settings in which it unfolds and vice versa. In this sense, architectural structures are to be understood as statements, as they pose the material settings within which discursive configurations unfold and are addressed (Prior 1998:92). Foucault addresses this reciprocal relationship through the concepts of the discursive and the non-discursive, with the former relating to the discourse and the latter to the materiality in which the discourse emerges or is reshaped (Jørgensen 2006:6-7). At Street Under Buen this can be understood in relation

to the design of the courts, where expressions of street sport as being a free space is mirrored in how paint has purposefully been drawn outside the outer lines of the courts (appendix 7c). In this way, the design of the courts presents a new discourse of sport as something not necessarily regulated by specific and conventional rules. According to Foucault, the discursive and the non-discursive are dialectical in the sense that they mutually condition each other, develop each other but are still mutually exclusive. The material space, the non-discursive, produces statements about street sport, while the statements about street sport, the discursive, produce forms of visibility in the physical space at Street Under Buen. This relationship, which is also referred to as the relationship between the sayable and the visible, or the relationship between objects and speaking subjects, thus implies an interdependency between the two concepts. In other words, the way to speak - the discursive - is conditioned by certain material conditions, just as it is conditioned by what has been said and written before. In that sense, the relationship between the discursive and the non-discursive is a productive relationship (Ibid.). In the context of Street Under Buen's physicality, these concepts enable an assessment of the interplay between existing discourses, materiality and the reproduction or innovation of discourses that this fosters. In traditional sport associations, the physical as well as the active aspect follow a specific pattern of homogeneity. We see this in the consistently similar design of the fields, as well as in the pattern by which training sessions proceed. A pattern which can be characterised by beginning at a planned time with an initial group meeting, exercises, some sort of match and finally a meeting indicating the ending of the session - all of which supervised and directed by a trainer who decides one's position on the field, number of repetitions of exercises as well as what exercises to do etc. This homogeneity of sport practices in traditional sport associations is consistent in most sport, no matter what club and where in the country the sport is played. In our interview with Reda, he constantly reiterated how *"It is not like traditional association sport. People think it's great that you shouldn't get there exactly on time or that you don't have a whistle and call people in for assembly."* (Reda 6:51-7:19, appendix 4) Reda's understanding of street sport as something radically different than orchestrated, traditional sport in associations is clearly reflected in the design, as this, in numerous ways, purposefully breaks with the usual, minimalistic design of sport courts. While the white soft asphalt has white lines indicating the essential lines of the field (outer lines, keepers circle and centre of the court), the circle designating the centre of the field has been replaced by an octagon, an homage to panna football, in which a red and blue fist meet in a friendly gesture, a knuckle. It is expressed by the founders that at Street Under Buen the knuckle is a symbol of fair play and therefore used as the friendly act that initiates and ends each match. Furthermore,

the colour of the knuckles, red and blue, is in congruence with the containers and goals at each end in the same colours symbolises boxing corners and are painted this way to communicate the competitive element inherent within sport. The red and blue colours purposefully expand beyond the lines indicating where the field starts and ends, in an attempt to reflect that the space provides room for thinking outside of the box and that the values of street sport does not stay at the court. Rather they are brought home and the lessons taught at the field can be used throughout one's life (Reda 16:17-18:59, appendix 4 Kristoffer 15:03 - 17:08 appendix 2).

The design of the space is a direct response and attempt at distancing the initiative from the discourses surrounding sport affiliated with traditional sport associations. In communicating and reinforcing specific values, the non-discursive materiality of Street Under Buen, is highly dependent on the discursive and vice versa, as they continuously regenerate each other. In its physical expression Street Under Buen distinguishes itself from traditional sport associations through its visible, non-discursive materiality, with its symbolic reference to the competitive element of boxing (which started out as a street sport as well) and its colours expanding beyond the width of the court, as well as through the way they talk about Street Under Buen. Our informants continuously verbally stressed that Street Under Buen distinguishes itself in the physical act of the sport. This breaks with the hegemonic discourse of sport as being, in Reda's words, homogeneously and mechanically structured with obligatory participation and competition to get on the A team being central to the sport (Reda 06:51-07:19, appendix 4). In contrast, he describes street sport as having a loose and flexible framework which allows practitioners to be involved and commit in accordance with their resources and time. As such, in line with Foucault, we understand space integral to, and created in the turmoil of social action. This means that space and society are not two separate realms of reality but are intertwined in a single order of existence. Spatial arrangements coexist with other elements of social life in a way that compose, maintain, and sometimes alter objects of human practices, making space a part of the field and not the background (Prior 1988:93). This dialectic of discourses being constantly reproduced by the physical space while the discourses simultaneously recreate the space is found in Kristoffer's statement;

*“We just could not identify with these blocks and the minimalist style we needed more expression, somewhat closer to our identity. We therefore found another suggestion and got some fists bumping together on the course made. It shows the respect you have on the field - that you always just give a knuckle both before*

*and after the match. We have colours that go beyond the lines to show that we are trying to think outside the box and that there is creativity associated with this place. In addition, we also have this red corner vs blue corner to show that even though it is street, there is still this element of competition. There must be room for that too. We are trying to show something with our design.” (Kristoffer 34:10-36:18, appendix 2)*

In this statement it is clear that Kristoffer draws a distinction between the space at Street Under Buen and the more traditional understanding of how a court should look. Furthermore, it is described how it is important for them that the design reflects their identity and thus, it is made obvious that specific values are being expressed through the space. Kristoffer explains how the knuckles painted on the asphalt sends a clear message about fair play and showing respect and that the lines painted outside of the fields symbolises creativity and thinking out of the box (appendix 7c; 7d; 7f). As such, it is made evident that Street Under Buen quite consciously is communicating something through its design of the space. We see this in accordance with Barthes, who considers landscape and text to be one and the same and argues that they can be studied on equal terms. He holds that the urban landscape is a text, where signifiers become the signified in a constant chain of metaphors. In this way, Barthes argues that social reality is composed of many signifying systems, of which the landscape is one (Duncan & Duncan 1992:19) and therefore we understand space to be composed by a complex system of signs. In his text ‘semiology of the urban’ (1986), Barthes contends that it is impossible to attain a definitive interpretation of the landscape as all participants experience the landscape differently as they travel on their own paths through the city streets. In this way people walking through the city become both readers and writers (Duncan & Duncan 1992:26-27). In Barthes interpretation the urban landscape becomes an intertwinement of symbols creating a non-deductible plurality of meaning, where an open-ended process of signification occurs. The space, like the text, has no ending as it is a continuous process of communication, which makes it a signifying practice where the distinction between the production and the consumption is revoked (Ibid.:27). In a similar sense, Street Under Buen can be seen as a space that is continuously communicating a message, which is being interpreted by participants and by passers differently and such a plurality of meanings is created. This can be related back to our earlier argument about myths as Barthes argues that myths appear when objects, including landscapes, are suitable for communication and are appropriated by society (Ibid.:19).

At Street Under Buen they are consciously aiming at creating a new kind of space - a space that does not look like any typical sport institution. As such, it becomes a space shaped by experimental visual designs and thus reflecting that it is a place which encourages ingenuity, trying new things and taking chances - or in other words, a 'laboratory' as our informants repeatedly described it. Through the design of the space, it is emphasised how Street Under Buen is different from established sport institutions especially because of there being no rules making it a free space, where one is free to be their authentic selves. However, we argue that although Street Under Buen does not have external rules and regulations about when to show up for practices, their project focuses on internal identity shaping and thus on how to shape the youth into becoming good citizens.

#### 4.4.2 SHAPING IDENTITIES

Having illustrated how the space has purposely been designed in a way to communicate specific values central to Street Under Buen, we will now examine how the organisation is shaping individuals to behave in certain ways. We will subsequently examine how Street Under Buen can be seen as an identity shaping initiative, which rather than simply being a free space for youngsters to come as they are, has a deeper purpose in creating good and healthy citizens.

During our interviews with the various co-founders of Street Under Buen, the initiative has continuously been referred to as a laboratory and it has been explained that it is an experimental space for people to try out different sporting skills, get inspired to acquire new skills and practice them so they become equipped to tackle adulthood in the surrounding society. Street Under Buen can thus be seen as an enclosed entity with its own rules and norms - a microlevel society - which is an absorption of the surrounding macro level society. In our conversations with the different actors at Street Under Buen, we found that they feel constantly compelled to identify themselves in relation to hegemonic discourses and in this process generalises the world outside of their own as being inadequate. As such, when our informants are describing street sport it is almost always in negation to traditional sport associations, to illustrate how they differ and why it is important that it is different. This is emphasised by Kristoffer, who describes the overall goal of Street Under Buen as creating;

*"[...] a space in which the youngsters can be free and be their authentic selves. It stems from the fact that many aspects of society do not allow for you to be free -*

*your parents decide what you eat, the school decides what you are taught etc. There is not much time to be yourself and to decide for yourself what you do and with whom you are doing it, and we would like to create a space for this. A free space in which you can relax but also develop yourself according to your own terms.” (Kristoffer 15:03-17:03, appendix 2)*

This illustrates how Kristoffer sees Street Under Buen as a space for youth to develop their identity and figure out who they are. While the founders of the grassroots initiative repeatedly emphasise that there are no rules and that it is a free space free for all, it is yet an identity shaping project where they modulate the young people utilising the space. This can visually be observed looking at the 10 street commandments, the visual design of the space, and it has become evident when the founders talk about the vision of the space. The 10 street commandments, as illustrated in a previous chapter, contradict the narrative we were otherwise presented to of street sport being loose and free without any rules. This is so, as they embody the understanding of street sport being about more than just sport by setting up rules for how to behave as part of the street family. Kristoffer furthers this understanding by metaphorically likening Street Under Buen to an iceberg, meaning that the sport activities taking place below the bridge are obviously visible to anyone. These activities thus constitute the top of the iceberg, which is visible above the water’s surface, everything else - including the social element of the initiative - is not immediately visible and comprise what is hidden below the surface. As such, he understands the 10 street commandments as an expression of the huge social potential in street sport. This illustrates an existing understanding of sport as being more than just sport, as illustrated in the previous chapter concerning the myth of sport, it is a tool to create social inclusion. In this sense, Street Under Buen is not just a place for young people to practice street sport and while there might not be any explicit rules about when individuals should show up for practices and how many push-ups they should do, we see in the 10 street commandments and in our conversations with the founders that it is a space where youths’ identities are being shaped and developed, which unlike other sport associations is very explicitly communicated at Street Under Buen. As such the 10 street commandments function as a moral codex shaping the individuals’ identity, in and outside this designated space. This is in stark contrast to the established sport association structures which dictates simply how to behave during each training session. Therefore, the idea of street sport being ‘freer’ than traditional sport associations should be called into question. From Kristoffer’s aforementioned depiction of Street Under Buen as being a space for young people to be and develop their

authentic selves, it is adjacent to examine what is meant by an authentic self. Drawing on the methodology of genealogy, we understand the body as plainly an imprint of history, which goes across all imaginaries of a whole subject (Heede 2004:20). Our empirical data shows that there exists a narrative of the youth being in need of help as they are coming from problematic backgrounds. Through the vocabulary of the space being something that sets people free, we argue that it can be seen as a psychologised field, where the free space of Street Under Buen becomes a replacement for a psychologist and acts as a psychoanalytical room, where one is free to find their authentic self. Following psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan, we understand the idea of a true and whole self as a myth (Lacan 1977). He states that the individual, just like the social, is partly structured by discourses, but that this structuring is never accomplished, because the idea of a wholeness is imaginary even though it is a necessary prospect for the individual and the social, who are created herein (Jørgensen & Phillips 2011b:16). Extending on this, we recognise that the founders of Street Under Buen perceive it as their responsibility to create and shape the identity of the youngsters to prepare them for adulthood in the surrounding society. In a previous chapter, we illustrated how Reda expressed that many of the youngsters using the space have poorly integrated parents and through this initiative the youth can interact with adults, who can help them grow. Through this statement it is emphasised how the youths receive positive adult contact through the initiative as the founders act as the adults the youth have been lacking. The founders of Street Under Buen posit that they are uniquely equipped to help these youths develop because they themselves were previously in similar positions. This can be understood in relation to Lacan's interpretation of how a child goes through an imaginary stage, where it feels completeness with its mother, but as it becomes a subject of language it loses this sense of completeness with its mother and continuously seeks to return to this state of wholeness. This craving for wholeness shapes the individuals' engagements in different discourses (Jørgensen & Phillips 2011d [2002]:16). In this way, the founders see themselves as able to fill out this hole of incompleteness within the individual and Street Under Buen becomes an identity creating initiative focusing on the subject's internalisation of specific values, where individuals engage in different discourses in their search for wholeness or in other words, their authentic selves. At Street Under Buen the importance of being open, honest, and sharing is being communicated through the founders, the 10 commandments and the physical space making it a psychoanalytical field, where the understanding of the youth is embedded in a psychoanalytic understanding of the subject as being in constant process of finding itself.

To further elaborate on the identification processes at Street Under Buen, we draw on British anthropologist Richard Jenkins, who argues that to know who people are is a human capacity rooted in language. This involves us knowing who we are, but also who others are as well as them knowing who we are and who they think we are and so on. In this sense it is a multidimensional classification of the world and our places in it - both as individuals and as members of collectives (Jenkins 2008:5). Furthermore, he argues that instead of identity, one should focus on on-going identification processes as identity does not make people do anything, but rather it is people who make and do identity for their own reasons (Ibid.:9). Kristoffer further explains that street sport is a lifestyle that carries a lot of identity in it. He emphasises that being a street sport practitioner swiftly becomes a part of one's life as it is up to the individual to decide how much, when and where to practice and as such it can become integrated in all aspects of one's life. According to Jenkins, it is difficult to distinguish identification and interests as how one defines their interest might influence the way they identify themselves and how other people identify them is related to how they identify their interests (Ibid.:7). As such, one's interests are deeply connected to the individual's self-understanding. This understanding of street sport being identity shaping is echoed by Reda, who states that youth acquire skills in school making them capable of passing subjects, but that the schools do not have the resources and time to give them additional tools related to how to behave in life, and this is something individuals can acquire at Street Under Buen.

In Kristoffer's statement regarding Street Under Buen offering not simply a space for personal development but also a space which offers freedom - something not offered by the surrounding society - it is clear that he understands the street sport initiative as something unique within the Danish society. In fact, we found that the founders continuously talked about Street Under Buen in negation to the surrounding society. As such, Street Under Buen functions as a specific place where one behaves in a specific way, which in turn creates a group identity and a notion of an 'us below the bridge' that contrasts the hegemonic society. This group identity can be further explained by drawing on Jenkins' understanding of identification being interlinked in relationships and hierarchies (Jenkins 2008:6). According to him, understanding oneself involves processes of classifications where differences and similarities are constructed. These notions are very often imagined and a form of 'symbolic construct', but nonetheless extremely powerful. Similar for all groups is that they identify themselves through the recognition of other groups and the categorisation of how they are different (ibid.:23). Jenkins argues that only the sense of being part of a group is real, but that groups in and of themselves are imagined. This,



however, does not mean groups are imaginary, as they materialise in everyday life (Jenkins 2008:11). In this sense, at Street Under Buen they identify who they are by contrasting their identity to the surrounding society. This identification process too is evident when Reda explains how the values taught at Street Under Buen create the foundation for your success later in life (Reda 16:17-18:59, appendix 4). This way of identifying themselves in relation to the surrounding society whilst simultaneously stating that they can do better than other sport associations can be seen as a way of challenging the hegemonic discourse, as described earlier in this chapter. The identity of Street Under Buen thus becomes a counter identity to the mainstream. In this regard, Street Under Buen becomes a place for the founders to create and maintain their own group mentality by constantly creating an othering of the surrounding society. In illustrating this point, Jenkins draws on Norwegian anthropologist Fredrik Barth (1969) who focuses on how ethnic groups or tribes preserve their distinctiveness and emphasises the importance of looking at how members of ethnic groups are recruited. He states that ethnic identification creates a construction of differences from other groups, which creates an internal similarity within the group (Jenkins 2008:120-121). As such, by focusing on how Street Under Buen differentiates itself from the surrounding society an internal similarity is simultaneously created within the community of Street Under Buen. This idea of ethnic groups is manifested in Trine's comment about how it is always people with other ethnic backgrounds who have to try to fit into other communities and Street Under Buen wants to be the place where they can just come and be (Trine 33:18-37:50, appendix 5). The distinction between ethnic Danes and youngsters with other ethnic backgrounds is part of creating an ethnic group mentality, where similarities within the group are reinforced through the distinction from other groups.

The 10 street commandments constitute the only explicitly written words at Street Under Buen and are therefore the only clear denominator communicating the identity of Street Under Buen to everyone who is passing through the space. In Jenkins' interpretation, the power of symbols and rituals makes identification relevant (Jenkins 2008:6), thus we see the 10 street commandments as a symbol through which identification has been made to matter. This symbol of the 10 street commandments creates a form of group identity, which Jenkins argues cannot be seen as an entity in itself. Individuals are entities, but groups are not as they cannot behave or act and do not have a bounded materialistic existence. As such, only individuals - the members of the group, but not the group itself - can display these attributes. In fact, organisations might, according to Jenkins, be the most sustainable form of a group, but even in

organisations it can be unclear who is included as a member and to complicate matters further, people can come and go, independently of the organisation's existence. Organisations often have constituted behavioural norms and customs, though mostly implicit, as well as explicit rules and procedures (Ibid.:10). At Street Under Buen it is reversed in the sense that the moral norms are expressed explicitly while there are no obvious rules and procedures as found in established sport associations. In this regard, street sport can, following our earlier comparison of sport to religion, be compared to the Lutheran church's internalisation of morals and values within the individual thus making each individual responsible for their own development of healthy identities, whereas the Catholic church's focus is on the external frames of how to behave, in a similar fashion to how organised sport is more occupied with a schedule and a set structure. From this religious comparison, it is evident that the moralisation of street sport practitioners is unique to the semi-organised sport initiative Street Under Buen. In fact, it is this moralisation of which Reda, Kristoffer, and Trine speak, when they stress that participation in this initiative creates lasting impressions in the practitioners' identities which enables them to become healthy, democratic citizens (Reda 18:59-20:39, appendix 4; Kristoffer 48:42-51:43, appendix 2; Trine 24:48-30:32, appendix 5). In this way, they interpret street sport as being uniquely capable of taking in youngsters who do not fit into the hegemonic discourses surrounding sport, school, and generally being a 'good citizen', and internalise a moral codex which instils in them an understanding of the values and behaviour required to engage in the surrounding society. Street Under Buen's systemic intrusive nature thus contrasts that of traditional sport associations, as it seeks to change internalised values and identities - the person - rather than simply forcing the practitioners to momentarily fit into hegemonically decided roles that can be discarded as each training session ends. The freedom of self-development presented at Street Under Buen, must therefore be understood as a freedom existing only within its moral guidelines. In this regard, the 10 street commandments - just like the panopticon - seem omnipresent and act as a self-disciplining mechanism, in which the subjects internalise Street Under Buen's moral codex. This internalisation guarantees that the youths behave in a desirable manner both within the designated space of Street Under Buen, but also in their interactions with the surrounding society. Through their identity shaping project, Street Under Buen becomes an ideology aiming at solving the issues inherent in society, whilst being a part of the very same society. Inherent within the organisation's identity shaping initiative is therefore the constant duality of trying to effectively change societal norms that they themselves, consciously or subconsciously, are part of.

Thus, it has been illustrated how Street Under Buen engages in a hegemonic struggle by constantly differentiating itself from surrounding structures - both regarding traditional sports association and the surrounding society - while also being assigned to the very same structures. In addition, it has been explained how the physical space of Street Under Buen communicates specific values, which are being internalised in the individuals utilising the space making them behave in a desirable manner in the surrounding society.

## **5. CONCLUDING REMARKS**

This section presents the conclusion of the analysis as well as reflections of methods, theories, concepts, and analysis strategy.

## 5.1 CONCLUSION

Street Under Buen uses street sport in its aim of creating inclusive communities as it ascribes itself to the myth of sport as being an important tool in creating healthy, democratic citizens. This understanding of sport is integrated in the Danish understanding of associations as direct reflections of the Danish democratic society. In the geographical context of Denmark, sport has historically and continuously been conveyed in a manner which has resulted in it reaching a mythological status, where it has been emptied of meaning and elevated to exist outside time and space. The myth of sport is built on an already existing discourse revolving around sport being a useful tool to create social inclusion. In building on this mythological understanding of sport, Street Under Buen makes evident its paradoxical relationship with traditional sport associations, as both formats originate from a mythological understanding of sport being capable of solving the societal issues through non-prejudiced inclusion. Street Under Buen's attempt to realise these mythological abilities of sport have come to fruition in manners, which the founders understand as significantly different to those of traditional sport associations (and perhaps even the general society). Thus, there exists a constant duality, as the founders of Street Under Buen understand street sport as being significantly different from traditional sport, yet they are reproducing the myth of sport, as they ascribe themselves to the same idea as the surrounding society of sport being able to create societal change. The manners, in which Street Under Buen attempts to realise sport's abilities, are structured around the volition to create a free space for youths to develop on their own accord (influenced only indirectly by adults through behavioural guidelines and sporadic supervision). In this way Street Under Buen can be understood as an anarchistic rupture with the existing system although it undeniably shares innumerable characteristics with this system, including a shared understanding of sport practiced in associations providing youths with democratic values, discipline, an ability to perform under pressure, etc. Most importantly, however, is that these values - intricately linked to the general understanding in society of how to be a decent human - are taught through a disciplinary process, in which the 10 street commandments act as a behaviour regulating panopticon. As such, the 10 street commandments communicate specific values of how to be and behave in the micro level society of Street Under Buen, which disciplines individuals to behave in a desirable manner befitting the normative behavioural understanding in the macro level society. Furthermore, we have found the intertextual reference to the biblical ten commandments relevant to understand how the street commandments draw on previously established discourses in society. Through an analysis of the wording in the 10 street

commandments it has been illustrated how a social imaginary is created between the participants at Street Under Buen. We have shown how sport can be seen as a religion with its own ritualistic practices, where the 10 street commandments operate as a symbol serving as a continuous reminder of an omnipresence which observes and regulates individuals' behaviour. The ritual of sport is a visualisation of the myth of sport, meaning that every action constituting the 10 street commandments reproduces the discourse of sport being a tool to create social inclusion. In this way, Street Under Buen simultaneously ascribes to and challenges the hegemonic discourse of sport. They constantly attempt to distance themselves from the surrounding society by challenging the existing structures within traditional sport associations by facilitating a street sport initiative with a looser structure and more focus on letting the users be part of the decision-making. However, although they are challenging the hegemonic discourse of sport associations, they are simultaneously included in it as they are 'forced' to structure themselves in a similar way in order to receive funding and be acknowledged by the municipalities and the state. Furthermore, although their outer structures are more flexible, they are explicitly communicating how they expect people to behave and be at Street Under Buen, which makes it an initiative focused on shaping identities. Through the vocabulary of the space being something that sets people free, Street Under Buen can be seen as a psychologized field, where the space becomes a replacement for a psychologist and acts as a psychoanalytical room, where one can come and find their authentic self. In this way, Street Under Buen use of street sport is shaped by their ascription to the mythological understanding of street sport as being able to reduce criminality, integrate, and mentally prepare youth for adulthood. Although they acknowledge that sport as practiced in traditional sport associations carries similar abilities to street sport, the initiative utilises street sport specifically because it appeals to youth, who do not identify with the values and structures embedded within traditional sport associations. It is the understanding of Street Under Buen that the youths targeted with this initiative benefit from practicing sport in a free space in which no authoritative figures dictate individuals' behaviour or structure their development as this includes them into a community with space for all no matter background. As such, Street Under Buen draws a clear distinction between traditional sport associations, in which the focus is mainly on outer structures, and their initiative, which shapes the youth through an internalisation of values.

## 5.2 REFLECTIONS

In order to show how the grass root initiative of Street Under Buen is part of the mythological universe surrounding sport while simultaneously setting itself apart from other sport institutions, we have drawn on a genealogically inspired methodological approach. This has allowed for us to critically assess the discourse surrounding organised and semi-organised sport and portray the discrepancies existing within the discourses which are consistently shaped and reshaped by hegemonic struggles. Through our methodological framework, we have been able to critically examine how the founders of Street Under Buen talk about their initiative and street sport. This has made it adjacent to draw on discourse analytical concepts as it allows for a scrutinization of exactly how they formulate the vision of the initiative, as well as how they indirectly assert themselves in the already existing discourse surrounding sport. On the basis of these methodological and theoretical choices, we have been able to add to the scarce literature on street sport by exploring the space of Street Under Buen and analysing how they organise themselves in contradiction to the hegemonic discourse concerning sport associations and how they communicate values deeply embedded in the Danish democracy through street sport. However, our methodology has not enabled us to evaluate the effects or the truthfulness of the mythological discourse surrounding sport, as this does not naturally lie within the realm of the genealogical method. Had our focus been exclusively on an evaluation of the societal effects of street sport and organised sport, it would have been beneficial to interview not simply the founders of the space but also its users. In assessing the users' experiences with street sport, it would be interesting to combine various methods, such as conducting active field observations, surveys, and informal interviews. Utilising these methodological perspectives and talking to the youths would have nuanced our focus and allowed us to compare what they say with what they do and what effect that might have on the target group of Street Under Buen. However, a such study of Street Under Buen's actual effects would necessitate a several yearlong extensive investigation of the youth practitioners' life worlds and their development, a statistic overview of the development of Lundtoftegade since Street Under Buen's commencement, and even then, the results of a complete study of the effects would be highly questionable. This is so because the empirically defined correlations of cause and effect will always be a result of the researcher's subjectivity. Thus, these correlations will never be completely objective, which complicates the process of making causal connections which serves as a basis on which Street Under Buen's general impact may be observed. As a result of this observation, we opted to illuminate various contradictory and/or compatible narratives

surrounding street sport rather than focusing on extrapolating various causal relations between young people's development and street sport.



## 6. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Agergaard, Signe. 2018. *Rethinking Sports & Integration - Developing a Transnational Perspective on Migrants and Descendants in Sports*. New York: Routledge.
- Agergaard, Signe. 2011. Development and appropriation of an integration policy for sport: how Danish sports clubs have become arenas for ethnic integration. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics* 3(3):341-353.
- Anderson, Sally. 2008. *Civil Sociality: Children, Sport, and Cultural Policy in Denmark*. United States of America: Information Age Publishing Inc.
- Balle-Petersen, Margaretha. 1976. Foreningstiden. In *Det forsømte århundrede*. København: Dansk Kulturhistorisk Museumsforening.
- Barth, Fredrik. 1969. Introduction. In *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organisation of Culture Difference*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Barthes, Roland. 1972 [1957]. *Mythologies*. New York: The Noonday Press.
- Barthes, Roland. 1986. Semiology of the urban. In *The City and the Sign*. Columbia University Press.
- Berlingske 2008. Street Sport Indtager Gaderne. Skrevet af Lea Pagh. Berlingske.dk 05.05.2021. Link: <https://www.berlingske.dk/samfund/streetsport-indtager-gaderne>
- Bäckström, Åsa & Anne-Lene Sand. 2019. Imagining and Making Material Encounters: Skateboarding, Emplacement, and Spatial Desire. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, 43(2), 122-142.
- Bjerg Petersen, Karen. 2015. *Perspektiver på Inklusion*, bd. 17: *Cursiv*. Aarhus. DPU Aarhus Universitet
- Bjerre, Jørn. 2015. Inklusionsbegrebet i lyset af sociologi, filosofi og velfærdspolitiske rationaler. I *Perspektiver på Inklusion*. Ed. Karen Bjerg Petersen, 159-176. *Cursiv*. Aarhus. DPU Aarhus Universitet
- Brinkmann, Svend & Lene Tanggaard. 2010. *Kvalitative Metoder*. København: Hans Reitzels Forlag.
- Clemmensen, Niels. 1987. *Associationer og foreningsdannelse i Danmark 1780-1880*. Alvheim & Eide.
- Coalter, Fred. 2007. Sports Clubs, Social Capital and Social Regeneration: 'ill-defined interventions with hard to follow outcomes'? *Sport in Society* 10(4):537-559
- Coalter, Fred. 2015. Sport-for-Change: Some Thoughts from a Sceptic. *Social Inclusion* 3(3):19-23
- Coalter, Fred. 2017. Sport and Social Inclusion: Evidence-Based Policy and Practice. *Social Inclusion* 5(2):141-149
- Council of Europe. 1995. *The significance of sport for society, health, socialisation, economy*. Strasbourg, France: Council of Europe Press.
- Cohen, Louis, Lawrence Manion & Keith Morrison. 2007. *Research methods in education*. New York: Routledge.
- Craig, Gary. 2007. Community capacity building: Something old, something new? *Critical Social Policy* 27(3):335-359.
- Duncan, James S. and Nancy G. Duncan. 1992. Ideology and Bliss: Roland Barthes and the

- Secret Histories of Landscape. In *Writing Worlds*. Ed. James Duncan & Trevor J. Barnes, 18-37, Routledge.
- Dyreson, Mike. 2001. Maybe It's Better to Bowl Alone: Sport, Community and Democracy in American Thought. *Sport in Society* 4(1):19-30.
- Fairclough, Norman. 2008 [1992]. *Kritisk diskursanalyse*. København: Hans Reitzels Forlag.
- Folkeoplysningsloven 2018. LBK nr. 1115 af 31/08/2018: Bekendtgørelse af lov om støtte til folkeoplysende voksenundervisning, frivilligt folkeoplysende foreningsarbejde og daghøjskoler samt om Folkeuniversitetet (folkeoplysningsloven). Link: [Folkeoplysningsloven](#) Downloaded 07.05.2021
- Foucault, Michel. 1978. *Seksualitetens historie - viljen til viden*. København: Rhodos.
- Foucault, Michel. 1979. *Discipline and punish - the birth of the prison*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Foucault, Michel. 1980. Two lectures. In *Power/knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings 1972-1977*. ed Colin Gordon. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Foucault, Michel. 1981. *History of Sexuality*. Harmondsworth: Penguin books.
- Fridberg, Torben. 2014. Hvem er de frivillige? I *Udviklingen i frivilligt arbejde 2004-2012*. Ed. T. Fridberg & L. S. Henriksen, 47-67 København: SFI - Det nationale forskningscenter for velfærd.
- Fridberg, Torben, & Hans-Peter Qvist. 2014. Frivillighed blandt ikke-vestlige indvandrere. I *Folkestyrets rugekasser*. Ed. M. Böss, 181-196, Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.
- Game 2021. Gadeidræt er en øvebane i demokratiske værdier. Game 4th of May 2021. Link: [game.ngo/gadeidræt-er-en-øvebane-i-demokratiske-værdier](#) Downloadet: 05.05.2021
- Gramsci, Antonio. 1971. *Selections from the prison notebooks*. London: Lawrence & Wishart.
- Grundlovens paragraf 78. Link: <https://www.ft.dk/mingrundlov/paragraf78> Downloaded 21.05.21
- Gundelach, Peter, & Torpe, Lars. 1999. Befolkningens fornemmelse for demokrati: Foreninger, politisk engagement og demokratisk kultur. I *Den demokratiske udfordring* ed. T. B. Jørgensen, P. M. Christensen, L. Togeby, J. G. Andersen & S. Vallgård, 70-91. København: Hans Reitzels Forlag.
- Heede, Dag. 2004 [1992]. *Det tomme menneske - Introduktion til Michel Foucault*. København: Museum Tusulanums Forlag.
- Ibsen, Bjarne. 2009. Foreningslivets mangfoldighed. In *Foreningslivet i Danmark: Under udvikling eller afvikling?* ed Gunnar Lind Haase Svendsen, 21-33. Esbjerg: Syddansk Universitet.
- Ibsen, Bjarne & Klaus Levinsen. 2016. *Unge, Foreninger og demokrati*. Odense: Institut for Idræt og Biomekanik.
- Ibsen, Bjarne. and Ottesen, Laila. 2005. Foreninger som læringsrum for demokrati og sundhed. In *Voksnes læringsrum*. Ed. Jensen, 368-391, Værløse: Billesø & Baltzer.
- Idrætsprojektet 2019. Forandringsteori. Idrætsprojektet.kk.dk. Link: [idrætsprojektet.kk.dk/forandringsteori](#) Downloaded: 05.05.2021
- Inklusionsloven 2012. 2011/1 LSV 103 - Forslag til Lov om ændring af lov om folkeskolen, lov om friskoler og private grundskoler m.v. og lov om folkehøjskoler, efterskoler,

- husholdningsskoler og håndarbejdsskoler (frie kostskoler).
- Link:<https://www.retsinformation.dk/eli/ft/201113L00103> Downloaded: 10.04.2021
- Jarvie, Grant. 2003. Communitarianism, sport and social capital. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 38(2):139–153.
- Jarvie, Grant & Joseph A. Maguire. 2000. *Sport and leisure in social thought*. London Routledge.
- Jenkins, Richard. 2008 [1996]. *Social Identities*. New York: Routledge.
- Jørgensen, Kenneth Mølbjerg. 2006. *Om anvendelsen af Foucaults magtbegreb*. Institut for Uddannelse, Læring og Filosofi, Aalborg Universitet.
- Jørgensen, Kenneth Mølbjerg. 2002. *The meaning of local knowledges Genealogy and organizational analysis*. Centre for the Interdisciplinary Study of Learning, Aalborg University.
- Jørgensen, Marianne & Louise Phillips. 1999. Det diskursanalytiske felt. In *Diskursanalyse som Teori og Metode*. København: Roskilde Universitetsforlag.
- Jørgensen, Marianne & Louise Phillips. 2011a [2002]. The Field of Discourse Analysis. In *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd. DOI: <https://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781849208871>
- Jørgensen, Marianne & Louise Phillips. 2011b [2002]. Laclau & Mouffe's Discourse Theory. In *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd. DOI: <https://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781849208871>
- Jørgensen, Marianne & Louise Phillips. 2011c [2002]. Critical Discourse Analysis. In *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd. DOI: <https://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781849208871>
- Jørgensen, Marianne & Louise Phillips. 2011d [2002]. Discourse Psychology. In *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd. DOI: <https://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781849208871>
- Kaspersen, Lars Bo and Laila Ottesen. 2001. Associationalism for 150 years and still alive and kicking: some reflections on Danish civil society. *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, 4(1): 105-130.
- Kofoed, Anne. 2009. Organiseringen af danske unges fritid. Et historisk tilbageblik. *Tidsskrift for Ungdomsforskning*, 9(1): 21-39.
- Kvale, Steiner & Svend Brinkmann. 2015. *Det kvalitative forskningsinterview som håndværk*. København: Hans Reitzels forlag.
- Lacan, Jacques. 1977. *Écrits: a selection*. New York: Norton.
- Laclau, Ernesto. & Chantal Mouffe 2001. *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*. United Kingdom: Verso (New Left).
- Larsen, Signe Højbjerg og Signe Vig Jensen. 2017. Kampen om gadeidrætten. In *Folkelig sundhed og forenings-service? Et debatskrift om DGI gennem 25 år*. Ed. Hansen, Jørn, 160-177. Bredsten: Danmarks Gymnastik- og Idrætsforeninger.
- Lindø, Anna Vibeke. 2002. Persondeiksis. In *Samtalen som livsform – et bidrag til dialoganalysen*. Aarhus: Klim.
- Midol, Nancy and Gérard Broyer. 1995. Toward an Anthropological Analysis of New Sport Cultures: The Case of Whiz Sports in France. *Human Kinetics Journals* 12(2): 204-212.

- Mikkelsen, Flemming. 2006. *Indvandrere og civilsamfund: en forskningsoversigt vedrørende etniske minoriteters deltagelse i civilsamfundet samt kulturmødet mellem minoriteter og danskere på arbejdspladsen, i boligområder og i foreninger*. AMID, Institut for Historie, Internationale Studier og Samfundsforhold, Aalborg Universitet.
- Qvortrup, Marianne. 1992. Sportens Ritualer og Myter. *Forum for Idræt* 8:95-114.
- Pilgaard, Maja. 2009. Sport og motion i danskernes hverdag. København: Idrættens Analyseinstitut.
- Petralia, Peter. 2011. Here, There and In-Between: Rehearsing over Skype. *Performance Research* 16(3):113-116.
- Prior, Lindsay. 1988. The Architecture of the Hospital. *British Journal of Sociology* 39:86–113.
- Putnam, Roger 2000: *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Raffnsøe, Sverre, Marius Gudmand-Høyer & Morten S. Thaning. 2008. *Foucault*. Frederiksberg: Samfundslitteratur.
- Rasmussen, Pernille Vibe. 2008. Foreninger og integration: Undersøgelse af foreningers vilkår for integrationsarbejde i Københavns Kommune. Odense: Institut for Idræt og Biomekanik.
- Rear, David. 2013. Laclau and Mouffe's Discourse Theory and Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis: An Introduction and Comparison. College of Economics, Nihon University.
- Sand, Anne-Lene. 2014. *Matrikelløse rum: en undersøgelse af selvorganiserede måder at bruge byen på*. Ph.d.-afhandling. Det Humanistiske Fakultet, Syddansk Universitet.
- Sand, Anne-Lene. 2015. Matrikelløse fællesskaber. *Dansk Paedagogisk Tidsskrift* 2(15): 43-53.
- Sand, Anne-Lene. 2017. Jamming with urban rhythms: improvisatorial place-making among Danish youth. *Young* 25(3):286-304.
- Seitz, Sally. 2015. Pixilated partnerships, overcoming obstacles in qualitative interviews via Skype: a research note. *Qualitative Research* 16(2): 229–235.
- Sivesind, K. H. & G. Ødegaard. 2003. Makt i de frivillige hender. In *Ungdom, makt og mening - Makt- og demokratiutredningen 1998-2003*. Ed. Frederik Engelstad & Guro Ødegård, 127-158, Oslo: Gyldendal Akademisk.
- Skinner, James, Dwight H. Zakus and Jacqui Cowell. 2008. Development through Sport: Building Social Capital in Disadvantaged Communities. *Sport Management Review* 11(3): 253-275.
- Skinner, Jonathan. 2013. A Four-part Introduction to the Interview: Introducing the Interview; Society, Sociology and the Interview; Anthropology and the Interview; Anthropology and the Interview. In *The Interview: An Ethnographic Approach*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Spaaij, Ramón. 2009. Sport as a vehicle for social mobility and regulation of disadvantaged urban youth. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 44(2-3): 247-262.
- Stoddart, Marc C. J. 2007. Ideology, Hegemony, Discourse: A Critical Review of Theories of Knowledge and Power. *Social Thought & Research* 28:191-225.
- Sportscotland. 2003. *Sport 21 2003-2007 - The National Strategy for Sport*. Link:

- <https://sportscotland.org.uk/documents.pdf> downloaded: 04.04.2021
- Svendsen, Gunnar Lind Haase. 2009. Forord. I *Foreningslivet i Danmark: Under udvikling eller afvikling?* Esbjerg: Syddansk Universitet.
- Street Under Buen. 2019. Street Under Buen. Copenhagen Panna House, Street Society, BørneBaketFonden, Streetball København, Urban 13 & DFFC. Link: <http://www.frederiksberg.dk/street-under-buen-projektforslag.pdf>. Downloaded 04.03.2021
- Temple, Boguisa & Alys Young. 2004. Qualitative research and translation dilemmas. *Qualitative Research* 4(2): 161-178.
- Theeboom, Marc, Hebe Schailée & Zeno Nols. 2012. Social capital development among ethnic minorities in mixed and separate sport clubs. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics* 4(1):1-21
- Thing, Lone Friis & Laila Ottesen. 2010. The autonomy of sports: negotiating boundaries between sports governance and government policy in the Danish welfare state. *International Journal of Sport Policy and Politics* 2(2):223-235.
- Triantafillou, Peter. 2005. *Metodologiske problemstillinger i Michel Foucaults genealogiske magt- og frihedsanalytik: Ti bud*. Department of Social Sciences, Institut for samfundsvidenskab og erhvervsøkonomi: Roskilde Universitet.
- Tocqueville, Alexis de, and Henry Reeve. 1835. *Democracy in America*. London: Saunders and Otley.
- Torpe, Lars. 2009. Foreninger og social kapital i Danmark. I *Foreningslivet i Danmark: Under udvikling eller afvikling?* ed. Gunnar Lind Haase Svendsen, 11-20. Esbjerg: Syddansk Universitet.
- Torpe, Lars. 2013. *De stærke samfund - social kapital i Skandinavien*. København: Frydenlund.
- Turner, Daniel, 2013. The civilized skateboarder and the sport funding hegemony: a case study of alternative sport. *Sport in Society* 16(10):1248-1265.
- Vail, Susan E. 2007. Community development and sports participation. *Journal of Sport Management* 21(4): 571-596.
- Villadsen, Kaspar & Bjerg, Ole. 2006. *Sociologiske metoder: fra teori til analyse i kvantitative og kvalitative studier*. Samfundslitteratur, Frederiksberg.
- Wankel & Berger. 2018. The Psychological and Social Benefits of Sport and Physical Activity. *Journal of Leisure Research* 22(2):167-182.
- Warburton, Darren E.R., Crystal Whitney Nicol and Shannon S.D. Bredin. 2006. Health benefits of physical activity: the evidence. *Review* 174(6):101-109.
- Warren, Mark E. 2001. *Democracy and Association*. Princeton, Princeton University Press
- Weaton, Belinda. 2004. *Understanding lifestyle sport: Consumption, identity and difference*. London: Routledge.
- Wollebæk, Dag & Per Selle. 2002. *Det nye organisasjonsamfundet – Demokrati i omformning*. Bergen: Fagbokforlaget.