Integration through Sport? Some Reflections on the Role of Sport in Multicultural Societies

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Keywords: Integration, multicultural society, sport, social cohesion

Abstract

This article explores the role of sport in multicultural societies. In many European countries sport is seen as an effective means to integrate immigrants into society. However, academic research shows that these expectations often fail. The article first critically discusses the concepts of "integration" and "integration through sport". It argues that a simplistic concept of "integration" risks producing detrimental outcomes, preventing sport from realizing its possibilities. By giving insights into the work of the Brighton Table Tennis Club (BTTC) in the UK the article aims to show that for the social system "sport" the concept of "social cohesion" is more practicable than the concept of "integration".

1) Introduction

"Integration through Sport" is a concept strongly promoted in Germany as well as in many other European countries. The Sport migrant integration platform of the Council of Europe mentions 19 countries in Europe launching projects (Council of Europe, HP). Facing an increasing number of immigrants, many people in these countries see sport as an effective means to help integrate immigrants into society. However, the putative self-evidence of the concept "integration through sport" is questioned by

Doshisha Studies in Global Communications 8 (2019)43-62
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academic research, as the expectations of sport often remain in the realm of ideals and fail to match the findings of empirical investigations. A study conducted by the Academic Service of the Lower House of the German Parliament, for instance, points out that while sport may help promote integration, this effect is not ensured by the mere participation of immigrants and that in sport clubs intercultural conflicts often occur (Deutscher Bundestag, 2009:4,5). What is necessary to achieve the promotion of integration through sport? What hinders it? In this article I will argue that the concept "integration" itself is a hampering factor and that a simplistic notion of "integration" risks producing detrimental outcomes, preventing sport from realizing its possibilities by emphasizing, rather than overcoming, a dichotomous structure of mainstream vs. minority.

In the world of sports, much innovative work is in progress which, in a positive way, challenges the very notion of "integration," seeking to go beyond the traditional concept of the term to foster intercultural and social competences. One example is the Brighton Table Tennis Club (BTTC) in the UK. In 2016, the BTTC was recognized as the UK's first Sports Club of Sanctuary for its work with unaccompanied refugee children and young people (Lyons, 2016). But this is only one aspect of the club's activities and positive outcomes. Its work with immigrants is embedded in a number of different activities that aim to foster the "social cohesion" of different (minority) groups. The work of the club demonstrates that alternatives to the concept of "integration" are not impractical propositions, but are indeed practicable, and that sport is especially suited to realize them. I will first discuss the concepts of "integration" and "integration through sport". I will then describe and give insights into the BTTC's work, and further explore the questions of what factors are necessary for achieving "social cohesion through sport," and to what extent the BTTC can serve as a role model. The aim of the article is not to dismiss the concept of "integration through

sport" as a whole. Rather, while putting forward some caveats about the key concept of "integration," it hopes to show the possibilities of sport in multicultural societies.

2) "Integration" and "Integration through Sport"

The concept of "integration"

In the academic field of sociology, "integration" is a neutral term, describing the inclusion of all individuals into society (Thiel, Seiberth., Mayer, 2013:338).In policies and public debate, on the other hand, the term refers nearly exclusively to the relation between immigrants and a host society and is a highly contested concept (Garcés-Mascareñas, Penninx, 2016:11). Depending on political orientation, "integration" is defined in the policy/public realm as a one-sided adjustment to be made by the immigrants or, more moderately, as a dialogue between immigrants and the host society. Irrespective of these variations, most policies dubbed with the term "integration" are based on a dichotomous distinction between "native residents" and "immigrants," as well as the assumption of a "mainstream." For instance, in the plan for national integration launched by the German government (Bundesregierung: Nationaler Integrationsplan, 2007),the target group that is supposed to be integrated into "our society" (10) are explicitly the immigrants. In the British government document "Creating the conditions for integration" (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2012),the distinction between immigrants and natives is not as clear as in the German document; the "long history of migration both to and from these shores" is emphasized, along with the fact that "Our history and our shared values mean we are better placed than many other countries to meet the challenges of integration" (3). But the notion of a "mainstream society" can be found in this document as well: "There are too many people still left outside, or choosing to remain outside, mainstream society" (6).

In the academic discourse of migration studies, many scholars also define "integration" in relation to a "mainstream," as shown, for example, in the monograph of Alba and Foner (2015:5):"Integration occurs in relation to a 'mainstream' society. The mainstream can be thought of as encompassing those social and cultural spaces where the native majority feels 'at home' or, in other words, where its presence is taken for granted and seen as unproblematic." The term "mainstream" is explained as "accepted ways of behaving, which, needless to say, typically differ to some extent among different native subgroups (as defined, for example, by social class or region)." This dichotomy of mainstream vs. minority is a deeply-rooted collective paradigm of perception. Grzymala-Kazlowska and Phillimore (2017:9)refer to it critically by pointing out its imaginative character: "Integration policy has on the whole developed in such a way as to encourage the adaptation and inclusion of immigrants to life in a new society while maintaining the existing socio-cultural order, where there was assumed or imagined to be a dominant, prevailing and somewhat singular culture and identity as well as belief and value system" (italics by the author).

In policies concerning language acquisition, such as the Integrationskurs (integration course) in Germany, the notion of a mainstream and the image of "integration into the mainstream" makes sense. In Germany (as in many nation states in Western Europe) there exists one main language, which is considered the nation's common language. The learning of this language is imperative for immigrants (as well as for so-called"natives") in order for them to become fully-accepted members of society. (This, of course, does not deny the necessity of supportive measures to foster multilingualism and help immigrants to preserve their native languages.)When it comes to the field of sport, however, these notions of "integration" and "mainstream" are problematic, as explained below.

The social system of sport

Due to dynamic developments in the fields of politic, economy, medicine, health care and education in the 19th century sport evolved as social system in Germany (Thiel, Seiberth, Mayer, 2013:53). The definition of sport as social system implies, that sport has its own norms and rules, different to other social systems such as politic or economy. That does not mean that sport operates separately from society. "Sport" has different functions in and for society. For example, sport can be used as an educational tool, as a means to promote and maintain public health care, to earn money, or as a way to enhance political power. But sport exists as pure sport only when it is not influenced or interfered with by other social systems (Bette, 1999:39). Based on Niklas Luhmann's systems theory, Bette (1999:37)identifies "win / loss" as the operational mode (or "binary code") most significant for sport as a social system, and points out that the code of sport is indifferent to background, race, religion, or economic power. The sporting performance achieved according to the rules is the only thing that counts (42). In the case of sport at the individual or grassroots level, where win / loss is not as important as in elite sport, the focus on the body and the joy of moving and improving makes sport a space that is different from other social spaces. The fact that only the performance and not the social background of the athletes counts gives sport much of its potential, and is one reason why the expectations placed on sport are so high. This, however, does not alter the fact that "integration" is not a distinctive feature of sport itself, but a political and educational request made from outside the social system of sport. There is no causal connection between "sport" and "integration" as the slogan "integration through sport" suggests. Thiel, Seiberth, and Mayer (2013:353)call the putative self–evidence of the concept "integration through sport" a major obstacle to new insights in research about integration related to sport, arguing that sport has a huge potential for bringing people together but stressing that integration does not happen automatically.

The policy "Integration through Sport"

A closer look at the policy of "Integration through Sport" in Germany reveals that its main aim is to promote the integration of immigrants into so-called "organized sport," i.e., sports clubs ("vereinsorganisierter Sport"). In the above-mentioned Nationaler Integrationsplan (Bundesregierung, 2007), an entire chapter is devoted to the policy "Integration through Sport." The promotion and funding of sport in sports clubs under this policy is explained by referring to the important role that sports clubs play in stabilizing society (Bundesregierung 2007:139).Sport is expected to offer opportunities for integration at three levels: social integration (soziale Integration), cultural integration (kulturelle Integration), and general integration into the politics of everyday life (alltagspolitische Integration). Social integration is expected to be fostered in sports clubs due to the fact that they enable people with different ethnic backgrounds to come together and develop social ties. Cultural integration is expected to take place through the mediation of cultural techniques (Kulturtechniken) like language acquisition and the appropriation of behavior patterns. General integration into the politics of everyday life is expected to occur through participation in the politics of the sports club; because they involve practices like voluntary contribution and democratic decision-making, sports clubs can serve as a teacher and model of democracy (140).

The focus on sports clubs demonstrates that they are perceived as stakeholders of democracy and German culture. Although the Integrationsplan emphasizes that integration is a reciprocal process (140), what its policy mainly promotes is the one-sidedintegration of migrants into the existing structures of traditional German sports clubs. In this sense, the policy "Integration through Sport" reflects the notion of "integrating into the mainstream." Clubs are in Germany one of the most prevalent forms of associations. Sports clubs, in particular, have a long history and play an influential role in the organization of sport in Germany.

According to the website of the German Olympic Sports Confederation (Deutscher Olympischer Sportbund, or DOSB), "The DOSB counts more than 27 million memberships in about 90,000sports clubs. It is the largest citizens' movement in Germany." A focus on sports clubs is not a uniquely German phenomenon, however. In an article about integration policies and sport in Denmark, Agergaard (2011)examines "how Danish sport clubs have become arenas for ethnic integration," and states as a reason for this development: "The hope is that the cultural adaptation of ethnic minorities to the so-called Danish values and norms can be fostered in movements within civil society like the Danish sports organizations, which are broadly rooted in Danish society" (345).This accords exactly with the situation in Germany.

A number of studies, however, question the ability of traditional sports clubs to fulfill these expectations. Seiberth, Weigelt-Schlesinger, and Schlesinger (2013)stress the fact that sports clubs are interest groups, whose primary mission is to satisfy the interests of their members. Those interests, however, do not automatically match up with public interests (192).Scholars in other European countries come to similar conclusions, and question the eminent role assigned to traditional sports clubs in promoting integration. In their examination of the integration of girls and women with immigrant backgrounds into sports clubs in Germany, Seiberth, Weigelt-Schlesinger, and Schlesinger (2013)identify various "organizational barriers that may disrupt, complicate, or prevent the integration" (175).The above mentioned study conducted by the Academic Service of the Lower House of the German Parliament also points out that especially in football clubs conflicts often occur (5). Concerning the integration of minority women, Walseth and Fasting (2004:120)cite investigations in Norway and other European countries which indicate that "minority women choose to do sport at commercial fitness clubs or in unorganized settings, for example in parks or at home," rather than in traditional sports clubs. The existence of

separate ethnic sports clubs, organized by immigrants themselves, also casts doubt on how much traditional "native" sports clubs contribute to the integration process of immigrants. Janssens and Verweel (2014) demonstrate in their study of "mixed" versus "separate" sports clubs in the Netherlands that separate sports clubs can foster the accumulation of social capital as well as mixed clubs can, and stress that "Social integration is not a motive for people to join a sports club. If people are asked why they have joined, they list such motivations as physical relaxation, social contact, sporting achievement, condition, fitness, and so forth. The fact that their club membership may contribute to social integration is a pleasant circumstance: a side-effect that is unintended, though nonetheless positive" (54).

These findings underpin the argument of this article, that the concept of "integration into a mainstream" does not make sense when it comes to sport. The use of sport as a means of integration ignores the fundamental feature of sport as a system where only performance counts. Rather than emphasizing the structure of minority vs. mainstream, could sport not serve as an arena where this structure is not dominant, and where members of both the so-called minority and the so-called majority have the opportunity to experience human relationships differently than in other social contexts? This leads to the fundamental question: What kind of organization is conducive to fostering this potential of sport? The following section explores the answers that the Brighton Table Tennis Club offers to this question.

The information about the club were gained through participant observation from September to November 2017 and narrative interviews conducted during this period.

3) The Brighton Table Tennis Club (BTTC) in the UK

History and concept

The founders of the BTTC, emphasize the club's grassroots character. In the 2017 BTTC Annual Report, Tim Holtam writes, "BTTC is proving that true grassroots work and elite table tennis can be brought together in one club." In the document BTTC Mission (2016), the history of the club is described as follows.

> The Club was founded in February 2007 by two ex-international table tennis players with the specific aim of using table tennis as a tool to engage children and young people living in the most deprived parts of the City and provide them with opportunities to reach their potential.
>
> As the Club has grown we have expanded our reach to people with learning disabilities, over 50s, looked after children, refugees, LGBT, as well as adults from the local community. Today the Club benefits from a uniquely diverse membership which creates a vibrant atmosphere, in which strong friendships have formed across social and cultural barriers.

This description clearly shows that the BTTC does not base its work on a concept of integrating a minority group into a mainstream organization. Rather, with its diverse target groups, the concept of the club relativizes the very concept of "mainstream." Let us recall the definition Alba and Foner (2015:5) give for the term "mainstream": "accepted ways of behaving, which, needless to say, typically differ to some extent among different native subgroups (as defined, for example, by social class or region)." The work of the BTTC starts precisely from the needs of these "different subgroups." The term "integration" is used only once in the BTTC Mission, in the following sentence: "(We) Provide targeted sessions

for different groups with opportunities to integrate into the Club." Here the verb "integrate" means taking part in club activities outside one's own group. G.M., a coach for the women's session and a peer supporter at the session for people affected by cancer, explains this concept by using the term "safe space" (interview with the author, November 2017).Special sessions are offered to meet the particular needs of different groups—including women, people with cancer, people with learning disabilities, people with Down's Syndrome, and many others. For refugees and asylum seekers, special sessions such as PingMath (learning maths while playing Ping Pong) and PingLish (learning English while playing Ping Pong) are designed to help participants acquire numeric and language skills. These sessions function as safe spaces, as they bring people with the same needs together, giving them the opportunity to improve their table tennis skills and to gain self-confidencein a relaxed and protected environment.

While providing these safety zones, the club also promotes the "mixing" of different groups. Members of one group are welcome as volunteers for another group. 12-year-oldS.F., for instance, is a player in the children's session, but helps as a volunteer in the session for people with Down's Syndrome. So-called "all comer sessions" are also held weekly, where everyone is welcome to try out his or her table tennis skills with a variety of different players. The club also organizes social events, and actively takes part in events held by other organizations; this provides the opportunity for members to mix with people of other social subgroups. Another measure that promotes contact among people of different groups is the provision of training opportunities for coaching qualification. According to the BTTC Annual Report, as of the end of 2017,24members had acquired Level 1, and 6 members Level 2, Table Tennis England Coaching Qualification. Many of these individuals began table tennis in special groups, but work now as coaches for other groups. One of the most remarkable coaches is H.F., who has Down's Syndrome. He was also a Gold

Medal winner in Men's Doubles at the Down's Syndrome World Championships in 2017.

Through these activities the social system sport displays its distinctive features. Social and economic status and power relationships are not important—only one's table tennis skills count. This not only empowers persons of socially-disadvantaged groups, it also provides members of the so-called majority with an opportunity to experience other roles than they are accustomed to having in society. When taught, or soundly beaten in a game, by a person with Down's Syndrome, members of an assumed majority or mainstream may rethink stereotypical views of "disabled" or "handicapped" persons. In this sense, of the four keywords found in the BTTC mission—Community, Respect, Solidarity, and Competition—Competition is the most important. The focus of the Club lies in teaching table tennis and giving all participants the chance to develop and improve their skills. In 2016, the club's Senior British League first team was promoted to National Division A (BTTC Annual Report, 2017). The competitive sport of table tennis is the glue that binds the club's diverse groups into a community characterized by respect and solidarity. Table tennis helps members discover new social roles that only exist in the system of sport. A dichotomous structure of immigrants and mainstream, something that is apt to develop when immigrant integration measures are requested of traditional clubs, is avoided from the very beginning. Refugees and asylum seekers are only one of many groups in the BTTC, and the club encourages them to cross borders and play an active role in various activities of the club. F.B. for instance, a refugee from Afghanistan, participates in the special PingMath session, volunteers as a coach for children, and frequently plays in the all comer sessions. He is also a member of Team Afghanistan, founded by Afghan members of the club, which plays successfully in Division 2 of the Brighton League (BTTC Annual Report, 2017).

Although not directly influenced by the official policy of UK Sport, the BTTC benefits from its ideological framework. Sport England, for instance, gave the club a £100,000grant in 2016 to continue its work with young asylum seekers and local children (Lyons, 2016).Next, let us look more closely at the ideological framework of sport policies in the UK.

The ideological framework

The UK census data includes identification of minorities. J.A. Cleland writes: "The 2001 Census data also helped to highlight that a greater number of children from ethnic minority groups are more likely to live in deprived areas than white children and thus support the need for specific, more inclusive, strategies focusing on ethnic minorities to engage them in sport or physical activity" (2014:39).Due to the UK's colonial past, awareness of the issues of race and ethnicity is high and equality is an important keyword. UK Sport, in its document UK Sport Equality and Diversity Strategy 2010–2013,refers to the Equality Act of 2010(Legislation.gov.uk) and states that the protection of equality and diversity is part of its agenda. In the case of Germany, on the other hand, Baur (2009:16)mentions in his study of the program "Integration through Sport" that it was not possible in his investigation to explore the effects of integration measures on the persons in question, that is, participants with immigrant backgrounds. This is because they are not registered as immigrants and therefore no data was available.

The aim of this article is not to compare the systems of Germany and the UK. With regard to the argument of this article, that the very concept "integration" is a factor that hinders integration, it might, however, not be wrong to say that an ideological framework of equality and diversity might be more apt to foster social cohesion through sport than a concept that relies on the dichotomy of minorities vs. mainstream. Nevertheless, the UK also has room for improvement when it comes to the practical

implementation of its policies. Cleland states that "sport is facing a tough challenge of releasing the shackles of a discriminatory past" (2014:48).

The BTTC serves in this context as a successful example and it is not astonishing that the club receives official funding from Sport England. It also provides valuable hints regarding how to turn mission into concrete action. The mission "Community, Respect, Solidarity, Competition" is actualized by a number of distinctive organizational features, which are described below.

Organization and funding

The BTTC defines itself as "an outward facing and open project" (BTTC Annual Report, 2017).It cooperates with several groups and organizations and runs special sessions designed to meet their needs. The 2017BTTC Annual Report lists 15 youth clubs (such as the Brighton & Hove City Council's Virtual School for Children in Care), 20 social clubs (such as the Blaggs-Brighton & Hove Lesbian and Gay Sports Society), as well as 15 joint projects and 9 close partners. Unlike traditional sports clubs, where members pay a monthly fee and constitute the main body of the club, the activities of BTTC are not limited to a definite number of members. There is no monthly fee. Participants in the open sessions pay £4 per session, socially-disadvantaged persons pay £2, and donations are welcome. The club finances its activities mainly through grants, like the above-mentionedone from Sport England. Other grants are received for charitable activities designed for targeted groups such as people with cancer. The BTTC itself is a registered charity. In addition to income and endowments from charitable activities and donations, the club is sponsored by businesses such as Infinity Food. The dependence on grants may at first glance seem a limitation, but it is actually one of the reasons the club is able to run so many different sessions and to reach out and integrate people of socially and economically disadvantaged groups. Instead of having

a fixed membership, the club is fluid and flexible, which allows it to consistently engage in new projects. The club offers sessions and coaching not just at its own facility, but also at other places, including prisons and homes for the elderly (BTTC, Homepage). According to N.K., a core staff member of the club, this kind of flexibility, together with the core values of "Community, Respect, Solidarity, and Competition," give the club its "strength" (interview with the author, November 2017).

The outreach to many different groups is also one reason the club attracts so many volunteers. Some volunteers are more interested in the sporting aspects, while others are more interested in the social activities. G.V., a volunteer in charge of facilities, says the club has provided him with a "niche" where he can contribute to various activities (interview with the author, November 2017).The term "niche" resembles the term "safe space" used by G.M., and demonstrates the success of the club in combining competitive sport with community building. The success of the BTTC surely relies to a great extent on the enthusiasm of its founders, its staff, and its volunteers. However, as shown above, this enthusiasm is underpinned by a structural and organizational framework that makes it possible to transfer the core values of the club into concrete actions.

As Seiberth, Weigelt–Schlesinger, and Schlesinger (2013)have shown, for many sports clubs in Germany the issue of "integration" is a request from the outside, and because of their fixed membership and other organizational obstacles, not all sports clubs are flexible enough to respond to this request. In case of the BTTC, however, "social cohesion" has not been requested from the outside but has developed through the club's outreach to various different targeted groups. The love of table tennis has always been and remains the inspiration and the unifying force of the BTTC.

A new narrative

The BTTC is sometimes described in terms of "integration," as in an

article by Allegretti (2017)in the Huffington Post: "Meet the UK's first Table Tennis Club of Sanctuary that's giving a masterclass in integration." In 2016,the club was awarded the national Community Integration Award by the MigrationWork Trust (Active Sussex, 2016).This is not surprising given the fact that "Integration through Sport" is a widely-promoted concept. But as I have tried to show in this article, the work of the BTTC goes far beyond this concept. As many members have stated, together with the sport of table tennis it is the diversity of the club that attracts them. By celebrating its diversity on SNS and through various events, the club has managed to create a new narrative of sport as a playground for diverse people.

4) Concluding Remarks: The Possibilities and Limitations of Sport

A new narrative is also emerging in Germany under the powerful concept of "Integration through Sport." In a promotion video of the Sport Association of the State Sachsen (Landessportbund Sachsen, 2016), for instance, activities launched under the concept "Integration durch Sport" are introduced. In the interviews with coaches, managers and volunteers — many of them with an immigration background themselves — not so much the term "integration," but "diversity as chance and enrichment (Vielfalt als Chance und Bereicherung)" and positive effects on native residents such as "increasing intercultural openness (interkulturelle Öffnung)" are emphasized. The projects and groups introduced in the video also demonstrate, that traditional clubs (Vereine) are just one organizational form for sport activities. Temporary projects as well as less tightly organized groups and circles try to attract diverse groups — including elderly and handicapped people — by offering a variety of sportive activities such as dance and gymnastics as well as martial arts. However, while the promotion videos praises the successful outcomes of these projects, it should not be forgotten, that the very state Sachsen is the place,

where the far-right wing movement PEGIDA has its most supporters and where racist violence is a serious problem. Sport is obviously not a universal remedy.

We have seen that sport can (or should) serve as an arena where other social roles can be experienced and social boundaries, drawn by class, race, gender, and so on, can be overcome. When considering the possibilities of sport, however, a caveat should be kept in mind. German pedagogy professors Radtke and Diehm, in the introduction to their monograph about education and migration (1999:149),warn against overestimating the influence of pedagogy in multicultural societies. There is a trend to delegate political responsibilities to the educational system and to compensate for political shortcomings via educational measures. Social and economic injustice and inequality, however, cannot be overcome by intercultural education. The same can be said for sport: it cannot replace social, political, and economic measures in promoting social equality. Sport is sport, and the political use—or abuse—of it is liable to be either hypocritical or counter-effective.

The author thanks the members of the BBTC for their cooperation and interviews, which have made this article possible.

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Keywords: Integration, multicultural society, sport, social cohesion

論文要約

本研究は、多文化社会におけるスポーツの役割について考察を加えるもの

である。ヨーロッパの多くの国では、スポーツは移民の統合に役立つものと

され、政策的にも財政的にも促進されている。ところが、現場を対象にした

数多くの学術的な調査によれば、スポーツは決して期待されているほど「統

合」を促しているわけではない。本研究では、まず「統合」と「スポーツを

通じた統合」政策を批判的に検討している。そのあと、あるスポーツクラブ

の活動の分析を通じて、スポーツの場合、「統合（integration）」というコン

セプトよりも「社会的結束（ socialcohesion）」のほうが適切であることを証

明している。

「統合」概念は、主流社会（mainstreamsociety）の存在を前提としている。

言語政策の場合、そのコンセプトは意味をなしている。移民難民が受け入れ

社会の認められた構成員になるため、その主流社会の言語を習得することが

不可欠である。しかし、スポーツという分野となると、主流社会への「統合」

というアプローチはあまり適切ではない。安易な「統合」政策は、スポーツ

の持つ可能性を妨げる危険性すらある。なぜなら、スポーツは移民難民が受

け入れ社会のルールや価値観を学ぶ場というより、社会生活とは別の力学が

の「サンクチュアリのスポーツクラブ」として承認された。その際、特に

BTTCの難民の受け入れと積極的な支援が評価されたが、BTTCの特徴は、

難民とは限らず、低所得層の子ども、障がい者や LGBTなどの社会的な少

数派や弱者のクラブへの活動参画を促すことにある。それぞれのグループに

「安全な場（saftyzone）」もグループを超えた出会いの場も提供するする仕

組みを呈している。卓球というのは、競争を意識した競技でありながら、い

わゆるピンポンとして社交性を重視する側面も有しているスポーツである。

BTTCは両側面を組み合わせて、多くの人々の参加·出会いを可能にする

活動を展開している。このようにして、移民難民 vs受け入れ社会という「統

合政策」にありがちな二項対立的な構造を見事に乗り越えている。さらに、

移民難民や障がい者のコーチ資格取得も積極的に推し進めてきた結果、

BTTCでは、少数派出身のコーチがいわゆる主流社会の子ども·大人に卓

球を教えることになっている。このようにして、BTTCの活動は「統合」

というコンセプトよりも、「社会的結束（ socialcohesion）」のほうがスポー

ツに適して、スポーツにより促進され得ることを実証している。

本研究は、スポーツを切り口にした、多文化社会における「共生」につい

てさらに考えていくための一資料である。