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The Organisation of Club Football in Denmark – A Contemporary Profile

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Introduction

As in numerous other countries, football in Denmark is a popular game that engages with men and women of all ages. According to the national survey on sports participation, 7% of the adult population (16+) and 37% of children (7–15) regularly play football¹, of which a majority play in local grassroots clubs under the control of the Danish Football Association (DFA), making football the most popular sports-club-based activity in Denmark². This paper seeks to examine description and understand the contemporary football landscape in Denmark, with a specific focus on the DFA as a national and international representative organisation. In an international research perspective, this focus is missing, especially with regard to the richness of empirical detail that will be presented. Many scholars have described and analysed the structures and cultures of football in relation to different contexts and from a variety of different theoretical positions.³ These include financial aspects⁴, national identity⁵, organisation and governance of professional football⁶, media⁷, racism⁸, women's football⁹, and so on.

In relation to Danish football, a growing body of literature has developed. Studies are centered, for example, around fans¹⁰, early history ~~of football~~¹¹, World War II¹², popularity of women's football¹³, female player's relationship to the need for education¹⁴, professional football¹⁵, the Football Fitness initiative¹⁶, and so on. However, apart from a few papers (mentioned below) that touch on issues related to the organisation of club football in Denmark, a fuller contemporary description and understanding is missing. The closest we come to an overall picture is a popular book in Danish that provides a historical timeline up to 2006.¹⁷ The aim of this paper is to fill the gap and provide a comprehensive picture of Danish club football today, including both grassroots and professional activities. We do this by analysing how the

organisation of club football has developed and how it relates to state, civil society and the market.

We start with a clarification of our methodology, including our theoretical approach and empirical basis. This is followed by a historical overview highlighting landmarks decisive for the understanding of Danish club football. The selection of landmarks is explicitly related to our theoretical basis of analysis. We continue by presenting a detailed contemporary profile differentiating between grassroots and professional football in order to understand how different societal orders – state, civil society, and market – are reflected in the Danish organisation of the game. Finally, the closing section sums up the paper and highlights four unique traits of Danish club football as well as touching on current and future challenges for the game.

Theory and methodological perspective

To answer our main research question presented in the introduction—give a thorough understanding of the organisations involved in Danish football, we build on theories presented by Streeck & Schmitter, Everts & Winterbergers and, in particular, Pestoff.¹⁸ We include an understanding of society formed by four basic social orders viewed as ideal types —; civil society, market, state and associations — as illustrated in Figure 1. An similar and inspirational analysis of sports policy and sports participation in Denmark was carried out by Ibsen & Ottesen in 2003.¹⁹ In contrast, this paper zooms in on football and , analysing how state policy is reflected in organisational issues in this specific sport.

FIGURE 1: Society formed by state, civil society, market and associations

As can be seen in Figure 1, each order has its own characteristics, labelled “the public sector”, “the informal sector”, “the commercial sector” and “the voluntary sector”.

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2
3 These are associated with institutions such as public agencies, households, private firms
4 and non-profit organisations, respectively, separated by three social dimensions;
5
6 public/private, profit/non-profit and formal/informal. Each institution comprises a
7
8 unique combination of characteristics. According to Pestoff²⁰: (Pestoff, 1992:24):
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10
11 *“Public agencies are normally formal, non-profit organizations, while private firms are*
12 *normally formal, for-profit organizations. Households are normally informal, private*
13 *non-profit organizations, while voluntary associations are normally formal, private*
14 *non-profit organizations.”* Throughout the paper, we will relate the organisation of
15
16 Danish football to these social dimensions and societal sectors in order to understand its
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18 development.

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26 Our study is grounded in an analysis of 25 legal documents and budgets together
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28 with financial data selected due to their importance for the national organisation of
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30 grassroots and professional football (see appendix).²¹ The collection of documents runs
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32 up to 13 December 2017 and our analysis will cover the development process up until
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34 this point. ~~This is important to note, because the system is not carved in stone, even~~
35
36 ~~though it is notably stable.~~²² The date of access to empirical documents is noted in the
37
38 appendix. All documents were coded using an a priori code strategy reflecting the
39
40 theory of social orders focusing on organisational ‘rules and regularities’ (formality,
41
42 profit perspectives and ownership, respectively), supplemented by ‘economic relations’
43
44 ~~and~~ ‘interorganisational coherence conditions’ such as the ‘economic relations’,
45
46 ‘membership conditions’, and ‘services’ ~~and work-sharing agreements~~ of the
47
48 organisations under scrutiny.²³ Financial ~~club~~ data on professional clubs were collected
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50 from previous work carried out by one of the authors²⁴, but updated with the latest
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52 available accounts. Moreover, we build on an online questionnaire survey sent to the
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54 chairpersons of 1,247 of approx. 1,600 grassroots football clubs playing under the DFA
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(contact details were not available for all clubs). In total, 475 chairpersons [responded](#), making this the most comprehensive quantitative dataset for Danish grassroots football. Also, national surveys on football and sports participation²⁵, and existing knowledge are included, of which important contributions are based on an understanding of sports clubs²⁶ and, in particular, football clubs²⁷.

A historical perspective: [1849-2018](#)

The first football clubs and the formation of the Danish Football Association *The age of association club football begins*

Our profiling starts with the Danish ‘Constitution’ of 1849 establishing ‘freedom of association’, which is of crucial importance for understanding the [present](#) organisational structure of Danish football, [as most organisations involved today are organised as associations](#). Here, one clause is of vital importance, namely §92 stating that “*citizens shall, without previous permission, be free to form associations for any lawful purpose*”²⁸. In other words, the Constitution of 1849 laid the foundation for the [voluntary sector](#). Moreover, the Constitution ~~provided~~ [laid the foundation for](#) municipal autonomy, where the rights of local authorities to manage their own affairs under state supervision were stipulated.²⁹ This decentralisation and the role of the municipalities – [or, in other words, public agencies](#) – were to become very important in relation to football clubs, which will ~~unfold in~~ [be clear from](#) the following. [Also of importance is the 1866 revision of the Constitution, which led to democratic restrictions regarding organisational structures and practices](#)³⁰. Kaspersen and Ottesen³¹ state: “*The members (of an association) were a 'demos' and a set of clauses and principles (a miniature constitution) was decided and passed by the members in a constituting meeting. Each association had an annual general meeting at which the old executive committee*

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2
3 *reported on the association's activities and accounts and a new executive committee*
4
5 *was elected. This structure has survived, and even today it is an important pillar of the*
6
7 *Danish democratic structure.*” Seen in relation to our theoretically based Figure 1,
8
9 *associations were more or less positioned in ‘the public sector’ prior to the Constitution.*
10
11 *As a consequence of the Constitution and its revision, they became part of ‘the*
12
13 *voluntary sector’ as formal (formal democratic structures), private (self-governed) and*
14
15 *non-profit. In the following, the understanding of ‘association’ covers this concept.*

The association structure develops

22
23 In 1878, Københavns Boldklub (KB) (Copenhagen Ball-Club) was the first club to be
24
25 formed in Denmark —and in fact in mainland Europe— as an association [for organising](#)
26
27 football, ~~primarily organised around cricket~~.³² Today, KB serves as a foundation of FC
28
29 Copenhagen, which is the most successful professional Danish football club of recent
30
31 times.³³ In the following years, more clubs formed as associations came into existence,
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33 providing the possibility of club vs club matches, with the first official match [taking](#)
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35 [place](#) ~~(Two clubs (Melchioranerne & Frederecia-studenterne) formed a joint team to~~
36
37 ~~play KB) played~~ in 1887 on Københavns Fælled (Copenhagen Common)³⁴, ~~where~~
38
39 ~~today’s national football stadium is located, though it is now owned by the for-profit~~
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41 ~~company PARKEN Sport & Entertainment A/S, which is behind FC Copenhagen.~~

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46 As more clubs were formed, the need for cooperation and better organisation led
47
48 to the foundation of the Danish Football Association (DFA) in 1889, ~~representing~~
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50 ~~football, cricket and tennis~~³⁵. ~~The DFA was the first national FA in mainland Europe.~~
51
52 Overall, the ~~DFA organisation~~ had a difficult start and almost dissolved in 1895 with
53
54 only two clubs as members.³⁶ The DFA crisis came to an end at the beginning of the
55
56 1900s as the popularity of the game rapidly grew. An important point raised by Toft³⁷ is
57
58 that the Danish Ministry of Culture recommended that football should be incorporated
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3 in physical education lessons in schools in 1896, thus pushing forward the new
4 popularity of the game. Aside from the possibility for self-governing clubs to form,
5
6 thereby creating associative democracy as a political strategy, this is the first example of
7
8 state involvement in football, which had huge importance for its popularity and uptake.
9
10 In the following years, the DFA transformed into something closely resembling its
11
12 present structure as an association based umbrella organisation comprising six regional
13
14 Football County Unions (FCUs), all organised as associations.³⁸ Moreover, the ‘Sports
15
16 Confederation of Denmark and National Olympic Committee’ (SCD) was established in
17
18 1896, also functioning as an association, on democratic principles and with the DFA as
19
20 a member. In this structure, the clubs were no longer members of the DFA; they were
21
22 members of the regional FCUs, who were members of the DFA operating at a national
23
24 level and functioning as members of the SCD. All these organisations are positioned in
25
26 ‘the voluntary sector’ (-cf. Fig. 1), providing football and sport with a relatively high
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28 autonomy from ‘the public sector’.
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State and market influence on club football increases

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39 In 1937, a new school law required the municipalities to provide public schools of a
40
41 certain size with a playing field and to make the facilities available to local sports
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43 associations after school hours.³⁹ This included football clubs and solved a major
44
45 problem regarding playing fields by means of regulative state intervention.
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49 Furthermore, in 1948 the connection between the state and club football was
50
51 strengthened when the Danish parliament adopted a State Football Pool⁴⁰, which
52
53 secured the SCD a relatively large part of the national monopolistic betting profits
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55 (including the national lottery profits in 1989), bringing funding to the DFA. In 1968,
56
57 yet another law was passed, the Danish Leisure Act⁴¹, that provided favourable
58
59 conditions for the clubs, as it obligated the municipalities to support all leisure-time
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1
2
3 activities organised in associations⁴², ~~including football~~. By this time, a subsidised
4 structure was created that remains within grassroots football today; the state supports
5 the work of the DFA, and the municipalities support ~~association-based~~ on-football
6 clubs, to whom the citizens pay membership fees.
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11
12 The passing of these state laws was a key factor in the growing numbers of
13 people playing and, at the same time, upholding the amateur code and associative
14 structure ~~democratic structure~~ of the DFA, FCUs and clubs, as the state and municipal
15 support ~~funding and facilities~~ could not be assigned to professional and for-profit
16 activities. Meanwhile, while the countries around Denmark introduced professional
17 football, Denmark retained its amateur code up to 1978. However, from 1978 and
18 onwards the mixture of football and money brought increasing influence from ‘the
19 market’, finally resulting in some clubs establishing a stock-based foundation, which
20 was formal, private and for-profit and thus positioned in ‘the commercial sector’. With
21 regard to the development of professional football in Denmark, the system of club-
22 based football thereby created two parallel tracks, ~~clearly visible in figure 2~~
23 distinguishing between elite-level football on the one hand and grass-roots football on
24 the other. How this is reflected in the organisation and structure of Danish football is
25 examined below.
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An overview of the present system

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48 Figure 2 at the end of this section provides a useful illustration for understanding the
49 present organisation of football in Denmark. which will be scrutinised in detail in the
50 following based on empirical evidence. It shows how the organisation it has come to be
51 divided into the two previously mentioned tracks (grassroots and professional) and
52 interconnected levels, ~~only briefly touched upon in the previous section.~~
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3 The DFA constitutes the national level and has two members – the Association
4 of County Unions (ACU); and the Danish League Association (DLA). The ACU is
5 solely involved with grassroots football and represents the FCUs. These constitute a
6 regional level representing 1,647 grassroots clubs and 332,131 members⁴³. Unlike the
7 ACU, the DLA is solely involved with men’s elite-level professional/semi-professional
8 football and represents the 50 clubs in the top three men’s leagues, which have 1,000+
9 players. The female equivalent is the Women’s League Association (WLA), established
10 in 1981⁴⁴, though it is not an official member of the DFA. Instead, it has cooperative
11 agreements with the DLA and DFA, respectively (doc.19, 20). The WLA, which
12 comprises the clubs in the top two women’s leagues and the top U18 girl’s league (36 in
13 total), works to promote cooperation of the involved clubs and for the interests of
14 women’s football (doc.18). Both the DLA and WLA are, like the DFA and FCUs,
15 organised as associations (-cf. Figure 1), and thus placed in ‘the voluntary sector’. As
16 the WLA is not an official member of the DFA, it is not portrayed in Figure 2 and only
17 briefly touched on.

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38 **FIGURE 2: The organisational system of club-based football under the control of the DFA**

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41 Matters shown in the figure but not yet addressed are organisational and
42 interorganisational funding and coherence conditions, such as ‘membership’ and
43 ‘services’. These will be included in the following, in which the division of grassroots
44 and professional football, represented by the ACU and DLA, respectively, will guide
45 the structure, as these are, as already insinuated, two separate systems in respect of
46 organisation and social dimensions⁴⁵. In the following, we understand clubs positioned
47 under the DLA as for-profit companies, though we realise this is not always the case
48 and mainly applies to clubs in the top two leagues. Other clubs, for example in the third
49 league, are mainly organised as associations, though often paying smaller salaries to
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3 players to represent them. Several clubs are positioned both within the ACU and the
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5 DLA as one club with two separate parts using the same name (e.g. Brøndby IF), one
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7 comprising a stock-based corporation placed in ‘the commercial sector’ and the other an
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9 association placed in ‘the voluntary sector’.
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13 14 **A contemporary profile of the organisation of Danish football**

15 16 17 *The Danish Football Association*

18
19 The DFA is the supreme authority for organised football and, as a member of the SCD,
20
21 UEFA and FIFA (doc.7), the organisation that officially represents Danish football in
22
23 national and international matters. In the DFA’s laws (doc.7), it is stated that Tthe DFA
24
25 is involved in organising activities of the national teams and the overall responsible
26
27 body for national tournaments (including the top four men’s leagues and the top two
28
29 women’s leagues) ~~and the activities of the national teams~~, though it is important to note
30
31 that an internal agreement between the DFA and the DLA places the responsibility for
32
33 organising the top three men’s leagues ~~lies~~ with the DLA (doc.7). Moreover, the The
34
35 DFA is ~~also~~ responsible for developing educational activities and administering the laws
36
37 of football, which are two central services ~~respectively~~ to the ACU (FCUs) and the
38
39 DLA.
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45 As a member of the SCD, the DFA receives state funding under the state-
46
47 initiated Act of Allocation (doc.1, 2). The Act stipulates that 31% of the profits from the
48
49 state-run lottery and the betting company Danske Spil A/S allocated to sport should go
50
51 to the SCD⁴⁶ (doc.1), which distributes funding to its 62 member_-federations, all
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53 representing different sports, of which one is football⁴⁷. Importantly, this funding is
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55 earmarked for activities related to grassroots football alone ~~and the distribution is based~~
56
57 ~~on criteria including number of member associations (local clubs), number of individual~~
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3 members (in local clubs), types of activity conducted and educational activities (doc.5)
4
5 (doc.5). In addition, a significant part of the DFA's income is related to market-based
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7 media revenues and commercial sponsorships mainly connected to professional football
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9 and the membership of UEFA and FIFA (doc.8).

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12 To be a member of the SCD, and thus to receive funding and other services such
13
14 as ~~public affairs and~~ participation at the Olympics, the DFA is obliged to be organised
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16 according to the regulations applicable to democratic associations (doc.6). These are
17
18 satisfied, firstly, by being non-profit (doc.7), though they are professionally
19
20 administered, and, secondly, by the formulation of democratic principles and
21
22 organisational laws (doc.7, 10), ~~including a set of amateur rules (doc.10)~~. Aside from
23
24 this, the organisation functions relatively autonomously. These characteristics reflect a
25
26 private, non-profit and formal organisation, which positions the organisation in 'the
27
28 voluntary sector' (cf. Fig.1) while at the same time being closely related to both 'the
29
30 public sector', due to the financial support it receives from the state, and the
31
32 'commercial sector', due to the significant income from the market based on market
33
34 conditions.

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37 The formality and democratic principles are recognisable in the organisational
38
39 structure, which ensures that the DLA and all FCUs (united in the ACU) are represented
40
41 both on the board of 146 representatives, as the highest authority, and on the board of
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43 16 directors (doc.7). The DLA (representing 50 top-league clubs) has 48 members on
44
45 the board of representatives and four members on the board of directors, while the ACU
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47 (representing $\pm 1,600\pm$ grassroots clubs) has 78 representatives on the board of
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49 representatives and seven members on the board of directors⁴⁸. In terms of number of
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51 votes, non-profit grassroots football has the power, reflecting a strong associative
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3 legacy⁴⁹. All representatives are volunteers, although the chairman (full time) and board
4
5 members are compensated for their work (doc.9).
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8 9 *Grass-roots football under the Association of County Unions*

10
11 We now move onto the track of grassroots football, where the FCUs are part of the DFA
12
13 through their connection with the ACU (~~cf. Figure 2). Each FCU represents the clubs in~~
14
15 ~~its county, providing a regional perspective.~~ The following provides information based
16
17 on the two biggest FCUs, namely FCU Jutland (west) and FCU Zealand (east).
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21 According to their laws, the activities of promoting local grassroots football, carrying
22
23 out educational activities and administering all regional leagues within the respective
24
25 region are the main purpose and service to member clubs (doc.12, 14).
26

27
28 The financial basis of the FCUs depends mainly on two streams of funding;
29
30 from the DFA and from the member clubs located in the region where the FCU
31
32 operates. From the top, each FCU is funded by the DFA, while from the bottom they
33
34 receive a yearly membership fee from each club and a tournament fee based on the
35
36 number and types of teams the clubs have entered (doc.16, 17). As the biggest source of
37
38 income, ~~the~~ FCU also receives funding arising from fines and fees for match-related
39
40 complaints and breaches of tournament rules, as well as courses in coaching, refereeing
41
42 and club management (doc.13, 15). ~~Tournament fees and match-related fines are the~~
43
44 ~~biggest source of income, followed by funding allocated through the DFA, course~~
45
46 ~~activities and club memberships (doc.13,15).~~ Tournament administration is also the
47
48 largest expense, followed by administrative offices, staff wages and course activities,
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50 indicating that the tasks of organising tournaments and providing educational activities
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52 are their main services to member clubs and, at the same time, provide a strong
53
54 financial foundation.
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3 Like the DFA, the FCUs are professionally administrated and organised
4 according to democratic principles, being non-profit ~~but also professionally~~
5 ~~administered~~ (doc.12, 14). Aside from financial support from the DFA and the
6 obligation to be organised democratically, each FCU is relatively autonomous in
7 general matters and operates as an independent legal entity. These characteristics of
8 being formal, private and non-profit place the organisation in ‘the voluntary sector’. The
9 formality and democratic principles are evident in that the highest authority of each
10 FCU is the meeting of delegates. This meeting is made up of two delegates per member
11 club and the FCU’s board of directors⁵⁰ (doc.12, 14).
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The grassroots clubs

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27 Finally, we move to the local clubs, which operates as independent legal entities, and
28 whose financial foundation ~~The financial foundation of the grassroots clubs, which~~
29 ~~operate as independent legal entities,~~ depends mainly on two streams of funding; from
30 the municipality, in which the club is located, and from the members (players).
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37 The municipality provides support under the Act of Enlightenment, under which
38 each municipality is required to provide facilities and financial support to the clubs
39 (doc.3). As a general rule, the support is provided in accordance with the number and
40 type of members. It is important to highlight that financial support is only provided for
41 the organisation of activities for children and young people below the age of 25, and for
42 people with special needs if the municipality decides to prioritise this aspect (doc.3).
43 Just as the DFA relates to the state public sector (state) in terms of funding, the clubs
44 relate to the municipality, both positioned in ‘the (public sector)’.
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55 To receive municipal support, the clubs must have a specific organisational
56 structure. Firstly, the club must be non-profit, democratically organised and open to
57 everyone (doc.3), which is also a condition of club membership of the FCU (doc.16,
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17). Moreover, it is statutory for the club to have a board of at least five persons. This board must be open to any member, who can be elected by the members at the annual general meeting, which represents the highest authority. Secondly, each club must draw up formal articles of association, including a stated purpose, and submit annual financial reports to the municipality (doc.3). Typically, the purpose will state an interest in grassroots football, including social interaction, training and tournament participation⁵¹, which comprises the main service to members. These characteristics place the organisation in ‘the voluntary sector’, meaning that the whole track of grassroots football (DFA, FCU and club) follows a line of being non-profit, private and formal and is thus positioned in the ‘voluntary sector’.

The other significant stream of funding is based on membership fees and voluntary work. Each club sets individual membership fees, usually based on age and the team in which the member is enrolled⁵², as each club is responsible for maintaining healthy finances. This entails a close relationship with ‘the informal sector’, whereas the DFA is more closely related to ‘the commercial sector’ due to high media and sponsorship revenues coming from its national team activities. Ibsen and Seippel⁵³ conclude that 80% of all sports-club activities are run by volunteers, although the scope of professional paid work is on the rise. In the following section, we will show that paid employees are connected to bigger clubs in terms of members. And bigger clubs are on the increase in Denmark.

Selected characteristics of grassroots clubs

In 2004, 138 football clubs (response rate 46.9%) were asked various questions relating to their structure and culture.⁵⁴ In 2013, the authors of this paper conducted another questionnaire survey targeting 475 clubs (response rate 38.1%), and included several comparable questions. Selected results from the survey results are presented in the

following [section](#) with a specific focus on the [formality](#) (purpose [and](#), interests, [respectively](#)) and size of grassroots clubs.

Competition, recreation and local community building

One interesting aspect on show is the advocacy of competitive sport while at the same time operating as a social club. Even though almost all clubs are involved in competitive activities, as stated by DIF/DGI in Table 1, the 2013 survey shows that 76% of club chairpersons perceive their clubs to be largely social clubs and agree that it is important to organise football with a focus on social benefits (Table 3). Moreover, 13% state that achieving good sporting results is their main purpose (Table 2), though almost none perceive their clubs to be elite clubs (Table 1).

TABLE 1: Competition or recreation?

TABLE 2: What is the most important purpose of the club?

TABLE 3: 'It is important to my club to...'

As already mentioned, tournament participation and social interaction constitute [the](#) main services to members. This bidimensional perspective, in which the dimensions are not necessarily competing with one another, is also expressed by Ibsen and Seippel independently of association-based sporting activity.⁵⁵ Furthermore, the 2013 survey shows that the clubs see [it as](#) their main purposes to create a sound leisure-time activity for young people, to create a social community for members, and to create a cultural [focal point](#) in the local community (Table 2). Interestingly, these three purposes were also the top three priorities around 10 years ago. They are exactly what the 'state' wants in order to create a strong civil society in which people's leisure time is believed to be important for both ~~the~~ state and ~~citizens~~the people.⁵⁶ In other words, this did not just grow out of nothing; rather, the state [deliberately](#) created a policy system beneficial to

association alism characterised as private, formal and non-profit organisations and, especially, activities for citizens below the age of 25, cf. the previously mentioned passing of state law in the form of the ‘Act of Enlightenment’ state laws. In relation to the creation of a locally anchored cultural and social community, the latter of which is often also stated in the clubs’ articles of association’ -(social interaction), providing a place where members feel comfortable and enjoy spending their leisure time should be considered important because their membership fees and volunteering are, as already stated, important for the running of the club. The importance of membership fees and voluntary work is also indicated by the fact that most clubs agree that it is important to recruit more members and more volunteers (Table 3).

~~In relation to organising activities for young people, this corresponds to the municipal financial support for members below 25 years of age, and the creation of a cultural centre of attention in the local community underpins their local anchoring.~~

From the 2013 survey, certain patterns emerge in respect of the degree to which the chairperson identifies the club as elite or social (Table 1). These are presented in Table 4.

Table 4: Statements connected with elite or social clubs

The perception of being an elite-level club is connected with the purpose of achieving sporting results. Moreover, the club has a highly placed men’s team (in tournaments) and paid staff, including leaders and personnel with responsibility for administration and materials. This mix of elite-level football, high placing and a more professional setup indicates that, if a club is competing at a high level, the organisation moves away from being based on voluntary work – though this does not mean that voluntary work is not present or important for the club. On the other hand, clubs that perceive themselves

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3 to be social clubs [associate](#) with the purposes of inspiring as many people as possible to
4 participate in sports and creating a cultural [focal point](#) in the local community.

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8 Moreover, they consider it important to offer football with a focus on social benefits for
9
10 a low membership fee. It might be argued that these characteristics strongly connected
11
12 with social clubs are very much in line with state policy [and hugely influenced by it](#).

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15 In the surveys, the clubs were asked to state their size (number of members), as
16 shown in Figure 3.

17 18 19 20 **FIGURE 3: Distribution of club size**

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23 As well as showing that bigger clubs (≤ 300 [members](#)) are on the increase, certain
24 patterns are revealed, with the evidence suggesting that size is connected with what the
25 chairperson sees as important for the club and the conditions for running the club. This
26 is illustrated in Table 5.

27 28 29 30 31 32 **Table 5: Statements connected with number of members**

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36 Firstly, the higher the number of members, the stronger the connection with the purpose
37 and importance of creating leisure-time activity for young people, increasing general
38 interest in football, achieving good sporting results and recruiting volunteers. The lower
39 the number of members, on the other hand, the stronger the connection with the purpose
40 and importance of creating leisure-time activity for adults, creating a social community,
41 and offering football with a focus on social benefits for a low membership fee.

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44
45 Secondly, a high number of members [is](#) connected with clubs having paid staff,
46 including coaches and personnel with responsibility for administration and materials.

47
48
49
50 This suggests that clubs with few members are often organised around adults.
51
52 Several of these have no more than 50 members (Fig. 3). We suggest that their
53
54 membership of the FCU is basically due to a desire to [use the service of competing](#) in
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3 ~~officially~~-administered tournaments. In short, we suggest that ~~the~~-smaller clubs
4
5 organised around adults ‘just’ want to play the game, foster social relationships and
6
7 keep their expenditure at a minimum, which also explains why they do not have paid
8
9 staff and do not consider it important to increase general interest in football or recruit
10
11 volunteers. ~~Popularly they are known as ‘bar clubs’.~~ By forming an association, they are
12
13 able, by means of state policy, to get facilities provided by the municipality, and their
14
15 membership of the FCU provides them with the opportunity to benefit from tournament
16
17 structures. Generally, they are not easily accessible for everyone to join, they do not
18
19 ~~train~~, and the running of the club has a very low degree of formality, and thereby
20
21 these clubs relate closely to the ‘informal sector’. You might argue that these do not
22
23 create as strong a cultural focal point as the state wishes, though they still benefit from
24
25 state support.

Professional football under the Danish League Association

32
33 Professional football in Denmark is represented by the DLA, established in 1969,
34
35 which, like the DFA and the FCUs, is a professionally administered, non-profit
36
37 organisation, ~~though much smaller in terms of employees.~~ As well as being a member
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39 ~~of the DFA,~~ the organisation is also a member of the European Professional Football
40
41 Leagues (EPFL) and, ~~works,~~ according to its laws (doc.21), the DLA works to
42
43 create the best possible conditions for elite-level men’s football and to develop Danish
44
45 professional football in general, ~~focusing mainly on the top three tiers,~~ with membership
46
47 exclusively for the clubs participating in the best leagues ~~in these~~ (doc.21). As already
48
49 mentioned, it runs the tournaments for the top three men’s leagues (doc.22). Moreover,
50
51 its works to establish cooperation between member clubs and create agreement on
52
53 aspects such as specific rules regarding the super league (doc.24) and 1st division
54
55 (doc.25). Specifically, the DLA works with areas such as stadium safety (doc.23) and
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1
2
3 the distribution of revenues from TV rights, while also negotiating with other
4 stakeholders, for example the municipalities united in Local Government Denmark
5 (KL), the association and interest organisation of the 98 Danish municipalities ~~that deals~~
6 ~~with specific relevant interests~~. In addition, it runs the DLA employers' association,
7 which, among others, is involved with establishing collective agreements with the
8 Players' Union (Spillerforeningen).⁵⁷ ~~These represent the most important services to its~~
9 ~~members.~~

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Aside from some financial support from the DFA, the DLA's financial foundation is based on member clubs (doc.21), and the organisation works relatively autonomously. Over the years, the importance of the DLA has increased, and recently it has negotiated a deal that gives the best clubs more influence over the general development of Danish professional football (doc.22). Like the DFA, the FCUs and clubs, the DLA is based on democratic principles, and its highest authority is the General Assembly (doc.21), constituted by 168 votes in each league equally divided between the clubs participating. The Alka Superleague (the highest league) comprises 14 clubs, the 1st division (the second-highest league) comprises 12 clubs, and the 2nd division (the third-highest league) is divided into three groups comprising 24 clubs in total. The General Assembly elects the board of directors (nine seats), at least four of whom represent the Superleague. Each club can put forward two candidates for election (doc.21). These characteristics place the organisation in the 'voluntary sector', though very strongly related to the 'commercial sector' market, as its members (professional for-profit clubs) act in the commercial sector. This will be further unfolded in the following.

The professional clubs

1
2
3 The development of top-level football in Denmark represents an increasing connection
4 with the 'market'. As already mentioned, the DFA lifted the ban on professional
5 football in 1978. At this point, the process of transitioning the clubs from amateur status
6 into fully commercial entities began and slowly developed [through to](#) the 1990s, when
7 revenues in the Danish men's clubs grew significantly.⁵⁸ In short, the clubs broke [away](#)
8 from 'the voluntary sector' into 'the commercial sector', incorporating [a formal](#)
9 [hierarchical organisational structures and a private,](#) for-profit foundation [and a formal](#)
10 [hierarchical organisational structure different from the law-bound democratic structure.](#)
11 Interestingly, their interest organisations (DLA and DFA) are [\(still\)](#) positioned in 'the
12 voluntary sector', with the DFA receiving state funding. Note again that this funding
13 cannot be spent on professional activities. [The clear distinction between organisations](#)
14 [positioned in the 'voluntary sector' and 'the commercial sector' respectively is the](#)
15 [social dimension of profit/non-profit, which also explains the strong financial focus of](#)
16 [the following.](#) As can be seen in Figure 4, the aggregate revenues for the clubs in the
17 Danish men's top tier grew from DKK 391 million (approx. EUR 53 million) in 1996 to
18 a peak of DKK 3.26 billion (approx. EUR 430 million) in 2008, when the international
19 financial crisis hit the Danish economy, [clearly showing how the clubs are influenced](#)
20 [by the market.](#) It is only recently that the clubs have stabilised their revenue streams,
21 though revenues are still at a lower level than before the crisis.

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47 **FIGURE 4: Aggregate revenue and aggregate post-tax profit/loss in Danish men's**
48 **top-tier clubs, 1996-2016, in millions (2016 prices).**
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53 The increasing revenues do not mean that the clubs are genuinely profit-maximising
54 entities in the traditional sense of private firms. In accordance with contemporary
55 studies, they are merely win-optimising entities (though with some exceptions⁵⁹), but
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3 nearly all top-level clubs are today organised as [privately-owned companies](#), reflecting
4
5 [the fact](#) that they are for-profit, private and formal organisations.
6
7

8 With regard to top-level women's football, the players are still mainly amateurs,
9
10 with only a few Danish top-tier clubs fielding professional and semi-professional
11
12 players, though resting on a non-profit association foundation in grassroots clubs [and](#)
13
14 [thereby positioned in 'the voluntary sector'](#). Furthermore, the difference between men's
15
16 and women's club revenues is significant, as it is for men's and women's salaries.
17

18 While there are no data available for women's professional football, anecdotal evidence
19
20 reveals that even the best female salaries are very small, in marked contrast to the best
21
22 male players.
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25 26 27 *Selected characteristics of professional clubs*

28
29 Suggesting that Danish top-level men's football is a story of commercialisation involves
30
31 a closer look at how the clubs have developed from grassroots clubs into fully
32
33 commercial entities positioned in 'the commercial sector'. Furthermore, it involves
34
35 understanding that the primary problem of professional football clubs is being
36
37 competitive both financially and in respect of sporting performance. When money
38
39 enters football due to commercialisation, financial resources become a significant
40
41 competitive tool, as the increased revenue enables clubs to buy players to improve their
42
43 chances of success.⁶⁰ However, the financial dimension of the professional game also
44
45 constitutes a problem. As pointed out by Whitney⁶¹ and Dietl et al.⁶², the European
46
47 professional clubs are faced with a ruinous competitive structure that is creating a rat
48
49 race for players.⁶³ This goes for Danish clubs as well. Financial difficulties and
50
51 indebtedness are the direct result.⁶⁴ In the Danish league, all clubs have faced financial
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53 problems over the years due to this ruinous competitive structure. The problem [is](#)
54
55 [illustrated in](#) Figure 4, which, in addition to aggregate club revenues, also gives
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1
2
3 aggregate post-tax profit/loss for Danish men's top-tier clubs. As can be seen, it is not
4
5 unusual for the clubs to be operating in the red. Furthermore, closer examination of the
6
7 aggregate post-tax figures makes clear that it is mainly one or two clubs that are pushing
8
9 figures above zero. Most clubs operate with deficits year by year.⁶⁵ Fortunately, because
10
11 the clubs face soft budget constraints⁶⁶ they are usually bailed out or rescued by
12
13 creditors, sponsors or shareholders, thus keeping them afloat when in trouble. Figure 5
14
15 shows the total annual value of capital injections provided by shareholders and owners
16
17 for clubs who were in the top tier for at least one season in the period 1995 to 2016.
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22 **FIGURE 5: Annual capital injections (DKK) into Danish men's clubs that were in**
23
24 **the top tier for at least one season in the period 1995 to 2016 (2016 prices)**
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28 In total, the capital injections amount to DKK 3.9 billion (approx. EUR 525 million),
29
30 reflecting the willingness to pour in money to help financially distressed clubs.
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33 Furthermore, it illustrates the problems of being competitive both financially and in
34
35 sporting terms. When examining the reasons behind this, the clubs' annual financial
36
37 reports reveal that the capital injections are nearly always usually made in order to assist
38
39 the clubs with financial problems. They are rarely made as proactive investments.⁶⁷
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41
42 *The Danish business model of professional football*
43

44
45 In Denmark, in addition to receiving capital injections, clubs have developed various
46
47 solutions to the central problem of remaining competitive. Storm argues that, during the
48
49 process of commercialisation, clubs have developed certain 'programmes' in order to
50
51 optimise the chances of becoming successful – both financially and in sporting terms.⁶⁸
52

53
54 In total, these programmes, which include *talent development, engaging sponsors,*
55
56 *floating shares, facilities and stadium development and diversification*, constitute the
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58 Danish business model of professional football and will be briefly examined in the
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60

1
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3 following to show how the professional clubs have institutionalised their market
4
5 relations.⁶⁹
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8 On the timeline of commercialisation, *talent development* was the first
9
10 programme developed by the clubs. In fact, it already started being institutionalised
11
12 prior to the commercialisation process in which the clubs transferred from the voluntary
13
14 to the commercial sector. However, talent development now helps the clubs both
15
16 commercially and in relation to sporting performance –by developing players, who can
17
18 be utilised by the clubs themselves or sold on the international transfer market. FC
19
20 Midtjylland A/S is an example of a Danish club that has developed a deliberate strategy
21
22 of talent development and been quite successful at selling players over the years.
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26 The second programme developed was *engaging sponsors*, which follows
27
28 naturally from the commercialisation process itself. By selling sponsorships and using
29
30 football players as advertising stands for various products, over the years the Danish
31
32 clubs have aimed to earn income that can be used for improving sporting performance
33
34 and – in turn – revenue. All clubs with ambitions of becoming successful are obliged to
35
36 develop programmes to attract sponsors and gain revenue.⁷⁰
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38

39
40 The third programme is the turning of clubs into stockholding companies and
41
42 *floating shares*. This is essential to the understanding of professional clubs as part of the
43
44 commercial sector. Danish top-tier clubs were among the first in Europe to float shares.
45
46 In 1987, Brøndby IF became the second football club in Europe (after Tottenham
47
48 Hotspur a year earlier) to float shares and become a stockholding company. Many other
49
50 Danish clubs followed, including Århus Elite A/S (AGF) in 1998, SIF Fodbold Support
51
52 A/S (Silkeborg) in 1989 and PARKEN Sport og Entertainment A/S (FC Copenhagen) in
53
54 1997. Today, almost all Danish top-tier clubs are stockholding companies, many with
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1
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3 floating shares. This development should be seen as part of the process of attracting
4
5 investors and financial investment to the club in order to remain competitive.
6

7
8 *Facility and stadium development* programmes have also been part of the
9
10 commercialisation process. Most facilities are owned by the municipalities, though
11
12 some clubs, such as FC Copenhagen and Brøndby IF, have engaged in buying or
13
14 building their own stadiums. Over the years, league clubs have pushed for improvement
15
16 of existing facilities in order to attract more spectators or sponsors, and during the 2000s
17
18 many had their home grounds renovated, mainly paid for by Danish municipalities. This
19
20 means that the public sector (the municipality) is investing in facilities built to support
21
22 actors in the commercial sector. According to Storm & Brandt⁷¹, around DKK 2.1
23
24 billion was invested in Danish stadiums for football and team handball between 2001
25
26 and 2007. Furthermore, during the same period additional plans were made to invest
27
28 around DKK 1.2 billion in the same type of facilities. While there is no updated data
29
30 available on the amount of investment made since 2007, it is clear that Danish
31
32 professional football clubs have played an active role in promoting these investments.
33
34 Upgraded facilities are necessary in order to improve demand among sponsors and
35
36 spectators and are thus a necessary tool for achieving success.
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43 Finally, *diversification* into other leisure and entertainment activities was a
44
45 strategy of the Danish clubs from the start of the 2000s up to the international financial
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47 crisis in 2008/09. It was seen by many clubs as a means to gaining additional income
48
49 from, for example, property investments, the experience economy and leisure activities
50
51 such as concerts and events. Even investment in fitness centres and hotels – or other
52
53 property – was part of the diversification process. FC Copenhagen in particular was
54
55 successful in building a highly diversified business by buying the Danish national
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57 stadium, PARKEN, a chain of fitness centres and a large holiday resort, while also
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1
2
3 building a new holiday resort close to the already established LEGO amusement park in
4 western Denmark. Other Danish football clubs were clearly inspired by this and started
5 to diversify into other businesses as well. From 2000, nearly all Danish top-tier clubs
6 diversified to some extent, though after the crisis of 2008/09 many clubs started to de-
7 diversify and focus on the core football business due to financial difficulties and
8 problems capitalising on the new investments. Since 2010, the clubs have been through
9 a process of finding new business models, but many are still struggling.

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19 The commercialisation process and business models described above have not
20 only been a tool for keeping Danish clubs competitive in national tournaments, but also
21 for achieving success in international tournaments. Figure 6 shows the developments in
22 UEFA country rankings from 1995 to 2016.⁷²

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29 **FIGURE 6: UEFA country rankings 1995-2016 based on participation in men's**
30 **European club tournaments (women's data not available)**

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The Danish ranking is seen to fluctuate, but with a positive development from 2003 to
2011. It might be argued that this was due to the growth in club revenues, which gave
the clubs more financial room to employ better and more players, thus improving club
competitiveness internationally.⁷³

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**Conclusion, current challenges, and future research perspectives regarding
Danish football**

This paper has sought to examine the organisation of Danish football
and give a detailed contemporary country profile of the game based on how it is related
to and influenced by state, civil society, and market. From our analysis, four
interconnected aspects of Danish football can be highlighted as unique developmental
traits, that reflecting state policy, state, market and civil society.

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2
3 Firstly, ~~all organisations except the professional elite-level clubs~~ ~~the overall~~
4 ~~organisation of football~~ represent a specific institutionalisation of ~~reflects the~~
5
6
7 associative democracy, built ~~in~~ in particular on state laws from 1849-1968, ~~and~~ resulting
8
9 in a formal ~~democratic~~ ~~bureaucratic~~, non-profit, relatively autonomous (private)
10
11 ~~associative~~ decentral structure. In a Scandinavian context, Andersson & Carlsson⁷⁴ refer
12
13 to this as football having historical roots in the development of the welfare state. If we
14
15 follow the track of grassroots football, this is extremely clear, whereas the track of
16
17 professional football extends into the market, with the clubs organised as ~~for-profit~~
18
19 ~~(stockholding) companies~~ ~~firms~~ and not therefore resting on a democratic platform.
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24 Secondly, these historical roots ~~and a policy system beneficial to associations~~
25
26 have resulted in a relatively high number of non-profit democratically organised
27
28 grassroots clubs of different sizes spread around the country involving volunteers and
29
30 creating local cultural and social communities, especially for children and young
31
32 people. These aspects can be traced as direct outcomes of the ~~state-initiated~~ political
33
34 system, which also provides the possibility for grassroots clubs to form easily.
35
36 Nevertheless, our study shows significant differences based on the clubs' size and their
37
38 self-perception ~~– within this organisation – with~~ some falling ~~more in line with state-~~
39
40 ~~policy perspectives of creating a strong civil society than others.~~
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45 Thirdly, the strong associative system supported by state policy has resulted in
46
47 late professionalism, introduced because the associative system was unable to bring the
48
49 sporting results desired by clubs at a global competitive level.
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51 And fourthly, the social dimensions of the commercial sector have created a
52
53 ~~marked-based~~ business model for the professional Danish football clubs
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55 institutionalising market relations at a global level.
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Current challenges and research perspectives

This final section of current challenges and research perspectives will focus on two specific emerging issues that bring grassroots football closer to the state and professional football closer to the market, and thereby create an even bigger gap between the track of grassroots activity and the track of professional activity (cf. Fig. 2).

Currently grassroots football, positioned in the voluntary sector, is starting to join forces with public authorities (state) to a larger extent than before. Specifically, the DFA is now entering into ‘welfare alliances’ with municipalities who have a mission for grassroots football to contribute explicitly to the resolution of societal challenges such as health, integration and unemployment. In collaboration, grass-roots clubs, a regional football county union and a municipality are developing initiatives.⁷⁵ This brings grassroots football closer to the public sector, in a form which it might be argued is challenging the autonomy of clubs, reflected by the social dimension of being private (cf. Fig. 1). Whether the clubs will welcome this initiative and how it will affect them in the future remains to be seen. Building on this article, a good starting point might be to ask why this strategy is so prominent and how it will affect smaller clubs, with a low degree of formality and no paid staff. Currently, we see a tendency for smaller clubs to be declining (cf. Fig. 3), which is arguably challenging the relatively big spread of clubs in Denmark.

Regarding professional football in Denmark, one central issue remains a recurring challenge for the Danish clubs; finances and dependence on the commercial sector. The question of economic power will be top of the agenda because clubs are trying to balance financial stability with sporting success. During the last couple of years, new foreign investors have looked to Denmark and even acquired Danish clubs (for example FC Nordsjælland & FC Midtjylland), while others have provided capital to

1
2
3 financially distressed clubs. Providing access to Danish clubs for such investors could
4
5 be a future development aspect of the business model of Danish football described
6
7 above. Whether Danish fans and stakeholders will welcome foreign ownership to a
8
9 larger extent than before remains to be seen.

12 The research presented in this paper opens up new pathways for future research.
14 Firstly, it is our hope that the examination of Danish football presented
16 here, we hope will to inspire scholars from other countries to help create a collection of
17
18 papers providing better insight into the organisation of football in other nations. We
19
20 believe this is needed and will prove beneficial for understanding a global game.

23 Secondly, in terms of further research, this paper provides a solid basis for
24
25 understanding specific issues related to the organisation of football in Denmark new
26
27 development processes, as mentioned above, are evolving that could form the basis for
28
29 new studies and perhaps even comparative research, as similar patterns are to be seen
30
31 in other countries.

Notes

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43 ¹ Pilgaard and Rask, *Danskernes motions- og sportsvaner 2016*.

44 ² Pilgaard and Rask, *Danskernes motions- og sportsvaner 2016*; Kirkegaard, Fester and
45 Gottlieb, *Fodbold i Danmark – Kulturer, Status og Udvikling*.

46 ³ See, for instance, Cleland, *A Sociology of Football in a Global Context*.

47 ⁴ Szymanski, *Money and Soccer: A Soccernomics Guide*.

48 ⁵ Tomlinson and Young, *National Identity and Global Sport Events – Culture, Politics and*
49 *Spectacle in the Olympics and the Football World Cup*.

50 ⁶ Gammelsæter and Senaux, *The Organisation and Governance of Top Football Across Europe*
51 *– An Institutional Perspective*.

52 ⁷ Boyle and Haynes, *Football in the New Media Age*.

53 ⁸ Crabbe, Solomos and Back, *The Changing Face of Football – Racism, Identity and Multi*
54 *culture in the English Game*.

55 ⁹ Pfister and Pope, *Female Football Players and Fans – intruding into a Man's world*.

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- ¹⁰ Laursen, 'Danish police practice and national football fan crowd behavior. Dialogue or coercive force?'.
¹¹ McDowell, 'To Cross the Skager Rack'. Discourses, images, and tourism in early 'European' football: Scotland, the United Kingdom, Denmark, and Scandinavia, 1898-1914'.
¹² Bonde, *Football with the Foe - Danish sport under the swastika*.
¹³ Cortsen, 'Re-branding' women's football by means of a new Sports product: a case study of women's football in Denmark'.
¹⁴ Brandt-Hansen, and Ottesen, 'Caught between passion for the game and the need for education - a study of elite-level female football players in Denmark'.
¹⁵ Storm, 'The rational emotions of FC København - a lesson on generating profit in professional soccer'.
¹⁶ Bennike, Wikman and Ottesen, 'Football Fitness - a new version of football? A concept for adult players in Danish football clubs'.
¹⁷ Grønkjær and Olsen, *Fodbold, fairplay og forretning*.
¹⁸ Streeck and Schmitter, *Community, Market, State – and Associations? Private Interests Government – Beyond Market and State*; Everts and Wintersberger, *Shifts in the Welfare Mix. Their Impact on Work, Social Services and Welfare Policies*; Pestoff, 'Third sector and co-operative services – an alternative to privatization'.
¹⁹ Ibsen and Ottesen, 'Sport and Welfare policy in Denmark: The development of Sport between State, Market and Community'.
²⁰ [Pestoff, 'Third sector and co-operative services – an alternative to privatization', 24.](#)
²¹ For a clarification to document analysis see Bowen, 'Document Analysis as a Qualitative Research Method'.
²² [It is important to stress that the organisation of football in Denmark is in a constant development process. For example, in March 2018 the meeting of representative were held, which were potentially is to be decisive to the future structure of the DFA board and the regional football county unions. These changes will not be covered in this paper, as they are not implemented before submission.](#)
²³ For a clarification of the coding strategy see Creswell, *Qualitative Inquiry & Research – Choosing Among Five Approaches*.
²⁴ Storm, *Kommercielle sportsklubber: Følelser eller forretning?*
²⁵ Pilgaard and Rask, *Danskernes motions- og sportsvaner 2016*; Kirkegaard, Fester and Gottlieb, *Fodbold i Danmark – Kulturer, Status og Udvikling*; DIF, *Medlemstal*; DIF/DGI, *Foreningsidrættens vilkår i Danmark – fokus på fodbold*.
²⁶ Ibsen and Ottesen, 'Sport and Welfare policy in Denmark: The development of Sport between State, Market and Community'; Storm, *Kommercielle sportsklubber: Følelser eller forretning?*; Ibsen and Seippel, 'Voluntary organized sport in Denmark and Norway'; Kaspersen and Ottesen, 'Associationalism for 150 years and still alive and kicking': Some reflections on Danish civil society'; Storm and Brandt, *Idræt og sport i den danske oplevelsesøkonomi*.
²⁷ Storm, 'The rational emotions of FC København - a lesson on generating profit in professional soccer'; Olsen and Grønkjær, 'Dansk fodboldhistorie: Var der fodbold før 1980?'; Tøft, 'Fodbold mellem myter og kilder'; Gammelsæter, Storm and Söderman, 'Diverging Scandinavian Approaches to Professional Football'; Bennike, *Fodbold Fitness – implementeringen af en ny fodboldkultur*; Storm and Nielsen, 'Soft

budget constraints in professional football'; Storm and Hayman, *Dansk fodbold sluger (stadig) kapital*.

²⁸ [Kaspersen and Ottesen, 'Associationalism for 150 years and still alive and kicking: Some reflections on Danish civil society', 111.](#)

²⁹ Ibsen and Ottesen, 'Sport and Welfare policy in Denmark: The development of Sport between State, Market and Community'.

³⁰ [Gundelach and Torpe, 'Befolkningens fornemmelse for demokrati: foreninger, politisk engagement og demokratisk kultur', 74.](#)

³¹ Kaspersen and Ottesen, 'Associationalism for 150 years and still alive and kicking: Some reflections on Danish civil society', 112.

³² Olsen and Grønkjær, 'Dansk fodboldhistorie: Var der fodbold før 1980?.'

³³ UEFA, *European Cup Football*.

³⁴ Toft, 'Fodbold mellem myter og kilder'.

³⁵ Grønkjær and Olsen, *Fodbold, fairplay og forretning*.

³⁶ Olsen and Grønkjær, 'Dansk fodboldhistorie: Var der fodbold før 1980?.'

³⁷ Toft, 'Fodbold mellem myter og kilder'.

³⁸ FCU Jutland (1895), FCU Zealand (1902), FCU Copenhagen (1903), FCU Funen (1904), FCU Lolland-Falster (1906) and FCU Bornholm (1907).

³⁹ Ibsen and Ottesen, 'Sport and Welfare policy in Denmark: The development of Sport between State, Market and Community'.

⁴⁰ Today this law is called *the Act of Allocation* (den: 'Udlodningsloven') (doc.1,2).

⁴¹ Today this law is called *the Act of Enlightenment* (den: 'Folkeoplysningsloven') (doc.3).

⁴² Ibsen and Ottesen, 'Sport and Welfare policy in Denmark: The development of Sport between State, Market and Community'.

⁴³ DIF, Medlemstal.

⁴⁴ Gammelsæter, Storm and Söderman, 'Diverging Scandinavian Approaches to Professional Football'.

⁴⁵ Pestoff, 'Third sector and co-operative services – an alternative to privatization'.

⁴⁶ Denmark has two other significant national sports umbrella organisations (DGI and DFIF), which have different aims, structure and ideology but all work to improve conditions for associatively based grassroots sport, including football.

⁴⁷ The DFA received 2,5 m € in 2014/15 (doc.4). The total income of the DFA was 18,6 m €..

⁴⁸ The latter 5 members of the board of directors are allocated with the President, 2 Vice-presidents (currently one representing the DLA and one representing the ACU), the treasurer and a representative appointed by the top 2 women's leagues clubs. The latter 20 members of the board of representatives is allocated with 4 from the DFA Board (The President, 2 Vice-presidents and the treasurer), 6 from the 4th ranked men's league, 8 from the 1st ranked women's league and 2 from the 2nd ranked women's league (doc.7).

⁴⁹ It is not possible to be elected for the board of directors, without being a member of the board of representatives, and prior to that being appointed by the FCUs or the DLA.

⁵⁰ The sizes of the FCU board of directors vary from FCU to FCU. E.g. FCU Zealand consists of 7 (doc.14) and FCU Jutland consists of 9 (doc.12), clearly showing their autonomy.

⁵¹ Bennike, *Fodbold Fitness – implementeringen af en ny fodboldkultur*.

⁵² Ibid.

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- ⁵³ Ibsen and Seippel, 'Voluntary organized sport in Denmark and Norway'.
- ⁵⁴ DIF/DGI, *Foreningsidrættens vilkår i Danmark – fokus på fodbold*.
- ⁵⁵ Ibsen and Seippel, 'Voluntary organized sport in Denmark and Norway'.
- ⁵⁶ Kaspersen and Ottesen, 'Associationalism for 150 years and still alive and kicking: Some reflections on Danish civil society'.
- ⁵⁷ DLA, *Divisionsforeningen – Beretning 2016-2017*'.
- ⁵⁸ Storm, 'The rational emotions of FC København - a lesson on generating profit in professional soccer'.
- ⁵⁹ Ibid.
- ⁶⁰ Szymanski and Kuypers: *Winners and Losers: The Business Strategy of Football*'; Szymanski, 'Money and Soccer: A Soccernomics Guide'.
- ⁶¹ Whitney, 'Bidding till Bankrupt: Destructive Competition in Professional Team Sports'.
- ⁶² Dietl, Franck and Lang, 'Overinvestment in team sports leagues: A contest theory model'.
- ⁶³ Franck, 'Financial Fair Play in European Club Football - What is it all about?'.
- ⁶⁴ Nielsen and Storm, 'Profits, Championships and Budget Constraints in European Professional Sport'.
- ⁶⁵ Storm, *Kommercielle sportsklubber: Følelser eller forretning?*.
- ⁶⁶ Storm and Nielsen, 'Soft budget constraints in professional football'.
- ⁶⁷ Storm and Hayman, *Dansk fodbold sluger (stadig) kapital*.
- ⁶⁸ Storm, 'Kommercielle sportsklubber: Følelser eller forretning?'.
- ⁶⁹ Storm, 'The rational emotions of FC København - a lesson on generating profit in professional soccer'; Storm, *Kommercielle sportsklubber: Følelser eller forretning?* [Professional team sports clubs in Europe: Emotional attachments or a profitable business?].
- ⁷⁰ It should be mentioned here that selling television rights is part of the sponsor engagement program. In fact, it is a central part of the process to attract sponsors that the product is televised to a broad segment of television-viewers.
- ⁷¹ Storm and Brandt, *Idræt og sport i den danske oplevelsesøkonomi*.
- ⁷² UEFA, *Denmark – Danish Football Association*.
- ⁷³ The decrease in country rankings are a bit delayed seen in relation to the decrease in revenues in Danish league clubs pointed to above. This may have to do with the methods used for calculating the country rankings, which are based on five-year (previous) spans.
- ⁷⁴ Andersson and Carlsson: *Football in Scandinavia: a fusion of welfare policy and the market*.
- ⁷⁵ DFA, *Formandens skriftlige beretning, marts 2018*.

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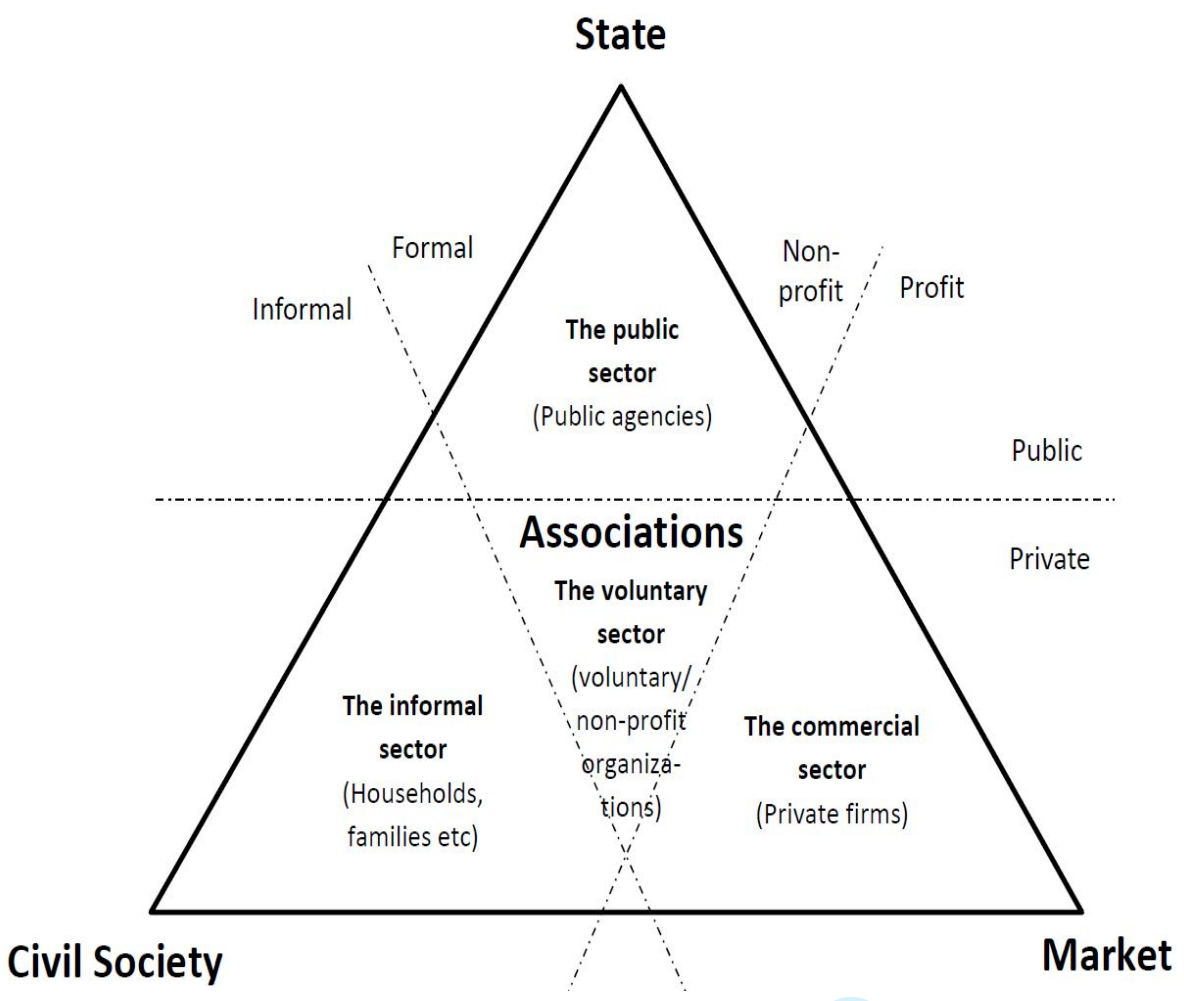
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Appendix: Listing of 25 documents

No.	Title	Source	Pp.	Date of access
1	Act of Allocation Bekendtgørelse af lov om udlodning af overskud fra lotteri samt heste- og hundevæddemål. LBK nr. 115 af 31/01/2015.	Governmental Laws of Denmark. The Ministry of Taxation.	4	20.4.2017
2	Law for changes in the Act of Allocation Lov om ændring af lov om udlodning af overskud fra lotteri samt heste- og hundevæddemål og lov om fremme af dopingfri idræt.	The Danish Parliament.	33	20.4.2017
3	Act of Enlightenment Bekendtgørelse af lov om støtte til folkeoplysende voksenundervisning, frivilligt folkeoplysende foreningsarbejde og daghøjskoler samt om Folkeuniversitetet. LBK nr. 854 af 11/07/2011.	Governmental Laws of Denmark. The Ministry of Culture.	12	20.4.2017
4	Annual report of the Sports Confederation of Denmark 2016 Danmarks Idrætsforbund – Årsrapport 2016.	DIF	55	20.4.2017
5	Plan of distribution (2015) Vejledning til fordelingsnøglen (2015)	DIF	27	20.4.2017
6	Law Regulations I – Membership of DIF Lovregulativ I – Medlemskab af Danmarks Idrætsforbund og medlemsorganisationerne.	DIF	5	20.4.2017
7	Laws of DFA DBU's love.	DFA	25	20.4.2017
8	DFA Yearly Report 2015/2016 Dansk Boldspil-Unions Årsrapport 2015/2016.	DFA	40	21.4.2017
9	DFA Board Compensation Vederlag for DBU's bestyrelse. Vederlag, tabt arbejdsfortjeneste, pension mv. til bestyrelsesmedlemmer m.fl. i DBU.	DFA	2	21.4.2017
10	Amateur rules Amatørbestemmelser.	DFA	4	21.4.2017
11	Laws of ACU FLU's Love.	DFA Funen	1	21.4.2017
12	Laws of FCU Jutland Love for DBU Jylland.	DFA Jutland	5	22.11.2017
13	DFA Jutland Financial Results 2016 DBU Jylland Årsregnskab.	DFA Jutland	21	21.4.2017
14	Laws of DFA Zealand DBU Sjællands love https://www.dbusjaelland.dk/turneringer_og_resultater/love_og_regler/dbu_sjaelland_love	DFA Zealand	4	22.11.2017
15	FCU Zealand Financial Results 2016 DBU Sjælland Årsrapport 2015/16.	DFA Zealand	13	21.4.2017
16	How to start a club, membership information & Referee ABC. 'Hvordan starter jeg en klub', 'Økonomiregulativ for DBU Sjælland' & 'Dommerens ABC'.	DFA Zealand	9	21.4.2017
17	Membership & membership information 'medlemskab – ny fodboldklub' & 'Takster og bøder' & 'Rækker med solidarisk betaling 2017'.	DFA Jutland	6	21.4.2017
18	Women's Division Association Kvindedivisionsforeningen.	WLA	3	21.11.2017
19	Co-operation agreement between DFA & WLA Samarbejdsaftale mellem DBU & KDF.	WLA	6	21.11.2017
20	Association agreement between DLA & WLA Associeringsaftale mellem DF & KDF.	WLA	2	21.11.2017
21	Laws of the Danish League Association Vedtægter for foreningen af Fodbold Divisionsklubber I Danmark.	DLA	13	22.11.2017
22	Agreement of transferring competences from the DFA to the DLA	DFA	1	28.2.2017
23	Safety and orders on the stands & supplement A Sikkerhed og orden på stadions & Bilag A	DLA	13	22.11.2017
24	License: The manual of the Super League Klublicenssystem. Manual for Herre DM. Superliga.	DLA	89	13.12.2017
25	License: The manual of the 1.division Klublicenssystem. Manual for Herre DM. 1.Division.	DLA	84	13.12.2017
25 documents – 476 pages				

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Figure 1



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Figure 2

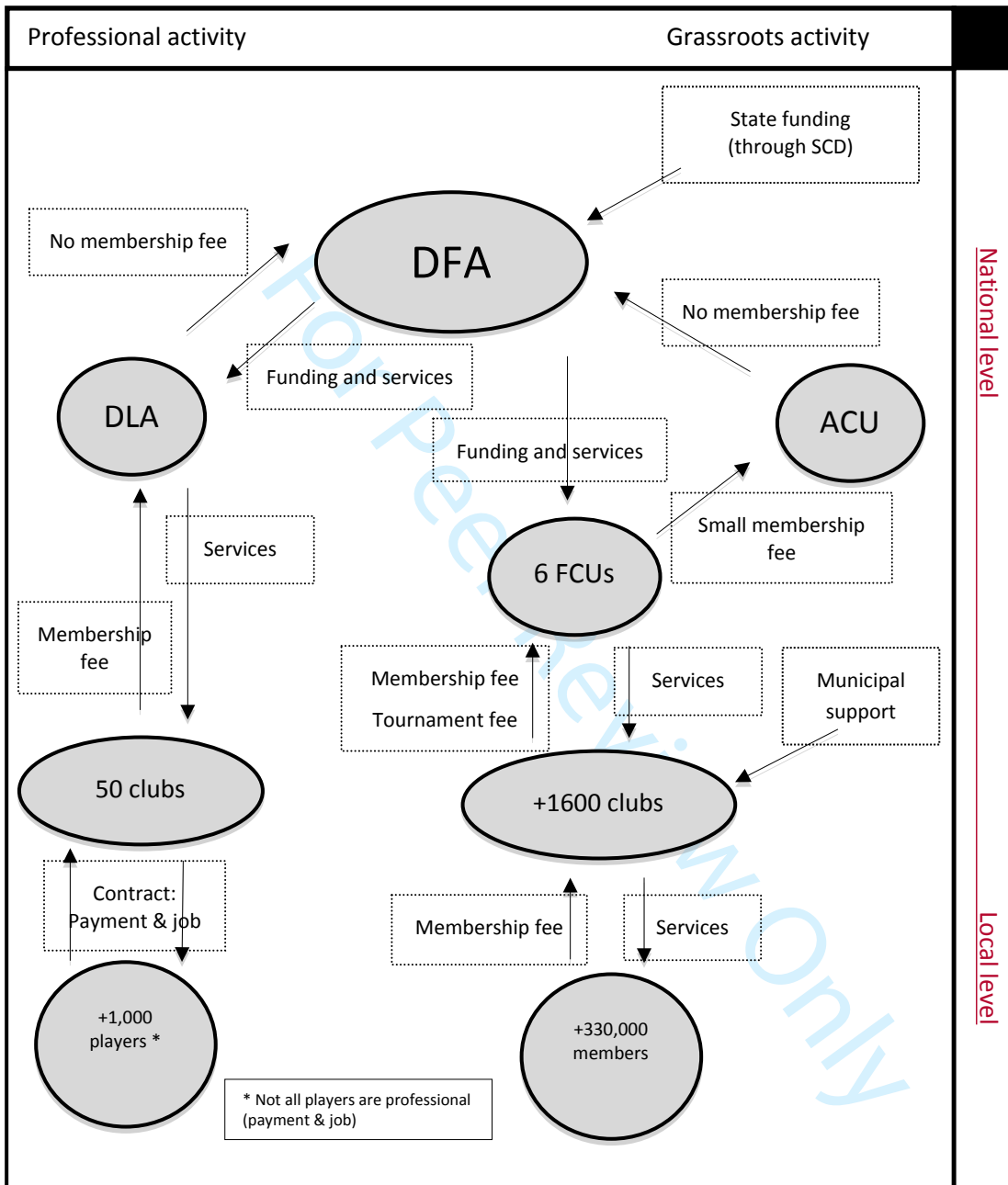


Table 1

(DIF/DGI, 2005) What kind of sport does your club advocate? (N=138)		Is your club an elite club or a social club? (N=475)	
Competition	95%	Elite club to a high degree	1%
Exercise	35%	Elite club to some degree	1%
Other	3%	Both... and	12%
Note: in this survey it was possible to put several marks		A social club to some degree	10%
		A social club to a high degree	76%

Table 2

(DIF & DGI, 2005) (N=138)		(N=475)	
To create a social community for the members	65%	To create a social community for the members	66%
To create a sound leisure time activity for the young ones	59%	To create a sound leisure time activity for kids and young ones	60%
To create a cultural centre of attention in the local community	44%	To create a cultural centre of attention in the local community	36%
To increase general interest in football	24%	To increase general interest in football	32%
		To create a sound leisure time activity for adults	27%
To inspire as many people as possible to participate in sports	58%	To inspire as many people as possible to participate in sports	20%
To promote health and well-being	13%	To promote health and well-being	14%
To achieve good sporting results	25%	To achieve good sporting results	13%
Other	0%	Other	3%
In both surveys the respondents could place 3 marks. Be aware that there are 8 choices in the DGI/DIF survey and 9 in the Bennike et al. survey.			

Table 3

Table 3: "It is important to my club to..."

(N=475)	Agree	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree
to offer football with a focus on social benefits	86 %	11 %	3 %
to recruit more volunteers	84 %	12 %	4 %
to recruit more members	79 %	16 %	5 %
to offer adult football for a low membership fee	46 %	29 %	25 %

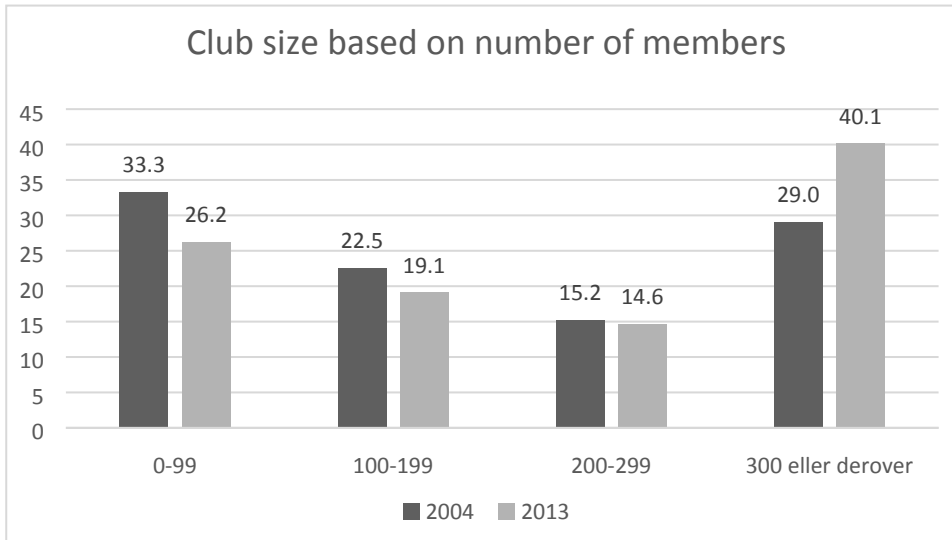
For Peer Review Only

Table 4

Statements connected with the degree to which the chairman identifies the club as elite or social (N=475). (See table 1)	Test values (Gamma)
To inspire as many people as possible to participate in sports	.41, p=.001
To create a cultural centre of attention in the local community	.40, p<.001
To offer football with focus on the social benefits	.19, p=.033
To offer adult football for a low membership fee	.16, p=.049
To achieve good sporting results	-.75, p<.001
The best men's team in the club is highly placed	-.91, p<.001
Has paid part- or full-time leaders	-.51, p=.002
Has paid part- or full-time administrative personal	-.64, p<.001
Has paid part- or full-time persons responsible for materials, wash or facilities	-.30, p=.031

Note: The white rows (positive gamma values) denote the relationship with identification as a social club, and the grey rows (negative gamma values) denote the relationship with identification as an elite club.

Figure 3



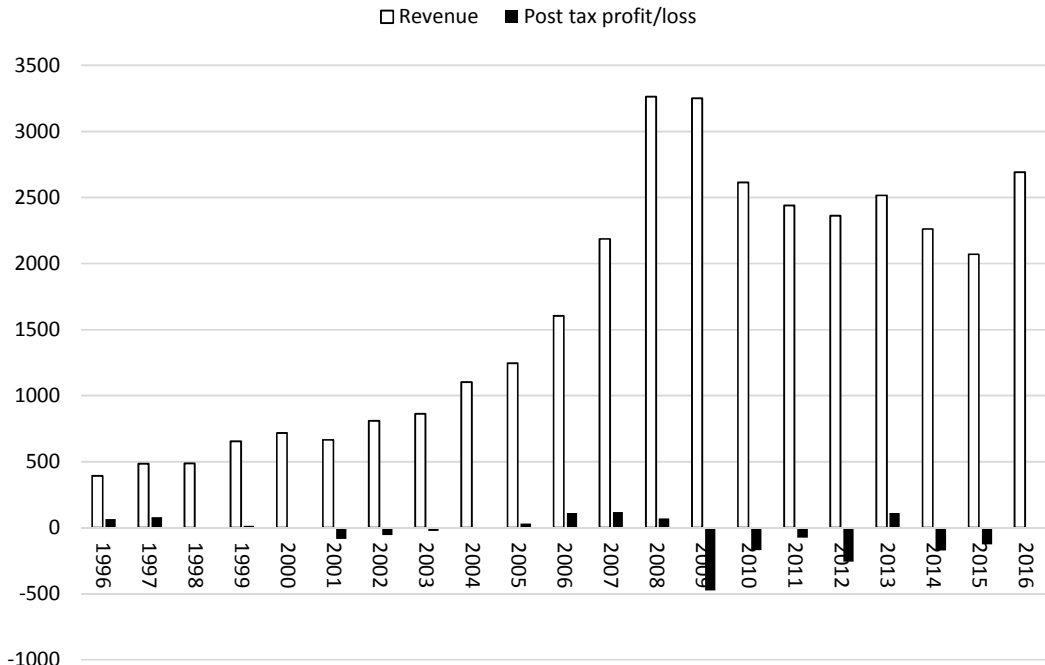
Note: In the data from 2013, 19,0% have 500 members or more, 3,8% have 1,000 members or more, and 13% have less than 50 members.

Table 5

Connection between number of members and statements on club purposes, what is important for the club, conditions for running the club, and organization of other activities than tournament-based football, as perceived by the chairman (N=475).	Test values (Gamma)
Club purposes	
To create a sound leisure time activity for kids and young ones	.31, p<.001
To increase general interest in football	.33, p<.001
To achieve good sporting results	.30, p=.005
To create a sound leisure activity for adults	-.30, p<.001
To create a social community for the members	-.16, p=.010
What is important for the club	
To recruit more volunteers	.27, p<.001
To offer football with a focus on social benefits	-.14, p=.011
Offer adult football for a low membership fee	-.42, p<.001
Conditions for running the club	
Having paid part-time or full-time youth coaches	.40, p<.001
Having paid part-time or full-time administrative personal	.59, p<.001
Having paid part-time or full-time persons responsible for materials, wash or facilities	.31, p<.001

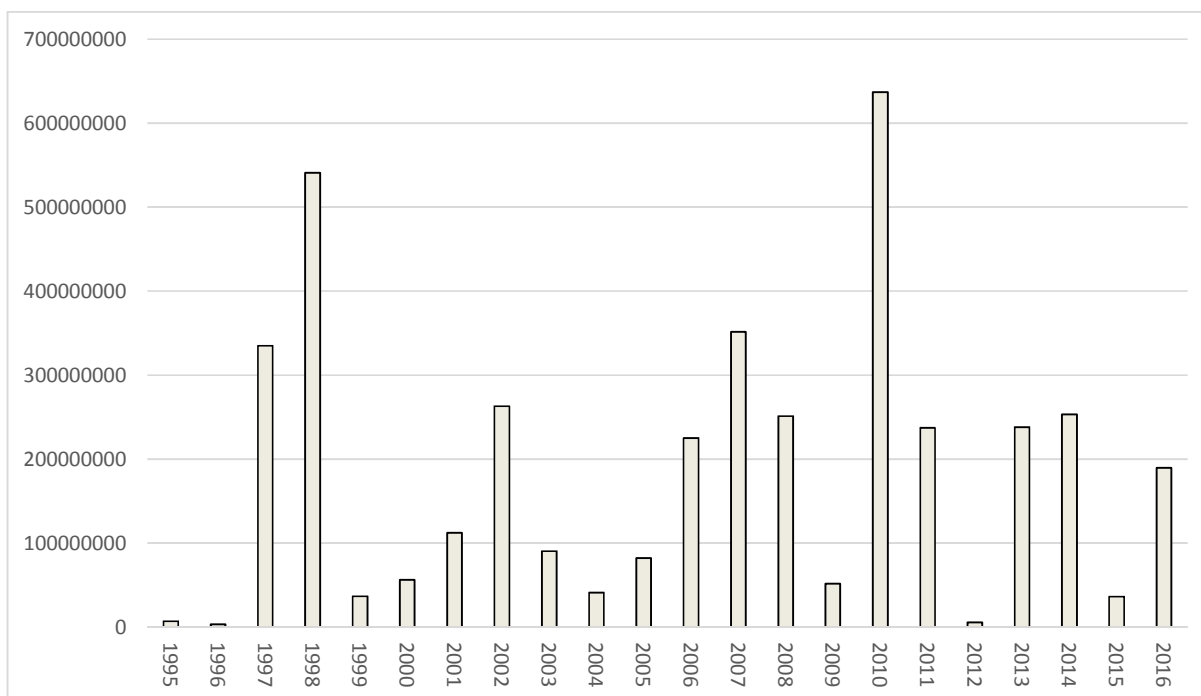
Note: The white rows (positive gamma values) denote the relationship with a high number of members, and the grey rows (negative gamma values) denote the relationship with a low number of members.

Figure 4



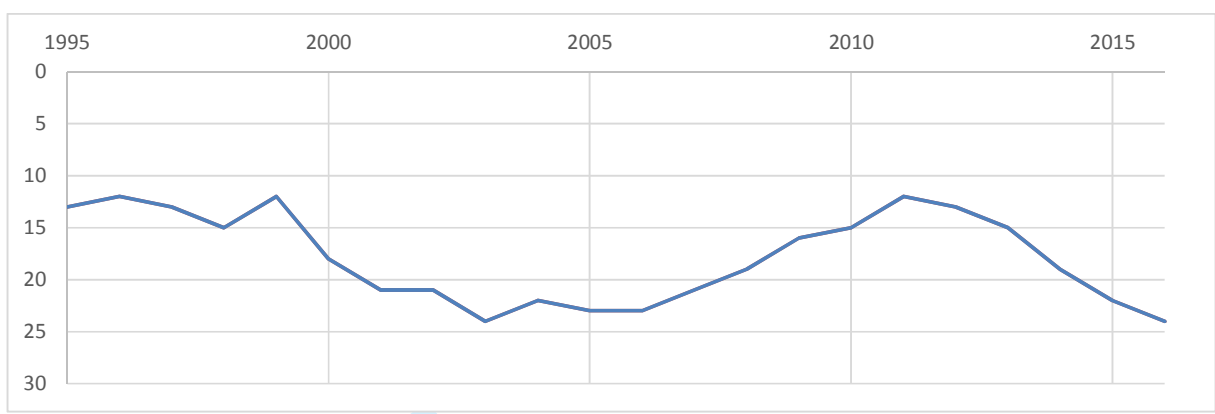
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Figure 5



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Figure 6



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