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 football\(^1\), 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 Denmark\(^2\). 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 aspects\(^4\), national identity\(^5\), organisation and governance of professional football\(^6\), media\(^7\), racism\(^8\), women’s football\(^9\), and so on.

In relation to Danish football, a growing body of literature has developed. Studies are centered, for example, around fans\(^10\), early history of football\(^11\), World War II\(^12\), popularity of women’s football\(^13\), female player’s relationship to the need for education\(^14\), professional football\(^15\), the Football Fitness initiative\(^16\), 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. 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. 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”.
These are associated with institutions such as public agencies, households, private firms and non-profit organisations, respectively, separated by three social dimensions; public/private, profit/non-profit and formal/informal. Each institution comprises a unique combination of characteristics. According to Pestoff (Pestoff, 1992:24):

“Public agencies are normally formal, non-profit organizations, while private firms are normally formal, for-profit organizations. Households are normally informal, private non-profit organizations, while voluntary associations are normally formal, private non-profit organizations.” Throughout the paper, we will relate the organisation of Danish football to these social dimensions and societal sectors in order to understand its development.

Our study is grounded in an analysis of 25 legal documents and budgets together with financial data selected due to their importance for the national organisation of grassroots and professional football (see appendix). The collection of documents runs up to 13 December 2017 and our analysis will cover the development process up until this point. This is important to note, because the system is not carved in stone, even though it is notably stable. The date of access to empirical documents is noted in the appendix. All documents were coded using an a priori code strategy reflecting the theory of social orders focusing on organisational ‘rules and regularities’ (formality, profit perspectives and ownership, respectively), supplemented by ‘economic relations’ and ‘inter-organisational coherence conditions’ such as the ‘economic relations’, ‘membership conditions’, and ‘services’ and work sharing agreements of the organisations under scrutiny. Financial club data on professional clubs were collected from previous work carried out by one of the authors, but updated with the latest available accounts. Moreover, we build on an online questionnaire survey sent to the chairpersons of 1,247 of approx. 1,600 grassroots football clubs playing under the DFA.
(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 participation, and existing knowledge are included, of which important contributions are based on an understanding of sports clubs and, in particular, football clubs.

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.” In other words, the Constitution of 1849 laid the foundation for the voluntary sector. Moreover, the Constitution provided the foundation for municipal autonomy, where the rights of local authorities to manage their own affairs under state supervision were stipulated. 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 from the following. Also of importance is the 1866 revision of the Constitution, which led to democratic restrictions regarding organisational structures and practices. Kaspersen and Ottesen 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..."
reported on the association’s activities and accounts and a new executive committee was elected. This structure has survived, and even today it is an important pillar of the Danish democratic structure.” Seen in relation to our theoretically based Figure 1, associations were more or less positioned in ‘the public sector’ prior to the Constitution. As a consequence of the Constitution and its revision, they became part of ‘the voluntary sector’ as formal (formal democratic structures), private (self-governed) and non-profit. In the following, the understanding of ‘association’ covers this concept.

The association structure develops

In 1878, Københavns Boldklub (KB) (Copenhagen Ball-Club) was the first club to be formed in Denmark — and in fact in mainland Europe — as an association for organising football, primarily organised around cricket. Today, KB serves as a foundation of FC Copenhagen, which is the most successful professional Danish football club of recent times. In the following years, more clubs formed as associations came into existence, providing the possibility of club vs club matches, with the first official match taking place (Two clubs (Melchioranerne & Fredericia-studenterne) formed a joint team to play KB) played in 1887 on Københavns Fælled (Copenhagen Common), today’s national football stadium is located, though it is now owned by the for-profit company PARKEN Sport & Entertainment A/S, which is behind FC Copenhagen.

As more clubs were formed, the need for cooperation and better organisation led to the foundation of the Danish Football Association (DFA) in 1889, representing football, cricket and tennis. The DFA was the first national FA in mainland Europe. Overall, the DFA organisation had a difficult start and almost dissolved in 1895 with only two clubs as members. The DFA crisis came to an end at the beginning of the 1900s as the popularity of the game rapidly grew. An important point raised by Toft is that the Danish Ministry of Culture recommended that football should be incorporated
in physical education lessons in schools in 1896, thus pushing forward the new popularity of the game. Aside from the possibility for self-governing clubs to form, thereby creating associative democracy as a political strategy, this is the first example of state involvement in football, which had huge importance for its popularity and uptake.

In the following years, the DFA transformed into something closely resembling its present structure as an association based umbrella organisation comprising six regional Football County Unions (FCUs), all organised as associations. Moreover, the ‘Sports Confederation of Denmark and National Olympic Committee’ (SCD) was established in 1896, also functioning as an association, on democratic principles and with the DFA as a member. In this structure, the clubs were no longer members of the DFA; they were members of the regional FCUs, who were members of the DFA operating at a national level and functioning as members of the SCD. All these organisations are positioned in ‘the voluntary sector’ (cf. Fig. 1), providing football and sport with a relatively high autonomy from ‘the public sector’.

**State and market influence on club football increases**

In 1937, a new school law required the municipalities to provide public schools of a certain size with a playing field and to make the facilities available to local sports associations after school hours. This included football clubs and solved a major problem regarding playing fields by means of regulative state intervention.

Furthermore, in 1948 the connection between the state and club football was strengthened when the Danish parliament adopted a State Football Pool, which secured the SCD a relatively large part of the national monopolistic betting profits (including the national lottery profits in 1989), bringing funding to the DFA. In 1968, yet another law was passed, the Danish Leisure Act, that provided favourable conditions for the clubs, as it obligated the municipalities to support all leisure-time activities.
activities organised in associations\textsuperscript{42}, including football. By this time, a subsidised structure was created that remains within grassroots football today; the state supports the work of the DFA, and the municipalities support association-based on-football clubs, to whom the citizens pay membership fees.

The passing of these state laws was a key factor in the growing numbers of people playing and, at the same time, upholding the amateur code and associative structure, democratic structure of the DFA, FCUs and clubs, as the state and municipal support, funding and facilities could not be assigned to professional and for-profit activities. Meanwhile, while the countries around Denmark introduced professional football, Denmark retained its amateur code up to 1978. However, from 1978 and onwards the mixture of football and money brought increasing influence from ‘the market’, finally resulting in some clubs establishing a stock-based foundation, which was formal, private and for-profit and thus positioned in ‘the commercial sector’. With regard to the development of professional football in Denmark, the system of club-based football thereby created two parallel tracks, clearly visible in figure 2 distinguishing between elite-level football on the one hand and grass-roots football on the other. How this is reflected in the organisation and structure of Danish football is examined below.

An overview of the present system

Figure 2 at the end of this section provides a useful illustration for understanding the present organisation of football in Denmark, which will be scrutinised in detail in the following based on empirical evidence. It shows how the organisation has come to be divided into the two previously mentioned tracks (grassroots and professional) and interconnected levels, only briefly touched upon in the previous section.
The DFA constitutes the national level and has two members – the Association of County Unions (ACU), and the Danish League Association (DLA). The ACU is solely involved with grassroots football and represents the FCUs. These constitute a regional level representing 1,647 grassroots clubs and 332,131 members. Unlike the ACU, the DLA is solely involved with men’s elite-level professional/semi-professional football and represents the 50 clubs in the top three men’s leagues, which have 1,000+ players. The female equivalent is the Women’s League Association (WLA), established in 1981, though it is not an official member of the DFA. Instead, it has cooperative agreements with the DLA and DFA, respectively. The WLA, which comprises the clubs in the top two women’s leagues and the top U18 girl’s league (36 in total), works to promote cooperation of the involved clubs and for the interests of women’s football. Both the DLA and WLA are, like the DFA and FCUs, organised as associations (cf. Figure 1), and thus placed in ‘the voluntary sector’. As the WLA is not an official member of the DFA, it is not portrayed in Figure 2 and only briefly touched on.

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

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

A contemporary profile of the organisation of Danish football

The Danish Football Association
The DFA is the supreme authority for organised football and, as a member of the SCD, UEFA and FIFA (doc.7), the organisation that officially represents Danish football in national and international matters. In the DFA’s laws (doc.7), it is stated that the DFA is involved in organising activities of the national teams and the overall responsible body for national tournaments (including the top four men’s leagues and the top two women’s leagues) and the activities of the national teams, though it is important to note that an internal agreement between the DFA and the DLA places the responsibility for organising the top three men’s leagues lies with the DLA (doc.7). Moreover, the DFA is also responsible for developing educational activities and administering the laws of football, which are two central services respectively to the ACU (FCUs) and the DLA.

As a member of the SCD, the DFA receives state funding under the state-initiated Act of Allocation (doc.1, 2). The Act stipulates that 31% of the profits from the state-run lottery and the betting company Danske Spil A/S allocated to sport should go to the SCD (doc.1), which distributes funding to its 62 member federations, all representing different sports, of which one is football. Importantly, this funding is earmarked for activities related to grassroots football alone and the distribution is based on criteria including number of member associations (local clubs), number of individual
members (in local clubs), types of activity conducted and educational activities (doc.5) (doc.5). In addition, a significant part of the DFA’s income is related to market-based media revenues and commercial sponsorships mainly connected to professional football and the membership of UEFA and FIFA (doc.8).

To be a member of the SCD, and thus to receive funding and other services such as public affairs and participation at the Olympics, the DFA is obliged to be organised according to the regulations applicable to democratic associations (doc.6). These are satisfied, firstly, by being non-profit (doc.7), though they are professionally administered, and, secondly, by the formulation of democratic principles and organisational laws (doc.7, 10), including a set of amateur rules (doc.10). Aside from this, the organisation functions relatively autonomously. These characteristics reflect a private, non-profit and formal organisation, which positions the organisation in ‘the voluntary sector’ (cf. Fig.1) while at the same time being closely related to both ‘the public sector’, due to the financial support it receives from the state, and the ‘commercial sector’, due to the significant income from the market based on market conditions.

The formality and democratic principles are recognisable in the organisational structure, which ensures that the DLA and all FCUs (united in the ACU) are represented both on the board of 146 representatives, as the highest authority, and on the board of 16 directors (doc.7). The DLA (representing 50 top-league clubs) has 48 members on the board of representatives and four members on the board of directors, while the ACU (representing 1,600+ grassroots clubs) has 78 representatives on the board of representatives and seven members on the board of directors. In terms of number of votes, non-profit grassroots football has the power, reflecting a strong associative
legacy. All representatives are volunteers, although the chairman (full time) and board members are compensated for their work (doc.9).

**Grass-roots football under the Association of County Unions**

We now move onto the track of grassroots football, where the FCUs are part of the DFA through their connection with the ACU (cf. Figure 2). Each FCU represents the clubs in its county, providing a regional perspective. The following provides information based on the two biggest FCUs, namely FCU Jutland (west) and FCU Zealand (east).

According to their laws, the activities of promoting local **grassroots** football, carrying out educational activities and administering all regional leagues within the respective region are the main purpose and service to member clubs (doc.12, 14).

The financial basis of the FCUs depends mainly on two streams of funding; from the DFA and from the member clubs located in the region where the FCU operates. From the top, each FCU is funded by the DFA, while from the bottom they receive a yearly membership fee from each club and a tournament fee based on the number and types of teams the clubs have entered (doc.16, 17). As the biggest source of income, the FCU also receives funding arising from fines and fees for match-related complaints and breaches of tournament rules, as well as courses in coaching, refereeing and club management (doc.13, 15). **Tournament fees and match-related fines are the biggest source of income,** followed by funding allocated through the DFA, course activities and club memberships (doc.13,15). Tournament administration is also the largest expense, followed by administrative offices, staff wages and course activities, indicating that the tasks of organising tournaments and providing educational activities are their main services to member clubs and, at the same time, provide a strong financial foundation.
Like the DFA, the FCUs are **professionally administrated and** organised according to democratic principles, being non-profit **but also professionally administered** (doc.12, 14). Aside from financial support from the DFA and the obligation to be organised democratically, each FCU is relatively autonomous in general matters and operates as an independent legal entity. These characteristics of being formal, private and non-profit place the organisation in ‘the voluntary sector’. The formality and democratic principles are evident in that the highest authority of each FCU is the meeting of delegates. This meeting is made up of two delegates per member club and the FCU’s board of directors\(^5\) (doc.12, 14).

*The grassroots clubs*

Finally, we move to the local clubs, which operate as independent legal entities, and whose financial foundation depends mainly on two streams of funding; from the municipality, in which the club is located, and from the members (players).

The municipality provides support under the Act of Enlightenment, under which each municipality is required to provide facilities and financial support to the clubs (doc.3). As a general rule, the support is provided in accordance with the number and type of members. It is important to highlight that financial support is only provided for the organisation of activities for children and young people below the age of 25, and for people with special needs if the municipality decides to prioritise this aspect (doc.3). Just as the DFA relates to the state public sector (state) in terms of funding, the clubs relate to the municipality, both positioned in ‘the public sector’.

To receive municipal support, the clubs must have a specific organisational structure. Firstly, the club must be non-profit, democratically organised and open to everyone (doc.3), which is also a condition of club membership of the FCU (doc.16,
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 participation, 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 enrolled, 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 Seippel 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. In 2013, the authors of this paper conducted another questionnaire 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, 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. 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. In other words, this did not just grow out of nothing; rather, the state deliberately created a policy system beneficial to
associationalism 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
to be social clubs associate with the purposes of inspiring as many people as possible to participate in sports and creating a cultural focal point in the local community.

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

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

**FIGURE 3: Distribution of club size**

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

**Table 5: Statements connected with number of members**

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

Secondly, a high number of members is connected with clubs having paid staff, including coaches and personnel with responsibility for administration and materials.

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

Professional football under the Danish League Association

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

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

FIGURE 4: Aggregate revenue and aggregate post-tax profit/loss in Danish men’s top-tier clubs, 1996-2016, in millions (2016 prices).

The increasing revenues do not mean that the clubs are genuinely profit-maximising entities in the traditional sense of private firms. In accordance with contemporary studies, they are merely win-optimising entities (though with some exceptions59), but
nearly all top-level clubs are today organised as privately-owned companies, reflecting the fact that they are for-profit, private and formal organisations.

With regard to top-level women’s football, the players are still mainly amateurs, with only a few Danish top-tier clubs fielding professional and semi-professional players, though resting on a non-profit association foundation in grassroots clubs and thereby positioned in ‘the voluntary sector’. Furthermore, the difference between men’s and women’s club revenues is significant, as it is for men’s and women’s salaries. While there are no data available for women’s professional football, anecdotal evidence reveals that even the best female salaries are very small, in marked contrast to the best male players.

Selected characteristics of professional clubs

Suggesting that Danish top-level men’s football is a story of commercialisation involves a closer look at how the clubs have developed from grassroots clubs into fully commercial entities positioned in ‘the commercial sector’. Furthermore, it involves understanding that the primary problem of professional football clubs is being competitive both financially and in respect of sporting performance. When money enters football due to commercialisation, financial resources become a significant competitive tool, as the increased revenue enables clubs to buy players to improve their chances of success. However, the financial dimension of the professional game also constitutes a problem. As pointed out by Whitney and Dietl et al., the European professional clubs are faced with a ruinous competitive structure that is creating a rat race for players. This goes for Danish clubs as well. Financial difficulties and indebtedness are the direct result. In the Danish league, all clubs have faced financial problems over the years due to this ruinous competitive structure. The problem is illustrated in Figure 4, which, in addition to aggregate club revenues, also gives
aggregate post-tax profit/loss for Danish men’s top-tier clubs. As can be seen, it is not unusual for the clubs to be operating in the red. Furthermore, closer examination of the aggregate post-tax figures makes clear that it is mainly one or two clubs that are pushing figures above zero. Most clubs operate with deficits year by year. Fortunately, because the clubs face soft budget constraints they are usually bailed out or rescued by creditors, sponsors or shareholders, thus keeping them afloat when in trouble. Figure 5 shows the total annual value of capital injections provided by shareholders and owners for clubs who were in the top tier for at least one season in the period 1995 to 2016.

FIGURE 5: Annual capital injections (DKK) into Danish men’s clubs that were in the top tier for at least one season in the period 1995 to 2016 (2016 prices)

In total, the capital injections amount to DKK 3.9 billion (approx. EUR 525 million), reflecting the willingness to pour in money to help financially distressed clubs. Furthermore, it illustrates the problems of being competitive both financially and in sporting terms. When examining the reasons behind this, the clubs’ annual financial reports reveal that the capital injections are usually made in order to assist the clubs with financial problems. They are rarely made as proactive investments.

The Danish business model of professional football

In Denmark, in addition to receiving capital injections, clubs have developed various solutions to the central problem of remaining competitive. Storm argues that, during the process of commercialisation, clubs have developed certain ‘programmes’ in order to optimise the chances of becoming successful – both financially and in sporting terms. In total, these programmes, which include talent development, engaging sponsors, floating shares, facilities and stadium development and diversification, constitute the Danish business model of professional football and will be briefly examined in the

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following to show how the professional clubs have institutionalised their market
relations.69

On the timeline of commercialisation, talent development was the first
programme developed by the clubs. In fact, it already started being institutionalised
prior to the commercialisation process in which the clubs transferred from the voluntary
to the commercial sector. However, talent development now helps the clubs both
commercially and in relation to sporting performance—by developing players, who can
be utilised by the clubs themselves or sold on the international transfer market. FC
Midtjylland A/S is an example of a Danish club that has developed a deliberate strategy
of talent development and been quite successful at selling players over the years.

The second programme developed was engaging sponsors, which follows
naturally from the commercialisation process itself. By selling sponsorships and using
football players as advertising stands for various products, over the years the Danish
clubs have aimed to earn income that can be used for improving sporting performance
and—in turn—revenue. All clubs with ambitions of becoming successful are obliged to
develop programmes to attract sponsors and gain revenue.70

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

*Facility and stadium development* programmes have also been part of the commercialisation process. Most facilities are owned by the municipalities, though some clubs, such as FC Copenhagen and Brøndby IF, have engaged in buying or building their own stadiums. Over the years, league clubs have pushed for improvement of existing facilities in order to attract more spectators or sponsors, and during the 2000s many had their home grounds renovated, mainly paid for by Danish municipalities. This means that the public sector (the municipality) is investing in facilities built to support actors in the commercial sector. According to Storm & Brandt, around DKK 2.1 billion was invested in Danish stadiums for football and team handball between 2001 and 2007. Furthermore, during the same period additional plans were made to invest around DKK 1.2 billion in the same type of facilities. While there is no updated data available on the amount of investment made since 2007, it is clear that Danish professional football clubs have played an active role in promoting these investments. Upgraded facilities are necessary in order to improve demand among sponsors and spectators and are thus a necessary tool for achieving success.

Finally, *diversification* into other leisure and entertainment activities was a strategy of the Danish clubs from the start of the 2000s up to the international financial crisis in 2008/09. It was seen by many clubs as a means to gaining additional income from, for example, property investments, the experience economy and leisure activities such as concerts and events. Even investment in fitness centres and hotels – or other property – was part of the diversification process. FC Copenhagen in particular was successful in building a highly diversified business by buying the Danish national stadium, PARKEN, a chain of fitness centres and a large holiday resort, while also

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building a new holiday resort close to the already established LEGO amusement park in western Denmark. Other Danish football clubs were clearly inspired by this and started to diversify into other businesses as well. From 2000, nearly all Danish top-tier clubs diversified to some extent, though after the crisis of 2008/09 many clubs started to de-diversify and focus on the core football business due to financial difficulties and problems capitalising on the new investments. Since 2010, the clubs have been through a process of finding new business models, but many are still struggling.

The commercialisation process and business models described above have not only been a tool for keeping Danish clubs competitive in national tournaments, but also for achieving success in international tournaments. Figure 6 shows the developments in UEFA country rankings from 1995 to 2016.\textsuperscript{72}

\begin{figure}[h]
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\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure6}
\caption{UEFA country rankings 1995-2016 based on participation in men’s European club tournaments (women’s data not available)}
\end{figure}

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.\textsuperscript{73}

\section*{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.
Firstly, all organisations except the professional elite–level clubs reflect the overall organisation of football. The associative democracy, built in particular on state laws from 1849-1968, and resulting in a formal democratic, non-profit, relatively autonomous (private) associative-decentral structure. In a Scandinavian context, Andersson & Carlsson refer to this as football having historical roots in the development of the welfare state. If we follow the track of grassroots football, this is extremely clear, whereas the track of professional football extends into the market, with the clubs organised as for-profit (stockholding) companies and not therefore resting on a democratic platform.

Secondly, these historical roots and a policy system beneficial to associations have resulted in a relatively high number of non-profit democratically organised grassroots clubs of different sizes spread around the country involving volunteers and creating local cultural and social communities, especially for children and young people. These aspects can be traced as direct outcomes of the state–initiated political system, which also provides the possibility for grassroots clubs to form easily. Nevertheless, our study shows significant differences based on the clubs’ size and their self-perception – within this organisation – with some falling more in line with state-policy perspectives of creating a strong civil society than others.

Thirdly, the strong associative system supported by state policy has resulted in late professionalism, introduced because the associative system was unable to bring the sporting results desired by clubs at a global competitive level.

And fourthly, the social dimensions of the commercial sector have created a marked–based business model for the professional Danish football clubs institutionalising market relations at a global level.
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. 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
financially distressed clubs. Providing access to Danish clubs for such investors could be a future development aspect of the business model of Danish football described above. Whether Danish fans and stakeholders will welcome foreign ownership to a larger extent than before remains to be seen.

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

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

Notes

1 Pilgaard and Rask, Danskernes motions- og sportsvaner 2016.
3 See, for instance, Cleland, A Sociology of Football in a Global Context.
4 Szymanski, Money and Soccer: A Soccernomics Guide.
5 Tomlinson and Young, National Identity and Global Sport Events – Culture, Politics and Spectacle in the Olympics and the Football World Cup.
7 Boyle and Haynes, Football in the New Media Age.
9 Pfister and Pope, Female Football Players and Fans – intruding into a Man’s world.
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. 
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. 
19 Ibsen and Ottesen, ‘Sport and Welfare policy in Denmark: The development of Sport between State, Market and Community’. 

For a clarification to document analysis see Bowen, ‘Document Analysis as a Qualitative Research Method’. 
20 For a clarification of the coding strategy see Creswell, Qualitative Inquiry & Research – Choosing Among Five Approaches. 
21 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. 
22 For a clarification of the coding strategy see Creswell, Qualitative Inquiry & Research – Choosing Among Five Approaches. 
23 Storm, Kommercielle sportsklubber: Følelser eller forretning? 
24 Pilgaard and Rask, Danskernes motions- og sportsvaner 2016; Kirkegaard, Fester and Gottlieb, Fodbold i Danmark – Kultur, Status og Udvikling; DIF, Mediemtal; DIF/DGI, Foreningsidrætens vilkår i Danmark – fokus på fodbold. 
25 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. 
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’.


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.
Ibsen and Seippel, ‘Voluntary organized sport in Denmark and Norway’.

54 DIF/DGI, Foreningsidrættens vilkår i Danmark – fokus på fotbold.

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.


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.


75 DFA, Formandens skriftlige beretning, marts 2018.

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Storm, R. K., and D. Hayman. *Dansk fodbold sluger (stadig) kapital* [Danish First Tier Clubs are (still) in Need of Capital], IDAN, 2017.


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# Appendix: Listing of 25 documents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Source</th>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Annual report of the Sports Confederation of Denmark 2016</td>
<td>DIF</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>20.4.2017</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Danmarks Idrætsforbund – Årsrapport 2016.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Plan of distribution (2015)</td>
<td>DIF</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>20.4.2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vejledning til fordelingsnøglen (2015)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Law Regulations I – Membership of DIF</td>
<td>DIF</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20.4.2017</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Laws of DFA</td>
<td>DFA</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>20.4.2017</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DBU’s love.</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>DFA Board Compensation</td>
<td>DIF</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21.4.2017</td>
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<td>Laws of ACU</td>
<td>DIF Funen</td>
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<td>DIF Jutland</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
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<td>DIF Jutland</td>
<td>21</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>Laws of DFA Zealand</td>
<td>DFF Zealand</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>21.4.2017</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>How to start a club, membership information &amp; Referee ABC.</td>
<td>DFF Zealand</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>21.4.2017</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>‘Hvordan starter jeg en klub’, ‘Økonomiregulativ for DBU Sjælland’ &amp; ‘Dommernes ABC’.</td>
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<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Membership &amp; membership information</td>
<td>DFF Jutland</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>21.4.2017</td>
</tr>
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<td>’medlemsskab – ny fodboldklub’ &amp; ’Takster og høder’ &amp; ’Rækker med solidarisk betaling 2017’.</td>
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<td>Laws of the Danish League Association</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>22.11.2017</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>Agreement of transferring competences from the DFA to the DLA</td>
<td>DFF</td>
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<td>28.2.2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>Safety and orders on the stands &amp; supplement A</td>
<td>DLA</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>22.11.2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sikkerhed og orden på stadions &amp; Bilag A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

25 documents – 476 pages
Figure 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Professional activity</th>
<th>Grassroots activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>DFA</strong></td>
<td><strong>State funding (through SCD)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No membership fee</td>
<td>No membership fee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Funding and services</strong></td>
<td><strong>Funding and services</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DLA</strong></td>
<td><strong>ACU</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Membership fee</td>
<td>Small membership fee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>50 clubs</strong></td>
<td><strong>6 FCUs</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contract: Payment &amp; job</td>
<td><strong>Membership fee</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**+1,000 players ***</td>
<td><strong>Services</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>+1,000 clubs</strong></td>
<td><strong>Members</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>+330,000 members</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Not all players are professional (payment & job)
Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(DIF/DGI, 2005)</th>
<th>Is your club an elite club or a social club? (N=475)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What kind of sport does your club advocate? (N=138)</td>
<td>Elite club to a high degree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Elite club to some degree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Both... and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A social club to some degree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A social club to a high degree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: in this survey it was possible to put several marks.
**Table 2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(DIF &amp; DGI, 2005) (N=138)</th>
<th>(N=475)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To create a social community for the members</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To create a sound leisure time activity for the young ones</td>
<td>59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To create a cultural centre of attention in the local community</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To increase general interest in football</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To inspire as many people as possible to participate in sports</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To promote health and well-being</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To achieve good sporting results</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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: “It is important to my club to...”

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

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

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

Club size based on number of members

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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Club purposes</th>
<th>Test values (Gamma)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To create a sound leisure time activity for kids and young ones</td>
<td>.31, p&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To increase general interest in football</td>
<td>.33, p&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To achieve good sporting results</td>
<td>.30, p=.005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To create a sound leisure activity for adults</td>
<td>-.30, p&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To create a social community for the members</td>
<td>-.16, p=.010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>What is important for the club</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To recruit more volunteers</td>
<td>.27, p&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To offer football with a focus on social benefits</td>
<td>-.14, p=.011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offer adult football for a low membership fee</td>
<td>-.42, p&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Conditions for running the club</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having paid part-time or full-time youth coaches</td>
<td>.40, p&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having paid part-time or full-time administrative personal</td>
<td>.59, p&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having paid part-time or full-time persons responsible for materials, wash or facilities</td>
<td>.31, p&lt;.001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
Figure 5
Figure 6