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Member characteristics and volunteerism at soccer clubs



Tom Langbroek

Supervisors: Prof. Dr. Maarten van
Bottenburg, Prof. Dr. Mark Bovens

Second reader: Dr. Leonie Heres

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and Organizational Science

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Introduction

A couple of years ago I worked for the Dutch soccer club Feyenoord. I helped the club with an evaluation of several socially corporate responsible projects regarding children in poor neighborhoods. One of them was the Feyenoord Street League. This is a street football competition for children in Rotterdam South where children do not only earn points by winning a match, but also when they show good behavior. Part of my assignment was to interview volunteers of the 'Feyenoord Street League' to see what their motives were to help in this project. A result of the evaluation was that a lot of the volunteers found it important that they facilitated an opportunity for children to sport. Even though the volunteers did not play football themselves, they still wanted to do something for the children, because they saw the necessity of facilitating a way of sporting for children. This example shows the importance of volunteers in amateur sports. Without volunteers a project like the Feyenoord Street League would not be able to exist.

Sports and volunteers. It is a combination that goes, to stay close to the Feyenoord terminology, hand in hand with each other. In 2012, 82% of all sports clubs in the Netherlands used volunteers to get their activities done (SCP, 2014). The percentage for soccer clubs was even higher, 99% of the soccer clubs had volunteers. One can assume that sport clubs are highly dependent on volunteers. No volunteers means no chance to get a well-functioning club (Schlesinger et. al, 2013).

Although necessary, the nature of becoming a volunteer has changed. In past times, membership of a sports club was an obviousness in Dutch society. People would often sport with each other by being a member at a club. The motives for practicing a sport were not only because people enjoyed the sport, but also because they liked to hang out with each other and the interaction people had with each other at this club (Kuperus, 2005). The way of participating in the club has changed for some sports (Kuperus, 2005; Smink & Van Veldhoven, 2010). There seems to be a trend where people are becoming a 'customer' of the club where they only come to sport and immediately leave afterwards without being part of the community of the sports clubs that runs the club. The result is that people might feel less connected to the club and are not willing to become a volunteer. This is an alarming development because clubs cannot exist without volunteers (Schlesinger et. al, 2013).

Members of a sports club used to form a community in which they did not only play the game together, but that also actively participated in the organization by doing volunteer work to keep the organization going. Together they would make sure that the club would continue to be able to do its activities, and therefore they would all pitch in and do some volunteering at the club. This has not completely vanished, but volunteering for the club is no longer the obviousness it used to be.

These are general trends about sports clubs and volunteerism, but it is studied far less how volunteerism in a sports club is experienced by its members. It is apparent that members are less willing to volunteer for the clubs, but the motives for them to actually become a volunteer is studied less. The ways people act within the club is still a topic that has not received much attention. This study will focus on this 'inside' of the sports club and tries to see if being part of a certain community will influence the willingness to become a volunteer.

Van Bottenburg (2001,2012) argues that membership of a (sports) organization is dependent on the fact if people are willing to associate themselves with other people who are involved in the (sports)

organization. This membership can get under pressure if the social relationships in their neighborhood or in the club changes. If people have less things in common with the group of which they are a part of, they are less likely to bond with the sports club and more likely to leave the organization or not to become member (Coalter 2007; Driscoll & Wood 1999).

Humans have a fundamental need to bond with each other, to develop a sense of belonging, and to further develop a self-identity (Zakus, 1999). Zakus asserts, in his study of Canadian football clubs, that key to understanding community is identity. In other words, people are probably more likely to become a volunteer for a sports club if they feel at home at the sports club and know the kind of people who are coming there and the associated standards.

This leads to a hypothesis that the composition of the membership of the sports club is important in becoming a volunteer for the sports club. The study will focus on the case where the homogeneity can be a reason to become a volunteer for a sports club. The homogeneity/ heterogeneity can be a reason to become a volunteer for a sports club and is the main focus of this study.

As mentioned there is an assumed relation between the social composition of a sports club and the willingness to become a member of the club (Van Bottenburg ,2001, 2012). However, the influence of the social composition to become more active in the club as being a volunteer has not been studied until now. It is not known if this composition is next to the willingness to become a member, also a trigger to become a volunteer at the club. This study will answer this understudied topic and tries to come up with the characteristics of the membership that possibly determine volunteerism.

This study will exclusively focus on soccer clubs for various reasons. Firstly, soccer is the most popular sport in The Netherlands. This means that soccer is played by people with all kinds of characteristics. People with high levels of income, people with low levels of income, with high or low education, and people of different ethnic backgrounds. This makes the analysis interesting, because soccer clubs are not centered around one type of person with only the same type of characteristics. Secondly, the Royal Dutch Football federation (KNVB) has provided unique data about every member of a soccer club in The Netherlands specially for this study. This unique data provides an opportunity to study soccer clubs in a way which is not possible for other sports clubs.

This leads to the following research question:

How can the social composition at Dutch soccer clubs explain the amount of volunteers?

Conceptual question:

- ***How are social composition, soccer clubs, and volunteers defined?***

Sub research questions:

The first question will provide a descriptive overview of the differences in amount of volunteers at Dutch soccer clubs to get a better insight in the dependent variable. This dependent variable is created while answering this question.

- ***What is the amount of volunteers compared to the amount of members within Dutch soccer clubs ?***

The second question involves the independent variable: social composition of the clubs. As mentioned, this study will look at the homogeneity of the members to determine the social composition. This question describes how the social composition at the clubs looks like.

- ***How is the social composition of Dutch soccer clubs in terms of homogeneity/heterogeneity?***

Next, the relation between the two concepts will be examined.

- ***What is the relation between social composition and amount of volunteers?***

Adding these answers will provide an answer to the main research question. They will provide insight into the theory, the actual situation at the clubs and the relation between the social composition and the amount of volunteers. The theory can explain the (possible) relations and answer the research question.

The objective of this study is: *Describing to what extent social composition is an influence in determining the amount of volunteers at Dutch soccer clubs by performing quantitative analyses.*

Relevance

This research question has a scientific and a societal relevance. The study examines the participation at soccer clubs in relation with the homogeneity of the club. There has been written a lot about sports and social capital (Nichols & Hoye, 2008), however the characteristics of the members at the club in relation with becoming a volunteer has been studied far less. Studies like Putnam's Bowling Alone (2000) mainly focus on identifying national trends based on statistics about the amount of members of sport clubs. The things that are actually happening inside of the sports club on an organizational level are studied less. This study will show what the characteristics of the club mean for volunteering at the club. It will study the organizational level of volunteerism. The lack of research on volunteering in relation to social composition in an organizational context is what this study makes scientifically relevant. In sum, this thesis provides answers to the discussion how volunteerism can be explained, but not on an individual or national level, but on the less studied organizational level.

Furthermore, the societal relevance is present as well. As stated before, sports clubs have been the most dominant organizational form for leisure activities in the Netherlands since the rise of the so called 'modern sports' (Van Bottenburg, 2012). People come together at the club and interact with each other. This 'coming together' is of vital importance for a well-functioning society (Putnam, 2000). That is why they have a large societal importance. However, sports clubs are only able to exist because of the availability of volunteers. If there are no volunteers, no club is able to exist (Schlesinger et. al, 2013). The study provides answers to the question how clubs can be composed to attract more volunteers. Is homogeneity of a certain characteristic a bad thing as some believe?

The study will add valuable information to the societal debate about the composition of soccer clubs. This is a discussion that comes up every now and then. To illustrate this, well-known soccer analyst Johan Derksen recently claimed that soccer clubs with too many members of Moroccan descent do not function properly. More Moroccan players will lead to more problems. *"It does not work when there are predominantly Moroccan players at the club."* (AD, 2016). This statement led to a societal

debate where even the minister of Sport, Edith Schippers, participated. She agreed with Derksen, while others strongly disagreed with him. The statement made by Derksen touched an open nerve in the current Dutch society. Does ethnic background really have an influence on the functioning of a club? To what extent is homogeneity of the members of the club important for a club to function? This study provides answers to the debate if we should go towards more homogenous or heterogeneous clubs in order to get better functioning clubs.

Main definitions

This study is about volunteerism at clubs and the influence of social composition for becoming a volunteer. The previous sentence immediately contains the three main concepts of this study: soccer clubs, social composition and volunteerism. This chapter provides a brief overview on the literature about these concepts. The conceptual sub question: "How are social composition, soccer clubs, and volunteers defined?" will be answered in this chapter.

Soccer clubs

This study is focused on soccer clubs. However, the sport club in general will first be discussed before this concept is conceptualized. Sports club or are a main concept in this study. Sports clubs, or 'community sports organizations', are as the name suggests, clubs where people exercise sports. Allison (2001) defines 'community sports organizations' as non-profit organizations whose essential goal is to provide a range of opportunities for people of various ages to participate in sports and physical activity. Within this definition there is still room for further clarification. What is for example meant by the word 'sport'? There are three common types of hesitation when defining an activity as a sport (SCP,2003:7). A first one is when a group of people start with an activity and create their own rules, but this activity is not formally acknowledged by a formal organization such as the Federal Organization of International Sports Federations (GAISF) or the NOC*NSF. A second consideration to call something a sport is based on the physical effort that it takes to do the sport. A game of chess requires for example less physical effort than a game of tennis. Finally, a third consideration is if you can call something a sport when it is an activity that requires physical exercise, but is not immediately reminiscent of a sport, for example taking a hike with your bicycle.

Within sports research, the definition of Van Bottenburg is common (Diopter,2000). He defines sports as: *A human activity that usually takes place in a specific organizational context, but also can be performed unbounded, usually with the usage of specific spatial provision or/and environment, in a way that is related to the regulations and practices that came to development in an international context for the purpose of achievements with a competition element for the corresponding or related activities.*

The definition in the 'Richtlijn Sportdeelname Onderzoek' is the possibility to practice sports in an organized context, with the usage of a specific spatial feature or area and the rule driven-character of the activities (Diopter,2000).

This study is about soccer clubs so the definition should be adjusted a towards this particular sport. The definition of soccer clubs that will be used in this study can be derived from these definitions. A soccer club is: *a non-profit organization that provides the possibility to practice soccer in an organized context with the usage of a specific spatial feature or area, based on the regulations and*

practices that came to development in an international context for the purpose of achievements with a competition element for soccer.

Note that the definition includes the words 'non-profit organization'. This means that the study is exclusively based on amateur soccer clubs and not on professional soccer clubs. The concept 'specific spatial feature or area' means that futsal clubs will be included as well.

Social composition

Social composition is the characteristics of the members of a sports club. It determines the heterogeneity or homogeneity of the members of the sports club. These characteristics can be endless. This study will focus on income, level of education and ethnic background of the members. These characteristics are chosen because they are typically for people who are old enough to become a volunteer. Homogeneity in age can for example also mean a lot of 8-year olds and this will not likely be a reason to become a volunteer, but someone who shares the same age as an 8-year old is too young to become a volunteer. The social composition is about all the members and not only the volunteers, because the willingness to become active for a sports club (as a member or also as volunteer) is probably more likely if they can relate with the other members. Assuming that a volunteer also has a lot of contact with members who are not a volunteer, but nevertheless has a bond with and who are able to make the volunteer 'feel at home' it is considered that the social composition of all the members important in this study. This concept will be discussed more elaborately in the theoretical framework.

Volunteers

One of the main theoretical concepts in this study are volunteers. Volunteers can be all kinds of people and different definitions can be attributed to them. Volunteering ranges from occasionally doing something for someone else to a more structural approach where someone is doing something on a regular basis. Cuskelly (2004) defines volunteers at sports clubs as those participating in roles undertaken to support, arrange and/or run organized sport and physical activity. This is a very broad definition and not specific enough for this study. There are all kinds of roles someone can fulfill: from occasionally driving the children to a match to being a member of the board.

Cnaan and Amroffell (1994) and Cnaan, Handy, and Wadsworth (1996) reviewed over 200 definitions of volunteering and performed a content analysis to see what is defined as volunteering in literature. They found that four characteristics occur often and they can be categorized on an ordinal scale:

Dimension	Categories
Amount of free choice in doing the task	1. Free will
	2. Relatively uncoerced
	3. Obligation to volunteer
Availability and nature of remuneration	1. None at all
	2. None expected
	3. Expenses reimbursed
	4. Stipend/low pay
Structure	1. Formal organization
	2. Informal (such as helping friends)
Intended beneficiaries	1. Benefit/help others/strangers
	2. Benefit help friends or relatives
	3. Benefit oneself

These dimensions and categories indicate what is defined in the literature as a volunteer. Such a framework captures all the definitions that are used in literature, but is not specific at all. There is no clear definition.

Ellis and Noyes (1990) give the following definition of volunteerism: *“To volunteer is to choose to act in recognition of an organizational need, with an attitude of social responsibility and without concern for monetary profit, going beyond one’s basic obligations.”* This implies that voluntary work is different from paid work in three ways. Firstly, volunteer involves volition. Volunteer work goes beyond social and economic necessity. People decide to become a volunteer, because they decide that they want to spend their leisure time in this way. In contrast, people participate in paid work because they feel an economic or social need to do so, what means that they do not necessarily choose to do the work (Galindo-Kuhn&Guzley:2001). Secondly, the orientation is different. Volunteering and paid work differ from each other because they the psychological reasons to do the work are not same. Unpaid (voluntary) work is done because people want to help others. Although this reason can also be found among paid workers, the reasons for paid work are mostly instrumental. Paid work is mostly done because of a responsibility towards the self and self-interest (Galindo-Kuhn&Guzley:2001). Thirdly, the perceived value of reward that is obtained through the work is different. Volunteers attach more value to the incidental outcomes, like friendships. Paid workers attach more value to the instrumental reward of the work.

This definition is a good starting point for this study because it excludes ‘mandatory volunteerism’ by stating that it goes beyond someone’s basic obligations. This study aims to look at the intrinsic motivation of people to become a volunteer given the social composition, so we do not look at mandatory volunteerism. There are still two adjustment to this definition. This study focuses on structural volunteerism, and not on episodic volunteerism. The difference between the two is that episodic volunteerism is based on doing voluntary work for a short period of time and where positions that may lead to emotional entanglement or long term commitment are avoided. Structural

volunteerism is on the other hand volunteerism based on a long term commitment to keep the organization running and with no clear end date. This study is aimed at explaining structural volunteerism, because this type of volunteering requires a larger investment of the volunteer than an episodic volunteer who for example only drives some members to the club once in a while.

Also, volunteering does not necessarily have to be with an attitude of social responsibility. As stated before, people can have various personal reasons to volunteer and those are mainly egocentric. (Riskin,1995). Especially because of the fact that this study focuses on the reasons beyond the social responsibility factor, and rather on the personal considerations that does not necessarily have anything to do with social responsibility. Members can volunteer because they want to bond with people and not because they are social responsible.

The definition of a volunteer is someone who chooses to structurally act in recognition of an organizational need without concern for monetary profit and goes beyond one’s basic obligations. This definition includes the four elements identified by Cnaan et al (1996). Free choice (“chooses”), availability and nature of remuneration (“without concern for money”), structure (“structurally act”, “organizational”), and intended beneficiaries (“beyond one’s basic obligations”).

This definition can be categorized according to the categories mentioned earlier. Free will because in this study the person is able to choose whether or not he or she becomes a volunteer and is intrinsically motivated. Availability and nature of remuneration is none at all, because he or she does not perform the task to get something in return. The structure is formal because it is performed at an organization. Lastly the intended beneficiaries are a bit more difficult because people can become a volunteer to help others, but one should not forget that becoming a volunteer has also benefits for oneself, like meeting new people (Riskin,1995). However, because they perform the voluntary work in an organizational setting, we can argue that in the first place the beneficiaries are others/strangers. In sum:

Amount of free choice in doing the task	Free will
Availability and nature of remuneration	None at all
Structure	Formal organization
Intended beneficiaries	Benefit/help others/strangers

Theoretical framework

The study focuses on reasons that explain activity within soccer clubs. Sports and volunteering is a combination that is not uncommon. People that participate in sports activities are more likely to play an active role in the community in other ways (Coalter: 2007:542). However, in general, people that participate in sports are more likely to be from higher socio-economic groups and have stayed in education after the minimum school-leaving age. This suggest that the willingness to become a volunteer is not only present because these people participate in sports, but it implies that their characteristics are important as well. The sport in itself is perhaps not the most important thing. Research shows that being white, being male, having more education, being of a higher social class, and/or having a greater personal income increases the likelihood of becoming a volunteer regardless if this is at a sports club or not (Taylor,1998).

In general men are more often a volunteer in sports than women and higher educated more than lower educated people (SCP,2012:74). Distinctive for sports clubs is that unlike other voluntary organizations youngsters and people who are still living with their parents are often volunteers. This is usually a group that does not do voluntary work often.

There are several factors that can explain the reasons to volunteer, but it seems that the people who are associated with the organization is one of the main reasons to become active for the club. People tend to become a volunteer because they know someone in the organization and even more if they are asked to join the organization by someone they value. People are 4 times more likely to volunteer if they are asked by someone who they value. Riecken, Babakus and Yavas (1994) found that it can be very important to have these personal connections in the organization, because it reduces the perceived social risk that deterred some people from becoming a volunteer. This means that the composition of the organization is important. People need to feel comfortable and need to have some sort of bonding with the organization or the people within the organization in order to become a volunteer.

Van Bottenburg (2001) argues that people are more likely to bond with a sports club if they associate themselves with its members. According to Zakus (1999), key to understanding community is identity. If people associate themselves with the identity of its members then they are more likely to become active in the sports club. The social risk of becoming active is thus an important concept when looking at the explanation for activity in sports clubs. People want to know how to behave and what is expected from them.

So the identity of the sports club is important to become a volunteer. This identity seems to be very important, but someone does not only become a volunteer because he or she identifies with an organization. People can identify very much with an organization, but they do not always become a volunteer for it. There must be a motive to become a volunteer rather than just feeling comfortable among the other people.

Volunteering is non-paid labor so doing good for a good cause is something that often comes to mind first, and this is self-evident. One of the most important reasons to become a volunteer are altruistic reasons. Helping others has been found to be an important factor amongst volunteers of all ages; from students to people above the age of 60 (Bussell & Forbes,2002).

But although altruistic reasons are reasons that can explain activity, there are also other reasons that come from a less intrinsic motivation. Here is the person that wants to volunteer self-centered. Egoistic motives also help to explain activity. People volunteer to satisfy important social and important goals. Becoming a volunteer because a family member benefits from it is such a reason. People find it for example important that the services that the organization offers are maintained because it is beneficial for their children (Riecken, Babakus and Yavas ,1994; Shor,1992). Besides that, the 'selective incentive' concept is important in becoming a volunteer. This means a sense of belonging to the organization, making new friends, escaping loneliness et cetera. A last reason is improving social capital (Riskin,1995). People become a volunteer because they benefit from it themselves, for example to gain competences that can help them in a future career or to help obtain employment.

So there are basically four main categories to distinguish:

- Altruistic reasons
- Family unit consuming the collective good
- Enjoying a selective incentive
- Improvement of social capital

Next to this, a low social risk that follows from attachment to the club can help members to decide to become more active.

The social composition of the organization seems to be quite significant, especially for the latter three categories. It really matters if the volunteer has some sort of return for the work that he or she does. The volunteer is not rewarded with monetary means, but that does not mean that he does not want something in return for it. As stated before, this can be to improve the organization for family members or to get new contacts that are in some way useful. In other words, the people within the organization are highly important and seem to be an overarching motive to become a volunteer. Do you not like the people in the organization, than you don't want to become a volunteer.

This study is primarily focused on the social capital and the influence of the composition of the club. That is why the reasons 'enjoying a selective incentive' and 'improvement of social capital' will be most important for now. But this claim that the people are the most important factor to be a volunteer, is that really true? Is the main reason not the altruistic reason? As stated, they are both important, and not necessarily mutually exclusive, but the fact that the social composition seems to be highly important remains. People like to interact with people that share the same characteristics. But why do they do that and why is that important?

Birds of a feather flock together

Why do people tend to hunker down when their environment is diverse and increases social capital when people are the same? This is a question that is centuries old. Aristotle already noted that people "love those who are like themselves" (Aristotle, 1934:1371). Also Plato stated that 'similarity begets friendship' (Plato, 1968:837). The phrase 'birds of a feather flock together' seems to summarize the literature about diversity within organizing principles. This concept is often referred to as homophily (McPherson et al. 2001). Homophily can be divided into two types: status homophily (based on formal, informal, or ascribed status) or value homophily (which is based on shared values,

attitudes, and beliefs). These two kinds of homophily do not exclude each other. They are both important to explain that social composition is important for volunteers. The status homophily refers for example to people that have the same economic level and are therefore attracted to each other. Subsequently, the value homophily determines that those people are not only attracted to each other because they earn the same amount of money, but also that they share the same values or have the same beliefs. The poor person likes to hang out (or to work) with the other poor person, because they both know what they can expect from each other. They come from the same environment and do not have to adjust to entire new standard or habits.

This works in all kinds of relationships. Homophily has been studied in all kinds of relationships. From the closest relationships like marriage to work-related relationships and even preferences about appearing in public. In general, the principle of homophily is present in all relationships, even though all relationships are quite different from each other. The most studied characteristic is ethnicity. Ethnicity is an important characteristic when connecting with each other, even if the relationship is negative (South & Felson 1990). For example, friendships are often based on a same ethnic background, but also crime victimization and rape are.

This study is especially focused on the social class of volunteers: ethnicity, income and level of education. Interesting to see is that characteristics that are related to social class, such as occupation and education are especially homophilous in relationships that are less intimate (McPherson et al., 2001:427). The level of education is for example more important in a professional atmosphere, than it is for marriage (Louch, 2000).

All these results also apply for the organizational level where people are not forced to become a member of, but there are some differences between the type of organization and the characteristics of its members (McPherson et al, 1987). Churches tend to specialize in the age dimension, while more professional organizations tend to specialize on the occupational dimension. Hobby organizations (such as soccer clubs) are the most generalist overall, integrating a wide array of characteristics. This strengthens the assumption that a soccer club with a high homogenous amount of members attracts more volunteers. But the social composition is even more important for volunteering. People can be attracted to each other, but that does not necessarily mean that they are going to do volunteer work. Two people who meet at a soccer club can also grab a beer together at a bar in the town's center. The possible explanation why they are more likely to become a volunteer will be described next.

Hunkering down

Diversity seems to be an important factor in the levels of trust that communities have in each other. There is an assumed relationship between the trust within and between communities and the ethnic diversity (Putnam, 2007).

The contact theory (Allport, 1954) is a classic theory that states that under appropriate conditions interpersonal contact is the most effective way to reduce prejudices between minority and majority group members. An example is a situation where white American soldiers were asked if it would bother them if black soldiers would serve in the same platoon as they did. It turned out that white soldiers who were assigned to serve with black soldiers before were much more relaxed about the idea of racial integration than white soldiers that were never assigned to do so (Stouffer, 1948). The

premise of the theory is when people are able to interact with each other they will understand the points of view of the others and reduce issues like prejudices, discriminations stereotyping. Ultimately, this should lead to interethnic tolerance and social solidarity (Allport,1954).

This theory is subjected to some criticism, especially because research has suggested that the more we are into physical proximity with people of another race or ethnic background, the more we stick to 'our own', and the less we trust the other (Brewer & Brown,1998; Taylor, 1998; Bobo & Tuan, 2006). This 'conflict theory' is supported by studies across workgroups, across local areas and even across entire countries. For this study it is most relevant to focus on the conflicts in work groups. Internal heterogeneity (such as age, professional background and ethnicity) is generally associated with lower group cohesion, lower satisfaction and higher turnover.

Although the contact theory and the conflict theory seems to be the direct opposites of each other, they have one thing in common. They share the same assumption that in-group trust and out-groups trust is negatively correlated. The contact theory assumes that diversity erodes the in/out group distinction and enhances out group solidarity and decreases the in-group ethnocentrism. On the other hand, conflict theory assumes that diversity enhances the in/out group distinction and increases the in-group ethnocentrism (Putnam,2007,). The crucial thing that these theories assume without scientific support is that the attitudes in the out-group and in the in-group vary inversely, and thus are always reciprocally related. Putnam (Putnam,2007,) argues that this is not the case. The attitudes of the out-groups and the in-groups do not have to be reciprocally related and can vary independently. This leads to the possibility that diversity might reduce solidarity in both the in-group as the out-group. In other words, bonding (connecting with people who are like you in an important way) and bridging (connecting with people who are unlike you in an important way) are not necessarily mutually exclusive. For example, white citizens in the United States who have non-white friends also have more white friends than white citizens who do not have non-white friends (Putnam,2007). Putnam calls this the constriction theory.

The relation between attitudes in the in-group and the out-group turn out not to be necessarily inversely correlated (Putnam,2007). Although diversity does not produce 'bad race relations' or ethnically defined hostility, it leads to the tendency of inhabitants to withdraw themselves from collective life. Examples are that inhabitants distrust their neighbors regardless of the color of their skin, to withdraw from close friends, have less faith that they can make a difference in society, and interesting for this study, are less willing to volunteer. Diversity has a negative effect on both the bridging and the bonding. In other words, we tend to hunker down; we pull in like a turtle. The social distance is important here. If the social distance is small, the common identity is large. If this distance is large we tend to treat others as belonging to a different category.

Although Putnam mainly focuses on ethnic diversity he also points out that there is a rather strong relationship between economic inequality and social capital (Putnam,2000). The higher the levels of economic inequality, the lower the levels of social capital (Uslaner & Brown 2005). This has its roots in the homophily principle (McPherson et al. 2001), according to which individuals do not like heterogeneity. This is the same principle where the ethnic diversity explanation comes from. Evidence of this economic inequality proposition has been found on both the national level (Van Oorschot & Arts 2005), as the local and regional level (Alesina & La Ferrara 2002; Putnam 2007). The effect of diversity and social capital, or more specific diversity and volunteering, on the meso level (the organizational level) has not been studied less.

Putnam realizes these claims are based on only merely one country, the United States, and proposes to test these linkages between ‘diversity and hunkering’ in other countries (Putnam,2007:163). Especially the relation between economic inequality and social capital has been found in European societies (Gesthuizen et al., 2009: 135). Economic inequality may increase social barriers between (ethnic) groups that in turn reduce informal social capital (such as giving informal help) and formal social capital (such as participating in organizations). The expectation is that this macro level relationship is also present on a meso level given the presumption that lower heterogeneity leads to higher levels of social capital and consequently a higher levels social capital leads to more volunteering.

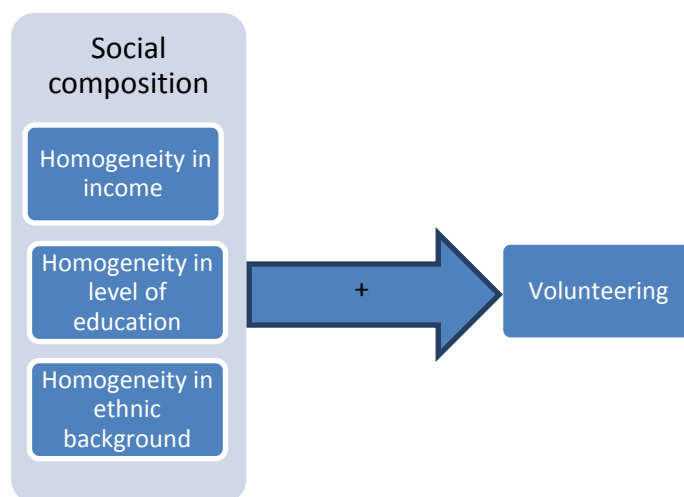
So when people have contact with the local community there is less chance that people will hunker down. This increases the change that they are active for their local community and from that it is easy to assume that when people have contact with each other at the soccer club and they have the same characteristics, that they are more likely to volunteer at the club. The question remains however how people eventually choose for the soccer club and not for another organization. The social composition of the club turns out to be very important.

All this leads to the following hypothesis.

Soccer clubs will be more likely to attract volunteers if the club has a social composition that is similar to some of the social characteristics of the volunteer.

- H1: A high level of homogeneity in income leads to more volunteers.
- H2: A high level of homogeneity in level of education leads to more volunteers.
- H3: A high level of homogeneity in ethnicity leads to more volunteers.

These assumed relations are visually shown in the conceptual model below.



Research design

This section will elaborate on the data collection and the methods to test the formulated hypotheses and that indicate the relations between social composition and becoming a volunteer. Once again, a volunteer is someone who chooses to structurally act in recognition of an organizational need without concern for monetary profit and goes beyond one's basic obligations.

Multiple databases were used to perform the analyses. These included: Data provided by the Royal Netherlands Football Association (KNVB), the sports provider monitor (Sportaanbiedersmonitor), and several data from CBS Statline to determine personal characteristics of the members, like income, ethnicity and level of education. The datasets from CBS Statline datasets are from 2012. That is the reason why the KNVB data of 2012 was used as well.

KNVB data

The data provided by KNVB consists of different characteristics of the members on an individual level. These included: Relation number, 6 digit postal code, date of birth, gender, active playing indication (yes/no), game type (field, field Sunday, or indoor), club code and season. This information was known for every member of a soccer club in The Netherlands; over 1.2 million. However, only members of clubs that participated in the Sportaanbiedersmonitor could be included. That makes the total amount of member included in this study around 150,000.

Sportaanbiedersmonitor

The Sportaanbiedersmonitor is a questionnaire that is filled out by a representative panel of various sports clubs in The Netherlands about various topics. This data was obtained from the KNVB. They provided the data dating from 2012. The results of this monitor provide sports federations, municipalities, NOC*NSF and the ministry of health, welfare and sport a current overview of issues at Dutch sports clubs. The ambition of the sports provider is a central theme in the questionnaire. What does it want to reach at the end of day? The sports provider should focus on three pillars according to the Sportaanbiedersmonitor. These are:

- Sports supply: Varied supply of sports that connects to the (non-) athlete's demands
- Accommodation: Suitable accommodation with an optimal usage
- Framework: A sufficient qualitative framework that is able to coach, bond and motivates athletes.

The questionnaire is based on these pillars. Topics are: policy & strategy, sports supply, framework, finance, club & society, and advice & support.

Especially the 'framework' section was relevant for this study, because it contained questions about the volunteers at the club. The information was not available for all clubs in The Netherlands, because the KNVB uses a representative sample containing 425 soccer clubs in The Netherlands. It is of vital importance that the information about the volunteers is present in order to be able to answer the research question. For that reason, only the 425 soccer clubs (and its corresponding members) that are included in the Sportaanbiedersmonitor were used in this study. The most important

question for this study was the question that asked for the amount of volunteers at the club. This was the only question that was used out of this survey.

The survey does include other questions on volunteering. For example questions if there are a sufficient amount of volunteers at the club. These questions are about perceptions of the amount. Given the fact that the amount of volunteers has already been determined in a way that provides data about absolute numbers and not about perceptions, these questions will be left out.

CBS Statline

The data to further determine the social composition of the members are from the database from the Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (CBS), called Statline. Different datasets of CBS were used to determine this. Statline contained data about the income in every street in The Netherlands (6-digit code), the ethnicity in every street in The Netherlands (6-digit code) and the level of education in every neighborhood (4-digit code). This enables to determine these characteristics for every member of the football clubs.

The CBS uses the following definitions for the ordinal (level of education) and nominal (ethnic background) component of the social composition (CBS,2016):

Level of education:

- Low: elementary school, vocational education, 'mbo1'
- Middle: havo, vwo, mbo 2,3,4
- High: bachelor, master, PhD

Ethnic background:

- Non-western immigrant ('allochtoon'): Person of whom at least one parent was born in one of the African countries, Latin America and Asia (excluding Indonesia and Japan) or Turkey.
- Western immigrant ('westerse allochtoon'): 'allochtoon' with an ethnic background in one of the European countries (excluding Turkey), North America and Oceania, or Indonesia or Japan.
- Dutch descent ('Autochtoon'): Person whose parents were both born in the Netherlands, no matter what country the person was born in itself.

To be able to make a good comparison, the data dating from 2012 was used here as well.

The data of the three databases were linked with each other using the Qlikview software package in order to get a complete dataset. This resulted in a dataset with the following variables: Club name, amount of members, amount of volunteers, average income, percentage low, middle and highly educated, percentage non-western immigrants, western immigrants, and Dutch descent. These were later recoded to be able to perform the analyses. The exact way this was done will be discussed in the data analysis section. Once the dataset was complete, SPSS was used to perform the data analyses. It was chosen to perform both linear regressions as chi square, because all of the variables were on a ratio level. The exact tests and recoding will be discussed in the data analysis.

Validity/reliability

The data was provided by reliable organizations. The KNVB and the CBS have/are experienced research facilities, but still some issues concerning reliability and validity occur. Not all soccer clubs are included in the study because there is a dependency on the clubs that participated in the Sportaanbiedersmonitor. In 2012 a total number of 3618 amateur clubs existed in the Netherlands (KNVB,2013). The Sportaanbiedersmonitor includes 425 clubs, of which 341 clubs were useful for this study (the reason will explained on the next page). This means that about 10% of all clubs were included in this study. A N of 341 is considered to be high enough to perform the relevant statistical tests and this is a reason to assume that the external validity will be granted. The results will apply for the entire population of Dutch amateur soccer clubs in the Netherlands.

There is also a side note to the question/variable asking for the amount of volunteers at the club. This study has a clear definition of 'volunteering' based on the theory and the research question. However, the questionnaire was made by other researchers so there was no influence on the definition that was used in the survey. The definition that was used in the questionnaire is described as follows: *"In this questionnaire we mean by volunteers people who perform a function in the sport on an unpaid and not obligatory basis. Persons who receive a compensation for their expenses by the club based on declarations or a tax free volunteering compensation (with a maximum of 1500 euro tax free each year) are considered as volunteers in this study. Tasks that are more or less self-evident for members at the club (parents driving to away games for example) or tasks where members almost cannot withdraw from (such as mandatory canteen shifts) are not considered to be voluntary work."*

This is not the same definition as was found in the theory. A volunteer was described in the previous chapters as:

[...] someone who chooses to structurally act in recognition of an organizational need without concern for monetary profit and goes beyond one's basic obligations.

This definition is not the same as the one used in the Sportaanbiedersmonitor, but they do not differ that much when they are compared to each other based on the dimensions of Cnaan et al (1996).

Both definitions describe a task performed at free will, without being paid and at a formal organization. Since they both apply to formal organizations their intended beneficiaries are (next to possible benefits for oneself) to help others/strangers to keep the club running. That is why the definition of the Sportaanbiedersmonitor can be adopted in this study and the internal validity is granted.

Dimension	Category theoretical definition	Category definition Sportaanbiedersmonitor
Amount of free choice in doing the task	Free will	Free will ("not obligatory")
Availability and nature of remuneration	None at all	Expenses reimbursed (unpaid, but with compensation)
Structure	Formal organization	Formal organization
Intended beneficiaries	Benefit/help others/strangers	Benefit/help others/strangers

Still this question remains the weakest variable in this study, because the question is answered by members of the board and is not retraceable to individual members. It is not certain if the board member knows how much volunteers there are at the club. It will always be an estimation. This weakness is obviated in the Sportaanbiedermonitor by giving a clear definition of a volunteer. The amount of volunteers for each club also varies largely: From 414 to 1. A number of only one volunteer does not seem reliable taken into account that every club should have a board that consists of at least a chairman, a secretary and a treasurer. The Dutch association law states in article 37, section 7: *“Unless the statutes decides otherwise, the board shall elect a chairman, a secretary and a treasurer.”* This implies that a club should have at least three different volunteers. Therefore, every club that has less than three volunteers will be excluded from this study, because the likelihood that they will give an accurate representation of the amount of volunteer is considered too low. These measures should ensure that the reliability of this variable, and consequently of this study is sufficient.

Data analysis

THE REAL NAMES OF THE SOCCER CLUBS HAVE BEEN CHANGED TO LETTERS FOR CONFIDENTIALITY PURPOSES.

This chapter will provide an answer to the formulated sub questions. To get a clear picture of the data that is dealt with, the second, descriptive, sub question will be answered here. This question is:

What is the amount of volunteers compared to the amount of members within Dutch soccer clubs ?

This question can only be answered when the data about volunteerism at the clubs is present. As previously mentioned, the data provided by KNVB consists of over 1.2 million respondents, but the analysis can only be performed if the amount of volunteers at the club are known. This study tries to explain volunteerism at the organizational level. Therefore only soccer clubs (and following from this, members of these clubs) who participated in the Sportaanbiedersmonitor were selected. This resulted in a decrease to a number of 150,830 respondents who were included in the study and together were members of 341 soccer clubs.

The comprehensive amount of data provides many possibilities. The KNVB provided data of no less than 1.2 million members, which equals every member of a soccer club in the Netherlands. The study is, however, not only dependent on individual characteristics but also on characteristics at an organizational level. Hence the data of the Sportaanbiedersmonitor is necessary. However, the data of the Sportaanbiedersmonitor does not include every soccer club of the Netherlands. That is why only the individual characteristics of people who are a member of a club that participated in the Sportaanbiedersmonitor were included.

Combining the datasets resulted in a dataset with a total number of 341 soccer clubs and their corresponding characteristics. With this dataset it was possible to determine how many members each soccer club has and how many volunteers they have as well.

Absolute numbers of volunteers can be deceiving since they do not take the amount of members in consideration. A ratio was created to give a more reliable insight in the amount of volunteers at the clubs. The indicated amount of volunteers were divided by the total amount of members of each of the 341 soccer clubs. This ratio will be used to determine the amount of volunteers at the club, because it corrects for the amount of members in relation to its volunteers. Therefore larger clubs do not automatically have more volunteers and smaller ones less. Using the ratio is more reliable.

The dependent variable of this study (amount of volunteers) has been established by creating this volunteer/member ratio variable. The amount of members follows from the data provided by KNVB and the amount of volunteers from the data provided by the Sportaanbiedersmonitor. As stated previously, the amount of volunteers is an indication of the person who filled out the survey (probably a member of the board).

The sizes of clubs vary from the largest club (1746 members) to the smallest club (17 members).

The ratio of volunteers/members:

Lowest	Members	Volunteers	Ratio
A	437	3	.0069
B	761	6	.0079
C	351	3	.0085
Highest	Members	Volunteers	Ratio
W	20	20	1.0000
X	60	55	.9167
Y	313	250	.7987
Z	103	74	.7184
Mean (N=341)	394.63	79.82	.2189

What can be seen in the table is that the ratio of volunteers ranges from 0.0069 to 1. It can be concluded that there are enormous differences between the clubs when it comes to amount of volunteers at their club. If we turn to the clubs with the lowest ratios it shows that two out of three clubs have the minimum amount of 3 volunteers. It is questionable if this number is correct and if the board member who filled out the survey did not only include the board members.

The clubs with the highest ratio of volunteers are W and X. Interesting to see is that these are both futsal clubs. They both do not play outdoor soccer. These clubs have a ratio that is by far larger than the number 3, Y. This might be able to be explained because it might be an outlier, but maybe also because it is another type of club. Another interesting observation is that the clubs with the highest ratio also have less members than the average amount of members.

These descriptive statistics show that the soccer clubs in the Netherlands differ largely from each other. The average ratio is about one volunteer for every five members. Now it is interesting to look beyond this descriptive information. What are the factors beyond this difference? Is it the social composition? The next two sub questions to answer these questions will be answered on the following pages. First, some more descriptive information will be given for every variable, where after they will be tested on the volunteering variable. The sub questions that will be answered thematically are:

- *How is the social composition of Dutch soccer clubs in terms of homogeneity/heterogeneity?*
- *What is the relation between social composition and amount of volunteers?*

Income

The first characteristic that was tested is income. This was measured by looking at the monthly disposable income of the members. The monthly disposable income was calculated by matching the postal code to the average income in that neighborhood. As said, the data about income was provided by CBS StatLine. The average income at the club was determined by combining the postal codes with the data about average income in the neighborhood where the members live. That is, however, not where this study is after. The dispersion of the income of the members is what is more

relevant for the study. To do so, the standard deviation of the average income was calculated for every club. The higher the standard deviation, the higher the dispersion of the income of the members.

The table below shows the highest and lowest standard deviations of the studied population. Ranging from 2084.47 euros to 252.17 euros per month.

	Name	Average income (in euros)	Standard deviation
1.	D	3944.95	2084.47
2.	E	4240.05	2013.59
3.	F	3537.12	1953.98
4.	G	2481.40	1862.31
.....			
338	S	2224.37	328.13
339	T	2185.10	308.37
340	U	2258.24	304.68
341	V	2045.13	257.89

The data provides information about the standard deviation and shows that there are clubs with dispersions of more than 2,000 euros per month. The heterogeneity at these clubs concerning average income can be considered high. However, the standard deviation of the income is measured in euros. The table above shows that the clubs with a relatively high average income also have large standard deviations and that the clubs with a small standard deviation have a smaller average income. This is not surprising given the fact that it is 'easier' for clubs with high incomes to deviate with higher numbers from the average than it is for clubs with small averages. For example, when a member of a club earns 5000 euro (which can be considered high) where the average income of the club is 4000 euros (which can be considered high as well), the deviation from the average is quite high as well (1000 euros). However, both the member as the club do not differ that much from each other because they both can be considered as a member/club with a high average income. This is different for clubs with a lower average income. When there is someone who earns 1000 euros more at a club where the average income is just 2000 euro, the deviation of the average is the same (1000 euros), but this member falls into a different income category because he earns a lot more than the average person at the club. Although this standard deviation in absolute numbers can provide valuable information, it is not completely reliable to determine the homogeneity of the members of the club. Therefore, the standard deviation will be calculated as a ratio of the standard deviation compared to the average income.

The tables below show these results and consequently the most homogeneous and least homogenous clubs concerning social economic position.

Most homogenous	Name	Average income (in euros)	Standard deviation	Ratio
1	V	2045.13	257.89	0.13
2	U	2258.24	304.68	0.13
3	T	2185.10	308.37	0.14
4	S	2224.37	328.13	0.15
5	R	2663.89	412.75	0.15

Least homogenous	Name	Average income (in euros)	Standard deviation	Ratio
341	G	2481.40	1862.31	0.75
340	F	3537.12	1953.98	0.55
339	D	3944.95	2084.47	0.53
338	H	2778.41	1314.98	0.47
337	E	4240.05	2013.59	0.47
Mean (N=341)		2547.13	684.28	0.26

The tables show that soccer clubs with low incomes are relatively more homogenous than clubs with high incomes. This might not come as a surprise. There are more people with an income around 2000 euros in the dataset than people with an income of around 4000 euros. The latter people are more exceptional, so it is less likely that these people are overrepresented within this study.

Hypothesis

More interesting is that these tables show a ratio number that determine the distribution of social economic status at the clubs, ranging from 0.13 (highly homogenous) to 0.75 (highly heterogeneous). This means a ratio variable is created that can be considered as the first independent variable of this study and that the first hypotheses can be tested. The hypotheses below are formulated differently than the ones in the theoretical framework in order to interpret the statistical results.

The hypotheses related to the income are as follows:

H0: There is a positive or no relation between the heterogeneity in income at a club and the amount of volunteers.

H1: There is a negative relation between the heterogeneity in income at a club and the amount of volunteers.

This hypothesis should be interpreted differently than the others. The independent variable, heterogeneity in income is based on the standard deviation, so a high value indicates a high level heterogeneity. That is why we look for negative relationships: If the heterogeneity increases, the amount of volunteers should decrease. Because both of the variables in these hypotheses are on a ratio level the hypotheses can be tested using a linear regression. In order to be able to perform this test several assumptions have to be met.

1. The variables are on an interval/ratio level
2. The population is normally distributed
3. There is a linear relationship
4. There is homoscedasticity

The assumptions have been met after a square root transformation of the 'amount of volunteers' variable (see appendix for graphs and tables). If we look at the significance of the model we see that this is 0.891. Considering a significance level of 0.05 this number is too high to decline the null hypothesis. The chance of making a type 1 error (rejecting the null hypothesis while this one is in fact correct) is (way) too high. Even if the significance level would be below 0.05, than the explained variance of the amount of volunteers is very small with -0.003 . This indicates a very small negative explanation of the homogeneity in income at a club and the amount of volunteers. The less heterogeneous a club is, the more volunteers it has. But as said, the relation is not significant, so the null hypothesis will not be rejected. Therefore, there is a negative or no relation between diversity of the income at a club and the amount of volunteers.

To check if the relation is not at all present various other tests have been performed. The variables needed to be recode to do so. The ratio variables were turned into ordinal variables to get a more 'rough' division.

Firstly, the income variable about income was recoded into three categories.

- 1=0.00 till 0.33 → low heterogeneity
- 2=0.34 till 0.66 → middle heterogeneity
- 3=0.67 till 1.00 → high heterogeneity

Secondly, the same was done with the ratio of volunteers.

- 1= 0.00 till 0.33 → low amount of volunteers
- 2= 0.34 till 0.66 → middle amount of volunteers
- 3=0.67 till 1.00 → high amount of volunteers

A chi square test was performed with these two ordinal variables. However, the expected cell count did not meet the assumption of being below 20%. Therefore, both variables were divided even rougher to be able to make a 2x2 table. Because there are not many clubs with more than 50% of volunteers and not many clubs with an income ratio above 0.50 an arbitrary limit for heterogeneity was set on 0.31 and for 'many volunteers' on 0.41.

The new values are the extremes:

- 1=0.00 till 0.30 → homogenous
- 2=0.31 till 1.00 → heterogeneous

- 1=0.00 till 0.40 → little volunteers
- 2=0.41 till 1.00 → many volunteers

The results (see appendix) show that $P=0.686$. Given an alpha level of 0.05 this number is considered too high to reject the null hypothesis so there is no reason to assume that there is any significance between heterogeneity income and amount of volunteers.

Level of education

The second independent variable is the homogeneity in level of education. The operationalization of level of education is a bit more complex. This concept does not consist of just one variable but consists of three different ones. The data was provided by CBS Statline who made 3 different categories. A high, middle and low level of education per neighborhood, hence every respondent has got three values of education. The average on an organizational level has been calculated for each category. This resulted in three variables (low, middle, high) of average level of education for each club. This method gave three different variables that all together determined the dispersion of level of education at a club. The question remained how the three variables could be an indicator for homogeneity. A different way to determine the homogeneity had to be chosen. That is why the largest group of the three variables was chosen to determine the homogeneity. The percentage of the largest group is an indicator of the homogeneity. For example, if a club has 50% of lower educated members than it is possible to assume that their homogeneity is higher than a club where the largest group of lower educated is 40% (assuming that the high and middle educated variable is a smaller percentage).

This resulted in the following information for every club:

Club name	Average of lower educated	Average of middle educated	Average of higher educated	Largest group	Homogeneity for this club
I	47.97	35.29	13.35	Lower educated	47.97

The homogeneity can thus be determined based on this number. This leads to the following ranking for the soccer clubs at the Sportaanbiedersmonitor:

Least homogenous	Average of lower educated	Average of middle educated	Average of higher educated	Largest group	Homogeneity for this club
CC	35.08	30.45	34.21	Lower educated	35.08
BB	34.85	29.23	35.92	Higher educated	35.92
AA	35.05	29.09	36.08	Higher educated	36.08
O	34.87	28.81	36.33	Higher educated	36.33
P	33.35	30.42	36.56	Higher educated	36.56
Mean (N=341)	47.89	34.49	17.11		

Most homogenous	Average of lower educated	Average of middle educated	Average of higher educated	Largest group	Homogeneity for this club
A	62.49	31.26	5.69	Lower educated	62.49
J	61.93	29.21	6.75	Lower educated	61.93
M	61.33	29.28	9.41	Lower educated	61.33
L	61.13	29.07	9.84	Lower educated	61.13
K	59.40	30.54	10.08	Lower educated	59.40
Mean (N=341)	47.89	34.49	17.11		

The tables show that the homogeneity/heterogeneity concerning level of education are between 35.08 and 62.49. The most remarkable result is that the largest groups are the higher educated at the heterogeneous clubs and the lower educated at the homogenous clubs. Taken all clubs into account, the higher educated are often (by far) the smallest group and the lower educated the largest. Therefore, it is not surprising that the group of higher educated members is largest at the clubs with the least homogenous members. These are clubs where a usually small group is large and thus lead to a high dispersion among its members. At the most homogenous clubs this group is very small, while the group of middle educated is about the same. It seems that the amount of higher educated determines whether the club is homogenous/heterogeneous. The group of middle educated does not influence the composition that much because this group is relatively stable at all the studied clubs.

Hypothesis

Just as the previous hypotheses the hypotheses belonging to the level of education consists of two variables measured on a ratio scale. Contrary to the hypothesis about income, this hypothesis has a positive direction. A higher value of this independent variable indicates more homogeneity. The hypothesis can thus be formulated as a higher level of homogeneity leads to more volunteers. These hypotheses are:

H0: There is a negative or no relation between the homogeneity in level of education at a club and the amount of volunteers.

H1: There is a positive relation between the homogeneity in level of education at a club and the amount of volunteers.

Linear regression

The simple linear regression was calculated. There was no significant regression equation found with $(F(1,339) = 0.707, p < 0.401)$ with a R^2 of .002. If the simple regression were to be significant then the member's predicted chance of being a volunteer is equal to $.512 - 0.002$ (volunteerism) when level of education is measured in homogeneity. Volunteerism decreased 0.002 point for each one percent of increase of homogeneity in level of education at the club.

Since there is no significant relation found it is not possible to assume that this regression formula is correct. Therefore, the null hypotheses cannot be rejected. This means that there is no negative relationship between homogeneity in level of education at the club and the amount of volunteers at the club.

Chi-square

To see if there was no relation at all, the variables were recoded into ordinal variables. The ordinal variable with three categories of amount of volunteers that was made earlier for testing the hypothesis was used. Level of education was recoded as well. Since the homogeneity ranges from 35.08 to 62.05 the following categories were made with a $(62.05-35.08)/3 = 8.99$ interval.

- 1=35.08 till 44.07 → low homogeneity
- 2=44.08 till 53.07 → middle homogeneity
- 3=53.08 till 62.05 → high homogeneity

Again, a 3x3 table left too many cells with an expected count less than 5. Therefore, a 2x2 table was created with these codes:

- 1=35.08 till 48.57 → low homogeneity
- 2=48.58 till 62.05 → high homogeneity

- 1=0.00 till 0.40 → little volunteers
- 2=0.41 till 1.00 → many volunteers

The assumptions of the test were met under these circumstances, however, no results were found. The relation between these variables was not significant, $\chi^2 (1, N = 338) = 1.328, p = .275$. It is not possible to assume that there is a relationship between homogeneity of the members concerning level of education and the amount of volunteers, because P is higher than 0.05.

Homogeneity in higher educated members means more volunteers?

As stated in the theory, there can also be a difference within homogeneity of level of education. Higher educated people are more likely to become a volunteer than lower educated people. To test this, another regression was performed. This was done with the independent interval variable 'percentage of higher educated members' and the dependent interval variable 'ratio of volunteers'. This also did not result in a significant relation as can be seen in the table below. There it cannot be concluded that clubs with a high homogeneity in high educated people have significantly more volunteers than clubs with lower educated people. There was no significant regression equation found with $(F(1,339) = 0.220, p = 0.640$ with a R^2 of $- .002$. The level of significance p, is considered too high to assume that there is a significant relation between a higher level of highly educated people and a higher level of amount of volunteers. Thus, more homogeneity in high levels of education does not lead to more volunteers.

Ethnic background

In this chapter, the ethnic background of the members at the clubs will be analyzed. First, the choices that were made to determine the ethnic background will be examined together with some

descriptive statistics of the ethnic background. Second, the hypothesis concerning ethnic background and volunteerism will be tested.

Descriptives

The last characteristic that is discussed in this study is the ethnic background of the volunteers. The data does not give any information about the origin of the members of the clubs. The data of the CBS was used to provide insights in the ethnic background of the members of the club. The postal codes of the members were linked to the ethnic background of the neighborhoods. The CBS uses the same system as they do with 'income': three categories to determine the origin of the people who live in the neighbourhood. In this case, Dutch descent ('autochtoon'), western immigrants ('westerse allochtonen'), and non-western immigrants ('niet-westerse allochtonen'). Someone is labeled as 'allochtoon' or 'immigrant' when the person itself or one of its parents are not born in the Netherlands. Every neighborhood (based on 4 digit postal codes) has been divided in these three categories and every category added up gives a number of 100%.

The same way of determining the ethnic background of the members of the club can be done as was done with level of education. The percentages of each category can be used to determine the 'chance' that the member is of a certain ethnic background. For example, if in the neighborhood of the member live 60% non-western immigrants, 20% western immigrants and 20% people from Dutch descent, than the chances of that person to be a non-western immigrant is 60% and so on. A side note that has to be mentioned here is that this is a fairly rough estimate. The categories are quite broad. It is not possible to determine if a member is for example from Chinese, Moroccan or Surinam descent. They will all be placed under the label 'non-western immigrant'. This can be seen as a limitation of this study, however practical considerations and the fact that this is the only available way to gain knowledge of the ethnic background of the members has motivated the decision to continue with this data.

Again, a ranking can be made of the most homogenous club and the least homogenous club; this time concerning ethnic background.

Least homogenous	Average of percentage western immigrants	Average of Percentage non-western immigrants	Average of Percentage Dutch descent	Largest group	Homogeneity for this club
DD	10.37	44.55	45.08	Dutch descent	45.08
EE	9.64	44.14	46.22	Dutch descent	46.22
FF	10.32	44.67	43.01	Non-western immigrants	46.67
GG	12.20	38.63	49.17	Dutch descent	49.17
HH	11.27	49.72	39.02	Non-western immigrants	49.72

Most homogenous	Average of percentage western immigrants	Average of Percentage non-western immigrants	Average of Percentage Dutch descent	Largest group	Homogeneity for this club
V	1.56	0.46	97.98	Dutch descent	97.98
WW	2.04	0.78	97.43	Dutch descent	97.43
XX	1.25	1.42	97.21	Dutch descent	97.21
YY	2.16	0.50	97.11	Dutch descent	97.11
ZZ	2.50	0.64	97.09	Dutch descent	97.09

What can be seen is that the homogeneity of the clubs ranges from 45.08 to 97.98. Interesting to see is that the most heterogeneous clubs primarily consist of two more or less equally large groups: non-western immigrants and people of Dutch descent. The most homogenous groups basically only exist of people from Dutch descent. The clubs range from almost half of the members who are from non-western descent to clubs where none of the member are of non-western descent. Interesting to see is that 'FF' and 'HH' are the only two clubs out of the entire dataset where the largest group are not members from Dutch descent. If we take a look to the clubs that score lowest and highest on this scale we see that the most heterogeneous club is 'DD'. This club is in a neighborhood that is characterized by multicultural inhabitants. Non-western immigrants form 45% of the total population in this neighborhood (CBS Statline, 2016). 'DD' is in this case a very good representation of the neighborhood with a percentage 44.55 of non-western immigrants.

The most homogenous clubs consists of almost only people of Dutch descent. 'V', the 'number one' club is a club from a small village of 1751 inhabitants. This village has only 5 non-western immigrants and 25 western immigrants (CBS Statline, 2016). Again these numbers match with the composition of the club. This strengthens the assumption that the chosen way to determine the homogeneity/heterogeneity of the clubs concerning the ethnicity is valid.

Hypothesis

The hypotheses can be tested now that there is a clearer view of the composition of the clubs. The hypotheses that are tested are:

H0: There is a negative or no relation between the homogeneity in ethnic background at a club and the amount of volunteers.

H1: There is a positive relation between the homogeneity in ethnic background at a club and the amount of volunteers.

A linear regression was calculated to test these hypotheses with the homogeneity as independent variable and the ratio of volunteers/amount of members as dependent variable. All of the assumptions of the test were met after a square root transformation.

The simple linear regression was calculated. There was a significant regression equation found with $(F(1,339) = 21.346, p < 0.000)$ with a R^2 of .056. The unstandardized beta is 0.004. This means that the volunteer/member ratio increases 0.04 for each percent increase in homogeneity in ethnic background at the club.

Evidence was found for the assumed relation between heterogeneity of the ethnic background at a club and the amount of volunteers. The level of significance is with a value of 0.00 lower than the maximum of 0.05, so the null hypothesis can be rejected. This means that there is an assumed positive relationship between the homogeneity in level of ethnic background at a club and the amount of volunteers. The R^2 indicates that 0.056 of the explained variance is caused by homogeneity in ethnic background. In other words, the homogeneity in ethnic background of the members explains for 5.6%

Because a correlation was already found it is not necessary to perform a chi-square test. The single regression analysis provides more detailed information than the 'rough' chi square test is able to do. Thus, performing this test is deemed unnecessary.

In the theory was found that 'white' people do more volunteering (Taylor, 1998). This would imply that clubs with a high homogeneity in people from Dutch descent would have more volunteers. This was tested using the ratio variable "Average of Percentage Dutch descent". The hypothesis would be that more homogeneity in people of Dutch descent would result in more volunteers. This turned out to be true. There was a significant regression equation found with $(F(1,339) = 21.152, p < 0.000)$ with a R^2 of .056. This is very similar to the results of the regression above. This can be explained because the variables about homogeneity in ethnic background and this one, homogeneity in Dutch descent only differ at 2 out of 341 clubs. Only at 'FF' and 'HH' is the largest group not of Dutch descent. Therefore the two tests are basically the same, because the independent variable only differs on two values, and the dependent variable is the same. That is why it can be concluded that homogeneity in people of Dutch descent explain 5.6% of the volunteers at the club.

Testing of the main hypothesis

The previous results show that there is only a relation between the homogeneity in ethnic background and the amount of volunteers. One last test remains to answer the research question and that is whether the homogeneity of the club determined by the three characteristics taken together has an influence on the amount of volunteers. To see if there is any interaction effect between the variables a multiple regression was performed to test the following hypotheses:

H0: There is a negative or no relation between the homogeneity of the members at a club and its amount of volunteers.

H1: There is a positive relation between the homogeneity of the members at a club and its amount of volunteers.

The data met all the necessary assumptions for a multiple regression. The results of the test are shown in the table below. The entire model was significant because the level of significance was 0.00 ($P < 0.05$). Looking at the p value of each variable we see that only homogeneity in ethnic background contributes to the model. This can be interpreted as: for every unit of increase in homogeneity in ethnic background, the ratio of volunteers increases with 0.004. Since the homogeneity in ethnic background is measured in percentages we can say that for every percentage increase of homogeneity in ethnic background the volunteers/members ratio will increase with 0.004 point. This explains 5.6 % of the reasons to become a volunteer.

Predicting volunteering at soccer clubs

	β
(Constant)	-.003
Homogeneity in income	-.057
Homogeneity in level of education	-.002
Homogeneity in ethnic background	.004***
R ²	0.056
N	340

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Conclusion

This last chapter will provide an answer to the research question. The findings will be connected to the theory that was used in this the study. Next to that, a reflection about the study and its practical implications is written.

The research question of this study was: *To what extent does the social composition of the membership of a soccer club affect volunteering by its members?*

The subs question will be answered to provide an answer to this question. The first one was:

What is the amount of volunteers compared to the amount of members within Dutch soccer clubs ?

The study shows that the amount of volunteers at soccer clubs differs enormously. Interesting to see is that the clubs with the smallest amount of volunteers are fairly large, while the clubs with the highest volunteering ratio are relatively small. The clubs with the highest ratio range from 20 to 313 members, while the clubs with the lowest ratio range from 351 to 761. A possible explanation for this can be that a certain minimum amount of volunteers needs to be present for a club to be able to function. For example, every club needs to have a minimum of three volunteers in the board. This is necessary for every club, whether this club is small or large. That can explain why the ratios of smaller clubs are higher: There needs to be a 'basis' of minimum amount of volunteers for the club to function. The minimum amount gives smaller clubs a higher ratio since the amount of volunteers compared to the amount of members is relatively larger than for clubs with more members.

The average amount of volunteers is around 80 people for every club. The average number of 395 members gives an average ratio of 0.2189. This means that for every five members there is one volunteer.

How is the social composition of Dutch soccer clubs in terms of homogeneity/heterogeneity?

The next sub question elaborated on the other important variable; homogeneity concerning social composition. The different characteristics were income, level of education and ethnic background. Interesting to see is that the most heterogeneous clubs were clubs where the average level of education is high and where the members are of non-western descent. This can be explained by the fact that a majority of Dutch people are lower educated and of Dutch descent. When a club differs from this assumption it means that another group is larger (for example higher educated). If a group deviates from the norm (Dutch, lower educated) it means that a usually small group is larger at that club. Therefore the proportions of amount of members associated with a particular group/characteristic becomes more equal. The standard deviation of the income varies quite a lot. For some clubs this is only about 200 euro, while for others it is more than 2000 euro.

This shows that no club is alike and that there are many differences in amount of volunteers and social composition. The next sub question combined these two variables to see if the differences in amount of volunteers could be explained by the differences in homogeneity.

What is the relation between social composition and amount of volunteers?

This question is fairly to answer. Only a relation between homogeneity in ethnic background was found. This variable explains 5.6% of the amount of volunteers and if the homogeneity increases with

one percent the ratio of volunteers/members will increase with 0.004 point. This is fairly small. No significant results were found for homogeneity in income and homogeneity in level of education.

Answering the research question

The theory and the sub questions eventually lead to an answer of the main question: *How can the social composition at Dutch soccer clubs explain the amount of volunteers?*

This study tested hypotheses to try to find an explanation for the differences in amount of volunteers. The hypotheses were based on the premise as was described as 'birds of a feather flock together'. People tend to organize themselves with people with whom they share the same characteristics with (McPherson et al. 2001). This study tried to go one step beyond that premise and to see if they do not only organize themselves, but if they are also more willingly to do voluntary work for this group. The results show that this is not always the case. Only one relation was found for the hypothesis that homogeneity on single characteristics leads to more volunteers. This was on ethnic background. A possible explanation for this relation is the concept of homophily. This concept, as described in the theoretical framework, consists of two types: status homophily and value homophily. Typical examples of status homophily is the level of income. No relation was found here. However, value homophily is based on shared values. Interesting to see is that there is a relation between homogeneity in ethnic background and amount of volunteers. People with the same ethnic background might also share the same values, because they share the same culture. This study found that homogeneity in Dutch descent leads to more volunteers. A possible explanation can thus be that value homophily is more important than status homophily while doing voluntary work.

Putnam (2000) argues that there is a relation between distrust and 'hunkering down'. Putnam tends to look at trust in communities that is created by sharing same characteristics. People tend to avoid engagement with their local community when diversity arises. Putnam focused on society and this study focused on club level, but it is a trend that might explain why homogeneity in ethnic background is correlated with more volunteering. People distrust the club when the ethnic background of the members is diverse, so they will not engage in that case. They only participate when the members have the same ethnic background. A relation was found between the diversity and volunteering. Therefore also some proof was found that people tend to hunker down at soccer clubs when the diversity is large. Putnam's (2001) theory might therefore also apply on the organizational level of soccer clubs.

Trust is a mediating variable in this relation. Heterogeneity leads to less trust, what leads in turn to hunkering down. This study did not look at this mediating variable. Therefore, a possible explanation for not finding a significant relation between the two other single variables is that there is no lack in trust among members at heterogeneous clubs. If this level of trust is the same at homogenous clubs as it is at heterogeneous clubs then there is no reason to assume that homogenous clubs would have more volunteers. The role of trust at clubs could be a good topic for future research.

Furthermore, social composition is not the only deterrent to explain volunteerism. As said in the theoretical framework, there are more explanations that determine volunteering (Riecken, et al.,1994).

These are:

- Altruistic reasons
- Family unit consuming the collective good
- Enjoying a selective incentive
- Improvement of social capital

It is possible that these reasons are more important to explain volunteering than social composition. The reasons mentioned above were already found in previous research. This study tried to find additional reasons, but could only find one. This can be a conclusion of this study. Social composition might simply not play a large role in determining volunteerism. It was argued in the theoretical framework that especially 'enjoying a selective incentive' and 'improvement of social capital' were important in the context of becoming a volunteer because of associating with people. The social composition plays, according to the results a small role, within this factor. Homogeneity in income, level of education and ethnic background is (taken together) a consideration when someone decides to be a volunteer for enjoying a selective incentive or to improve its social capital.

Academic reflection

The study provides a small significant result. It might not be the most groundbreaking result, and does this mean that we should settle with the conclusion? For now we have to, but there are ways to improve the chances of confirming the hypotheses. This study only included secondary data. Data collected by the KNVB, data collected by CBS Statline and data collected by the Mulier Institute (the Sportaanbiedersmonitor). This resulted in valuable data that would be impossible to acquire without the help of these databases. However, this might also be the downside of this study. The study was very dependent on data that was collected by others, therefore there was no room to adjust the questionnaires to the research question. The data of the KNVB was very valuable in determining the personal characteristics of the members, but some essential questions were missing, like: Are you a volunteer at your club? What is your highest level of education? And what is your ethnic background? This information had to be determined using the other databases. Some main characteristics were based on the postal codes. This means that the data is not always as precise as desirable, and it might be even too rough. So the methodology might be a bit questionable. It would be recommendable that the researcher would collect the data himself. Sometimes it felt a bit like the data was 'out of control'. It was hard to control the data, because it was necessary to adjust everything to the data that was already there and that did not always contain the right information. A more qualitative approach would also work to explore the motives behind the reason to become a volunteer. That could be a suggestion for future research.

Maybe the results stay the same if the methodology would be different. That is also possible, of course. As stated, there are four main reasons to become a volunteer (Riecken, et al., 1994). Maybe those are by far the ones that explain volunteerism most and is homogeneity a concept that only explains volunteerism for a very small part.

Policy reflection

This thesis started with the societal relevance and the discussion that Johan Derksen started by claiming that more heterogeneity is not good for a club. He was talking about the heterogeneity in ethnic background, and coincidence or not, that was also the only relation that was found in this study. It is not necessarily the case that heterogeneity is a bad thing, because there was no negative relation found. However, there was a positive relation found between homogeneity in ethnic background and volunteering. This means that we can say that soccer clubs with a homogenous composition is not a bad thing. It is a characteristic that explains voluntary work, so homogeneity at a club should not be discouraged, because it helps the club to survive. The introduction of this thesis stated that sports clubs exist by the sake of volunteers. It would go too far to claim that soccer clubs or the KNVB should make a policy to make clubs as ethnically homogenous as possible, because the explained variance is just 5.6% and heterogeneity might have enough other advantages. However, purely based on this study there is certainly not a need to discourage homogeneity. Ethnic homogeneity is according to the findings a positive thing. Maybe Johan Derksen was right after all.

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