Ethnic sorting in football

A quantitative analysis of ethnicity and membership in Dutch amateur football

Arend F. van Haaften

Ethnic sorting in football

A quantitative analysis of ethnicity and membership in Dutch amateur football

Arend F. van Haaften

Ethnic sorting in football. A quantitative analysis of ethnicity and membership in Dutch amateur football

ISBN/EAN: 978-94-6421-930-2
Coverphoto: © 2019 Hilda van Welzen
Print: Ipskamp Printing | www.ipskampprinting.nl

Ethnic sorting in football

A quantitative analysis of ethnicity and membership in Dutch amateur football

Etnische selectie in voetbal

Een kwantitatieve analyse van etniciteit en lidmaatschap
in het Nederlandse amateurvoetbal
(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor aan de
Universiteit Utrecht
op gezag van de
rector magnificus, prof.dr. H.R.B.M. Kummeling,
ingevolge het besluit van het college voor promoties
in het openbaar te verdedigen op

dinsdag 20 december 2022 des middags te 2.15 uur

door

Arend Frederik van Haaften

geboren op 16 november 1990
te Dordrecht

Promotoren:
Prof. dr. M. van Bottenburg
Prof. dr. M.A.P. Bovens

Beoordelingscommissie:
Prof. dr. G.B.M. Engbersen
Prof. dr. E. Knies
Prof. dr. R.F.J. Spaaij
Prof. dr. F.A. van Tubergen
Prof. dr. M. Verkuyten

Deze publicatie maakt deel uit van het project ‘The end of membership as we know it? Organized sports and sustainable social ties’ (met projectnummer 328-98-002) van het onderzoeksprogramma Sport dat (mede) is gefinancierd door de Nederlandse Organisatie voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek (NWO).

Contents

Manuscripts based on this dissertation

Chapter 2: Ethnic participation in Dutch amateur football clubs
Van Haaften, A. F. (2019). Ethnic participation in Dutch amateur football clubs. *European Journal for Sport and Society*, *16*(4), 301–322. https://doi.org/10.1080/16138171.2019.1693144

Chapter 3: Do birds of a feather play football together?
Van Haaften, A. F. (2019). Do birds of a feather play football together? A study on ethnic segregation in Dutch amateur football. *European Journal for Sport and Society*, *16*(2), 1–18. https://doi.org/10.1080/16138171.2019.1620411

Chapter 4: Does ethnic heterogeneity of clubs affect member dropout?
Van Haaften, A. F. Does ethnic heterogeneity of voluntary associations affect member dropout? The case of amateur football clubs in the Netherlands. *To be submitted for publication*

CHAPTER 1

Ethnicity and membership in Dutch amateur football

1.1 Organized sports and ethnicity

> Sport has the power to change the world. It has the power to inspire. It has the power to unite people in a way that little else does. (…) Sport can create hope where once there was only despair. It is more powerful than governments in breaking down racial barriers. It laughs in the face of all types of discrimination. Sports is the game of lovers. (Mandela, 2000)

Organized sport as an ethnic integrator

South Africa's unlikely 1995 Rugby World Cup win brought a strongly racially divided nation closer together. This success story is perhaps one of the most appealing examples of the highly popular belief that sports activities are particularly effective at bringing distant ethnic groups closer together. Since then, the United Nations, together with sports organizations, NGOs, and governments have initiated a wide array of programs across the world which seek to harness the supposed ethnic integrative potential of sports. Under the 'Sport for Development and Peace' banner, these interventions have been predominately directed at low- or middle-income countries such as Zimbabwe, Iraq or Bosnia-Herzegovina. High income countries such as the Netherlands have strongly focused on the integrative potential of sports as well (Cremers & Elling, 2020; Krouwel et al., 2006).

An important reason for this is that due to ongoing immigration, the populations of many countries have become substantially more ethnically heterogeneous over the last few decades. This has led to increasing pressures on governments to 'manage' the ethnic differences between citizens and to find ways to maintain or strengthen social cohesion in an ever-diversifying society (Spaaij, 2013). Echoing Allport's (1954) intergroup contact theory, a primary strategy of

achieving this is to stimulate positive and durable contact experiences between individuals from different ethnic backgrounds. Consequently, policy makers have been highly interested in social settings which are suitable for interethnic mixing and socializing.

The implicit or explicit assumption in Dutch sports policies is that sports clubs can and in fact should play an important role in this. Not only do these clubs revolve around a shared activity which is believed to already cut across ethnic boundaries, but they are also by far the most popular type of civil society organization in the country, therefore acting as primary social foci for the formation and maintenance of ties with others. This is well illustrated by the fact that roughly a quarter of the total Dutch population is a member of a sports club and consequently clubs provide the settings where millions of citizens meet each other in these setting on a weekly basis.

Some evidence suggests that organized sports do indeed have a promising potential when it comes to interethnic mixing. Members or ex-members of sports clubs tend to have more contact with, and have more trust in people with different ethnic backgrounds than non-members (Van der Meulen, 2010), and participation in organized sports can go hand in hand with increased knowledge and understanding of one's ethnic outgroup and interethnic friendships (Janssens et al., 2010; Verweel et al., 2005). These effects, however, seem to be relatively modest in nature. Moreover, there is also reason to believe that ethnicity acts as a social divider in organized sports, which in turn would put limits on or even problematize the bridging function sports clubs are expected to fulfil.

Ethnicity as a social divider in organized sport

Despite its attractiveness, the use of sports clubs as ethnic integrators has been met with critical scrutiny. Evidence which substantiates the integrative function of sports remains scarce and some studies show that ethnic background itself can have an important role in diverging sports interests, participation rates and experiences of individuals.

Firstly, while it may be true that organized sports are relatively accessible in comparison to other social domains, a consistent finding in research on sports participation and ethnicity is that ethnic minorities tend to be substantially underrepresented in organized sports. Secondly, people with different ethnic backgrounds do not necessarily gravitate to the same type of sports. Janssens et al. (2010) show that ethnic groups can have strongly diverging 'sport profiles',

which in turn constrain the opportunities for mixing through organized sports. Additionally, sports may themselves be used by participants as an ethnic marker. For example, Allison (1982) suggests that ethnic minorities in the United States participate in sports in a way that fits and reinforces their particular ethnic identities rather than suppressing them. Thirdly, organized sports may also act as arenas for interethnic tensions and conflict. When questioned, ten percent of players in sports clubs reported to have either experienced of witnessed discrimination based on skin colour, culture or religion (Schipper-van Veldhoven & Steenbergen, 2015). Additionally, studies by Van Slobbe (2019) and Krouwel et al. (2006) have demonstrated that ethnic differences can provide a basis for aggression or even violence within and between sports clubs.

Furthermore, an extensive body of literature has time and time again affirmed what has become known as the homophily principle. This principle dictates that people who are similar are far more likely to form and maintain ties with each other, especially with regard to ethnic background (McPherson et al., 2001). Given that sports clubs are voluntary associations and homophily seems to have an especially pronounced effect on membership ties in civil society (McPherson et al., 2001), there is strong reason to believe that ethnic background at least partly acts as a social fault line in organized sports.

Sports clubs may thus not be such unproblematic sites for interethnic mixing after all. Ethnic groups can experience barriers to participate in organized sports, and ethnic diversity in clubs, especially when forced, may put memberships under strain, resulting in weaker and more fleeting ties. This can have adverse consequences for sports clubs because they ultimately depend heavily on members' willingness to continuously invest time and resources in the organization.

1.2 Aims and research question

Up until now, researchers have predominantly studied the interrelations between ethnic background and sports club membership qualitatively. This has yielded rich and valuable insights in, for example, how in certain contexts ethnicity may shape members' experiences and relations, or how sports clubs may deal with the inclusion or exclusion of members with different backgrounds. A limited number of quantitative studies have explored ethnic differences in sports participation and

membership rates – often on the basis of survey data – but these do not account for members' respective club ties. Consequently, little is still known about how ethnic background is related to and impacts membership ties structurally.

One major cause of this lacuna is the extensive and relatively complex data that are required. Namely, to truly study the relationship between ethnic background and club membership one needs to create a comprehensive overview of not only the membership base and members' ethnic backgrounds - which is a challenge in itself - but also of all their respective club memberships. Additionally, to study anything at all, these data also need to be collected on a sport which enjoys a high popularity among a wide array of ethnic groups.

When it comes to universal popularity, few if any sports can trump football. Virtually all over the world, football has a strong foothold in the organized sports domain and especially in many European countries football is unrivalled in terms of players and club memberships. The Netherlands is a case in point. With well over one million members spread over nearly three thousand clubs, no other type of sports club or civil society organization comes close to the pervasiveness of amateur football clubs in the social life of Dutch citizens. Amateur football clubs also seem to exert a strong appeal towards minority groups in the Netherlands. Evidence suggests they tend to rank football amongst the highest in terms of interest. Many clubs, particularly in urban areas, tend to have substantial shares of members with migrant backgrounds, which in some cases make up the whole member population.

While we know many ethnic minorities find their way into amateur football clubs, the extent and way in which this happens, and its consequences for membership ties, so far have remained unknown. Luckily, over time, the quality and amount of membership data the Royal Dutch Football Association keeps, have significantly improved. Additionally, data on ethnic background in the Netherlands are well kept and accessible for research purposes. By combining these data, it has now become possible to gain a comprehensive and longitudinal overview of virtually all memberships of amateur football clubs and the ethnic backgrounds of their members. Consequently, this study seeks to combine these data and gain a better understanding of how ethnic background and membership are structurally related in the highly relevant context of Dutch amateur football. With this aim, I have formulated the following main research question of this dissertation:

What is the impact of ethnic background on membership ties to Dutch football clubs?

1.3 Social and scientific relevance

Answering the main research question of this dissertation can contribute to social practice and scientific literature in a number of ways. Firstly, the relationship between ethnicity and sport has so far predominantly been explored through the lens of sports participation. While sport participation figures can give us an important overview of the distribution of organized sports preferences and/or opportunities across ethnic groups, they tell us relatively little about how ethnic background relates to the social ties that sustain organized sports. As countries continue to diversify along ethnic lines and policy makers or practitioners also aim to use sports clubs as sites for interethnic mixing and tie-formation, it becomes paramount to gain a more intricate understanding of its potential consequences for sports club membership and the organized sports domain as a whole. This holds especially true for European countries such as the Netherlands in which organized sports form such an intricate part of the national sports infrastructure and thus act as a key enabler of sports participation within the general populace. Consequently, by delving deeper into the relationship between ethnic background and membership ties to amateur football clubs, this study can help to inform decision-making processes in both government and sports organizations and contribute to the development of effective and realistic policies.

Secondly, outside the domain of organized sports, the interrelations between social markers and membership have been an important topic of sociological inquiry in the past, most notably by McPherson and colleagues. Their research and ideas suggest that the sociodemographic composition of an area and voluntary associations themselves can have important consequences for who is socially connected to whom through membership ties. At the centre of this influence lies the aforementioned homophily principle, which dictates that similar people are much more likely to form and maintain ties. McPherson and colleagues have posited that homophilic tie-formation is known to be especially pronounced regarding ethnicity. However, up to now, surprisingly little research exists which has studied that effect of ethnic homophily on associational membership. This

study will help to fill this gap by explicitly studying how ethnic background relates to membership of the Netherlands' most popular and numerous voluntary association.

Thirdly, this study adds to a broader sociological debate on the effect of ethnic heterogeneity on social cohesion. When Putnam in 2007 posited that mutual ethnic differences within a population erode sociability and lead to 'hunkering down' behaviour, this sparked a lively scholarly and political discussion on the social consequences of the ethnic differentiation of European countries and the United States. While some scholars have argued that the effect suggested by Putnam is an artifact of cultural differences (Abascal & Baldassarri, 2015), and yet others have suggested that it is an American exception (Van der Meer & Tolsma, 2014), several recent studies have demonstrated that ethnic heterogeneity may indeed undermine aspects of social cohesion (Dinesen et al., 2020; Jennissen et al., 2018). Most research on this topic so far has focused on neighbourhood residency. This may partly explain why findings have been mixed. Not only is the relationship between ethnic heterogeneity and social cohesion in neighbourhoods at risk to be obfuscated by other factors such as economic deprivation or crime, but people can have widely different ideas about what their neighbourhood is and who lives in it. Koopmans et al. (2015) have therefore suggested that the relationship between ethnic heterogeneity and social cohesion is best studied in concrete social settings in which people have frequent face to face contact. From this point of view the study of amateur football clubs has a lot to offer. Not only are they an organization through which so many Dutch citizens meet and interact with one another, but these interactions are also voluntary in nature. This makes the effects of ethnic heterogeneity on membership ties much easier to observe, compared to more constrained contexts such as professional organization or schools.

1.4 Methodological approach

Following from the aims and central research question, this study employs a quantitative research design. The main objective of this design is to map the Dutch citizens' membership ties to amateur football clubs and relate them to their ethnic backgrounds. For this purpose, the Royal Dutch Football Association has provided me under strict conditions of use with anonymized individual

membership data of all registered amateur football clubs in Netherlands for ten playing seasons starting in 2005 and ending in 2015. These data provide a longitudinal overview of roughly 2.2 million memberships. In addition to individual club memberships, these data contained individual members' gender, date of birth and address.

To determine additional social characteristics of members, the membership data have been matched with data from Statistics Netherlands (CBS). Statistics Netherlands keeps extensive individual level data of the Dutch population on a very wide range of characteristics, such as ethnic background and income. By using the gender, date of birth and six-digit postal code of individual members provided by the Royal Dutch Football Association, around 94 percent of the roughly 2.2 million memberships in the original data set were successfully matched with individual data from the Statistics Netherlands. Consequently, this procedure has resulted in a highly comprehensive and anonymized dataset of members of Dutch voluntary football clubs and their characteristics between the years 2005 and 2015. More information on the management of these data can be found in Appendix B. Modifications and selections of the data prior to the empirical analyses are discussed in the respective four empirical chapters, of which an outline is presented below.

1.5 Outline of the study

The remainder of this dissertation consists of four empirical chapters and a final chapter in which the main findings of the study are summarized and discussed. In the empirical chapters the main research question is broken down into four distinct research questions which build onto one another. In the first of these chapters, chapter 2, I will start with an exploration of the distribution of ethnic backgrounds in amateur football. While explorations in the past have indicated that citizens with migrants tend to be underrepresented in organized sports, very little is known of the actual ethnic compositions of member populations and how they have evolved over time. Yet this knowledge forms a crucial building block to gain a clearer picture of the way ethnic differentiation and club membership are interrelated. Consequently, in the next chapter I aim to answer the following research question: 'To what extent is Dutch amateur football an ethnic reflection

of the Dutch population and what factors best explain differences in participation between ethnic groups?'

In chapter 3, the analysis shifts from the composition of the total member population to that of the clubs which individuals are members of. It is unlikely that clubs form a perfect reflection of the total membership population, which will directly limit the opportunities for ethnic mixing. Hence, in this chapter I further explore the ethnic compositions of Dutch amateur football clubs and the degree in which ethnic groups are segregated from one another by posing the following research question: 'To what extent and in what way are ethnic groups within the Netherlands unequally distributed over amateur football clubs?'

In chapter 4, I delve deeper into the question of whether or not the membership of individuals is in fact dependent on the ethnic composition of amateur football clubs. While citizens may or may not sort themselves unequally over amateur football clubs, the ethnic composition could also affect the membership experience and members' willingness to prolong their membership at a club. If so, difference and changes in ethnic compositions of clubs may have important consequences for clubs' sustainability over time, while also shedding new light on ethnic differences in membership rates. This is explored using the following research question: 'To what extent does the ethnic heterogeneity of amateur football clubs affect member dropout?'

In chapter 5, the last empirical chapter of this dissertation, I look at the flow of members between clubs. It is questioned whether or not ethnic compositions of clubs play a role when members change clubs and by extension, whether or not clubs compete with one another based on the ethnic background of their members. For this purpose, I used the following research question: 'To what extent are transfers of members between clubs related to differences between clubs' ethnic compositions?'

This dissertation ends with a concluding chapter in which I summarize the main findings of the study, discuss its theoretical and social implications, mark several methodological strengths and weaknesses of my research and highlight avenues for further research.

References

Abascal, M., & Baldassarri, D. (2015). Love thy neighbor? Ethnoracial diversity and trust reexamined. *American Journal of Sociology*, *121*(3), 722–782. https://doi.org/10.1086/683144

Allport, G.W. (1954) *The nature of prejudice*. Addison-Wesley.

Allison, M. T. (1982). Sport, ethnicity, and assimilation. *Quest*, *34*(2), 165–175. https://doi.org/10.1080/00336297.1982.10483775

Cremers, R., & Elling, A. (2020). 'Onze vereniging staat open voor iedereen': betekenisgeving aan inclusie van etnische minderheden door Utrechtse sportaanbieders ['Our association is open for everyone': Meaning making of inclusion of ethnic minorities by sports organizations in Utrecht]. The Mulier Institute.

Dinesen, P. T., Schaeffer, M., & Sønderskov, K. M. (2020). Ethnic diversity and social trust: A narrative and meta-analytical review. *Annual Review of Political Science*, *23*(1), 441–465. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-052918-020708

Janssens, J., Elling, A., & Verweel, P. (2010). De sport: een uitgelezen ontmoetingsplaats voor iedereen [Sports: A perfect meeting place for everybody]? In F. Kemper, K. Breedveld, A. Elling, R.H.A Hoekman & E. Wisse (Eds.), *Samenspel* (pp. 101-128). Netherlands Institute for Sport and Physical Activity

Jennissen, R., Engbersen, G., Bokhorst, M., & Bovens, M. (2018) *De nieuwe verscheidenheid. Toenemende diversiteit naar herkomst in Nederland* [The new diversity. Increased ethnic heterogeneity in the Netherlands]. The Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy.

Koopmans, R., Lancee, B., & Schaeffer, M. (2015). Ethnic diversity in diverse societies: An introduction. In R. Koopmans, B. Lancee, & M. Schaeffer (Eds.), *Social cohesion and immigration in Europe and North America: Mechanisms, conditions, and causality* (pp. 1-19). Routledge.

Krouwel, A., Boonstra, N., Duyvendak, J. W., & Veldboer, L. (2006). A good sport? Research into the capacity of recreational sport to integrate Dutch minorities. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *41*(2), 165–180. https://doi.org/10.1177/1012690206075419

Mandela, N. (2000). *Speech by Nelson Mandela at the Inaugural Laureus Lifetime Achievement Award, Monaco 2000* [Speech transcript]. Nelson Mandela Foundation. http://db.nelsonmandela.org/speeches/pub_view.asp?pg=item&ItemID=NMS1148&txtstr=sport%20has%20the%20power%20to%20change

Meer, T. van der, & Tolsma, J. (2014). Ethnic diversity and its effects on social cohesion. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *40*(1), 459–478. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-071913-043309

Meulen, R. van der (2010). 'Alle Menschen werden Brüder': Vriendschappen, kennissenkringen en interetnisch vertrouwen ['Alle Menschen werden Brüder': Friendships, circles of acquaintances and interethnic trust]. In F. Kemper, K. Breedveld, A. Elling, R.H.A Hoekman & E. Wisse (Eds.), *Samenspel* (pp. 189–213). Netherlands Institute for Sport and Physical Activity

McPherson, M., Smith-Lovin, L., & Cook, J. M. (2001). Birds of a feather: Homophily in social networks. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *27*(1), 415–444. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.27.1.415

Spaaij, R. (2013). Sport, social cohesion and community building: Managing the nexus. In P. Leisink, P. Boselie, M. van Bottenburg & D.M. Hosking (Eds.), *Managing Social Issues* (pp. 107-125). Edward Elgar. https://doi.org/10.4337/9781781006962.00015

Schipper-van Veldhoven, N. & Steenbergen, J. (2015) Sport en (on)gewenst gedrag [Sports and (un)desirable behaviour]. In A. Tiessen-Raaphorst (Ed.), *Rapportage Sport 2014* (pp. 269–283). The Netherlands Institute for Social Research.

Van Slobbe, M. (2019). Onder Ons: De overheid en het onvermogen om integratie af te dwingen bij voetbalclubs [Among Ourselves: Government and the inability to enforce integration in football clubs]. [Doctoral dissertation, Utrecht University]. Parthenon.

Verweel, P., Janssens, J. and Roques, C. (2005). Kleurrijke zuilen: Over de ontwikkeling van sociaal kapitaal door allochtonen in eigen en gemengde sportverenigingen [Colourful pillars: On the development of social capital by immigrants in separate and mixed sports clubs]. *Vrijetijdsstudies*, *23*(4), 7–22.

CHAPTER 2

Ethnic participation in Dutch amateur football clubs

2.1 Amateur football: a reflection of society?

Over the past decades, many affluent democracies have rapidly diversified along ethnic lines due to immigration, a trend which is only expected to continue in the future. To ensure cohesion between citizens in light of these new differences, policy makers have increasingly put their faith in sports and especially club-organized sports activities (Elling, De Knop, & Knoppers, 2001; Krouwel, Boonstra, Duyvendak, & Veldboer, 2006; Vermeulen & Verweel, 2009).

The instrumental use of sports for addressing ethnic differences by policy makers can be understood as part of the emergence of a much wider, global discourse underpinning the proliferation of the 'Sport for development and peace' (SDP) sector since the turn of the century (Giulianotti, 2011; Kidd, 2008). Central to this discourse is the representation of sports as an inherently open and integrative social domain, wherein the entry and movement of both people and their associated capital are largely unaffected by social structure, especially ethnic background.

Various sport sociological scholars (Coakley, 2009; Collins, 2014; Giulianotti, 2016; Jarvie, 1991) have resisted this popular conceptualization of sports. They argue that sports participants are not disconnected from, but instead embedded within a social world marked by difference, barriers, inequalities, and conflict, making the sports domain much less of the neutral and level playing field policy makers believe or hope it to be.

Ethnic disparities in sports participation are a case in point. Multiple studies have shown that despite the democratization of sports, sports participation still tends to be ethnically stratified. In general, ethnic minorities tend to be less active in sports than their majority counterparts and they are less likely to participate in club-organized sports (Bottenburg, Rijnen, & Sterkenburg, 2005; Coumans,

2015; Higgins & Dale, 2013; Johnston, Delva, & O'Malley, 2007; Nielsen, Hermansen, Bugge, Dencker, & Andersen, 2013; Stamatakis & Chaudhury, 2008; Vogels, 2014; Wijtzes et al., 2014). This gap limits the potential of sports as a shared activity to bring people with various ethnic backgrounds together. Furthermore, it leads to an unequal ethnic distribution of the potential additional benefits that sports activities bring beyond leisure, such as opportunities for social capital formation (Janssens & Verweel, 2014) and positive (indirect) effects on health (Basterfield et al., 2015; Hardie Murphy, Rowe, & Woods, 2016; Pate, Trost, Levin, & Dowda, 2000).

There appears to be a lack of clarity about the reasons for the underrepresentation of ethnic minorities in sports. Authors taking a critical approach have stressed the prevalence of exclusionary factors, most notably the unequal ethnic distribution of resources and discrimination, which favour participation of the dominant ethnic group over minority groups (Collins, 2014; Elling & Claringbould, 2005). However, it remains difficult to generalize findings from studies which typically use qualitative methods and rely on specific cases or limited data. Moreover, as ethnicity also seems to be related to differing sports participation interests (Elling & Knoppers, 2005; Harrison, Lee, & Belcher, 1999), it becomes challenging to disentangle processes of exclusion from ethnic differences in preferences.

Furthermore, most quantitative studies on ethnic sports participation so far have suffered from a few drawbacks, further complicating matters. Firstly, categorizations used for ethnic groups tend to be relatively few and broad. As experiences and positions within countries can vary substantially between ethnic groups, frequently used terms such as 'immigrant background' or 'non-white' may obscure substantial differences. Secondly, the use of longitudinal data has been scarce up until now. This means that we know relatively little about how time and demographic change are related to ethnic differences in sport participation. Thirdly, definitions of sports participation are quite often rather general. As interest and participation of ethnic groups could vary substantially between different types of sports, between popular and less popular sports, individual and team sports, and organized and non-organized sports, we would benefit from more specific accounts of ethnic sports participation.

A distinctive characteristic of the sports domain in Europe is its strong reliance on a network of sports clubs and overarching federations (Bottenburg et al., 2005). With both Europe's highest estimated share of sports activities taking

place within the context of sports clubs (23%), and the highest percentage of citizens who are a member of sports clubs (27%), the Netherlands serves as a prime example of organizing sports in this way (Eurobarometer, 2014). This chapter zooms in on the most expansive organized sport in the Netherlands, namely amateur football. With well over one million members of amateur football clubs, it is hard to overemphasize the social significance of recreational football for Dutch citizens. The research question I have formulated for the purpose of this chapter is twofold:

> *To what extent is Dutch amateur football an ethnic reflection of the Dutch population and what factors best explain differences in participation between ethnic groups?*

The remainder of this chapter is structured as follows. In the section below, I will introduce two different theoretical perspectives on how to understand ethnic differences in participation in voluntary activities. These are subsequently broken down into three key explanations for the potential differences in ethnic group's representation in Dutch amateur football. Afterwards, in the methodological section, I provide insight in the data and measures I have used. In the third section I will present the results of this study and the extent to which these match the expectations formulated earlier. Finally, the chapter concludes with a summary of the main findings and a discussion of their implications.

2.2 Two perspectives on ethnic differences in sports participation

Ethnic disparities in leisure activities have enjoyed a fair share of academic interest for four decades. In a study on differences in outdoor recreation participation between Whites and African Americans, Washburne (1978) proposed an influential framework of two opposing theoretical perspectives to account for the African Americans' under-participation.

The first perspective is known as the marginality perspective. This perspective assumes that ethnic disparities in leisure participation and behaviour are primarily a result of ethnic inequality and the inferior position of ethnic

minorities. Consequently, differences between ethnic groups are a result of experienced constraints on their respectively ability to gain access to and join in on leisure activities.

The second perspective has been described as the subcultural perspective[1]. From this perspective it is assumed that ethnic groups do not experience and hold the same socialization patterns, cultural values and norms, and, consequentially, develop diverging cultural tastes and behaviours which translate to different participation rates.

Ethnic marginality

Ethnic Differences in Resources

Historically, the central focus of the ethnic marginality perspective has been on differences between socioeconomic resources. Like most activities, participation in sports, especially when organized within clubs, requires a certain amount of resources at one's disposal. The relative disadvantaged positions of ethnic minority members might therefore act as a barrier to gain access to the sports domain (Collins, 2014; Wiertz, 2016).

Earlier research suggests that this indeed might be the case. Multiple studies show that part of the difference in participation between ethnic minority and majority groups coincides with differences in socioeconomic status (Higgins & Dale, 2013; Johnston et al., 2007; Wijtzes et al., 2014). While this does not necessarily imply a casual mechanism, it seems plausible that participation in sports, especially organized competitive sports like amateur football, requires a financial investment in terms of sports clothing, membership fees and transportation, which ethnic minorities on average might be less likely to meet.

In addition to economic resources, a lack of appropriate cultural resources might also act as a barrier for participation. An insufficient mastery of the language might be the most apparent example, but Elling and Claringbould (2005) and Vogels (2014) have suggested that there might be more subtle mechanisms at play, particularly relevant for club organised sports. For instance, ethnic minority members may be less familiar and comfortable with the sports club culture(s) in the Netherlands than ethnically Dutch individuals are. A lack of this tacit knowledge might discourage or prevent a part of ethnic minority

[1] The original name is ethnicity perspective. Later, subcultural perspective or hypothesis are also used (Floyd, Shinew, McGuire, & Noe, 1994), which are more fitting and clearer descriptions.

members to effectively access a sports organization and become or stay on as a member, regardless of their financial resources.

If ethnic differences in economic and cultural resources would have a substantial impact on amateur football club participation, we would expect the participation of various ethnic groups to be stratified accordingly. This would mean that ethnic groups which tend to have less economic and/or cultural resources will show relatively low participation rates in amateur football. Furthermore, assimilation theory would lead us to expect that participation of ethnic minority groups, especially in the case of relatively disadvantaged groups, will rise over time and between subsequent generations as a result of their socio-economic and cultural integration in the host society (Alba & Nee, 1997; Vogels, 2014). This leads to the first two expectations for this chapter:

> E1: Ethnic minority groups with relatively few economic or cultural resources will be underrepresented in amateur football compared to ethnic groups with more economic or cultural resources.

> E2: Ethnic minority participation in amateur football will increase over time due to the accumulation of economic and cultural resources.

Ethnic prejudice and discrimination

Even when ethnic minority groups might possess the resources necessary to participate in leisure activities they might be constrained in their ability to do so because of ethnic prejudice and discriminatory practices.[2] Prejudice is something many individuals belonging to ethnic minorities face and which, through experiences with discrimination or anticipation thereof, acts as a barrier or deterrent to participation in various social spheres, including the domain of sports (Stodolska & Floyd, 2016). While sports settings on average rank relatively low in terms of places where Dutch citizens report unwanted behaviour, including discrimination, amateur football clubs are overrepresented (Schipper-van Veldhoven & Steenbergen, 2014). Furthermore, there have been multiple known examples of clubs showing inclinations to formally exclude (certain) ethnic minorities from membership. While these inclinations were not formalized, they

[2] Discrimination is less often directly associated with the marginality perspective. However, as a form of ethnic disadvantage and constraint on participation it fits with its underlying assumptions.

do hint towards the existence of ethnic prejudice in amateur football, which could be accompanied by informal forms of discrimination.

Not all ethnic minority groups, however, face prejudice to the same extent. Therefore, the likelihood of being subjected to discrimination likely varies per group. Studies on ethic social distance in the Netherlands revealed a clear hierarchy in the desirability of ethnic groups. Ethnically Dutch are seen as the most desirable group, followed by Northern European, Southern European, ethnic minorities from former Dutch colonies such as Suriname, and predominantly Muslim groups, most notably Turkish and Moroccan citizens at the bottom as least desirable group (Verkuyten, Hagendoorn, & Masson, 1996). Additionally, Hagendoorn and Sniderman (2001) concluded that for this latter group, native Dutch tend to view people with Moroccan backgrounds more negatively than persons with a Turkish background. Later studies indicate that this hierarchy seems to persist over time (Huijnk & Andriessen, 2016). However, in the last two decades, a large group of Middle and Eastern Europeans have migrated to the Netherlands. While it is difficult to exactly pinpoint where they would fall within the ethnic hierarchy in the Netherlands outlined here, it seems that migrants from Poland, Romania and Bulgaria, who form the biggest share of this group, also face substantial prejudice from the ethnically Dutch population (Dagevos & Gijsberts, 2013).

Data on self-reported experiences of discrimination by ethnic minorities in the Netherlands largely suggests the same ethnic hierarchy (Andriessen, Fernee, & Wittebrood, 2014). Belonging to a predominately Muslim ethnic minority, such as Turkish and Moroccan citizens, bears the greatest risk of discrimination, while having darker skin[3], as in citizens of former Dutch colonies, seems less associated with being a target of discrimination. Middle and Eastern European

[3] An anonymous reviewer pointed towards the possibility of darker skin not being a vulnerability for exclusion but also as a potential marker for active and concentrated recruitment efforts. Studies in the past have indeed pointed to the relation between blackness, and emphasis on physicality and natural ability in sports contexts, potentially leading to selective demand and overrepresentation (see for example Rodriguez and George, 2018). In the Dutch context, Van Sterkenburg, Knoppers & De Leeuw (2012) find an emphasis on the physicality - positive or negative - of football players with Surinamese backgrounds in Dutch sports commentary, but not for players with Antillean backgrounds, who fall in the same ex-colonial 'Black' category. Moreover, in the Dutch organized sports system, very little if any actual 'recruiting' is done on the amateur level and joining mainly happens on a strictly voluntary basis through network ties. If selective recruitment based on natural ability exists within the Dutch context, it is more likely to happen during scouting of amateur players by professional clubs and within the development of professional football careers.

individuals are ranked lower than Surinamese and Antilleans with regards to experiencing discrimination.

Consequently, in a club sport dominated by ethnically Dutch members, we might find club cultures which primarily revolve around the ethnic Dutch group and are potentially less accommodating or sometimes even hostile towards minorities (see for example Van Slobbe, Vermeulen & Koster, 2013) positioned lower in the hierarchy. If this is the case, I would expect that:

> E3: Participation of predominantly Muslim ethnic minorities in amateur football will be relatively low.

> E4: Participation of citizens with a postcolonial background, dark skin or Middle and Eastern European background in voluntary sports football clubs will be lower than ethnically Dutch, but higher than predominantly Muslim ethnic groups.

Ethnic subcultures: ethnic differences in preferences and tastes

While the previous two explanations from a marginality perspective focused on exclusionary processes which could affect ethnic participation in sport, it would be naive to assume that ethnic groups all show an equal interest in participating in sports in general, or certain sports in particular. Key to the subcultural perspective is that ethnic groups may differ in their socialization and the cultural value, tastes and behaviours they acquire and demonstrate. Consequently, ethnic differences in sports participation may occur as a result of diverging preferences.

Firstly, the family unit is likely to be an important instigator of this process. Not only are families considered to be a crucial agent in the sport socialization of young individuals with long lasting effects (Kay, 2004; Birchwood, Roberts & Pollock, 2008; Wheeler, 2012), but it is also seen as a key driver behind ethnic segregation of social networks due to its highly ethnic homogeneous composition (McPherson, Smith-Lovin & Cook, 2001). Because football is not as popular and developed as a recreational sport in every part of the world, ethnic groups will likely vary substantially in the amount to which they can draw on family members' experiences and are socialized by them. As such, it seems reasonable to expect that ethnic groups with backgrounds from countries in which amateur football is relatively underdeveloped are less likely to be interested to participate in an amateur football club, resulting in lower participation rates.

Secondly, Harrison (2001) suggests that athletic success of ethnic groups in specific sports can foster so-called 'positive self-stereotypes'. This entails that individuals link their ethnic background to their capability to excel in certain sports. He notes that this process can be especially powerful in the case of ethnic minority groups, as these self-stereotypes can function as a form of pride in a context where minority groups tend be compared unfavourably to the majority group. If we reason in the opposite direction, however, this will also mean that a lack of athletic success and ethnic role models could highly diminish a sports appeal and direct interests to other sports or outside of the sports domain altogether. These notions lead to the following and final expectation:

> E5: Participation of ethnic minorities from countries where football on the amateur and/or elite level is relatively underdeveloped will be lower than that of other ethnic groups.

2.3 Methodology

Data

For the purpose of this study, the Royal Dutch Football Association (KNVB) provided data of all club memberships from playing seasons 2005/2006 to 2014/2015. In addition to individual club memberships, these data contained individual members' gender, date of birth and address. These individual characteristics were used to match these data with microdata from Statistics Netherlands (CBS), which contains the country of origin of Dutch citizens and their parents[4]. Around 94 percent of the roughly 2.2 million individual members from the original data were successfully matched with micro data from CBS.

Figures on the countries of origin of the total Dutch population have been retrieved from StatLine (Statistics Netherlands). This is an openly accessible online platform maintained by CBS, through which Dutch country-level statistics based on the same data are published.

[4] All presented results are based on calculations by the author using non-public microdata from Statistics Netherlands. Under certain conditions, these microdata are accessible for statistical and scientific research. For further information: microdata@cbs.nl.

Measures

Ethnicity

The Netherlands is characterized by what Van Sterkenburg, Knoppers and De Leeuw (2012) have described as a layered system of ethnic classification. The basis of this system is similar to other continental European countries, such as Germany or Belgium, wherein ethnic categorizations are not based on the concept of race, as is the case in the United States, but on a primary distinction between an 'indigenous' majority population (autochtonen) and a 'foreign' minority population (allochtonen) whose roots are believed to lie somewhere else. In this system the notion of background is very important. The vast majority of people who are classified as 'allochtonen' have Dutch citizenship. However, they are considered foreign because either they themselves or a past generation is originally from a different place. In the past the 'allochtonen' category has often been split into a West and non-Western category, which can then be broken down further into specific national backgrounds. In public discourse and day to day life however, the term usually refers to the non-Western variant, and more specifically four of the most sizable minority groups in the Netherlands: citizens with Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese and Antillean backgrounds. The first two groups have moved to the Netherlands as part of labour immigration waves in the 1960s and 1970s. The latter two groups have moved to the Netherlands as part of decolonization. People with Indonesian backgrounds are another ex-colonial group, but they are seldom associated with the former four groups. Much more recently a new wave of labour immigrants have entered the Netherlands from Middle and Eastern Europe, most notably Poland. Many of them do not have Dutch citizenship because this not a requirement to live and work in the Netherlands. The majority of them is however registered in the municipality where they live and are thus included in the data.

Following this layered system of classification, I distinguish between five single nationality minority backgrounds: Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, Antillean and Indonesian. Normally, the first four of these categories are used in Dutch studies which include ethnic background. People with an Indonesian background were added as a separate category because they form one of the Netherlands' biggest ethnic minority groups, with a specific colonial history that is clearly identifiable within the Dutch context. Furthermore, I choose to forgo the Western and non-Western minority categories and replace them with a set of six more specified ethnic categories referring to socio-cultural regions of origin,

similar to, and inspired by Dronkers and Van der Velden (2013): 1) Northern/Western/Southern European and Anglo-Saxon, 2) Middle and Eastern European, 3) North African and Muslim Asian, 4) Sub-Saharan African, 5) Non-Muslim Asian and Oceanian (excluding Australia and New Zealand) and 6) Middle and South American. A detailed list of all countries making up these six categories can be found in Appendix A.

To determine an individual's ethnic background, I follow the operationalization procedure which is customary for Statistics Netherlands and Dutch academic researchers. This means that if somebody has two parents who are both born in the Netherlands, this person is considered ethnically Dutch[5]. If someone has at least one parent who is born outside of the Netherlands, this person is believed to have an ethnic minority background. If the individual is born outside of the Netherlands, the ethnic background is determined by the official country of birth (e.g. a person who is born in Turkey and has one or more parent who is born outside of the Netherlands will be considered to have a Turkish background). If an individual is born in the Netherlands, the country of birth of the parents is used to determine his or her ethnic background. In these cases, the country of birth of the mother is used over that of the father, unless the Netherlands is also her country of birth (e.g. a person who is born in the Netherlands with a mother born in Turkey and a father born in Morocco will be considered to have a Turkish background).

Club Membership

An individual is considered a member of an amateur football club when he or she is registered as a member at a club during the playing season. A playing season was measured as beginning on 15 August of a certain year and ending on 15 May of the following year. People who were registered as a member at a club after 15 May but terminated their membership prior to 15 August were left out.

[5] Consequently, only first and second-generation minorities are included. Third generation minorities are categorized as ethnically Dutch in population statistics. While it could be argued that classifying this group as Dutch is problematic, explorations on the third-generation population indicates that this group is still very small and young for most backgrounds. Additionally, focusing on the first and second generations ensures the existence of a migration experience within the family while also preventing that individuals remain 'strangers' (Thiel & Seiberth, 2017) forever.

2.4 Results

A diversifying football sector lagging behind the general population

The first notable thing in table 2.1 is the fact that the amateur football sector in the Netherlands, perhaps quite unsurprisingly, mainly consists of ethnically Dutch members – i.e. members with two parents born in the Netherlands. However, while 84.87% of the members are ethnically Dutch in 2005, we can witness a clear and gradual decrease of this share to 83.15% of the members in 2014. While the proportion of Dutch members in amateur football has shrunk over time, their number in table 2.2 shows an increase over time. Therefore, the data from table 2.1 and table 2.2 on Dutch members primarily show that ethnic minorities have increasingly found their way into amateur football clubs in the past years and that this growth has not been matched by an equal growth of Dutch members, resulting in a gradual reduction of the share of ethnically Dutch members and an increase of the ethnic minority group as a whole. Table 2.3 and 2.4 show that in comparison to the general population, Dutch members are overrepresented in amateur football. While 84.87% of the members in 2005 are ethnically Dutch, only 80.73% of the general population can be classified as such in the same year. This is in line with observations showing that ethnic minorities in the Netherlands on average are less likely to be engaged in associational activities than the Dutch population (Huijnk & Andriessen, 2016). However, the difference is not very pronounced, which could suggest that amateur football clubs in general have a relatively low threshold for participation by ethnic minorities in comparison to other types of civil society organizations.

Furthermore, we can see that the share of Dutch people within the general population also dropped over time. The same explanation holds true here, namely that this is not due to the number of ethnically Dutch people – the number grows every single year except for 2013 - but because the growth of ethnic minorities surpasses that of their Dutch counterparts. By comparing table 2.1 and table 2.3 we can also see that the relative share of Dutch people within the population drops slightly faster than the share of Dutch members in amateur football. This implies that while ethnic minorities have increasingly found their way into amateur football, this development lags behind the change in the total population.

So far, this pattern is largely in line with what previous studies have indicated about ethnic participation in sports, although it must be noted that the gap between ethnic minority and majority members is not very large. However,

when we zoom in on the membership figures of specific ethnic groups in amateur football, the picture becomes more heterogeneous. In the next section, I discuss these figures in light of the three explanations for ethnic disparities in sport participation outlined earlier in this chapter.

Not a matter of resources

The first explanation for ethnic disparities in sports participation discussed in this chapter focused on ethnic inequalities in resources. A lack of economic and cultural resources might act as barrier for entry and thus serve as an explanation for ethnic differences in participation in amateur football clubs. When we look at the participation figures of ethnic minorities in amateur football, we do not find much evidence which supports this explanation.

On average, citizens with a Turkish and Moroccan background are among the most disadvantaged in the Netherlands. They tend to have the lowest average incomes and score relatively low on indicators of cultural resources such as language proficiency and educational attainment (Huijnk & Andriessen, 2016). However, when we look at their membership rates of amateur football clubs, they are among the highest of all ethnic backgrounds. In 2005 Turkish members were in fact the best represented group in amateur football with 8,35% of the Turkish Dutch population being identified as a member of football club, even surpassing ethnically Dutch citizens. While the representation of Moroccan citizens was somewhat lower in 2005 their numbers rose quickly over time. In 2008 they surpassed the membership rate of ethnically Dutch citizens and by 2011 they have taken over the position of best represented group in amateur football.

A group in the Netherlands that does relatively well in terms of economic and cultural resources are citizens with a Northern, Western, Southern European or Anglo-Saxon background. This group has the highest average income and educational level of all ethnic minority groups. While this category is relatively big in amateur football in absolute terms (Tables 1 and 2), their representation in comparison to their share in the Dutch is in fact well below average (4.52-4.85%, table 2.5). In terms of economic position and educational level, other minority groups tend to fall between the two aforementioned extremes. We would expect the representation of the remaining groups to be higher than that of Turkish and Moroccan citizens but lower than that of Northern, Western, Southern European, or Anglo-Saxon background, but they are not. Overall, these figures are not in line with the idea that differences in economic and cultural resources serve as a

Table 2.1 Members of Dutch amateur football clubs in percentages per ethnic background for the years 2005-2014

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Dutch	84.87%	84.67%	84.67%	84.44%	84.27%	84.00%	83.85%	83.65%	83.40%	83.15%
Turkish	2.69%	2.60%	2.53%	2.60%	2.65%	2.65%	2.56%	2.51%	2.54%	2.45%
Moroccan	1.99%	2.12%	2.13%	2.22%	2.32%	2.42%	2.53%	2.63%	2.72%	2.77%
Indonesian	1.42%	1.36%	1.31%	1.25%	1.20%	1.14%	1.10%	1.07%	1.03%	0.99%
Surinamese	1.75%	1.77%	1.75%	1.73%	1.71%	1.71%	1.69%	1.68%	1.65%	1.65%
Antillean	0.64%	0.67%	0.68%	0.68%	0.69%	0.72%	0.74%	0.75%	0.76%	0.78%
Northern/Western/Southern European & Anglo-Saxon	3.32%	3.35%	3.37%	3.37%	3.37%	3.36%	3.36%	3.37%	3.37%	3.41%
Middle & Eastern European	0.83%	0.86%	0.88%	0.92%	0.94%	0.98%	1.01%	1.07%	1.12%	1.19%
North African & Muslim Asian	1.00%	1.02%	1.03%	1.07%	1.10%	1.18%	1.23%	1.27%	1.33%	1.43%
Sub-Saharan African	0.78%	0.81%	0.84%	0.88%	0.91%	0.96%	0.99%	1.02%	1.06%	1.10%
Non-Muslim Asian & Oceanian	0.36%	0.40%	0.42%	0.43%	0.43%	0.46%	0.49%	0.51%	0.53%	0.57%
Middle and South American	0.35%	0.38%	0.39%	0.40%	0.41%	0.43%	0.46%	0.47%	0.49%	0.52%
Subtotal	1,128,241	1,166,525	1,191,365	1,218,031	1,223,192	1,233,977	1,234,238	1,235,775	1,226,901	1,235,183
Ethnicity unknown	4.87%	4.64%	4.51%	4.42%	4.23%	4.11%	3.98%	3.92%	4.03%	4.07%
Total	1,186,037	1,223,278	1,247,673	1,274,376	1,277,217	1,286,898	1,285,362	1,286,182	1,278,431	1,287,577

Note: Years refer to the start of a playing season beginning on 15 August and ending on 15 May of the following year.

Table 2.2 Members of Dutch amateur football clubs in numbers per ethnic background for the years 2005-2014

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Dutch	957,567	987,682	1,008,751	1,028,538	1,030,815	1,036,533	1,034,871	1,033,723	1,023,204	1,027,014
Turkish	30,406	30,341	30,195	31,714	32,399	32,679	31,598	31,024	31,179	30,277
Moroccan	22,480	24,723	25,351	27,020	28,358	29,874	31,174	32,522	33,365	34,183
Indonesian	15,981	15,848	15,603	15,168	14,628	14,075	13,530	13,220	12,685	12,191
Surinamese	19,711	20,647	20,873	21,123	20,973	21,068	20,897	20,771	20,304	20,386
Antillean	7,241	7,838	8,087	8,332	8,434	8,896	9,133	9,227	9,299	9,655
Northern/Western/Southern European & Anglo-Saxon	37,502	39,128	40,092	41,081	41,169	41,457	41,505	41,600	41,364	42,090
Middle & Eastern European	9,309	9,998	10,465	11,206	11,456	12,057	12,500	13,208	13,778	14,696
North African & Muslim Asian	11,251	11,844	12,303	13,042	13,475	14,504	15,138	15,753	16,274	17,693
Sub-Saharan African	8,770	9,458	10,035	10,688	11,157	11,826	12,167	12,589	12,982	13,591
Non-Muslim Asian & Oceanian	4,079	4,615	4,952	5,202	5,286	5,659	6,057	6,290	6,465	7,040
Middle and South American	3,944	4,403	4,658	4,917	5,042	5,349	5,667	5,848	6,002	6,367
Subtotal	1,128,241	1,166,525	1,191,365	1,218,031	1,223,192	1,233,977	1,234,237	1,235,775	1,226,901	1,235,183
Ethnicity unknown	57,796	56,753	56,308	56,345	54,025	52,921	51,125	50,407	51,530	52,394
Total	1,186,037	1,223,278	1,247,673	1,274,376	1,277,217	1,286,898	1,285,362	1,286,182	1,278,431	1,287,577

Note: Years refer to the start of a playing season beginning on 15 August and ending on 15 May of the following year.

Table 2.3 The Dutch population in percentages per ethnic background for the years 2005-2014

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Dutch	80.73%	80.62%	80.40%	80.06%	79.73%	79.42%	79.11%	78.88%	78.64%	78.31%
Turkish	2.23%	2.25%	2.27%	2.29%	2.32%	2.34%	2.35%	2.36%	2.36%	2.35%
Moroccan	1.98%	2.01%	2.04%	2.07%	2.11%	2.14%	2.17%	2.20%	2.23%	2.25%
Indonesian	2.41%	2.38%	2.36%	2.33%	2.31%	2.28%	2.26%	2.23%	2.21%	2.19%
Surinamese	2.03%	2.04%	2.05%	2.05%	2.07%	2.07%	2.07%	2.07%	2.07%	2.06%
Antillean	0.79%	0.79%	0.80%	0.82%	0.84%	0.85%	0.86%	0.87%	0.87%	0.88%
Northern/Western/Southern European & Anglo-Saxon	5.08%	5.06%	5.06%	5.10%	5.11%	5.13%	5.15%	5.16%	5.17%	5.19%
Middle & Eastern European	1.26%	1.31%	1.42%	1.54%	1.64%	1.76%	1.90%	2.01%	2.11%	2.25%
North African & Muslim Asian	1.32%	1.32%	1.34%	1.39%	1.46%	1.51%	1.55%	1.58%	1.63%	1.71%
Sub-Saharan African	0.80%	0.80%	0.80%	0.83%	0.85%	0.87%	0.88%	0.89%	0.91%	0.94%
Non-Muslim Asian & Oceanian	0.94%	0.96%	0.99%	1.04%	1.07%	1.11%	1.15%	1.19%	1.23%	1.27%
Middle and South American	0.43%	0.45%	0.46%	0.48%	0.50%	0.52%	0.54%	0.56%	0.58%	0.60%
Subtotal	16,334,145	16,357,929	16,405,335	16,485,718	16,574,918	16,655,729	16,730,276	16,779,503	16,829,214	16,900,651
Rest	65	63	64	69	71	70	72	72	75	75
Total Dutch population	16,334,210	16,357,992	16,405,399	16,485,787	16,574,989	16,655,799	16,730,348	16,779,575	16,829,289	16,900,726

Note: The reference date for all figures in this table is the 31st of December of each year.

Table 2.4 The Dutch population in numbers per ethnic background for the years 2005-2014

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Dutch	13,186,595	13,187,586	13,189,983	13,198,081	13,215,386	13,228,780	13,236,155	13,236,494	13,234,545	13,235,405
Turkish	364,333	368,600	372,714	378,330	383,957	388,967	392,923	395,302	396,414	396,555
Moroccan	323,239	329,493	335,127	341,528	349,005	355,883	362,954	368,838	374,996	380,755
Indonesian	393,057	389,940	387,124	384,497	382,411	380,047	377,618	374,847	372,233	369,661
Surinamese	331,890	333,504	335,799	338,678	342,279	344,734	346,797	347,631	348,291	348,662
Antillean	129,683	129,965	131,841	134,774	138,420	141,345	143,992	145,499	146,855	148,926
Northern/Western/Southern European & Anglo-Saxon	828,971	827,514	830,406	840,260	847,540	855,091	861,443	866,268	870,858	877,179
Middle & Eastern European	205,614	214,636	232,342	253,790	271,941	293,309	318,101	336,482	354,899	380,873
North African & Muslim Asian	215,771	216,007	220,313	229,276	241,602	251,087	258,986	264,415	273,578	288,959
Sub-Saharan African	130,624	130,375	131,968	136,310	141,300	144,499	147,727	149,880	152,610	158,042
Non-Muslim Asian & Oceanian	153,511	157,237	162,208	170,932	177,876	184,785	192,835	199,848	206,484	214,345
Middle and South American	70,857	73,072	75,510	79,262	83,201	87,202	90,745	93,999	97,451	101,289
Subtotal	16,334,145	16,357,929	16,405,335	16,485,718	16,574,918	16,655,729	16,730,276	16,779,503	16,829,214	16,900,651
Rest	65	63	64	69	71	70	72	72	75	75
Total Dutch population	16,334,210	16,357,992	16,405,399	16,485,787	16,574,989	16,655,799	16,730,348	16,779,575	16,829,289	16,900,726

Note: The reference date for all figures in this table is the 31st of December of each year.

primary explanation for differences in sport participation between ethnic groups as was formulated as the first expectation in this chapter.

In general, educational and income levels have risen for ethnic minority groups over the years, and between first and second generations. Additionally, important forms of cultural capital such as educational level and language proficiency have improved substantially for vulnerable groups, like Turkish and Moroccan citizens. While differences in economic and cultural resources do not seem to align with differences in amateur football participation between groups, we might still witness an increase in the representation of minority groups over time due to the fact that an additional share of these groups will be enabled to join amateur football clubs. Table 2.5 only provides very limited evidence for this idea. While we do see greater increases in participation rates for many minority groups compared to ethnically Dutch citizens or citizens with a Northern, Western, Southern European, or Anglo-Saxon background, these differences are quite small. Moreover, while the representation of Moroccan citizens in amateur football rises substantially over time, the representation of Turkish citizens actually declines within the same timeframe, despite the improvement in the average position of both groups.

Different trends in the age distribution within these groups are better able to account for much of the change over time. Between 2005 and 2015, the number of Moroccan Dutch citizens aged between 0 and 25 has risen by roughly 10,000, while the number of Turkish Dutch citizens within the same age group has declined by almost 16,000 (Statistics Netherlands, n.d.). Because participation in amateur football is highly skewed towards young individuals, these demographic developments are likely to have a substantial impact on representation. Ageing also aligns with the slightly dwindling participation of Surinamese citizens, and the low and declining number of members with an Indonesian background. For this latter group this has to do with the fact that many young people with an Indonesian background belong to the third generation and are therefore classified as ethnically Dutch in government statistics.

The main exception to the story outlined above, are citizens with a Middle or Eastern European background. As can be seen in Tables 3 and 4, the number and share of this group within the total Dutch population has increased significantly between 2005 and 2014. While the number of members with a Middle or Eastern European background of amateur football clubs also has risen within these years, this growth is strongly outpaced by the growth in the total

Table 2.5 Shares of the total population with a known membership to an amateur football club per ethnic group for the years 2005-2014

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Dutch	7.26%	7.49%	7.65%	7.79%	7.80%	7.84%	7.82%	7.81%	7.73%	7.76%
Turkish	8.35%	8.23%	8.10%	8.38%	8.44%	8.40%	8.04%	7.85%	7.87%	7.64%
Moroccan	6.95%	7.50%	7.56%	7.91%	8.13%	8.39%	8.59%	8.82%	8.90%	8.98%
Indonesian	4.07%	4.06%	4.03%	3.94%	3.83%	3.70%	3.58%	3.53%	3.41%	3.30%
Surinamese	5.94%	6.19%	6.22%	6.24%	6.13%	6.11%	6.03%	5.98%	5.83%	5.85%
Antillean	5.58%	6.03%	6.13%	6.18%	6.09%	6.29%	6.34%	6.34%	6.33%	6.48%
Northern/Western/Southern European & Anglo-Saxon	4.52%	4.73%	4.83%	4.89%	4.86%	4.85%	4.82%	4.80%	4.75%	4.80%
Middle & Eastern European	4.53%	4.66%	4.50%	4.42%	4.21%	4.11%	3.93%	3.93%	3.88%	3.86%
North African & Muslim Asian	5.21%	5.48%	5.58%	5.69%	5.58%	5.78%	5.85%	5.96%	5.95%	6.12%
Sub-Saharan African	6.71%	7.25%	7.60%	7.84%	7.90%	8.18%	8.24%	8.40%	8.51%	8.60%
Non-Muslim Asian & Oceanian	2.66%	2.94%	3.05%	3.04%	2.97%	3.06%	3.14%	3.15%	3.13%	3.28%
Middle and South American	5.57%	6.03%	6.17%	6.20%	6.06%	6.13%	6.24%	6.22%	6.16%	6.29%
Average of above categories	5.61%	5.88%	5.95%	6.04%	6.00%	6.07%	6.05%	6.06%	6.04%	6.08%
Total population	6.91%	7.13%	7.26%	7.39%	7.38%	7.41%	7.38%	7.36%	7.29%	7.31%

population. Therefore, their relative participation in amateur football has declined over time, as is depicted in table 2.5. This could be explained by the recent migration of many Middle and Eastern European individuals to the Netherlands, in comparison to other minority groups. Aside from the potential lack of important cultural and/or economic resources, recent migrants have a relative precarious position which complicates long term commitments such as a club membership. This is illustrated by Gijsberts and Lubbers' (2015) study, which shows that Polish and Bulgarian migrants are likely to move within the Netherlands or return to their home country.

To summarize, the two first expectations of this chapter were not confirmed. Except for recent migration, the results do not support the idea that differences in resources are the primary cause of ethnic disparities in club membership rates of amateur football clubs.

Not a matter of discrimination either

The second explanation for ethnic differences in sports participation is discrimination. Ethnic prejudice might cause ethnic minorities to be discriminated against within amateur football clubs. This could in turn discourage them to become or stay on as a member, resulting in a gap in participation. As may have been clear already from the previous section, the ethnic participation figures on Dutch amateur football do not provide evidence for this idea. The third expectation of this chapter, namely that predominantly Muslim ethnic minorities, most notably citizens with a Turkish or Moroccan background, are most at risk for being discriminated against, and therefore will have relatively low participation rates, is not supported. Participation rates of Turkish and Moroccan citizens rivals or even goes beyond that of ethnically Dutch citizens, and participation of North African citizens and of Muslim countries is roughly around the average.

The fourth expectation of this chapter and the second expectation regarding discrimination, states that minority groups with postcolonial backgrounds, minority groups with a darker skin complexion and people with a Middle or Eastern European background may also be at risk of discrimination resulting in comparatively low participation rates, although higher than the previous group. The results do not reflect this expectation. The participation rate of people with a Sub-Saharan African background ends up as one of the highest of all ethnic groups in 2014, slightly below Moroccans. Participation figures for people with

Surinamese, Antillean, Indonesian and Middle and Eastern European backgrounds end up being below the participation of Turkish and Moroccan citizens, with the participation of the previous two being around the average levels of participation, while the participation of the latter two is substantially lower but can be better explained by other reasons. All in all, ethnic prejudice and discrimination do not seem to substantially structure participation of ethnic minority groups. To be clear, by this I do not wish to claim that members do not experience and/or suffer from prejudice or discrimination in sports. On the basis of the results presented in this study, it is solely argued that ethnic prejudice and discrimination cannot account for ethnic disparities in membership of amateur football clubs.

But a matter of preference

The last explanation for differences in ethnic participation in sports in general and amateur football specifically is that ethnic groups tend to vary in their sport preferences and ambitions. While interest in football spans the entire globe, it is not equally developed as a recreational and elite sport in every part of the world. Through socialization by family members and stereotypical images, ethnic minority groups could differ in the extent to which they are encouraged to participate in amateur football. This was formulated as the fifth expectation of this chapter.

We find substantial support for this expectation in the participation figures of people with a non-Muslim Asian and Oceanian background. Over 40% of Dutch citizens who fall within this category originate from China. The Chinese population in the Netherlands does relatively well in economic and educational terms and experiences less stigmatization than various other ethnic minority groups (Gijsberts, Huijnk, & Vogels, 2014). Despite this, representation of non-Muslim Asian and Oceanian citizens is among the lowest of all groups.

Liang (2016) notes that organized amateur football has been relatively underdeveloped in China and a community-based football culture has been lacking. Additionally, as a recreational sport, football in China faces strong competition from very popular sports such as table tennis, badminton and basketball. It is therefore likely that Dutch Chinese citizens experience relatively little socialization into amateur football within the family. On top of that, stereotypical images of Asians and sports cater much more towards sports such as table tennis and badminton, in which they dominate on the elite level, than

towards football. Together, this could result in a relatively low interest of citizens with a non-Muslim Asian and Oceanian background to participate in amateur football clubs and explain why they are so poorly represented as a group.

2.5 Conclusions and discussion

This article set out to explore to what extent different ethnic groups participate in the Netherland's most popular club organized sport and how these differences could be explained. Its primary research question was:

> *To what extent is Dutch amateur football an ethnic reflection of the Dutch population and what factors best explain differences in participation between ethnic groups?*

In general, we see that ethnic minorities have increasingly found their way to amateur football clubs and that amateur football as a whole is diversifying. This is in line with the democratization of sports which has been mentioned in the past (Elling & Claringbould, 2005). Despite this development, we also see that there still exists a gap between the participation of ethnically Dutch citizens and citizens with a minority background.

When we look more closely at differences in participation between specific ethnic groups, we are presented with a more heterogeneous picture. In this chapter, I have provided three explanations which could account for ethnic differences in sports participation. The first two explanations are derived from the marginality perspective and focused on barriers to participate. Either a lack of resources or experiences with prejudice and discrimination could prevent citizens from finding their way into amateur football clubs and/or remain there over time. The figures on participation presented in the study have provided very little evidence for the idea that these are valid explanations for ethnic disparities in membership rates of Dutch amateur football clubs. Groups with the most precarious positions in terms of resources and vulnerability to be discriminated against, show some of the highest membership rates. The third explanation was instead derived from the subcultural perspective and focused on differing degrees of interest in amateur football and/or attitudes that facilitate participation. The results of this chapter suggest that this perspective has more merit explaining

ethnic disparities in sports. Not only can it better account for non-participation but it might also serve as an explanation for high participation of relatively marginalized groups. However, the validity of subcultural explanations might depend on certain structural conditions which mitigate constraints and therefore allow preference to play a more substantial role.

Two structural aspects might be of particular interest within the Dutch context. The first is the high number of policies on the national and local level which seek to lower the financial threshold to participate in organized sport for lower income groups. Additionally, many local Dutch governments have special subsidies to stimulate the participation of ethnic minority groups in sport and or tie funding to club's ability to incorporate ethnic minorities. As this coincides with a vast network of amateur football clubs and the strong concentration of ethnic minority members in the metropolitan area, the threshold for membership is likely to be relatively low.

Secondly, the high number of amateur football clubs and the substantial geographical concentration of ethnic minority members mean that many of them will have the option to choose to participate in clubs with a relative high degree of ethnic peers and/or ethnic minority members. Not only could this potentially lower the threshold for cultural resources in order to participate in amateur football clubs, but it could also make prejudice and discrimination less of an issue in practice. This would be line with Wiertz's (2016) study which indicates that Dutch civil society is relatively segregated and Bradbury's (2011) suggestion that minority clubs can play an important role for ethnic minorities to deal with racism in and outside football.

Future research should investigate the sorting tendencies of minority groups over various clubs and teams, especially of those most marginalized, and the interrelations between sports settings and feelings of belonging (see for example Walseth, 2006). While ethnic segregation might be helpful for creating safe, meaningful, and accessible sporting environments for ethnic (minority) groups, it may simultaneously limit the potential for inter-ethnic bridging that sports are often lauded for. A substantial share of the contact between ethnic groups could in fact take place within the sports arena, which in turn could also lead to, or enhance ethnic tensions instead of alleviating them (Krouwel et al., 2006; Walseth, 2008).

Furthermore, this study also indicates that we should be wary of broad group definitions which obscure a world of difference, and refrain from jumping to

quick conclusions that disparities in sports participations are a product of barriers. In line with the subcultural perspective, McPherson (2004) notes that attitudes and interests are primarily transmitted through socially – not in the least ethnically - homogeneous networks. Consequently, cultural tastes and behaviours tend to be located in so-called socio-demographic niches made up of socially similar individuals, creating important differences between the social worlds of dissimilar individuals (Mark, 2003). This is probably no different for sporting attitudes and behaviours. In this light, studies on self-reported reasons for a lack of sports participation which have sometimes pointed to a lack of time or money need to be taken with some caution, as these findings could very well be an artefact of differing socialization and interests. The degree to which constraints are experienced by individuals and form barriers which they cannot overcome will depend on the extent to which an activity is socially valuable to them.

Additionally, two important limitations of this study must also be considered. First, while this is one of the first studies to use such comprehensive data on ethnicity and club membership within a single sport, the duration of membership has not been considered. Ethnic groups could differ in their turnover rate due to various reasons, including the three explanations given in this chapter. Secondly, Elling and Knoppers' (2005) study suggests that 'non-Western' ethnic minority members might in fact be more interested in participating in football than ethnic majority members. While we do see substantial participation rates for multiple minority groups, it remains unclear to what extent there remains a gap between interest and participation, and consequently, to what extent resources and discrimination could still play a role.

Finally, I would like to end this chapter with a reflective note. A main objective of this chapter was to go beyond the broad classifications for people with immigrant backgrounds and reveal part of the heterogeneity which lies behind them. By doing so, I encountered substantial differences which not only question the impact of exclusion in relation to sporting preferences on ethnic sports participation, but also challenge dominant conceptions about minority groups. Citizens with a Turkish and Moroccan backgrounds are a case in point. While commonly portrayed as two of the least 'integrated' or 'participating' groups in the Netherlands, they show membership rates which are in fact similar to, or even higher than ethnically Dutch citizens. This not only illustrates their attachment to the Netherlands' number one associational sport, but also

reemphasizes Thiel and Seiberth's (2017) assertion that "the stranger is not as different from the 'local' as many believe."

References

Alba, R., & Nee, V. (1997). Rethinking assimilation theory for a new era of immigration. *The International Migration Review*, *31*(4), 826–874.

Andriessen, I., Fernee, H., & Wittebrood, K. (2014). *Perceived discrimination in the Netherlands* (J. Ross, Trans.). The Netherlands Institute for Social Research.

Basterfield, L., Reilly, J. K., Pearce, M. S., Parkinson, K. N., Adamson, A. J., Reilly, J. J., & Vella, S. A. (2015). Longitudinal associations between sports participation, body composition and physical activity from childhood to adolescence. *Journal of Science and Medicine in Sport*, *18*(2), 178–182. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jsams.2014.03.005

Bradbury, S. (2011). From racial exclusions to new inclusions: Black and minority ethnic participation in football clubs in the East Midlands of England. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *46*(1), 23–44. https://doi.org/10.1177/1012690210371562

Birchwood, D., Roberts, K., & Pollock, G. (2008). Explaining differences in sport participation rates among young adults: Evidence from the South Caucasus. *European Physical Education Review*, *14*(3), 283–298. https://doi.org/10.1177/1356336X08095667

Coakley, J. J. (2009). *Sports in society: Issues & controversies*. McGraw-Hill Education.

Collins, M. F. (2014). *Sport and social exclusion*. Routledge.

Coumans, M. (2015). Lidmaatschap en deelname verenigingen [Membership and participation associations]. In: Statistics Netherlands (Ed.), *Sociale samenhang* [Social cohesion] (pp. 53–63).

Dagevos, J. & Gijsberts, M. (2013). Beeldvorming over arbeidsmigranten uit Oost-Europa [Attitudes towards labour migrants from Eastern Europe]. In: P. Dekker, J. den Ridder & P. van Houwelingen (Eds.), *Burgerperspectieven 2013/4* [Citizen perspectives 2013/4] (pp. 34–48). The Netherlands Institute for Social Research.

Dronkers, J., & Velden, R. van der. (2013). Positive but also negative effects of ethnic diversity in schools on educational performance? An empirical test using PISA data. In *Integration and inequality in educational institutions* (pp. 71–98). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-6119-3_4

Elling, A., & Claringbould, I. (2005). Mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion in the Dutch sports landscape: Who can and wants to belong? *Sociology of Sport Journal*, *22*(4), 498–515. https://doi.org/10.1123/ssj.22.4.498

Elling, A., De Knop, P., & Knoppers, A. (2001). The social integrative meaning of sport: A critical and comparative analysis of policy and practice in the Netherlands. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, *18*(4), 414–434. https://doi.org/10.1123/ssj.18.4.414

Elling, A., & Knoppers, A. (2005). Sport, gender and ethnicity: Practises of symbolic inclusion/exclusion. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *34*(3), 257–268. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-005-4311-6

Eurobarometer, S. (2014). *Sport and physical activity*. TNS Opinion & Social.

Floyd, M. F., Shinew, K. J., McGuire, F. A., & Noe, F. P. (1994). Race, class, and leisure activity preferences: Marginality and ethnicity revisited. *Journal of Leisure Research*, *26*(2), 158–173. https://doi.org/10.1080/00222216.1994.11969951

Gijsberts, M., Huijnk, W., & Vogels, R. (Eds.). (2014). *Chinese Nederlanders* [The Chinese Dutch]. The Netherlands Institute for Social Research.

Gijsberts, M., & Lubbers, M. (2015). *Langer in Nederland. Ontwikkelingen in de leefsituatie van migranten uit Polen en Bulgarije in de eerste jaren na migratie* [Longer in the Netherlands. Developments in the living situation of migrants from Poland and Bulgaria within the first years after migration]. The Netherlands Institute for Social Research.

Giulianotti, R. (2011). The sport, development and peace sector: A model of four social policy domains. *Journal of Social Policy*, *40*(4), 757–776. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047279410000930

Giulianotti, R. (2016). *Sport: A critical sociology*. Polity Press.

Hagendoorn, L., & Sniderman, P. (2001). Experimenting with a national sample: a Dutch survey of prejudice. *Patterns of Prejudice*, *35*(4), 19–31. https://doi.org/10.1080/003132201128811269

Hardie Murphy, M., Rowe, D. A., & Woods, C. B. (2016). Sports participation in youth as a predictor of physical activity: A 5-year longitudinal study. *Journal of Physical Activity & Health*, *13*(7), 704–711. https://doi.org/10.1123/jpah.2015-0526

Harrison, L., Lee, A. M., & Belcher, D. (1999). Race and gender differences in sport participation as a function of self-schema. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, *23*(3), 287–307. https://doi.org/10.1177/0193723599233004

Harrison, L. (2001). Understanding the influence of stereotypes: Implications for the African American in sport and physical activity. *Quest*, *53*, 97–114. https://doi.org/10.1080/00336297.2001.10491732

Higgins, V., & Dale, A. (2013). Ethnic differences in sports participation in England. *European Journal for Sport and Society*, *10*(3), 215–239. https://doi.org/10.1080/16138171.2013.11687920

Huijnk, W., & Andriessen, I. (Eds.). (2016). *Integratie in zicht?* [Integration in sight?]. The Netherlands Institute for Social Research.

Janssens, J., & Verweel, P. (2014). The significance of sports clubs within multicultural society. On the accumulation of social capital by migrants in culturally "mixed" and "separate" sports clubs. *European Journal for Sport and Society*, *11*(1), 35–58. https://doi.org/10.1080/16138171.2014.11687932

Jarvie, G. (1991). *Sport, racism and ethnicity*. Falmer.

Johnston, L. D., Delva, J., & O'Malley, P. M. (2007). Sports participation and physical education in American secondary schools: Current levels and racial/ethnic and socioeconomic disparities. *American Journal of Preventive Medicine*, *33*(4), S195–208. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.amepre.2007.07.015

Kay, T. (2004). The family factor in sport: A review of family factors affecting sports par-ticipation. In Sport England (Ed.), *Driving up participation: The challenge of sport* (pp. 39–60).

Kidd, B. (2008). A new social movement: Sport for development and peace. *Sport in Society*, *11*(4), 370–380. https://doi.org/10.1080/17430430802019268

Krouwel, A., Boonstra, N., Duyvendak, J. W., & Veldboer, L. (2006). A good sport? Research into the capacity of recreational sport to integrate Dutch minorities. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *41*(2), 165–180. https://doi.org/10.1177/1012690206075419

Liang, Y. (2016). Developing a sustainable football model with the AFC Vision Asia Philosophy - two grassroots development cases in Zibo and Qingdao. *Sport in Society*, *19*(10), 1478–1488. https://doi.org/10.1080/17430437.2015.1133599

Nielsen, G., Hermansen, B., Bugge, A., Dencker, M., & Andersen, L. B. (2013). Daily physical activity and sports participation among children from ethnic minorities in Denmark. *European Journal of Sport Science*, *13*(3), 321–331. https://doi.org/10.1080/17461391.2011.635697

Pate, R. R., Trost, S. G., Levin, S., & Dowda, M. (2000). Sports participation and health-related behaviors among US youth. *Archives of Pediatrics & Adolescent Medicine*, *154*(9), 904–911. https://doi.org/10.1001/archpedi.154.9.904

Mark, N. (2003). Culture and competition: Homophily and distancing explanations for cultural niches. *American Sociological Review, 68*(3), 319-345. https://doi.org/10.2307/1519727

McDonald, B., Rodriguez, L., & George, J. R. (2018). 'If it weren't for rugby I'd be in prison now': Pacific Islanders, rugby and the production of natural spaces. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *0*(0), 1–17. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2018.1492909

McPherson, M., Smith-Lovin, L., & Cook, J. M. (2001). Birds of a feather: Homophily in social networks. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *27*(1), 415–444. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.27.1.415

McPherson, M. (2004). A Blau space primer: prolegomenon to an ecology of affiliation. *Industrial and Corporate Change*, *13*(1), 263–280. https://doi.org/10.1093/icc/13.1.263

Schipper- van Veldhoven, N., & Steenbergen, J. (2014). Sport en (on)wenselijke gedrag [Sport and (un)desirable behaviour]. In A. Tiessen-Raaphorst (Ed.), *Rapportage sport 2014* [Report on Sport 2014]. The Netherlands Institute for Social Research.

Slobbe, M. van, Vermeulen, J., & Koster, M. (2013). The making of an ethnically diverse management: contested cultural meanings in a Dutch amateur football club. *Sport in Society*, *16*(10), 1360–1374. https://doi.org/10.1080/17430437.2013.821257

Stamatakis, E., & Chaudhury, M. (2008). Temporal trends in adults' sports participation patterns in England between 1997 and 2006: the Health Survey for England. *British Journal of Sports Medicine*, *42*(11), 901–908. https://doi.org/10.1136/bjsm.2008.048082

Statistics Netherlands, n.d. *StatLine.* Retrieved from: http://statline.cbs.nl/StatWeb/.

Stodolska, M., & Floyd, M. F. (2016). Race, ethnicity and immigration. In G. Walker, D. Scott, & M. Stodolska (Eds.), *Leisure matters: The state and future of leisure studies* (pp. 243–252). State College: Venture Publishing.

Thiel, A., & Seiberth, K. (2017). Migrant background, culture and ethnicity: sociological terms without explanatory value?! *European Journal for Sport and Society*, *14*(3), 183–185. https://doi.org/10.1080/16138171.2017.1360553

Van Bottenburg, M., Rijnen, B., & Van Sterkenburg, J. (2005). *Sports participation in the European Union: Trends and differences*. Arko Sports Media.

Van Sterkenburg, J., Knoppers, A., & De Leeuw, S. (2012). Constructing racial/ethnic difference in and through Dutch televised soccer commentary. *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*, *36*(4), 422–442. https://doi.org/10.1177/0193723512448664

Verkuyten, M., Hagendoorn, L., & Masson, K. (1996). The ethnic hierarchy among majority and minority youth in the Netherlands. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *26*(12), 1104–1118. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.1996.tb01127.x

Vermeulen, J., & Verweel, P. (2009). Participation in sport: bonding and bridging as identity work. *Sport in Society*, *12*(9), 1206–1219. https://doi.org/10.1080/17430430903137886

Vogels, R. (2014). Sportdeelname van niet-westerse migranten [Sports participation of non-western migrants]. In: A. Tiessen-Raaphorst (Ed.), *Uitstappers en doorzetters. De persoonlijke en sociale context van sportdeelname en tijdsbesteding aan sport* [Quiters and go-getters. The personal and social context of sports participation and time spent on sports] (pp. 67–88). The Netherlands Institute for Social Research.

Walseth, K. (2006). Sport and belonging. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *41*(3–4), 447–464. https://doi.org/10.1177/1012690207079510

Walseth, K. (2008). Bridging and bonding social capital in sport - experiences of young women with an immigrant background. *Sport, Education and Society*, *13*(1), 1–17. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13573320701780498

Washburne, R. F. (1978). Black under-participation in wildland recreation: Alternative explanations. *Leisure Sciences*, *1*, 175-189.

Wheeler, S. (2012). The significance of family culture for sports participation. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *47*(2), 235–252. https://doi.org/10.1177/1012690211403196

Wiertz, D. (2016). Segregation in civic life: ethnic sorting and mixing across voluntary associations. *American Sociological Review*, *81*(4), 800–827. https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122416651312

Wijtzes, A. I., Jansen, W., Bouthoorn, S. H., Pot, N., Hofman, A., Jaddoe, V. W. V., & Raat, H. (2014). Social inequalities in young children's sports participation and outdoor play. *International Journal of Behavioral Nutrition and Physical Activity*, *11*, 155. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12966-014-0155-3

CHAPTER 3

Do birds of a feather play football together?

3.1 Sports clubs: sites for interethnic mixing?

All across the globe, sports – especially when organized within the context of clubs – are lauded for their ability to cut across ethnic or racial boundaries. As a consequence, policy makers in the Netherlands and elsewhere have increasingly put their faith in sports clubs as easy and effective sites for interethnic mixing and fostering cohesion in an ethnically heterogeneous society.

However, in the past, various scholars have expressed their scepticism towards the idea that sports clubs are particularly effective at bringing people with various ethnic backgrounds together. For example, Krouwel, Boonstra, Duyvendak & Veldboer (2006) find that the majority of Dutch adolescents belonging to ethnic minority groups in their study voice a strong preference for football clubs with ethnic peers. Similarly, Vermeulen and Verweel (2009) observe indications of bonding around ethnic identities during sports activities inside and outside clubs, by ethnic minority as well as majority groups. Furthermore, Wiertz (2016) finds proof for pronounced ethnic sorting tendencies when individuals join various civic associations, including sports clubs.

These findings echo what has been called the homophily principle: the phenomenon that socially similar individuals associate more frequently than dissimilar individuals (McPherson & Smith-Lovin, 1987). Reviewing more than a hundred studies spanning multiple decades, McPherson, Smith-Lovin and Cook (2001) illustrate the pervasiveness of homophily in our lives. Many of the connections we make, from marriage to mere knowledge of others, show a general bias towards others with whom we share social similarities, vastly limiting our social worlds.

Ethnicity is found to be one of the most important characteristics through which similarity breeds connection. Consequently, it acts as a major social fault line in people's personal networks (McPherson et al., 2001). Additionally, while

voluntary associations serve as important organizational settings to connect to others outside the family structure (Louch, 2000), these organizations tend to be marked by socially homogeneous compositions favouring the production and preservation of homophilic ties (McPherson, 1983). Therefore, we may be directed to expect that the landscape of voluntary associations is rather ethnically segregated, severely constraining the meeting and bonding opportunities with outgroup co-members.

Surprisingly, barely any studies so far have looked at ethnic homophily in voluntary association membership on a large scale (Wiertz, 2016 is a notable exception). A number of sports sociological studies have explored links between ethnicity and sports participation quantitatively, but it remains unclear how and/or with whom these activities are organized (e.g. Breuer & Wicker, 2008; Higgins, 2013; Van Haaften, 2019). Furthermore, McPherson and his colleagues have demonstrated a positive relation between membership and shared similarities with co-members, but ethnicity was not included in these analyses (McPherson & Rotolo, 1996; Popielarz & McPherson, 1995). Moreover, even when voluntary associations might produce homophilous co-membership ties in general, McPherson (1983) notes that different types of voluntary groups can vary strongly in the forms and degree of homophily they induce. An important distinction can be made between voluntary groups organized around activities which enjoy interest by a selective pool in general population and voluntary groups organized around activities which share a wide interest across different social strata. The first type induces homophily due to a selective interest, while the latter induces homophily when the total member population distributes unequally over groups. I would argue that this latter case is a particularly fruitful area for research on homophily because it can direct us to potential sorting mechanisms with a broader relevance.

This study therefore aims to further explore ethnic homophily in membership of Dutch amateur football clubs and its development over roughly a decade. The Netherlands is estimated to have both the highest share of club-based sports activities (23%), and the highest membership rate (27%) of Europe (Eurobarometer, 2014). Of these voluntary sports organizations, amateur football clubs are by far the most popular, accommodating well over a million members nationally. Moreover, earlier studies have shown that amateur football, unlike various other organized sports, enjoys a wide interest and high participation rates across various ethnic minority groups (Elling & Knoppers, 2005; Van Haaften,

2019), illustrating its suitability as a case for both the study of ethnic homophily and sports' integrative potential. Consequently, I have formulated the following research question:

> *To what extent and in what way are ethnic groups within the Netherlands unequally distributed over amateur football clubs?*

The remainder of this chapter contains the following structure. In the following section I will discuss the study's theoretical background and expectations. Next, I will describe the data and measures that were used, which is then followed by the presentation of the results. Finally, the main conclusions of this study are summarized and discussed.

3.2 Theoretical assumptions and expectations

Baseline versus inbreeding homophily

If homophily is the principle that similar individuals connect more frequently than dissimilar individuals, one of the first things to further specify is what is meant by more frequently. Consequently, a key distinction in research on homophily is the difference between so called baseline and inbreeding homophily (McPherson et al., 2001).

Baseline homophily is concerned with the most basic opportunity structure for homophilous tie-formation, namely the distribution of one or more characteristics in a certain population of interest. As soon as these characteristics are not equally represented, we expect a degree of homophily to occur on the basis of mere chance alone. This becomes apparent when we consider the ethnic make-up of almost any given country. Usually, national populations consist of a substantial ethnic majority group and various minority groups. Considered for example a population where the majority group makes up 80% of the population and four other minority groups each make up roughly 5% of the population. This population structure is likely to induce a high amount of ingroup ties for the majority group merely due to their relative size.

When researchers speak of homophily, however, they usually mean inbreeding homophily. This type of homophily refers to the degree of homophilous tie-formation that occurs on top of the baseline model in which ties

are randomly distributed. So, in the former example inbreeding homophily would occur if the majority group and minority groups have more than 80% or 5% ingroup ties respectively. The distinction between baseline and inbreeding homophily is important, as it helps us to better locate and work towards understanding mechanisms that drive similar individuals together.

The distinction between baseline and inbreeding homophily requires us to specify both a population and a form of tie that links individuals out of that population together. This is dependent on the research interests and the data available and will vary accordingly. In one case, the population might be that of a whole country in which the marriage dyads between individuals are studied. In another study, the population might consist of a single school in which multiple friendship ties between classmates are mapped.

The focus of this study is on the distribution of members over amateur football clubs. The population thus consists of all members of amateur football clubs in the Netherlands. As a function of their composition and size, clubs offer a certain number of ingroup and outgroup co-membership ties to members (McPherson et al., 2001). Inbreeding homophily occurs when the degree of ingroup co-membership ties is higher than a group's share in the total member population.

Ethnic inbreeding homophily in co-membership ties

Ethnicity is known to produce a substantial amount of inbreeding homophily. People with similar ethnic backgrounds are much more likely to form various ties with each other than homophilic baseline models would predict (McPherson et al., 2001). Give the importance of recruitment through network ties for voluntary groups, it seems likely that:

> E1: The average proportion of ingroup co-membership ties substantially exceeds an ethnic group's proportion in the total member population.

While it is expected that ethnic inbreeding happens across all ethnic groups, there are reasons to assume that its extent and nature varies between groups. Below, I will discuss two important factors which can drive these differences.

Size matters

The first reason is that the ecological model of affiliation is affected by the distribution of opportunities for homophilic tie-formation across groups. Essentially, this boils down to a classic critical mass argument, meaning that to seek out similar others, they first need to be there in sufficient numbers. Various factors may influence these opportunities, but group size is known to be an important factor (McPherson et al., 2001). The higher the number of ethnic peers who are members of amateur football clubs, the more likely an individual is aware of their presence and/or knows one or more of them directly. Moreover, when more ethnic peers have memberships to amateur football clubs, the attractiveness of club membership compared to other forms of time investment offering homophilic tie-formation increases. This in turn can draw in more co-ethnic members, especially those who attach high value to homophilic ties, thereby further strengthening ethnic concentration and segregation. A similar pattern is found from studies on residential segregation of Black people in the United States, in which increases in ingroup size seems to stimulate segregation (Hao & Fong, 2011). The relation between group size and segregation is likely to be particularly influential for minority groups, as changes in numbers and relative group size can have a substantial impact on their opportunities for homophilic tie-formation, unlike majority group members for whom these opportunities are often guaranteed. Consequently, I expect that:

> E2A: The relative size of an ethnic minority group in the total member population is positively related to inbreeding.

> E2B: An increase in the size of an ethnic minority group within the total member population will be accompanied by a higher degree of inbreeding.

Interethnic boundaries

The second reason for the fact that we may expect interethnic differences in inbreeding is that ethnicity is constructed out of multiple ‘characteristics or expressions of shared belonging’ (Burton, Nandi, & Platt, 2010), through which ethnic similarity and difference are experienced. Characteristics which have been linked to ethnicity are manifold. Burton et al. (2010) note that they “may include ‘race’ (or colour or visibility), national identity, parentage or ancestry, nationality, citizenship, religion, language, and country of birth (or being an

immigrant), as well as the problematic domain of 'culture'" (pp. 1335). Barth (1969), however, stresses that ethnic classifications do revolve around 'cultural stuff' but are created and maintained through an ongoing process of identification and ascription by members and non-members. This involves what he describes as 'boundary maintenance', which is the continuous social practice through which both members and non-members use certain characteristics to signify ethnic in- and outgroups. Following this line of reasoning, ethnic difference and similarity is communicated through certain salient social characteristics, which act as stronger or lesser boundaries between groups.

According to Brubaker (2013), two social markers have been particularly influential in this regard: religion and language. Given the data at hand, I will limit myself here to these two. Below, I will discuss how both these boundaries could play a role in driving ethnic groups closer together or further apart, and consequently are related to inbreeding. However, before I move on to this discussion, I do want to stress here that I do not wish to imply that religion and language are the only boundaries between ethnic groups, nor does it mean that they are the most important in any situation or at any given time.

Language

When considering use of language and religion for ethnic classifications of difference, we should not regard it as a 'continuous spectrum of variation', but instead, as 'categorically differentiated', which means that 'in popular understandings' they 'sort people into distinct, bounded and largely self-reproducing 'communities' (Brubaker, 2013, p. 3). Consequently, even though indices for linguistic distance that express the degree of similarity or difference between languages exist, there is little reason to believe individuals consciously take such measures into account, or that they provide a realistic reflection of their boundary management practices in daily life.

In order to conceptualize the role of language as an interethnic boundary, we must consider how language could come into play when making ethnic classifications of difference. A crucial distinction to make in this case would be the differentiation between people who speak a specific language and people who do not. More specifically, in a post-migration context where most people with migrant backgrounds - particularly those of the second generation - will often be able to speak the language of the host country, speaking and/or using another language in addition to the host country language will be of particular

significance. Namely, it is in these circumstances that language can be used most effectively as a signal of ethnic group membership to both members and non-members. Communicating with each other in a language which is not the dominant language, strongly separates you and your ethnic peers from those who cannot communicate in that language, precisely because of the fact it is a language used in a context with many individuals who do not master it. As such, it can be understood as functioning as a more radical way of Terkourafi's (2018) description of differentiating between more and less familiar ways of getting things done linguistically within a single language. As she explains, a key social function of the enactment of familiar linguistic acts is that 'they provide evidence that the speaker is "one of us" – someone who has been socialized with the same habits and who can therefore be expected to be like us in other respects as well' (Terkourafi, 2018, p. 7).

By doing so, language takes a primary role in creating a sense of belonging. It can be argued that the inclusionary and exclusionary significance in the case of sharing an additional, different language, are even stronger due to the fact it is not so much about familiarity as it is about intelligibility. As such, language serves as a powerful criterion to signify ethnic group membership and ethnic distance between groups. This situation does not apply to all ethnic groups, however, as not all groups master and/or use a second language. Consequently, language primarily creates a boundary between groups who speak and use a specific language, and those who do not speak that specific language or any second language at all. The former are expected to be positioned furthest away from other groups, while the latter are expected to be positioned closer together.

Groups, however, will also vary in the degree in which members speak the host country's language or the language from their country of origin. Of the ethnic backgrounds taken into consideration, individuals with Turkish backgrounds are most likely to speak their own language, closely followed by individuals with a Moroccan background. Minority groups with a background in one of the Dutch ex-colonies (Indonesia, Suriname and the Dutch Antilles) are in turn very likely to use Dutch as their only language (Herweijer, Iedema, Andriessen, & Vervoort, 2016). This would place members with Turkish and Moroccan backgrounds apart from both each other and other groups. Members with ex-colonial backgrounds or a Dutch background are instead grouped together.

The concept of inbreeding homophily is normally used in reference to a single ingroup and outgroup. However, the same concept can be easily extended

to capture multiple intergroup relations. If we take the example of a majority group that takes up 80% of the population and four minority groups which each take up 5% of the population, inbreeding between two minority groups would occur if the ratio between ingroup and outgroup co-membership ties exceeds 1:1. After all, both groups have an equal share (5%) in the total member population. Inbreeding between the majority group and a single outgroup occurs when the ratio between ingroup and outgroup co-membership is higher than 16:1 for the majority group (80 / 5 = 16) or, vice versa, higher than 1:16 for the minority group. Taking the preceding into account, the homophily principle would dictate that:

> E3A: Members with Turkish and Moroccan backgrounds show relatively high degrees of inbreeding.

> E3B: Amongst members with Dutch, Surinamese, Antillean or Indonesian backgrounds exist relatively low degrees of inbreeding.

Religion

As part of the pillarization of civic life in the Netherlands, amateur football was strongly segregated across religious lines in the past. To this very day, many existing Dutch amateur football clubs still bear apparent signs of their respective catholic, protestant or secular origins, even though the social significance of these markers has waned due to secularization. It would be wrong, however, to assume that religion therefore has no role to play. Just as immigration has introduced new forms of language diversity, it has also introduced new forms of religious diversity. Consequently, the Netherlands, like various other European countries, is now harbouring a substantial and growing Muslim population.

Two characteristics of this religious group are of particular interest when it comes to boundary management between ethnic groups. Firstly, Muslims on average show a relatively high degree of religiosity and identification with their faith (Verkuyten, 2007; Voas & Fleischmann, 2012; Huijnk, 2018). Secondly, adherence to Islam is highly dependent on specific migrant backgrounds (Maliepaard & Gijsberts, 2012). Together, these two characteristics make the distinction between Muslim and non-Muslims in particular a potentially powerful dimension for ethnic classifications of difference. For some ethnic backgrounds, such as the Dutch autochthonous population, adherence to Islam clearly signifies

being part of the ethnic outgroup, while for others, particularly Dutch citizens with Turkish and Moroccan backgrounds, not being a Muslim signifies ethnic outgroup members. Consequently, ethnic identity and religious identity have become increasingly intertwined (Maliepaard, Lubbers, & Gijsberts, 2010)

Additionally, negative experiences and prejudice based on religion can further strengthen the boundary between Muslims and non-Muslims. During the last 15 years, anti-Muslim sentiments have grown in strength and become more overtly negative in the Netherlands. Several studies in recent years have indicated that a substantial share of the Muslim population in the Netherlands, most notably citizens with a Turkish and Moroccan background, currently do not feel at home in the Netherlands, do not trust Dutch citizens or the government, and experience a high degree of discrimination (Maliepaard & Gijsberts, 2012; Andriessen, Fernee & Wittebrood, 2014; Huijnk & Andriessen, 2016; Huink, 2018). Others have echoed this by noting that there exist strong boundaries and a high degree of social distance between the autochthonous population and people with Turkish and Moroccan backgrounds (Sniderman & Hagendoorn 2007; Entzinger & Dourleijn 2008).

The fact that the distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims can have very real implications for tie-formation through homophily is exemplified by a recent study from Leszczensky and Pink (2017). They found that opposed to Christian and non-religious youth, Muslim youth preferred to befriend Muslim peers, and this increased with religiosity. Moreover, both Christian and non-religious youth were less likely to befriend Muslim youth, irrespective of their religiosity. Consequently, I expect that the Muslim / non-Muslim distinction acts as an important boundary between members with Turkish and Moroccan backgrounds on the one hand, and members with other backgrounds on the other hand:

> E4: Members with Turkish and Moroccan backgrounds show lower degrees of mutual inbreeding compared to degrees of inbreeding between these groups and groups with other backgrounds.

3.3 Methodology

Data

The data include all club memberships during playing seasons 2005/'06 to 2014/'15, which were provided by the Royal Dutch Football Association (KNVB). To determine the ethnic background of members, these membership data were matched with individual data containing the country of origin of Dutch inhabitants and their parents kept by Statistics Netherlands (CBS). This was done successfully for over 94% of the roughly 2.2 million individual members during this timeframe.

Measures

Ethnicity

In addition to ethnically Dutch, I distinguish between five single nationality minority backgrounds (Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, Antillean and Indonesian) and a rest category. In addition to being amongst the most sizable minorities in the Netherlands, these five groups have clear migration histories embedded within the Dutch historical context. For Turkish and Moroccan backgrounds, this is tied to a large wave of labour migration and subsequent family reunification. Citizens with Surinamese, Antillean and Indonesian backgrounds are or stem from ex-colonial groups who have or were moved to the Netherlands.

To determine an individual's ethnic background, the country of birth of the individual and the parents is used. If somebody has two parents who are both born in the Netherlands, this person has a 'Dutch' background. If someone has one or more parents born outside of the Netherlands, someone is considered to have a minority background. If this individual is born outside of the Netherlands, his or her background is determined by the country of birth (e.g. a person who is born in Turkey and has one or more parents who are born outside of the Netherlands will be considered Turkish). If a person has one or more parents born outside of the Netherlands, but he or she is born in the Netherlands, the country of birth of the parents is used. If only one parent is born abroad, the country of birth of this parent is used to determine the ethnic background. If both parents are born abroad and their countries of birth differ, the country of birth of the mother is used over the father's country of birth (e.g. a person who is born in the Netherlands with a mother born in Turkey and a father born in Morocco will be considered Turkish).

Club membership

An individual is considered a member of an amateur football club when he or she is officially registered at the Royal Dutch Football Association as a club member during a playing season. The length of the playing season was defined as beginning on the 15th of August of a certain year and ending on the 15th of May in the next year. Memberships which commenced after the 15th of May but were terminated before the 15th of August were left out. While rare, in some cases individuals have multiple club memberships. Given the focus on club compositions, these additional memberships are included in the study. Please note that the total number of memberships reported in the results therefore slightly exceed the number of individuals connected to these memberships. Furthermore, to avoid including clubs which are inactive and/or only exist on paper, I used a threshold of a minimum of 30 registered members in a given playing season.

Segregation

Ethnic inbreeding in co-membership ties can be measured using segregation indices, as these are primarily designed to measure the extent to which populations are unequally distributed over lower-level units. For the purpose of this study, I use the index information theory index *H*, developed by Henri Theil (Theil, 1972; Theil & Finizza, 1971). In a review of six multigroup segregation indices, Reardon & Firebaugh (2002) conclude that the information theory index is the only measure following the "principle of transfers", which means that transfers of members to clubs with a lower proportion of ingroup members would be reflected in a decline of the index.

The information theory index is an entropy-based measure, meaning its calculation is based on entropy score *E*, sometimes described as the diversity index or score (Hao & Fong, 2011; Iceland, 2004). The entropy score expresses the degree of uncertainty about group membership when randomly selecting an individual from a population, assuming mutually exclusive groups. This degree of uncertainty is both a function of groups' proportions in a population and the total number of groups, and can be expressed in the following way (Theil, 1972):

$$E = \sum_{m=1}^{M} p_m(-\ln p_m)$$

In the previous formula, p_m refers to the proportion of ethnic group m in the total population for M groups. E then equals to the sum of each group's proportion multiplied by the negative natural logarithm of that proportion. The minimum score of E equals 0. In this case there is no uncertainty because all individuals belong to the same group: $1(-\ ln\ 1) = 0$. The maximum score of E is the natural log of the total number of groups and occurs when each respective group comprises the exact same numbers of individuals. For seven groups (six ethnic categories and one rest group), this equals 1.946.

The entropy score is an expression of the diversity of a certain population. On its own, however, this score cannot be used to say anything about the degree in which groups evenly or unevenly distribute over lower-level organizational units such as clubs. In order to do that, we must use the entropy score E to calculate the information theory index H. The information theory index can be understood as an expression of the weighted sum of deviates of entropy on the lower organizational level from the entropy on the population level. Its expression takes the following form (Theil, 1972):

$$H = 1 - \sum_j \frac{t_j}{T}\frac{E_j}{E}$$

In the above formula, t_j refers to club j's size, T refers to the total member population size, E_j refers to the entropy score of club j, and E refers to the entropy score of the total member population. When H = 0, each club's ethnic composition perfectly resembles the total population - i.e. no difference between the levels in entropy - suggesting the absence of any inbreeding. In these cases, the relative proportion of ingroup and outgroup co-membership ties are the same as the relative proportions of these groups in the total member population. Higher values for H indicate that ethnic groups are less evenly distributed over clubs, with H = 1 meaning that clubs are entirely mono-ethnic. In these cases, ingroup co-membership ties are, on average, overrepresented and inbreeding is occurring. The interpretation of H is not entirely straightforward. Reardon and Yun (2003) advise to use the following cut-off points: Extreme (0.4-1), high (0.25-0.4), moderate (0.1-0.25) and low segregation (0-0.1).

The calculation of the entropy score and information theory index can be easily adapted to express dichotomous segregation instead of multigroup

segregation. For group versus non-group segregation, one simply uses the proportion of a group and the value of 1 minus that proportion as the two proportions for calculating entropy on both levels. For group versus group segregation, t_j and T represent the size of the two groups on the club and population level, and one uses the proportions of these groups within these subpopulations to calculate entropy on both levels. While the entropy score is dependent on relative group size and number of groups, the information theory index is not. Therefore, the information theory index can be used to make direct comparisons between groups and their degree of inbreeding.

3.4 Results

Rising ethnic diversity

Table 3.1 contains the total number of club memberships per ethnic background over ten playing seasons. Here we see that the share of memberships belonging to members with immigrant backgrounds has risen over time and that therefore the diversity of the total member population *E* has increased as well. When we look more closely to specific backgrounds, we see that out of the single nationality immigrant backgrounds, only the Moroccan and Antillean groups have increased strongly over time. Furthermore, Turkish, Moroccan and Surinamese backgrounds show substantially higher numbers than Antillean and Indonesian backgrounds. These patterns correspond with the figures on ethnic participation in Dutch amateur football from chapter 2.

Moderate overall segregation and size matters

Table 3.2 shows that overall ethnic segregation (total *H*) in amateur football is moderate (between 0.1 and 0.25), which indicates that clubs are substantially less diverse than the total member population. In the same table, to the right, the segregation of each respective group from members with other ethnic backgrounds is presented. Higher segregation indices reflect a higher degree of inbreeding. We observe moderate and high degrees of segregation for all groups,

Table 3.1 Overall diversity and total memberships per ethnic background between 2005 and 2015

Playing Season	Total *E*	Dutch	Turkish	Moroccan	Surinamese	Antillean	Indonesian	Rest	Total
2005/'06	0.657	950,959	30,149	22,207	19,509	7,181	15,685	74,366	1,120,056
2006/'07	0.663	982,084	30,112	24,554	20,492	7,776	15,624	78,960	1,159,602
2007/'08	0.662	1,004,203	29,986	25,192	20,745	8,038	15,419	82,109	1,185,692
2008/'09	0.668	1,024,594	31,533	26,844	21,002	8,312	15,018	85,719	1,213,022
2009/'10	0.673	1,027,323	32,262	28,233	20,886	8,412	14,520	87,295	1,218,931
2010/'11	0.680	1,033,363	32,542	29,723	20,996	8,872	13,981	90,570	1,230,047
2011/'12	0.684	1,031,736	31,458	31,000	20,820	9,106	13,438	92,730	1,230,288
2012/'13	0.688	1,030,636	30,855	32,335	20,709	9,204	13,136	95,011	1,231,886
2013/'14	0.695	1,020,474	31,026	33,250	20,218	9,280	12,591	96,579	1,223,418
2014/'15	0.700	1,024,545	30,137	34,056	20,317	9,641	12,102	101,184	1,231,982

Note: range of diversity (*E*): 0-1.946

Table 3.2 Overall and group versus rest segregation 2005 - 2015

Playing season	Clubs	Total *H*	Dutch vs outgroup	Turkish vs outgroup	Moroccan vs outgroup	Surinamese vs outgroup	Antillean vs outgroup	Indonesian vs outgroup
2005/'06	3294	0.194	0.171	0.335	0.258	0.283	0.150	0.089
2006/'07	3254	0.192	0.172	0.321	0.271	0.280	0.147	0.086
2007/'08	3248	0.191	0.172	0.319	0.270	0.272	0.148	0.085
2008/'09	3220	0.192	0.175	0.322	0.273	0.263	0.147	0.085
2009/'10	3188	0.194	0.179	0.323	0.279	0.259	0.145	0.085
2010/'11	3142	0.195	0.182	0.325	0.279	0.255	0.151	0.083
2011/'12	3101	0.193	0.181	0.319	0.279	0.251	0.151	0.082
2012/'13	3061	0.192	0.182	0.315	0.278	0.247	0.147	0.081
2013/'14	3013	0.191	0.184	0.312	0.278	0.239	0.147	0.078
2014/'15	2965	0.186	0.179	0.302	0.269	0.233	0.146	0.074

Note: Cut-off points for segregation (*H*): extreme (0.4-1), high (0.25-0.4), moderate (0.1-0.25) and low: (0-0.1). Outgroup includes the 'rest' category for ethnic background

except for members with an Indonesian background which show a low degree of segregation. Together, these results largely confirm expectation 1 of this chapter:

> E1: The average proportion of ingroup co-membership ties substantially exceeds an ethnic group's proportion in the total member population.

We further observe that overall segregation slightly declines over ten playing seasons. As this coincides with a diversifying member population - knowing that *H* expresses the weighted difference between total member population and club populations - we can conclude that members on average experience increasingly diverse club populations. It is important to note here that we also witness a substantial decrease in the number of clubs over which members are spread. Within ten playing seasons, the population of clubs has decreased by 10 percent. Fewer and bigger organizational units is known to result in lower degrees ofsegregation because it constrains the opportunities sorting over clubs while increasing the opportunities for sorting within them. Expectations 2A and 2B of this chapter considered the relation between inbreeding and group size.

> E2A: The relative size of an ethnic minority group in the total member population is positively related to inbreeding.

> E2B: An increase in the size of an ethnic minority group within the total member population will be accompanied by a higher degree of inbreeding.

When we look more closely to the segregation indices for each group in table 3.2, we find further substantiation for these expectations. The most numerous minority groups (Turkish, Moroccan or Surinamese background) are highly segregated, while the less numerous groups (Antillean or Indonesian background) show moderate and low segregation. Furthermore, we see that the development of segregation is different for minority groups that have grown significantly in size, compared to those that have not. The segregation of members with Turkish, Indonesian and especially Surinamese backgrounds has declined substantially. For members with Antillean backgrounds, there has only been a marginal decrease in segregation, while Moroccan members even have experienced an increase in segregation. The difference between Moroccan and

Antillean backgrounds might be partly explained by their different group size, and a more limited effect of growth on segregation, due to few boundaries between this group and other groups.

A limited role for language

The third set of expectations in this chapter was based on the notion that speaking a second, additional language can act as an important boundary between certain ethnic groups:

> E3A: Members with Turkish and Moroccan backgrounds show relatively high degrees of inbreeding.
>
> E3B: Amongst members with Dutch, Surinamese, Antillean or Indonesian backgrounds exist relatively low degrees of inbreeding.

Table 3.3 and 3.4 present the segregation between members with Turkish and Moroccan backgrounds and all other groups. All segregation indices fall into the high segregation category and in a few situations (Turkish vs Surinamese and Turkish vs Indonesian), we even see extreme cases of segregation. These findings are in line with expectation E3A.

Table 3.5 to 3.7 contain the segregation between members with Surinamese, Antillean and Indonesian backgrounds versus each of the other groups. If we look at the figures between Dutch, Surinamese, Antillean and Indonesian backgrounds, we fail to see a clear pattern of clustering of these groups. Surinamese backgrounds are least, but still moderately segregated from Antillean backgrounds. Additionally, members with Surinamese backgrounds are more segregated from Dutch and Indonesian backgrounds than from Moroccan backgrounds. Segregation indices for Antillean and Indonesian backgrounds do follow the correct order and are lowest versus Dutch backgrounds. However, save for segregation between Indonesian and Dutch backgrounds, segregation indices between ex-colonial and Dutch backgrounds remain moderate or high.

Moreover, the growth in members with Antillean backgrounds is, remarkably, coupled with increasing segregation between Dutch and Antillean members, which indicates that a more even ration of these two groups on the population level has not led to a similar increase in meeting opportunities on the club level. In table 3.3 and 3.4 we do see that Moroccan backgrounds are less

Table 3.3 Turkish members' group versus group segregation 2005-2015

Playing season	Turkish vs Dutch	Turkish vs Moroccan	Turkish vs Surinamese	Turkish vs Antillean	Turkish vs Indonesian
2005/'06	0.380	0.340	0.422	0.368	0.410
2006/'07	0.367	0.342	0.410	0.357	0.391
2007/'08	0.365	0.338	0.401	0.355	0.385
2008/'09	0.370	0.328	0.393	0.344	0.381
2009/'10	0.374	0.331	0.391	0.343	0.380
2010/'11	0.378	0.328	0.386	0.344	0.380
2011/'12	0.374	0.326	0.388	0.342	0.375
2012/'13	0.373	0.322	0.381	0.336	0.375
2013/'14	0.374	0.314	0.371	0.330	0.368
2014/'15	0.364	0.305	0.367	0.320	0.357

Note: Cut-off points for segregation (*H*): extreme (0.4-1), high (0.25-0.4), moderate (0.1-0.25) and low: (0-0.1)

Table 3.4 Moroccan members' group versus group segregation 2005-2015

Playing season	Moroccan vs Dutch	Moroccan vs Turkish	Moroccan vs Surinamese	Moroccan vs Antillean	Moroccan vs Indonesian
2005/'06	0.312	0.340	0.314	0.322	0.368
2006/'07	0.325	0.342	0.318	0.320	0.366
2007/'08	0.325	0.338	0.309	0.312	0.356
2008/'09	0.330	0.328	0.305	0.308	0.356
2009/'10	0.337	0.331	0.303	0.310	0.360
2010/'11	0.341	0.328	0.295	0.306	0.357
2011/'12	0.341	0.326	0.289	0.303	0.357
2012/'13	0.342	0.322	0.284	0.293	0.356
2013/'14	0.344	0.314	0.284	0.294	0.351
2014/'15	0.335	0.305	0.274	0.280	0.340

Note: Cut-off points for segregation (*H*): extreme (0.4-1), high (0.25-0.4), moderate (0.1-0.25) and low: (0-0.1)

Table 3.5 Surinamese members' group versus group segregation 2005- 2015

Playing season	Surinamese vs Dutch	Surinamese vs Turkish	Surinamese vs Moroccan	Surinamese vs Antillean	Surinamese vs Indonesian
2005/'06	0.339	0.422	0.314	0.244	0.364
2006/'07	0.338	0.410	0.318	0.232	0.356
2007/'08	0.332	0.401	0.309	0.227	0.345
2008/'09	0.323	0.393	0.305	0.226	0.341
2009/'10	0.320	0.391	0.303	0.225	0.340
2010/'11	0.319	0.386	0.295	0.221	0.336
2011/'12	0.317	0.388	0.289	0.218	0.330
2012/'13	0.314	0.381	0.284	0.215	0.323
2013/'14	0.305	0.371	0.284	0.212	0.310
2014/'15	0.298	0.367	0.274	0.203	0.308

Note: Cut-off points for segregation (*H*): extreme (0.4-1), high (0.25-0.4), moderate (0.1-0.25) and low: (0-0.1)

Table 3.6 Antillean members' group versus group segregation 2005-2015

Playing season	Antillean vs Dutch	Antillean vs Turkish	Antillean vs Moroccan	Antillean vs Surinamese	Antillean vs Indonesian
2005/'06	0.191	0.368	0.322	0.244	0.277
2006/'07	0.189	0.357	0.320	0.232	0.268
2007/'08	0.190	0.355	0.312	0.227	0.269
2008/'09	0.191	0.344	0.308	0.226	0.267
2009/'10	0.188	0.343	0.310	0.225	0.266
2010/'11	0.198	0.344	0.306	0.221	0.272
2011/'12	0.199	0.342	0.303	0.218	0.272
2012/'13	0.197	0.336	0.293	0.215	0.267
2013/'14	0.196	0.330	0.294	0.212	0.261
2014/'15	0.196	0.320	0.280	0.203	0.258

Note: Cut-off points for segregation (*H*): extreme (0.4-1), high (0.25-0.4), moderate (0.1-0.25) and low: (0-0.1)

Table 3.7 Indonesian members' group versus group segregation 2005-2015

Playing season	Indonesian vs Dutch	Indonesian vs Turkish	Indonesian vs Moroccan	Indonesian vs Surinamese	Indonesian vs Antillean
2005/'06	0.101	0.410	0.368	0.364	0.277
2006/'07	0.099	0.391	0.366	0.356	0.268
2007/'08	0.099	0.385	0.356	0.345	0.269
2008/'09	0.098	0.381	0.356	0.341	0.267
2009/'10	0.098	0.380	0.360	0.340	0.266
2010/'11	0.097	0.380	0.357	0.336	0.272
2011/'12	0.096	0.375	0.357	0.330	0.272
2012/'13	0.096	0.375	0.356	0.323	0.267
2013/'14	0.094	0.368	0.351	0.310	0.261
2014/'15	0.089	0.357	0.340	0.308	0.258

Note: Cut-off points for segregation (*H*): extreme (0.4-1), high (0.25-0.4), moderate (0.1-0.25) and low: (0-0.1)

segregated from Dutch background than Turkish backgrounds, which we would expect based on their command and use of the Dutch language. The lack of clustering of ex-colonial and Dutch background, however, leads me to reject expectation E3B.

Religious exclusion over inclusion?

The last expectation of this chapter was based on the consideration that the distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims can act as an important barrier between Turkish and Moroccan backgrounds on the one hand, and all other groups on the other hand:

> E4: Members with Turkish and Moroccan backgrounds show lower degrees of mutual inbreeding compared to degrees of inbreeding between these groups and groups with other backgrounds.

As was already mentioned previously, table 3.3 and 3.4 showed high degrees of segregation between Moroccan and Turkish backgrounds, and all respective outgroups. Members with Turkish backgrounds are least segregated from

Moroccan backgrounds, which could be partly explained by their shared religion. However, the difference between this segregation and segregation between members with Turkish backgrounds and other groups is relatively small. Moreover, members with Moroccan backgrounds are in turn less segregated from members with Surinamese and Antillean backgrounds than from members with Turkish backgrounds. This does not seem to align with the idea that the Muslim / non-Muslim distinction acts as an important boundary for sorting members over clubs. While this distinction might play an exclusionary role and partly explains the high inbreeding of members with Turkish and Moroccan backgrounds, it does not seem to have an inclusionary effect. Therefore, I decide to reject the fourth and final expectation of this chapter.

3.5 Conclusions and discussion

In this chapter I have taken a closer look at ethnic inbreeding homophily in co-membership ties obtained in the Netherlands' most popular associational sport. The research question guiding this chapter was:

> *To what extent are ethnic groups within the Netherlands unequally distributed over amateur football clubs?*

In line with the homophily principle, I find that clubs on average provide substantially more ingroup co-membership ties than the composition of the total member population would suggest. This goes to show that even when a sport can count on high interest and participation across a wide range of ethnic groups - which is far from always the case - there are limitations on its ability to link people with different ethnic backgrounds together.

I proposed two factors that could partly drive differences in groups' degree of inbreeding and co-membership ties with various other groups. The first factor was group size. This does seem to be associated with higher levels of inbreeding for minority groups, suggesting that bigger numbers allow for more homophilic tie-formation and/or that new members gravitate to clubs with ethnic peers. Consequently, we should not assume that democratization of sports and increases in minority participation automatically translate to interethnic mixing at the club

level[6]. Part of the increase in mixed interactions might take place between clubs instead of within clubs. While Janssens and Verweel's study (2014) suggests that there is little reason to assume that 'separate' or 'mixed' clubs have diametrically opposed effects on ethnic relations, the potential for the development of durable interpersonal ties is most likely strongly diminished in the first instance. Moreover, when ethnic groups meet in the competitive and sometimes heated setting of the sports arena, this also involves a risk for escalation and reaffirmation of interethnic prejudice (Krouwel et al., 2006).

The second factor which could drive differences in ethnic inbreeding of groups is the presence or absence of interethnic boundaries. While I did find that the two groups which were expected to experience strong boundaries between themselves and various others were also on average the most segregated, there was no clear evidence that these boundaries caused strong and clear patterns of segregation between all groups. Surinamese members were much more segregated than both dimensions would have suggested. A possible explanation for this, as well as for the lack of clear effects of language and religion, might be that these dimensions are overshadowed by a strong pattern of residential segregation for this group. Additionally, I found little proof for bonding over religion between members with Turkish and Moroccan backgrounds. The group size of these two groups might explain why they feel little need to join the same clubs. Additionally, citizens with Moroccan and Turkish backgrounds experience religion segregated from each other, in separate Mosques with services held in different languages. Language in this case might supersede religion.

The mechanisms which drive people with similar ethnic backgrounds together are manifold and strongly intertwined, making it both difficult and, to a certain extent, problematic to isolate causal factors. The ethnic homogeneity of the family unit and the unequal distribution of ethnic groups over geographic space – for example due to selective settlement after immigration - present people from the very beginning with skewed starting positions for a lifelong of tie-formation. Overlapping cleavages between ethnic background and other important social characteristics[7], such as economic capital, educational

[6] The focus of this study was put on ethnic inbreeding in co-membership ties. See Zwahlen, Nagel and Schlesinger (2018) for an important discussion on the topic of social integration in club contexts beyond the notion of membership.

[7] Described as social consolidation (McPherson & Smith-Lovin, 1987).

attainment and occupational status, can perpetuate or intensify unequal meeting opportunities, and also serve as fruitful bases for interethnic prejudice. (McPherson et al., 2001)

Effectively testing various of these mechanisms requires complex and dynamic data on large network structures and a wide range of time variant individual level variables, which, unfortunately, is well beyond the scope and possibilities of this study. However, an interesting next step from this study would be to study the effect of club compositions on dropout. Homophily is both driven by tie-formation and tie-dissolution, but the latter topic has enjoyed much less attention (McPherson et al., 2001). Comparing levels of ethnic segregation in membership with the effect of ethnic group sizes in clubs on dropout could help us in further understanding the extent to which segregation of groups and between groups is a product of unequal meeting opportunities or a consequence of interethnic relations and differences in group members' willingness and unwillingness to connect with in and outgroup members - described by McPherson & Smith-Lovin (1987) as choice homophily.

References

Andriessen, I., Fernee, H., & Wittebrood, K. (2014). *Perceived discrimination in the Netherlands* (J. Ross, Trans.). The Netherlands Institute for Social Research.

Barth, F. (1969). Introduction. In F. Barth (Ed.), *Ethnic groups and boundaries: The social organization of culture difference* (pp. 9–38). Universitetsforlaget.

Breuer, C., & Wicker, P. (2008). Demographic and economic factors influencing inclusion in the German sport system – a microanalysis of the years 1985 to 2005. *European Journal for Sport and Society*, *5*(1), 33–42. https://doi.org/10.1080/16138171.2008.11687807

Brubaker, R. (2013). Language, religion and the politics of difference. *Nations and Nationalism*, *19*(1), 1–20. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1469-8129.2012.00562.x

Burton, J., Nandi, A., & Platt, L. (2010). Measuring ethnicity: challenges and opportunities for survey research. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *33*(8), 1332–1349. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870903527801

Elling, A., & Knoppers, A. (2005). Sport, gender and ethnicity: Practices of symbolic inclusion/exclusion. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *34*(3), 257–268. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-005-4311-6

Entzinger, H. & Dourleijn, E. (2008). *De lat steeds hoger. De leefwereld van jongeren in een multi-etnische stad* [Constantly raising the bar. The lifeworld of youth in a multi-ethnic city]. Van Gorcum

Eurobarometer, S. (2014). *Sport and physical activity*. TNS Opinion & Social.

Hao, L., & Fong, E. (2011). Linking dichotomous segregation with multi-group segregation: Weighted segregation ratios in selected U.S. metropolitan areas. *Social Science Research*, *40*(1), 379–391. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2010.05.005

Herweijer, L., Iedema, J., Andriessen, I., & Vervoort, M. (2016), Opleidingsniveau en beheersing Nederlandse taal [Educational level and command of the Dutch language]. In W. Huijnk & I. Andriessen (Eds.), *Integratie in zicht?* [Integration in sight?] (pp. 61-76). The Netherlands Institute for Social Research.

Higgins, V., & Dale, A. (2013). Ethnic differences in sports participation in England. *European Journal for Sport and Society*, *10*(3), 215–239. https://doi.org/10.1080/16138171.2013.11687920

Huink, W. (Ed.) (2018) *De religieuze beleving van moslims in Nederland* [The religious experiences of Muslims in the Netherlands]. The Netherlands Institute for Social Research.

Huijnk, W., & Andriessen, I. (Eds.). (2016). *Integratie in zicht?* [Integration in sight?]. The Netherlands Institute for Social Research.

Iceland, J. (2004). Beyond Black and White: Metropolitan residential segregation in multi-ethnic America. *Social Science Research*, *33*(2), 248–271. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0049-089X(03)00056-5

Janssens, J., & Verweel, P. (2014). The significance of sports clubs within multicultural society. On the accumulation of social capital by migrants in culturally "mixed" and "separate" sports clubs. *European Journal for Sport and Society*, *11*(1), 35–58. https://doi.org/10.1080/16138171.2014.11687932

Krouwel, A., Boonstra, N., Duyvendak, J. W., & Veldboer, L. (2006). A good sport? Research into the capacity of recreational sport to integrate Dutch minorities. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *41*(2), 165–180. https://doi.org/10.1177/1012690206075419

Leszczensky, L., & Pink, S. (2017). Intra- and inter-group friendship choices of christian, muslim, and non-religious youth in Germany. *European Sociological Review*, *33*(1), 72–83. https://doi.org/10.1093/esr/jcw049

Louch, H. (2000). Personal network integration: transitivity and homophily in strong-tie relations. *Social Networks, 22*, 45-64.

Maliepaard. M. & Gijsberts, M. (2012) *Moslim in Nederland* [Muslim in the Netherlands]. The Netherlands Institute for Social Research.

Maliepaard, M., Lubbers, M., & Gijsberts, M. (2010). Generational differences in ethnic and religious attachment and their interrelation. A study among Muslim minorities in the Netherlands. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *33*(3), 451–472. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870903318169

McPherson, J. M. (1983). An ecology of affiliation. *American Sociological Review*, *48*(4), 519–532. https://doi.org/10.2307/2117719

McPherson, J. M., & Rotolo, T. (1996). Testing a dynamic model of social composition: Diversity and change in voluntary Groups. *American Sociological Review*, *61*(2), 179–202. https://doi.org/10.2307/2096330

McPherson, J. M., & Smith-Lovin, L. (1987). Homophily in voluntary organizations: Status distance and the composition of face-to-face groups. *American Sociological Review*, *52*(3), 370–379. https://doi.org/10.2307/2095356

McPherson, M., Smith-Lovin, L., & Cook, J. M. (2001). Birds of a feather: Homophily in social networks. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *27*(1), 415–444. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.27.1.415

Popielarz, P. A., & McPherson, J. M. (1995). On the edge or in between: Niche position, Niche overlap, and the duration of voluntary association memberships. *American Journal of Sociology*, *101*(3), 698–720. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2781998

Reardon, S. F., & Yun, J. T. (2003). Integrating neighborhoods, segregating schools: The retreat from school desegregation in the south, 1990–2000. *North Carolina Law Review*, *81*, 1563–2433.

Reardon, S. F., & Firebaugh, G. (2002). Measures of multigroup segregation. *Sociological Methodology*, *32*(1), 33–67. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9531.00110

Sniderman, P. M., & Hagendoorn, L. (2007). *When ways of life collide: Multiculturalism and its discontents in the Netherlands*. Princeton University Press.

Terkourafi, M. (2018), *Language and belonging*. Leiden University.

Theil, H. (1972). *Statistical decomposition analysis: With applications in the social and administrative sciences*. North-Holland Pub. Co.

Theil, H., & Finizza, A. J. (1971). A note on the measurement of racial integration of schools by means of informational concepts. *The Journal of Mathematical Sociology*, *1*(2), 187–193. https://doi.org/10.1080/0022250X.1971.9989795

Van Haaften, A. F. (2019). Ethnic participation in Dutch amateur football clubs. *European Journal for Sport and Society*, *16*(4), 301–322. https://doi.org/10.1080/16138171.2019.1693144

Verkuyten, M. (2007). Religious group identification and inter-religious relations: A study among Turkish-Dutch Muslims. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, *10*(3), 341–357. https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430207078695

Vermeulen, J., & Verweel, P. (2009). Participation in sport: bonding and bridging as identity work. *Sport in Society*, *12*(9), 1206–1219. https://doi.org/10.1080/17430430903137886

Voas, D., & Fleischmann, F. (2012). Islam moves west: Religious change in the first and second generations. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *38*(1), 525–545. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-071811-145455

Wiertz, D. (2016). Segregation in civic life: Ethnic sorting and mixing across voluntary associations. *American Sociological Review*, *81*(4), 800–827. https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122416651312

Zwahlen, J. A., Nagel, S., & Schlesinger, T. (2018). Analyzing social integration of young immigrants in sports clubs. *European Journal for Sport and Society*, *15*(1), 22–42. https://doi.org/10.1080/16138171.2018.1440950

CHAPTER 4

Does ethnic heterogeneity of clubs affect member dropout?

4.1 Heterogeneity and tie-dissolution

In the previous chapter I have demonstrated that people tend to gravitate to the same clubs as their ethnic peers. This process of ethnic sorting makes amateur football clubs substantially more ethnically homogeneous and segregated from one another than one would expect based on chance alone. While the role of selective tie-formation in the social segregation of voluntary associations is well established, much less is known about the influence of selective tie-dissolution. (McPherson, Smith-Lovin & Cook, 2001). Considering that membership dynamics of voluntary organizations are a product of both entry and exit, this raises the question if the ethnic background of co-members could also play a role in member turnover.

Wiertz (2016) has suggested that the ethnic composition of associations is primarily important for when members join associations and not when they leave them. However, the data used for his study had several limitations. Moreover, McPherson and colleagues have suggested in the past that heterogeneity within associations can be a driving factor in member turnover (McPherson, Popielarz & Drobnic, 1992; Popielarz & McPherson, 1995). As amateur football clubs get more ethnically heterogeneous over time (see chapter 3), it is important to know what the consequences are or this trend for clubs' long-term stability. In this chapter, I therefore aim to answer the following research question:

To what extent does ethnic heterogeneity of amateur football clubs affect member dropout?

In order to answer this research question, I will delve deeper into the theoretical underpinnings of the relationship between ethnic club heterogeneity

in the next section. I will break down this relationship into three distinct mechanisms that each connect one specific aspect of ethnic heterogeneity to member dropout. Based on these three mechanisms, a set of hypotheses is formulated. This is then followed up by a section on this study's research design in which the data, measures and modelling strategy used to test the hypotheses are explained. In the third section I will present the outcomes of the analyses and discuss which of the hypotheses are supported and rejected. The chapter closes with a summarization of the main findings and a discussion of their implications.

4.2 Three mechanisms that link ethnic heterogeneity to member dropout

In the past, various mechanisms have been distinguished which potentially link the ethnic heterogeneity of groups to individuals' involvement (Koopmans & Schaeffer, 2015; Meer & Tolsma, 2014). Unfortunately, few studies have been able to test these different mechanisms simultaneously. Often, only a single measure for group heterogeneity is used[8]. This is problematic because while all mechanisms suggest that people tend to favour ethnically homogeneous settings over heterogeneous ones, they are analytically and empirically related to different compositional aspects of group heterogeneity which cannot be captured with a single heterogeneity index. Furthermore, social psychologists (Hogg et al., 1995; Hogg & Terry, 2000; Turner et al., 1979) have long stressed the pivotal role of in- and outgroup categorizations when people meet and interact with others, which cannot be accounted for in an aggregate measure of heterogeneity.

To address these issues, I follow Koopmans and Schaeffer's (2015) suggestion to break down heterogeneity into group specific measures for ethnic ingroup share and outgroup fractionalization respectively. Doing so not only addresses the in- and outgroup distinctions people tend to make in their daily lives, but it will also allow us to further specify the relationship of each mechanism to group heterogeneity. The section below consists of a discussion of three key mechanisms connecting ethnic heterogeneity to member dropout -

[8] Most often, the highly popular Herfindahl-Hirschman index (Hirschman, 1964) is used for this purpose.

homophily, intergroup threat and social disarray – as well as their relation to either club members' ingroup share or outgroup fractionalization.

Homophily

A key explanation in linking ethnic heterogeneity to member dropout is the simple principle that similarity breeds connection. Since its original formulation by Lazarsfeld and Merton (1954), decades of research on the homophily principle has shown that people are substantially more inclined to form and maintain ties with others if they have social characteristics in common (e.g. see McPherson & Smith-Lovin, 1987; McPherson et al., 2001). While the list of the traits that drive people together is long, few, if any, are found to have such a pronounced effect as ethnicity. Overall, individuals are much more likely to have ties to ethnic peers than to ethnic others and ethnic group membership operates as a major fault line in people's networks (McPherson et al., 2001).

Homophily has a profound impact on organizational dynamics because it produces selective recruitment and integration of members into organizations through multiple positive feedback loops (McPherson, Popielarz & Drobnic, 1992). Firstly, homophily leads to the recruitment of *more* members with similar characteristics to *most* of the current members because both prospective and current members favour ties to similar others and members of face-to-face groups tend to recruit acquaintances, which - as a result of homophily - tend to be similar to them. This carries over to the second point, namely that homophily influences how well members are integrated into a group. Selective recruitment means that dissimilar members will have fewer ties to co-members upon entry and that they are less likely to have existing ties to co-members who join after them. On top of that, the homophily principle dictates that over time these members will on average develop fewer ties to other co-members because they have less in common. Consequently, organizations exert substantially less pulling force on dissimilar members, especially for particularly homophily inducive characteristics such as ethnic background.

Organizations do not exist in a social vacuum, however. Because the time and resources of individuals are limited, McPherson (1983) suggests organizations are best viewed as competing with one another over memberships as a scarce resource. This brings us to the third point, which is that members are also confronted with other groups and organizations which can act as a substitute for their current membership. The homophily principle implies that dissimilar

members have more social ties that are external to the organization, which in turn also have a greater likelihood of linking to groups with a higher degree of similar others. In other words, organizations do not only pull dissimilar members in less, but dissimilar members on average also experience greater outward pulls from competing organizations. Together these processes all work in the same, self-reinforcing and conservative way, namely to drive dissimilar members out and contribute to the continuous homogenisation of organizations.

Homophily links ethnic heterogeneity to member dropout because heterogeneous groups on average offer less ties to ethnic peers to members than homogeneous groups. All things being equal, this makes them less attractive to be a member of. However, the principle that higher levels of heterogeneity equals to fewer ethnic peers does not necessarily hold true for each respective group simultaneously. In fact, in 'quasi-mono-ethnic countries' which are dominated by a single ethnicity, such as the Netherlands, ethnic heterogeneity and ingroup size tend to be inversely related for the majority group, but directly related for most minority groups (Koopmans & Schaeffer, 2015). Many previous studies on the social consequences of ethnic heterogeneity have refrained from properly addressing this relational aspect of heterogeneity by only considering overall levels of heterogeneity, regardless of individuals' specific ethnicity. While the homophily principle still dictates that higher degrees of ethnic heterogeneity on the organizational level on average results in more dropout, poor or contrasting correlations between organizational heterogeneity and ethnic group shares may greatly obscure an effect. Hence, to study the impact of homophily as a pathway through which ethnic heterogeneity can lead to member dropout, it becomes necessary to directly take individual's ethnic ingroup share in the organization into account instead, which leads to the following hypothesis:

H1: Ethnic ingroup share is negatively associated with dropout

Besides an inverse relationship between ethnic ingroup share and member dropout, the homophily principle has important additional implications for quasi-mono-ethnic contexts. The reason for this is that ethnic group size strongly determines the opportunity structure for homophilic tie-formation. Under these circumstances, individuals who belong to the ethnic majority group are often guaranteed to find one or more organizations in which their ingroup dominates demographically. For ethnic minorities, however, the opposite holds true. Their

ability to find organizations with only a modest degree of ethnic peers is substantially constrained. Consequently, minority groups will often find themselves as members of organizations with relatively low ethnic ingroup shares. Given that ethnic markers provide such a strong basis for homophily, we should find higher overall dropout rates for ethnic minority members than for majority group members. However, in accordance with the homophily principle, we should also be able to explain this difference as a function of one's respective ethnic ingroup size within an organization:

H2: Migrant background is positively associated with dropout

H3: Ingroup share mediates the association between migrant background and dropout

Intergroup threat versus social disarray

In the previous discussion, it was made clear that heterogeneity can be linked to member dropout because it can be further decomposed into multiple ethnic ingroup sizes and the homophily principle dictates that these respective sizes matter to people. Within this approach, the ethnic *out*group holds little meaning over the fact that its size is the inverse of that of the ingroup. However, in addition to the homophily principle, two other theoretical approaches which link ethnic heterogeneity to member dropout can be distinguished (Tolsma & Van der Meer, 2014; Koopmans & Schaeffer, 2015). Both of these approaches are theoretically congruent with the homophily principle as previously outlined, but they go beyond the importance of relative ingroup size. Instead, they assume, either implicitly or explicitly, that the ethnic composition of one's outgroup forms another important component of ethnic heterogeneity's effect on individuals. From this point of view, it then becomes important to recognize that one's ethnic outgroup as a whole can be further broken down into multiple subgroups and both their number, as well as their respective shares are believed to have an effect on people, regardless of one's relative ingroup share.

Intergroup threat

The first of these two approaches is rooted in both sociology and psychology, and can be traced back to the work of influential scholars such as Blumer (1958), and

Taijfel and Turner (1979)[9]. Key to this approach is the premise that people may perceive and experience the manifestation of ethnic outgroup members as a threat to their well-being as a member of their respective ethnic ingroup. Intergroup Threat Theory (ITT)[10] is one of the most recent incarnations of this approach and distinguishes between two types of threat people may experience (Stephan et al., 2009). The first type consists of so called 'realistic threats' which refer to situations in which ethnic outgroup members are perceived to compromise the position of one's ingroup in terms of power, resources, health or safety. The second type are 'symbolic threats'. These threats refer to situations in which the presence of outgroup members is believed to endanger the norms, values and attitudes that are regarded as a constitutive part of the ingroup value system[11].

Being subjected to outgroup threat can be both psychologically and physiologically taxing for individuals. It has been linked to heighted levels of anxiety, self-awareness, insecurity, as well as raised concentrations of cortisol in the body (Sampasivam et al., 2016; Stephan & Stephan, 1985). Moreover, Stephan et al. (2009) point out that threat can have a self-perpetuating effect on group dynamics. It may sharpen individuals' perception of in- and outgroup differences, and foster ingroup favouring and outgroup derogating attitudes and behaviours, both of which may serve to further exacerbate intergroup threat. On top of this, intergroup threat may also heighten threat from one's ingroup. Namely, under threatening circumstances, prototypical ingroup norms are enforced more strictly and deviant behaviour is more likely to evoke strong social sanctioning from fellow ingroup members.

Interethnic contact does not automatically translate to threat, however. A necessary precondition for feelings of group threat to emerge is that the ethnic intergroup nature of the setting is recognized and accepted by participants (Sampasivam et al., 2016). In other words, organizational members must repeatedly categorize themselves and others as (co-)members of distinct and contrasting ethnic groups, in favour of other classifications.

[9] See. Quillian (1995) for a more elaborate historical account.

[10] An earlier version of this theory was described as Integrated Threat Theory (Stephan & Stephan, 2000)

[11] The term 'realistic' here is a reference to the earlier developed Realistic Conflict Theory and should not be understood as suggesting that this type of threat is - in terms of both experiences and consequences - more real than the other. A key premise of ITT is that threats are real to the extent that they are perceived as such by individuals, even when the claims on which they rest are false.

The ethnic homogeneity of the outgroup may act as a key enabling variable in this process because individuals' social categorizations tend to adhere to what has been known as the 'principle of meta-contrast' (Turner & Oakes, 1986). This principle dictates that the likeliness of people to categorize a collection of individuals as a group is a function of the degree in which intragroup differences are less than the differences between that group and other individuals within that context. Ethnic outgroup homogeneity maximizes the conditions under which the principle of meta-contrast operates by reducing differences in the outgroup and simplifying comparisons with the ingroup. Conversely, its counterpart, ethnic outgroup fractionalization, introduces differences within the outgroup which complicate clear-cut intergroup comparisons. Furthermore, maximized outgroup homogeneity is most likely to lead to shared and therefore salient group categories because in- and outgroup distinctions will overlap each other perfectly, regardless of ethnic group membership. Vice versa, when outgroups become more ethnically fractured, group categories become increasingly contested because ethnicity based in- and outgroup classifications start to diverge.

The idea that ethnic outgroup homogeneity may play a key role enabling group threat is supported by previous research. Namely, several psychological studies have found that experiences of threat and perceptions of high outgroup homogeneity are positively related to one another. Additionally, in a comparative study of 138 countries, Montalvo and Reynal-Querol (2005) find that civic conflict is not a product of ethnically heterogeneous populations per se, but of ethnically polarized population structures specifically – thus when ethnic outgroup homogeneity is high. Hence, if ethnic group threat forms a pathway through which ethnic heterogeneity may lead to member dropout, I expect that this form of dropout will be highest when members come into contact with a fully homogeneous outgroup and that dropout thus scales negatively with higher degrees of outgroup fractionalization:

H4: Ethnic outgroup fractionalization is negatively associated with dropout

Social disarray

As opposed to the approach centred around group threat, the other theoretical approach is less rounded. Instead, it consists of multiple ideas which all share the notion that ethnic differences have the potential to hamper socially meaningful and effective interaction between individuals, impair a group's ability to

coordinate and control members' behaviour successfully, and psychologically overwhelm individuals. From this perspective, one could say that ethnic heterogeneity makes things messy and complicated, and therefore acts as a source of social disarray.

Drawing from the earlier synthesizing works from both Tolsma and Van der Meer (2014) and Koopmans et al. (2015), I suggest that the social disarray effect can be broken down into three different – although connected – mechanisms which set it apart from the intergroup threat approach. The first of these mechanisms is most straightforward and states that ethnic heterogeneous settings place a higher burden on interpersonal contact, decision making processes and cooperation. The primary reason for this is that ethnic differences tend to go hand in hand with various other social differences such as cultural differences or language differences which, together, make it increasingly difficult for group members to communicate with one another and reach agreement over values and goals. This negatively impacts the membership experience by either increasing its costs in terms of the time and resources spent or lowering its returns by diminishing the realization of collective goods.

The second mechanism focuses on the importance of networks for group membership. When individuals form dense and exclusive networks, a property known as network closure, they tend to be more effective at monitoring and socially sanctioning each other's behaviour (Coleman, 1990). Groups with high network closure are therefore able to put a higher premium on member commitment than groups made up out of more dispersed and disconnected networks. An important consequence of the homophily principle is that a group's network structure is in part a function of its ethnic composition. Because network ties favour ethnic similarity over dissimilarity, homogeneous groups have the highest likelihood to form close-knit networks clusters high in closure. Conversely, as more and more ethnic differences are incorporated within a group, closure is progressively diminished by an increasing number of loose ends and gaps in the network.

The third and last mechanism suggests, similarly to the intergroup threat approach, that ethnic heterogeneity may lead to psychological distress in individuals. Here, however, this effect is not caused by the presence of an easily distinguishable and threatening outgroup, but instead by a lack of ethnic similarity among group members, which, following the principle of meta contrast, hinders social categorization. The reason for this is that while social

categories might form the basis for group threat and conflict, socially categorizing oneself and others also fulfils important psychological needs. Hogg (2009) notes that social categories contain important prescriptive information. They give us a rough idea how one belonging to that category should feel and behave. Applying them to ourselves provides us with 'a sense of identification and belonging' and in conjunction with others leads to the 'support for and validation of one's identity, attitudes, and actions' (p. 222). Due to their prescriptive nature, social categorizations also help us to gauge the feelings and actions of others and help us with predicting how they will interact with us. Hogg explains that in this way social categorization of ourselves and others plays a key role in suppressing a highly aversive psychological state of being by 'reducing uncertainty about who one is, how one should behave, and how one will be treated by others' (p. 222). Given the saliency of ethnic categories, contexts which are highly diverse in terms of ethnic backgrounds might be especially inducive of these feelings of uncertainty.

Important about all three mechanisms is that they scale in the same way. Namely the cost-benefit ratio, network closure and feelings of uncertainty all increase with the *number* of ethnic differences one encounters in a group setting. Consequently, together, they suggest the reversal of the intergroup threat hypothesis by assuming that it is a highly fractured outgroup which leads to the most dropout, not a homogeneous one. In this case we should find that:

H5: Ethnic outgroup fractionalization is positively associated with dropout

Majority and minority differences

While so far, I have assumed that these effects are universal across groups, it can be argued that this fails to account for a fundamental difference between the daily lives of citizens with a minority background and those with a majority ethnic background – especially in quasi-monoethnic contexts. In contrast to members of the majority group, minorities seldom have the luxury to keep mostly to ingroup members. This low availability of ethnic homogeneous settings could mean that on average the threshold for minorities to drop out is higher than for the members of the majority group. Moreover, minority members tend to have vastly more direct and indirect contact experiences with their outgroup than their majority counterparts. While this may very well just be a byproduct of each respective groups' ability to realize homophilic preferences, this difference in outgroup

exposure may weaken the impact of ingroup share and outgroup composition on members with a minority background, because minorities are on average more accustomed to outgroup members than the other way around. This leads to my final hypothesis:

> H6: Migrant background mitigates the associations between ingroup share and dropout, and between outgroup fractionalization and dropout

4.3 Methodology

Data

This study is part of a research project for which individual membership data of all registered amateur football clubs in the Netherlands between the years 2005 and 2015 was provided by the Royal Dutch Football Association (KNVB). These membership data were combined with microdata on individual background characteristics of Dutch inhabitants from Statistics Netherlands[12]. The resulting longitudinal dataset spans ten playing seasons, which start on the 15th of August and end on the 15th of May in the following year[13]. To prevent false records of individual member dropout - for instance due to club mergers or dissolutions -, only clubs that have existed during the complete observation period are included in this study. Additionally, to ensure measurement reliability and comparability, clubs with fewer than 30 members in any of the playing seasons were excluded from the data. Because dropout of members is determined by comparing membership data to the subsequent season (see below), data of the tenth playing season was only used for construction of the dependent variable. Consequently, the final study sample contains 10,205,331 individual observations distributed over nine playing seasons and nested within 2778 clubs.

Measures

[12] All presented results are based on calculations by the author using non-public microdata from Statistics Netherlands. Under certain conditions, these microdata are accessible for statistical and scientific research. For further information: microdata@cbs.nl.

[13] True start and end dates of playing seasons fluctuate slightly based on season, region, level and team performance. In consultation with the Royal Dutch Football Association, these dates were found to be most reasonable.

Member dropout

Member dropout forms the dependent variable of this study and is measured as a dichotomous event for which observations score '0' when the event has not yet occurred (i.e., club membership carries over to the next playing season) and '1' when the event occurs (i.e., the member drops out). To determine which of these situations applies, club membership records for each playing season were compared to the subsequent season and scored accordingly.

Ethnic background

I use twelve categories to classify members in terms of their ethnic background (see chapter 2 for a more detailed explanation). The first six categories are single nationality backgrounds: 1) Dutch, 2) Turkish, 3) Moroccan, 4) Surinamese, 5) Antillean and 6) Indonesian. The second set of six categories are made up of sociocultural regions: 7) Northern/Western/Southern European and Anglo-Saxon, 8) Middle and Eastern European, 9) North African and Muslim Asian, 10) Sub-Saharan African, 11) Non-Muslim Asian and Oceanian (excluding Australia and New Zealand) and 12) Middle and South American.[14] Members' ethnic background is determined by using their country of birth and that of the parents. Members are categorized as having a Dutch background if both parents are born in the Netherlands, regardless of one's own ethnic background. All members that have one or more parent who is born outside of the Netherlands are classified as having a migrant background. The ethnic background of this group of members is determined using their own country of birth, unless he or she is born in the Netherlands. In these cases, the country of birth of the mother is use first and of birth of the father second.

Ingroup share and outgroup fractionalization

Ingroup share and outgroup fractionalization are both group dependent and club dependent measures. This means they must be calculated per club and per each of the twelve aforementioned ethnic categories. Ingroup share is measured as the percentage of club members belonging to one's own ethnic category and thus ranges from 0 to 100. Outgroup fractionalization is measured by the often-used Herfindahl-Hirschman Index (Hirschman, 1964). This index expresses the probability that two individuals are not from the same ethnic group when they are

[14] See Appendix A for a detailed list of all countries per category.

selected at random from a population – in this case a club. For each ethnic group, this index is calculated on the basis of the other remaining eleven ethnic categories by taking the sum of each ethnic category's respective squared proportion, multiplying it by 100 and subsequently subtracting it from 100. This results in a measure that ranges from 0 to 100 and expresses the percentual chance that two randomly selected outgroup club members differ from each other in their ethnic background.

Control variables

In addition to these measures, several control variables on both the individual and club level are used. On the individual level, these are: time period (separated by playing season), membership duration (in cumulative playing seasons), age (in years), gender (in male and female), and income (in tertiles of low, middle and high). On the club level, these are: club size (in total number of members) and income group share (in percentage of members within each income tertile)

Modelling strategy

The data for this study has a longitudinal (membership records distributed over playing seasons) as well as a hierarchical (members nested in clubs) component. To address both of these characteristics of the data structure, I use a generalized linear mixed model with a complementary log-log link function. In this model, no linear effect of consecutive playing seasons on the dependent variable is assumed, and covariates are allowed to vary between seasons (Allison, 1982). By using a complementary log-log link function, the results of this model can be interpreted as a standard proportional hazards model (Austin, 2017). Because observations are nested within clubs and are dependent on each other, a random intercept varying across the club level is included in all models. The most basic model will be a random intercept model with individual level predictors to which club level characteristics are then added in multiple steps. Because I have assumed that 1) the effect of migrant background on dropout is itself a function of the ethnic composition of clubs and 2) the effects of ingroup share and outgroup fractionalization differ between members with migrant and Dutch backgrounds, the final model includes a random effect for migrant background and cross level interaction terms for migrant background and ingroup share, and migrant background and outgroup fractionalization.

4.4 Results

Study sample

A description of the study sample split by background for all nine playing seasons combined is presented in table 4.1. Some characteristics of the study sample are worth noting. Firstly, it should not come as surprise that the amateur football member population is relatively young and, despite an influx of (young) women into the sport (De Kwaasteniet, 2019), is dominated by males. Furthermore, members with a migrant background are underrepresented in amateur football. In the study sample, 15% of the membership records belongs to members with a migrant background, while citizens with a migrant background make up roughly 21% of the Dutch population (see chapter 2)[15]. The numerical disparity between members with a Dutch and migrant background also translates to the club level. The ingroup share figures indicate that members with a Dutch background share their background with most other members within their club (M = 87.33, SD = 10.52), while members with other backgrounds usually share this background with a much smaller portion of the members (M = 9.30, SD = 17.71). Lastly, we also see substantially higher dropout rates for members with migrant backgrounds (23%) than for members with Dutch backgrounds (13%). In the next section, we delve further into the explanation for this difference.

Hypotheses testing

The outcomes of the analyses to test the hypotheses of this study are presented in table 4.2. To simplify things, the predictor coefficients from table 4.2 are also exponentiated and presented as percent probabilities in table 4.3. Model 1 includes a random intercept, controls for time and time period and all fixed individual level predictors. The results of this model show that when controlled for individual level characteristics, members with migrant backgrounds show a substantially higher probability of dropping out (i.e., 37.26%) than members with a Dutch background. In model 2, two club level predictors are added to the model: club size and club income share. While we can see that larger clubs and a higher proportion of low-income members in a club increase member's probability to

[15] It must be noted that this does not hold true for each individual background. Chapter 2 shows that some minority groups are in fact overrepresented in Dutch amateur football.

Table 4.1 Study sample

	Dutch background (N=8,677,292)				Migrant background (N=1,528,039)			
	Mean/π	SD	25%	75%	Mean/π	SD	25%	75%
Dependent variable								
Dropout	0.13	-	-	-	0.23	-	-	-
Individual-level variables								
Age	24.78	16.93	11	36	19.87	13.65	10	26
Gender, ref: male								
Female	0.11	-	-	-	0.06	-	-	-
Income, ref: low	0.19	-	-	-	0.43	-	-	-
Middle income	0.52	-	-	-	0.41	-	-	-
High income	0.29	-	-	-	0.16	-	-	-
Ethnicity, ref: Dutch	1.00	-	-	-				
Turkish					0.16	-	-	-
Moroccan					0.15	-	-	-
Surinamese					0.10	-	-	-
Antillean					0.04	-	-	-
Indonesian					0.08	-	-	-
Anglo-Saxon or North-/West-/South-European					0.22	-	-	-
Middle- or Eastern European					0.06	-	-	-
North-African or Islamic Asian					0.07	-	-	-
Sub-Saharan African					0.06	-	-	-
Latin American or Caribbean					0.03	-	-	-
Non-Islamic Asian					0.03	-	-	-
Club-level variables								
Club size	649.19	371.92	367	867	679.71	370.56	395	898
Income share, ref: low	21.64	7.96	16.31	25	28.01	12.15	18.98	34.10
Middle income	50.98	6.47	48.06	55	47.32	7.60	43.19	52.65
High income	27.38	8.63	21.53	32.75	24.67	10.31	17.51	31.14
Ingroup share	87.33	10.52	82.83	94.86	9.30	17.71	1.52	7.91
Outgroup fractionalization	76.64	15.88	73.96	86.13	40.07	23.17	21.44	56.68

Note: Means, standard deviations, and 25th and 75th percentiles are reported for scale variables and proportions are reported for categorical variables.

drop out, the addition of these predictors has virtually no effect on the observed difference in dropout between members with migrant and Dutch backgrounds.

In model 3, member's ingroup share is included as a third club level predictor. Firstly, we can witness a clear negative association between ingroup share on dropout. This indicates that members of clubs with high ingroup shares are less likely to drop out than members with lower ingroup shares, supporting hypothesis 1 of this study. While the exponentiated association (i.e., -0.39%) may not seem substantial at first glance, this means that a 78 percent point higher ingroup share (the mean difference in ingroup share between Dutch and migrant members) reduces one's probability of dropping out by more than 25 percent. Secondly, by including ingroup share as a predictor in the model, most of the difference between members with a migrant background and a Dutch background in dropout has been accounted for. Of the 37.17% difference in probability to drop out, only a 3.57% difference remains. This result provides strong support for hypotheses 2 and 3 of this chapter, which stated that members with migrant backgrounds are more likely to drop out than members with Dutch backgrounds but that this difference is mediated by differences in ingroup share.

In model 4, I subsequently add the ethnic fractionalization of members' outgroup as a fourth club level predictor. This addition is important because ingroup share and outgroup fractionalization correlate oppositely for members with migrant backgrounds and members with Dutch backgrounds. When we do not account for this, it may dilute the estimation of the association between ingroup share and dropout (see also Koopmans & Schaeffer, 2015). The results from model 4 show that this indeed is the case. By including outgroup fractionalization in the model, the effect of ingroup share on dropout significantly increases in strength and the difference between Dutch and migrant members remains virtually the same. These results reaffirm hypotheses 1 to 3. Furthermore, the inclusion of outgroup fractionalization as predictor of dropout also allows us to test whether group threat (hypothesis 4) or, instead, social disarray (hypothesis 5) is a (stronger) driver of member dropout. The results show that the association between outgroup fractionalization and dropout is negative. This means that club members with homogeneous outgroups are less likely to drop out than members with ethnically diverse outgroups. Consequently hypothesis 4 on group threat is rejected and hypothesis 5 on social disarray is confirmed.

Finally, through the inclusion of two cross-level interaction terms, model 6 allows the effect of ingroup share and outgroup fractionalization on dropout to

Table 4.2 Estimated predictors of dropout

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Intercept	-1.874*** (0.009)	-1.632*** (0.025	-1.288*** (0.026)	-1.335*** (0.026)	-1.237*** (0.031)
Individual-level variables					
Age	-0.002*** (0.0001)	-0.002*** (0.0001)	-0.002*** (0.0001)	-0.002*** (0.0001)	-0.002*** (0.0001)
Gender, ref.: male					
Female	0.396*** (0.003)	0.395*** (0.003)	0.394*** (0.003)	0.394*** (0.003)	0.395*** (0.003)
Income, ref.: low					
Middle income	-0.185*** (0.002)	-0.183*** (0.002)	-0.184*** (0.002)	-0.184*** (0.002)	-0.184*** (0.002)
High income	-0.233*** (0.002)	-0.231*** (0.002)	-0.232*** (0.002)	-0.232*** (0.002)	-0.232*** (0.002)
Ethnicity, ref.: Dutch					
Migrant background	0.317*** (0.002)	0.316*** (0.002)	0.035*** (0.007)	0.034*** (0.007)	-0.061** (0.025)
Club-level variables					
Club size		0.0004*** (0.00001)	0.0004*** (0.00001)	0.0003*** (0.00001)	0.0003*** (0.00001)
Income share, ref.: low					
Middle income		-0.004*** (0.0003)	-0.004*** (0.0003)	-0.004*** (0.0003)	-0.004*** (0.0003)
High income		-0.007*** (0.0004)	-0.007*** (0.0004)	-0.006*** (0.0004)	-0.006*** (0.0004)
Ingroup share			-0.004*** (0.0001)	-0.005*** (0.0001)	-0.006*** (0.0003)
Outgroup fractionalization				0.001*** (0.0001)	0.002*** (0.0001)
Cross-level interactions					
Migrant*ingroup share					0.002*** (0.0001)
Migrant*outgroup fractionalization					-0.0004** (0.0002)

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$, N: 10,205,331 observations nested in 2,778 clubs, complementary log-log link function, adjusted for membership duration (number of playing seasons) and time period (per playing season).

Table 4.3 Predictor coefficients exponentiated into probabilities

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Individual-level variables					
Age	-0.18%	-0.18%	-0.19%	-0.19%	-0.18%
Gender, ref: male					
Female	+48.63%	+48.46%	+48.24%	+48.28%	+48.46%
Income, ref: low					
Middle income	-16.91%	-16.75%	-16.81%	-16.81%	-16.78%
High income	-20.79%	-20.60%	-20.74%	-20.73%	-20.69%
Ethnicity, ref: Dutch					
Migrant background	+37.36%	+37.17%	+3.57%	+3.45%	-5.95%
Club-level variables					
Club size		+0.04%	+0.04%	+0.03%	+0.03%
Income share, ref: low					
% middle income		-0.44%	-0.43%	-0.39%	-0.37%
% high income		-0.69%	-0.68%	-0.63%	-0.61%
Ingroup share			-0.39%	-0.47%	-0.63%
Outgroup fractionalization				+0.13%	+0.16%
Cross-level interactions					
Migrant*ingroup share					+0.18%
Migrant*outgroup fractionalization					-0.04%

Note: Adjusted for membership duration (number of playing seasons) and time period (per playing season).

differ between members with Dutch and migrant background. The reason for this is that I expected migrant background to have a mitigating effect on both effects due to a constrained opportunity structure and higher rates of interethnic contact (hypothesis 6). The cross-level interaction terms show that both effects are indeed weaker for members with migrant backgrounds. For ingroup share, this effect is -0.45% (-0.63 + 0.18) instead of -0.63% and for outgroup fractionalization, the effect is 0.14% (0.18 - 0.04) instead of 0.18%. This confirms the last hypothesis of this chapter.

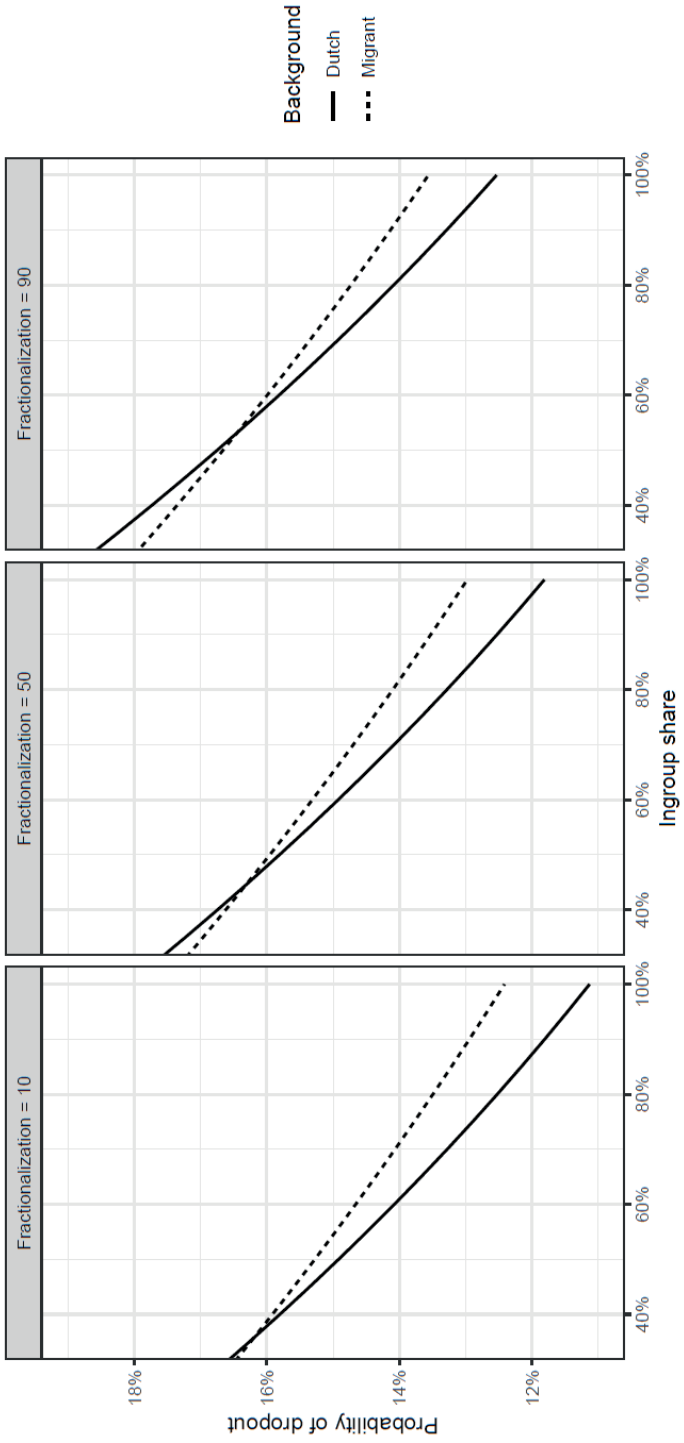

Figure 4.1 Predicted probability of dropout per level of ingroup share and outgroup fractionalization

To better grasp the implications of the final model, the effect of ingroup share on member's predicted probability of dropout is plotted for both backgrounds and for different levels of outgroup fractionalization in figure 4.1. As was already indicated by the estimate for migrant background on dropout in model 6 (-5.95%), we can now see that members with a Dutch background are in fact estimated to be more likely to drop out than their counterparts when ingroup share and outgroup fractionalization approach zero. Because the positive effect of outgroup fractionalization is stronger for members with Dutch backgrounds than for members with migrant backgrounds, this difference is larger for higher values of outgroup fractionalization (also see the increase in the gap between both lines for higher values of outgroup fractionalization). For ingroup share, the opposite holds true. Higher values reduce the dropout of members with Dutch backgrounds more than that of members with migrant backgrounds. Thus, at high enough levels of ingroup share, the dropout of members with Dutch backgrounds is as low as that of members with migrant backgrounds or lower. This is illustrated by the intersecting lines for each of the three values for outgroup fractionalization.

4.5 Conclusions and discussion

In this chapter I have studied the relationship between the ethnic composition of amateur football clubs and member turnover. The research question guiding this chapter was:

> *To what extent does ethnic heterogeneity of amateur football clubs affect member dropout?*

The outcomes of my analyses that member dropout is clearly affected by club heterogeneity. Members are substantially more likely to drop out of ethnically heterogeneous clubs than out of clubs with more homogeneous compositions. In this chapter, I have discussed three possible explanations for this effect. The first explanation for this effect is an attraction to ingroup members over outgroup members, known as the homophily principle. The outcomes suggest that homophily plays a pivotal role in explaining ethnic heterogeneity's effect on dropout. Not only do variations in ingroup share have a substantial impact on

members' likelihood to drop out, but different ingroup shares also prove to be a key driver of the disparity in dropout between members with migrant or Dutch backgrounds.

Two other explanations specifically considered the composition of one's ethnic outgroup. Reasoning from a group threat perspective, it was suggested that the presence of a homogeneous outgroup would maximize experiences and perceptions of group threat and therefore further drive up member dropout, while from a social disarray perspective it was argued that the presence of an ethnically fractured outgroup fuels dropout because it makes social connections more complicated and uncomfortable. In this study I found that the dropout of individual members correlates positively with the degree of ethnic fractionalization of the outgroup. The findings further indicated that members with Dutch backgrounds or with migrant backgrounds are both affected by differences in relative ingroup size and outgroup fractionalization in generally the same way. The effects for members with migrant backgrounds are slightly weaker than for members with a Dutch background, however. This is most likely caused by a more constrained opportunity structure and more contact experiences with outgroup members.

Several implications can be drawn from these results. First and foremost, the outcomes of the analyses are illustrative of homophily's pervasiveness in our social lives. While much of the past research on the homophily principle has focused on tie-formation rather than dissolution (McPherson et al., 2001), this study demonstrates that homophilic sorting does not end once the initial hurdle of entry is taken – as previously suggested by Wiertz (2016). Selective exit appears to be the other side of the same coin through which the ethnic segregation of groups is maintained and homophilic preferences are - more or less successfully - satisfied.

Furthermore, ever since Putnam (2007) has argued that ethnic fractionalization has an independent constricting effect on sociability, the negative social consequences of ethnic heterogeneity have been a contentious issue in the social sciences. A primary topic of debate has been whether fractionalization actually has a negative effect on its own, or whether it is merely an artefact of other causes which have not been properly accounted for, most notably, ingroup size (Abascal & Baldassarri, 2015; Meer & Tolsma, 2014). In line with recent literature (Dinesen et al., 2020; Jennissen et al., 2018; Koopmans & Schaeffer, 2015), this study finds renewed support for the idea that the

incorporation of many ethnic differences into social settings can be burdensome by itself.

This study's support for the social disarray explanation does not necessarily mean that intergroup threat has no role to play. The design of this study made it inevitable that the most powerful mechanism of the two suppresses the other. Social disarray's superiority can have various reasons. Firstly, social disarray encompasses multiple mechanisms and their cumulative effect might be both stronger and more difficult to counteract by individuals. Secondly, intergroup threat and the specific circumstances in which it most likely arises potentially allow for more effective mitigation. For example, when outgroups are homogeneous, positive interethnic contact experiences are more easily extended to other outgroup members, alleviating perceptions and experiences of threat. Additionally, brokerage can help bridge interethnic distance, but brokerage becomes less and less feasible as the number of different groups increases. Thirdly, outgroup threat might also require a low enough ingroup share to occur, in addition to sufficient levels of outgroup homogeneity. Consequently, it is possible that part of its effect on dropout has already been captured by this study's ingroup measure.

Future research could zoom in on the dynamic interplay between relative ingroup size and outgroup fractionalization, as well as on mitigation mechanisms. Furthermore, a crucial, although challenging, step up from this study would be to include data which allow for closer testing of the mediating mechanisms of the three explanations for ethnic heterogeneity's effect on dropout listed in this study. This will not only require the quantification of large amounts of qualitative data on people's experiences and emotions, but also extensive mapping of people's intra- and extra-organizational social networks. An often-heard critique of the measures used for studying ethnic heterogeneity's effects is that they are colourblind. Consequently, they do not take specific intergroup relations into account. While a strength of this study over many previous studies is that it breaks down ethnic heterogeneity into group specific measurements for ingroup size and outgroup fractionalization, it may be worthwhile to zoom in even further and study how groups respond to variations in the share of specific ethnic outgroups. Especially because Turner and Brown (1978) suggest that ingroup and outgroup relations can be influenced by one's position in the status hierarchy. Finally, another potential drawback of this study is that time is measured in periods of almost one year and the specific moment of dropout within the season could not

be determined more closely. This could have led to an overestimation of the relative ingroup size of dropouts and the outgroup fractionalization of the remaining members. It is, however, unlikely that this would have significantly affected the outcomes of this study. In fact, it could imply that the effects of ingroup size and outgroup fractionalization on dropout are slightly underestimated.

Finally, while the preference to meet and bond with similar others appears to be universal across groups, it has also become clear how much group sizes matters for one's ability to do so. Indeed, a tragic result of people's preference for homogeneity in quasi-monoethnic countries such as the Netherlands is that not only amateur football clubs but (civic) organizations in general are prone to provide more meaningful and integrating contact experiences for the majority group, and minorities can do little about this. In those few instances where minority groups do succeed to create relatively homogeneous group settings for themselves, they are unlike their majority counterparts, also likely to be met with scepticism. Furthermore, these outcomes should also temper a culturalist perspective on ethnic disparities in levels of participation and involvement. While it might be tempting to provide cultural explanations for strong ethnic differences in membership and dropout, this study shows that ingroup size and other specific circumstances offer much stronger explanations. In Dutch public opinion, it is often argued that lower involvement rates and high dropout figures for immigrants are explained by their lack of a culture of civic membership. However, when controlling for individual characteristics and club characteristics, the ethnic composition of clubs and specifically one's relative ingroup size can fully account for any remaining difference in dropout - even to the extent that members with a Dutch background are slightly more prone to drop out when they are in a minority position.

References

Abascal, M., & Baldassarri, D. (2015). Love thy neighbor? Ethnoracial diversity and trust reexamined. *American Journal of Sociology*, *121*(3), 722–782. https://doi.org/10.1086/683144

Allison, P. D. (1982). Discrete-time methods for the analysis of event histories. *Sociological Methodology*, *13*, 61. https://doi.org/10.2307/270718

Austin, P. C. (2017). A tutorial on multilevel survival analysis: Methods, models and applications. *International Statistical Review*, *85*, 185–203. https://doi.org/10.1111/insr.12214

Blumer, H. (1958). Race prejudice as a sense of group position. *The Pacific Sociological Review*, *1*(1), 3–7. https://doi.org/10.2307/1388607

Dinesen, P. T., Schaeffer, M., & Sønderskov, K. M. (2020). Ethnic diversity and social trust: A narrative and meta-analytical review. *Annual Review of Political Science*, *23*(1), 441–465. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-052918-020708

Hirschman, A. O. (1964). The paternity of an index. *The American Economic Review*, *54*(5), 761–762. https://www.jstor.org/stable/1818582

Hogg, M. A. (2009). Managing self-uncertainty through group identification. *Psychological Inquiry*, *20*(4), 221–224. JSTOR.

Hogg, M. A., & Terry, D. J. (2000). Social identity and self-categorization processes in organizational contexts. *The Academy of Management Review*, *25*(1), 121–140. https://doi.org/10.2307/259266

Hogg, M. A., Terry, D. J., & White, K. M. (1995). A tale of two theories: A critical comparison of identity theory with social identity theory. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, *58*(4), 255–269. https://doi.org/10.2307/2787127

Jennissen, R., Engbersen, G., Bokhorst, M., & Bovens, M. (2018) *De nieuwe verscheidenheid. Toenemende diversiteit naar herkomst in Nederland* [The new diversity. Increased ethnic heterogeneity in the Netherlands]. The Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy.

Koopmans, R., & Schaeffer, M. (2015). Relational diversity and neighbourhood cohesion. Unpacking variety, balance and in-group size. *Social Science Research*, *53*, 162–176. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2015.05.010

De Kwaasteniet, R.C.P. (2019, June 4–6). Explanations of the growth of women football [Conference presentation]. 16th European Association for the Sociology of Sport Conference, Bø, Norway.

Lazarsfeld, P. & Merton, R.K. (1954). Friendship as a social process: A substantive and methodological analysis. In M. Berger, T. Abel, & H. Charles (Eds.), *Freedom and Control in Modern Society* (pp. 18–66). Van Nostrand

McPherson, J. M., Popielarz, P. A., & Drobnic, S. (1992). Social networks and organizational dynamics. *American Sociological Review*, *57*(2), 153–170. https://doi.org/10.2307/2096202

McPherson, J. M., & Smith-Lovin, L. (1987). Homophily in voluntary organizations: Status distance and the composition of face-to-face groups. *American Sociological Review*, *52*(3), 370–379. https://doi.org/10.2307/2095356

McPherson, M. (1983). An ecology of affiliation. *American Sociological Review*, *48*(4), 519–532. https://doi.org/10.2307/2117719

McPherson, M., Smith-Lovin, L., & Cook, J. M. (2001). Birds of a feather: Homophily in social networks. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *27*(1), 415–444. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.27.1.415

Meer, T. van der, & Tolsma, J. (2014). Ethnic diversity and its effects on social cohesion. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *40*(1), 459–478. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-071913-043309

Montalvo, J. G., & Reynal-Querol, M. (2005). Ethnic polarization, potential conflict, and civil wars. *American Economic Review*, *95*(3), 796–816. https://doi.org/10.1257/0002828054201468

Popielarz, P. A., & McPherson, J. M. (1995). On the edge or on between: Niche position, niche overlap, and the duration of voluntary association memberships. *American Journal of Sociology*, *101*(3), 698–720. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2781998.

Quillian, L. (1995). Prejudice as a response to perceived group threat: Population composition and anti-immigrant and racial prejudice in Europe. *American Sociological Review*, *60*(4), 586–611. https://doi.org/10.2307/2096296

Sampasivam, S., Collins, K. A., Bielajew, C., & Clément, R. (2016). The effects of outgroup threat and opportunity to derogate on salivary cortisol levels. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, *13*(6). https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph13060616

Stephan, W. G., & Stephan, C. W. (1985). Intergroup anxiety. *Journal of Social Issues*, *41*(3), 157–175. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.1985.tb01134.x

Stephan, W. G., & Stephan, C. W. (2000). An integrated threat theory of prejudice. In *Reducing prejudice and discrimination* (pp. 23–45). Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.

Stephan, W. G., Ybarra, O., & Morrison, K. R. (2009). In T. D. Nelson (Ed.), *Handbook of prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination* (pp. 43–59). Psychology Press.

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W. G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 33–37). Brooks/Cole

Turner, J. C., Brown, R. J., & Tajfel, H. (1979). Social comparison and group interest in ingroup favouritism. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *9*(2), 187–204. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2420090207

Turner, J. C., & Oakes, P. J. (1986). The significance of the social identity concept for social psychology with reference to individualism, interactionism and social influence. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *25*(3), 237–252. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2044-8309.1986.tb00732.x

Wiertz, D. (2016). Segregation in civic life: Ethnic sorting and mixing across voluntary associations. *American Sociological Review*, *81*(4), 800–827. https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122416651312

CHAPTER 5

Off to greener pitches?

5.1 Exploring the relationship between member transfers and club composition

In the previous chapter of this dissertation, I demonstrated that low ethnic ingroup shares and high ethnic outgroup fractionalization lead to member dropout in amateur football clubs for all ethnic backgrounds. Together with selective entry, this process of selective exit functions as an important mechanism through which the ethnic homogeneity and segregation clubs is sustained over time.

Composition driven member recruitment and retention can be regarded as a constitutive part of McPherson and colleagues' ecological model of affiliation. In this model, it is assumed that groups and organizations compete over members based on the ingroup ties they offer to potential and current members. On the macro level, the outcome of this process is an organizational patchwork, because in order to exist over time, groups are inclined to socially specialize (McPherson, 1983, 2004; McPherson & Smith-Lovin, 2002; Popielarz & McPherson, 1995).

While ethnic sorting in recruitment and – albeit to a lesser extent - retention have both been studied in the past (McPherson et al., 2001, Wiertz, 2016), so far little attention has been paid to the interplay between these processes. However, following the logic of McPherson's ecology of affiliation, if clubs vary in their ability to recruit and retain members with certain backgrounds, they may also be more or less likely to recruit certain members from other clubs or lose certain members to them. In this final empirical chapter, I will therefore focus on members that change clubs and explore whether transfers between clubs follow a pattern of ethnic sorting. To this end, I have formulated the following research question:

To what extent are transfers of members between clubs related to differences between clubs' ethnic compositions?

Even though McPherson's model of an ecology of affiliation is primarily based on the idea that people gravitate and stay with organizations and groups with high ingroup shares, the outcomes of the previous chapter have showed that the diversity of the outgroup is another important factor driving ethnic sorting in membership. Consequently, I will look at the ethnic composition of clubs both in terms of ingroup share and outgroup fractionalization.

In the remainder of this chapter, I will first briefly describe McPherson's ecological model of affiliation and how it relates to my findings on outgroup fractionalization. Subsequently, I will formulate a set of expectations about how transfers between clubs may relate to their ethnic compositions. This is followed by a section in which I will explain the data and measures that are used in this study, after which I will present the study's results and discuss them in light of the expectations. Finally, in the last section, I will sum up the study's main findings and go over their implications.

5.2 Competition over members in social space: an ecological model of affiliation

Social space

Social space, also described as Blau space or socio-demographic space, is a theoretical tool that was developed by McPherson (1983; 2004) to visualize social differences and similarities between people. Social space can be understood as a system in which socially significant attributes, such as ethnicity, gender, income or education each form distinct dimensions, generating a multidimensional property space in which individuals or other social entities such as groups and organizations occupy specific positions. The simplest depiction of social space only incorporates two dimensions, such as income and education. In this case, social space can be illustrated as a two-dimensional box in which any position within the box corresponds to a specific combination of educational level and income along its x-axis and y-axis.[16]

[16] While 'true' social space would incorporate every socially significant attribute as a separate dimension, visualizing all these dimensions simultaneously would not be possible. Consequently, Popielarz and McPherson (1995) refer to boxes that depict over two dimensions of social space 'hyperboxes'.

Key to the concept of social space is that people with difference characteristics are positioned differently across its dimensions, creating varying degrees of distance between them. In the example of social space as a two-dimensional box with income and education plotted on its axes, the biggest distance is found between positions that reflect opposites ends on both dimensions. In such cases, the full diagonal of the box is travelled to reach from one position in social space to the other. Social space is a valuable theoretical tool to visualize social differences within any population in an understandable way. The major strength of this concept, however, does not so much lie in the mere depiction of social differences, but mostly in how people, based on their position in social space, relate to one another and its implications for organizational dynamics (McPherson, 2004).

Homophily in social space

Because the homophily principle dictates that similarity breeds connection, it is constitutive for how people socially organize themselves within social space (Popielarz & McPherson, 1995). The closer people are positioned to one another in social space, the more similar they are in terms of socially significant attributes. Consequently, the homophily principle implies that distance in social space is inversely related to the likelihood that people form ties with one another. This leads to the localization of people's networks in social space. If social similarity would be of no importance to one's ties to others, people would form chaotic network formations that span large distances in social space and are absent of any apparent centre or periphery. Due to homophily, however, social networks tend to have relatively simple structures that concentrate in specific areas of social space with limited branching out.

Ecology of affiliation

The existence of homophilic tie-formation has important ramifications for the members organizations recruit and retain (Popielarz & McPherson, 1995). In a world where time and energy are limited, individuals must choose what handful of organizations and groups they join and stay with. In turn, organizations must, in order to survive over time, successfully compete with one another for the time and resources of members.

Due to the homophily principle, organizations are most likely to recruit members that that are similar and thus closely positioned to most other members

of that organization (Popielarz & McPherson, 1995). Consequently, homogeneous organizations that occupy a small area in social space are able to recruit members with similar characteristics quite easily, but they will struggle to recruit members that are different. On the other hand, organizations that are relatively heterogeneous and thus more dispersed over social space may be able to fish from a larger pond of potential recruits, although they have more trouble pulling these individuals in due to a lower share of members with similar characteristics.

This dynamic gives rise to what McPherson (1983) has described as an ecology of affiliation in which organizations' ability to both recruit and retain members is (in part) a function of the extent to which the social compositions of organizations overlap. Namely, organizations that are diverse and therefore dispersed over social space will have trouble recruiting members that are more similar to members of competing organizations.

Furthermore, due to homophily, members that are positioned in the social periphery of organizations will not only have fewer ties pulling inward, but also more ties pulling outward, making it harder to retain such members. These outward ties will pull directly or indirectly towards more similar organizations or groups, which may include other football clubs. As such, football clubs directly compete with one another for members based on their sociodemographic composition by either recruiting members that other clubs weren't able to recruit or retain, or through motivating members to change organizations by being a better fit.

Popielarz and McPherson (1995) note that the natural consequence of this intraorganizational competition for members through homophilic tie-formation is social specialisation. In order to retain members and survive over time, organizations tend to cater more to certain sociodemographic groups and less to others. This leads to the formation of organizational 'niches' within social space, the boundaries of which are set primarily by the vicinity of other competing organizations.

Social disarray in social space

While McPherson's model of an ecology of affiliation is primarily based on the homophily principle, the previous chapter has shown that in addition to low ingroup shares, high degrees of outgroup heterogeneity also harm member retention in amateur football clubs. I have described this effect as the social

disarray effect. The social disarray effect is theoretically congruent with McPherson's ecological model of affiliation. Namely, like homophily, social disarray constrains organizations' ability to disperse over social space. Their pathways, however, are different. Where homophily predicts member recruitment and turnover is based on the social distance between a (prospective) member and his or her comembers, social disarray suggests that member turnover is also a function specifically of the social distances between outgroup members. This effect adds to the homophily effect, because it means that when organizations socially diversify and broaden their coverage of social space, this will not only lead to turnover among minority members but also among members that see their own ingroup share unaffected. As such, social disarray further strengthens the organizational homogenisation and specialisation in social space that is a result from homophilic tie-formation.

Member transfers and the ethnic composition of clubs

From the previous discussion of McPherson's ecological model of affiliation, we can derive several expectations about how member transfers are related to clubs' ethnic compositions. Firstly, it is assumed - but also demonstrated in the previous chapter – that all things being equal, ethnically heterogeneous clubs have a substantially higher turnover rate than ethnically homogeneous clubs due to both lower ingroup shares and higher outgroup fractionalization. Given that transferees are dropouts, this would suggest that relatively many potential transferees leave ethnically heterogeneous clubs and vice versa. Transferees, however, must also be successfully recruited by another club. The ecological model of affiliation suggests that chances of successful recruitment are highest if other clubs have a substantially higher share of ingroup members.

This would suggest that, on average, members transfer to clubs with higher ingroup shares. It is unclear if lower degrees of outgroup fractionalization offer a similar competitive advantage for the recruitment of members, or that it only effects member retention. However, if members are most likely to leave clubs with relatively high degrees of outgroup fractionalization, we may still see that members on average transfer to clubs that also have more homogeneous outgroups. This results in the first two expectations for this chapter.

> E1: Member transfers have a positive effect on transferees' ethnic ingroup share

E2: Member transfers have a negative effect transferees' ethnic outgroup fractionalization

In the previous chapter, it was shown that the effect of ingroup share on dropout is stronger for members with Dutch backgrounds than for members with migrant backgrounds. Furthermore, members with a Dutch background are able to choose out of many clubs in which they have a majority share, while the options to be part of even a sizable minority within a club are relatively scarce for migrant members. This could mean that members with Dutch backgrounds more often transfer to clubs with higher ingroups shares than members with migrant backgrounds. At the same time, it could also be that because members with Dutch backgrounds almost always already have a substantial majority position in their club, they have much less to gain from transfers than members with migrant backgrounds. This would mean that the biggest changes in ingroup share from transfers would be found among members with migrant backgrounds. This leads to two opposed expectations:

E3A: The positive effect of transfers on transferees' ethnic ingroup share is strongest for members with a Dutch background

E3B: The positive effect of transfers on transferees' ethnic ingroup share is strongest for members with a migrant background

The effect of outgroup fractionalization on dropout was also stronger for members with Dutch backgrounds. Moreover, because members with Dutch backgrounds tend to have such a large majority position, clubs tend to vary more in and report higher overall degrees of outgroup fractionalization for Dutch members than for migrant members, whose outgroup tends be predominantly Dutch. Both these facts suggest that members with Dutch backgrounds are likely to see bigger reductions in outgroup fractionalization when they transfer to other clubs. This leads to the final expectation of this chapter.

E4: The negative effect of transfers on transferees' ethnic outgroup fractionalization is strongest for members with a Dutch background.

5.3 Methodology

Data

This chapter's study is based on the same data that were used in the previous chapter[17]. These data contain 10,205,331 individual membership records, which are distributed over 2778 clubs and nine playing seasons between the 15th of August 2005 and the 15th of May 2014. Because the focus of this study is on transfers between clubs, these data were subsequently used to identify if members changed clubs between playing seasons. If a club member ended his or her membership during or at the end of one playing season and started a new membership at a different club within the following season, this was marked as a club transfer. These criteria produced a total of 157,869 club transfers within the nine playing season timeframe[18].

Measures

Ethnic background

As in the previous chapter, I continue to use twelve categories for the ethnic background of members (see chapter 2 for its rationale). The first six of these categories are single nationality backgrounds: 1) Dutch, 2) Turkish, 3) Moroccan, 4) Surinamese, 5) Antillean and 6) Indonesian. The remaining six categories refer to sociocultural regions that include various countries: 7) Northern/Western/Southern European and Anglo-Saxon, 8) Middle and Eastern European, 9) North African and Muslim Asian, 10) Sub-Saharan African, 11) Non-Muslim Asian and Oceanian (excluding Australia and New Zealand) and 12) Middle and South American.[19] To assign ethnic backgrounds to members, I use their country of birth and that of their parents. If both parents were born in the Netherlands, a member is categorized as having a Dutch background, regardless of their own country of birth. If either parent is born outside of the Netherlands, the country of birth of the individual is used to determine his or her

[17] See the methods section of chapter 4 for a more detailed explanation. All presented results are based on calculations by the author using non-public microdata from Statistics Netherlands. Under certain conditions, these microdata are accessible for statistical and scientific research. For further information: microdata@cbs.nl.

[18] Because transfers were measured between playing seasons, a timeframe of nine playing seasons allows for a maximum of eight transfers per member.

[19] See Appendix A for a detailed list of all countries per category.

ethnic background. If this individual is born in the Netherlands, the country of birth of the mother is used first and the country of birth of the father is used second.

Ingroup share and outgroup fractionalization
In this chapter I use the same measure for ingroup share and outgroup fractionalization as used in chapter 4. In short, ingroup share is measured as the percentage of club members belonging to one's own ethnic category, ranging from 0 to 100. Outgroup fractionalization is measured using the Herfindahl-Hirschman Index (Hirschman, 1964). This is done by taking the sum of squared proportion of each of the eleven ethnic outgroups, multiplying it by 100 and then subtracting it from 100. This creates a measure that ranges from 0 to 100 and expresses the percentual chance that two randomly selected club members from one's outgroup have a different ethnic background.

5.4 Results

The mean change in ingroup share and outgroup fractionalization for all twelve ethnic backgrounds are presented in table 5.1. Positive values indicate that transfers between club on average raise one's ingroup share or outgroup fractionalization, while negative values mean the opposite holds true.

When we first look at the figures for ingroup share, we notice that the mean differences between members' old clubs and new clubs for each group are small. Most values approach zero, while ingroup share is measured on a 100-point scale. Furthermore, the findings do not point in a single direction. While most groups show a miniscule positive mean change in ingroup share, for some groups the mean change is, in fact, negative. While we may assume that sorting is strongest for the largest, single nationality groups (i.e., members with either Dutch, Turkish, Moroccan or Surinamese backgrounds), restricting our focus on these six groups does not change the outcomes. Overall, the results indicate that transfers between clubs do not substantially heighten ingroup shares of members and therefore do not contribute to the niche formation or ethnic segregation of clubs. Consequently, my expectations that transfers on average heighten the transferee's ingroup share (expectation 1) and that this effect differs between minority groups and the majority group (expectation 3A and 3B), must be refuted.

The figures on the mean change in outgroup fractionalization lead us to draw a similar conclusion. In this case, most values are negative, but some groups show a small positive change instead. Similar to the findings on ingroup share, the magnitude of the mean changes for each of the twelve groups, including members with a Dutch background, cannot be considered meaningful. Consequently, the results also suggest that club transfers do not substantially change members' outgroup fractionalization. Based on these results, the expectations that transfers between clubs lower members' ethnic outgroup fractionalization (expectation 2) and that this effect would be strongest for members with a Dutch background (expectation 4) must also be refuted.

A potential explanation for the fact that transfers between clubs do not seem to affect members' average ingroup share and outgroup fractionalization is that for most members the opportunity to change to a club with a substantially more favourable ethnic composition seldom presents itself. In a landscape where the vast majority of clubs is dominated by members with a Dutch background (see chapter 4), most clubs have roughly the same thing to offer. For members with a migrant background, this entails a small minority position in a club with a large, relatively homogeneous and primarily Dutch outgroup. For members with a Dutch background, this is a strong majority position with a more diverse but relatively small outgroup. Under such circumstances, the costs of transferring to a new club will in most cases outweigh the benefits, regardless of one's background. Moreover, if ethnic sorting upon entry is relatively strong, as suggested by others (McPherson et al., 2001, Wiertz, 2016), other clubs are more likely to offer less attractive, not more attractive compositions to members.

When we compare the numbers of transfers between clubs and the total number of dropouts in table 5.2, this does suggest that for the vast majority of members changing clubs is not an interesting option. Between 83 and 88 percent of the members who terminate their membership at their last club do not join a new club in the following season. This may also mean that a substantial share of members who do change clubs, do so for other reasons than their clubs' ethnic composition. One important reason to change clubs can be a relocation to another area. If members move to a new location, maintaining a club membership might no longer be feasible or worthwhile and another, often closer, alternative might be available. For the purpose of this study, it is therefore beneficial to control for these movers, because they have the potential to water down or even hide the ethnic sorting of members who deliberately transfer to another club.

Table 5.1 Mean change in individual ingroup share and outgroup fractionalization when transferring between clubs

Member background	Ingroup share	Outgroup fractionalization	N	% of total
Dutch	0.37	0.22	113493	71.89
Turkish	2.02	0.79	8538	5.41
Moroccan	-0.17	-0.10	8044	5.10
Indonesian	0.34	-0.31	2384	1.51
Surinamese	0.59	-1.06	6196	3.92
Antillean	0.01	-0.50	2529	1.60
Northern/Western/Southern European & Anglo-Saxon	-0.24	-0.80	6250	3.96
Middle & Eastern European	0.08	-0.17	2110	1.34
North African & Muslim Asian	0.42	1.15	3005	1.90
Sub-Saharan African	0.01	0.21	3402	2.15
Non-Muslim Asian & Oceanian	-0.87	-0.26	878	0.56
Middle and South American	0.28	-1.05	1040	0.66

Note: Ingroup share and outgroup fractionalization are measured on a 100-point scale.

Table 5.2 Transfers between clubs compared to number of dropouts

Member background	Dropouts	Transfers	% of dropout
Dutch	988624	113493	11.48
Turkish	58402	8538	14.62
Moroccan	50763	8044	15.85
Indonesian	19533	2384	12.20
Surinamese	37024	6196	16.74
Antillean	15234	2529	16.60
Northern/Western/Southern European & Anglo-Saxon	50804	6250	12.30
Middle & Eastern European	16141	2110	13.07
North African & Muslim Asian	24101	3005	12.47
Sub-Saharan African	17830	3402	19.08
Non-Muslim Asian & Oceanian	7796	878	11.26
Middle and South American	7728	1040	13.46

Table 5.3 Mean change in individual ingroup share and outgroup fractionalization excluding movers

Member background	Ingroup share	Outgroup fractionalization	N	% of total
Dutch	0.26	0.14	79201	72.61%
Turkish	2.74	0.99	5790	5.31%
Moroccan	-0.20	-1.07	5541	5.08%
Indonesian	0.36	-0.49	1641	1.50%
Surinamese	0.64	-1.10	4019	3.68%
Antillean	0.06	-0.38	1739	1.59%
Northern/Western/Southern European & Anglo-Saxon	-0.16	-0.57	4281	3.92%
Middle & Eastern European	0.02	-0.22	1384	1.27%
North African & Muslim Asian	0.38	0.99	1996	1.83%
Sub-Saharan African	0.15	0.43	2210	2.03%
Non-Muslim Asian & Oceanian	-0.24	-0.23	581	0.53%
Middle and South American	0.06	-0.74	695	0.64%

Note: Ingroup share and outgroup fractionalization are measured on a 100-point scale.

In table 5.3, I have presented the mean change in ingroup share and outgroup fractionalization between the old and new clubs of members who did not move between the 15th of August 2003 and the 15th of May 2014[20]. By leaving out movers, 48,791 transfers between clubs were eliminated, lowering the total to 109,078 transfers. When we compare the figures for all transfers to those for the non-movers, no substantial differences can be observed[21]. The figures remain small and mixed. As a result, all expectations formulated in this chapter about the relationship between transfers between clubs and members' ingroup share and outgroup fractionalization remain refuted.

5.5 Conclusions and discussion

In this final empirical chapter, I zoomed in on member transfers between clubs. Given that transfers consist of both tie-dissolution and tie-formation, their study provides an interesting opportunity to explore the extent to which the traffic of members between clubs plays a role in ethnic sorting in amateur football. To this end, I formulated the following research question:

> *To what extent are transfers of members between clubs related to differences between clubs' ethnic compositions?*

Based on McPherson's theory of an ecology of affiliation and the previous chapter's outcomes, I expected that transfers of individual members between clubs would contribute to niche formation by heightening these members' ingroup share and/or lowering their outgroup fractionalization. The results presented in this chapter failed to confirm these expectations. Overall, members'

[20] This timeframe begins two years prior to the first playing season to take into account that movers may change clubs in the period after they have already moved.

[21] Two other selections of non-movers were made. The first selection consisted of members who did not move between August 15th 2005 and May 15th 2014 and transferred to another club between August 15th 2005 and May 15th 2014. The second selection consisted of members who did not move between August 15th 2008 and May 15th 2014 and transferred to another club between August 15th 2010 and May 15th 2014. The use of these shorter timeframes did not have any meaningful impact on the results.

transfers to other clubs seem to have little to no effect on their average ingroup share or outgroup fractionalization within their clubs.

We can think of several reasons for why this is the case. Firstly, the degree in which clubs truly compete with each other through their ethnic composition is most likely quite limited. As mentioned before, most clubs offer roughly the same thing to members with respectively Dutch or migrant backgrounds, and due to selective entry and dropout, this is unlikely to change drastically over time. This means that for most members transferring to another club isn't an interesting option. Secondly, even if clubs within the same area differ strongly in their ethnic composition, composition induced transfers will only occur if members weren't effectively sorted upon first entry. In other words, members need to join diverse clubs with low ingroup sizes while they have a substantially better option. This is in itself quite unlikely (McPherson et al., 2001; Wiertz, 2016). Thirdly, under these circumstances, transfers for other reasons may substantially water down or even counteract niche formation. Indeed, if ethnic sorting is strong upon first entry, changing to another club because of a relocation, differences in competitive level, differences in playing schedules or another reason, may very well lead to lower ingroup shares or higher degrees of outgroup fractionalization. When taken together, these reasons make it possible that ethnic sorting through changing clubs is so limited that it comes lost within the rest of the traffic between clubs.

An important drawback of this study is that the locations of the clubs remain unknown. If these data were available, it would become possible to find out more about how clubs in each other's vicinity compare to one another in terms of ingroup share and outgroup fractionalization. This would not only give us a much better idea of how much room there is for ethnic sorting through transfers between clubs to begin with, but it would also allow for more complex quantitative research designs in which these transfers can be statistically modelled. Another issue which needs consideration is the fact that amateur football clubs do not form a closed system of group membership. They compete with various other formal and informal groups for members' time and resources. This can be especially relevant for the membership of ethnic minorities who potentially have more interesting options outside of amateur football, which motivate them to drop out of their clubs.

In sum, this study has shown that even though selective tie-formation and tie-dissolution are both driving forces behind the social segregation of civic life (McPherson et al. 2001), they do not necessarily work in tandem. In amateur

football, tie-dissolution does not seem to lead to new selective tie-formation and therefore transfers of members between clubs do not appear to play a meaningful role in the reproduction and strengthening of ethnic segregation on the club level.

References

Hirschman, A. O. (1964). The paternity of an index. *The American Economic Review*, *54*(5), 761–762. https://www.jstor.org/stable/1818582

McPherson, M. (1983). An ecology of affiliation. *American Sociological Review*, *48*(4), 519–532. https://doi.org/10.2307/2117719

McPherson, M. (2004). A Blau space primer: Prolegomenon to an ecology of affiliation. *Industrial and Corporate Change*, *13*(1), 263–280. https://doi.org/10.1093/icc/13.1.263

McPherson, M., & Smith-Lovin, L. (2002). Cohesion and membership duration: Linking groups, relations and individuals in an ecology of affiliation. *Advances in Group Processes*, *19*(1), 1–36. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0882-6145(02)19002-3

McPherson, M., Smith-Lovin, L., & Cook, J. M. (2001). Birds of a feather: Homophily in social networks. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *27*(1), 415–444. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.27.1.415

Popielarz, P. A., & McPherson, J. M. (1995). On the edge or in between: Niche position, niche overlap, and the duration of voluntary association memberships. *American Journal of Sociology*, *101*(3), 698–720. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2781998

Wiertz, D. (2016). Segregation in civic life: Ethnic sorting and mixing across voluntary associations. *American Sociological Review*, *81*(4), 800–827. https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122416651312

CHAPTER 6

Ethnicity matters

This dissertation began with the Springboks' 1995 Rugby World Cup triumph as a reminiscing example of sports' promise as a powerful ethnic integrator. As many countries have substantially diversified along ethnic lines in the past decades, pressures to harness this power to strengthen social ties between citizens with different ethnic backgrounds have mounted. The organized sports domain appears to be especially appealing in this respect. Membership ties to sports clubs link an astonishing number of citizens to one another. Consequently, it seems only logical that sports clubs are ideal locales for interethnic tie-formation.

While sports clubs no doubt have a lot of potential in bringing people closer together, past research suggests that ethnic differences may also act as a social fault line. Not only are sports sometimes interpreted or used in ways to strengthen ethnic identities, but some research suggests that people favour membership ties to clubs that specifically link them to ethnic peers. To better understand how ethnic background and sports club membership interrelate, this dissertation focused on the Netherlands' most popular organized sport, amateur football. By combining membership data of all Dutch football clubs in the Netherlands with data on the ethnic backgrounds of Dutch citizens, it has for become possible to extensively study the relationship between ethnic background and club membership quantitatively. To guide this objective, I have formulated the following main research question:

> *What is the impact of ethnic background on membership ties to Dutch football clubs?*

In this dissertation, I have broken down this main research question into four distinct and more specific research questions. Each of these research questions was addressed in a separate empirical chapter. In this chapter, I will begin with summarizing the findings of these four chapters. Subsequently, I will discuss their implications in light of the main research question and highlight what I believe

to be the key findings of this dissertation. I will then move on to discuss several aspects of the research in more detail. Firstly, I discuss a number of theoretical considerations in relation to my research. Next, I will discuss a number of methodological strengths and limitations of my research design. This is followed up by a section in which I will reflect on the social implications of my findings. Finally, I propose several lessons and avenues for further research.

6.1 Main findings

More minorities among members, but differences between groups

Let me begin by outlining the findings of each of the four empirical chapters of this dissertation. In chapter 2, I asked the following question: 'To what extent is Dutch amateur football an ethnic reflection of the Dutch population and what factors best explain differences in participation between ethnic groups?' Firstly, the results in this chapter demonstrated that the number of members with a migration background has steadily increased over time, mirroring a trend in the overall Dutch population. Overall, membership of citizens with migrant backgrounds remains to lag behind that of citizens with Dutch backgrounds. When members with migrant backgrounds were broken down into eleven distinct groups, this revealed strong differences in membership rates. In multiple instances, memberships rates for specific backgrounds surpass those of members with Dutch backgrounds, which is at odds with what we know of (sports) association membership in general. Furthermore, ethnic differences in membership rates did not seem to align well with traditional explanations for disparities such as a lack of resources or exclusion. This suggests that ethnic groups also differ in their preference to be involved in (certain) organized sports.

Gravitating to ethnic peers

In chapter 3 I took a closer look at how members of six different backgrounds spread over clubs. The research question that guided this study was: 'To what extent and in what way are ethnic groups within the Netherlands unequally distributed over amateur football clubs?' The results demonstrated that citizens tend to have membership ties to football clubs who have a higher-than-average share of members with the same ethnic background. This leads to substantial

ethnic segregation between associations and ensures that an important part of interethnic contact takes place between clubs rather than within clubs. At the same time, however, we saw that in the long term, ethnic segregation between clubs has been decreasing and that associations are becoming increasingly diverse. An important explanation for this is the steady decline in the number of football associations. As a result, a growing member population must be divided among an ever-smaller number of clubs.

Club heterogeneity leads to dropout

Chapter 4 focused on the relationship between club composition and member dropout by posing the research question: 'Does the ethnic heterogeneity of amateur football clubs affect member dropout?' The results showed that in ethnically heterogeneous associations, members drop out significantly faster than in ethnically homogeneous associations. There are two explanations for this. The most important explanation is that similarity in ethnic background breeds connection. Because in ethnically diverse associations, the relative proportion of members with the same ethnic background is lower than in homogeneous associations, members drop out faster. The second explanation is that a high degree of internal differences complicates social interaction and coordination. This too, will result in members terminating their membership more quickly. While I found that members with a migration background on average leave clubs significantly faster than their Dutch counterparts, a key finding is that this difference can almost be entirely explained by the ethnic composition of those clubs. These findings are at odds with cultural explanations for ethnic differences in membership. Namely, members with a Dutch and migration background in fact have roughly the same dropout chances, but the average composition of clubs is more attuned to members with Dutch backgrounds.

No ethnic sorting in club transfers

Finally, in chapter 5, I explored whether members transfer to clubs with more favourable ethnic compositions. To this end I asked the following question: 'To what extent are transfers of members between clubs related to differences between clubs' ethnic compositions?' The results indicated that when members switch between clubs, they on average do not move to more homogeneous clubs or clubs with a higher degree of ethnic peers. This suggests that differences in ethnic composition between clubs do not drive additional ethnic sorting via

member transfers. In addition, the number of members who change clubs is low compared to the total number of dropouts. Consequently, clubs do not seem to compete with one another on the basis of their ethnic composition, and members who drop out as a result of the ethnic composition of their club are likely to leave amateur football all together.

The importance of ethnic similarity

So where does this leave us with regard to the main research question of this dissertation: 'What is the impact of ethnic background on membership ties to Dutch football clubs?' The results have shown that despite amateur football's popularity, ethnic background plays a decisive role in the likelihood that citizens will form and maintain ties to football clubs. Ethnic groups differ substantially in the degree in which they become and stay members of football clubs, which cannot be explained by differences in resources or socio-economic position. Instead, it was found that membership ties to football clubs are significantly strengthened by ethnic similarity and, vice versa, weakened by ethnic dissimilarity between members. While this effect appears to be universal, the degree in membership ties link to ethnic peers varies significantly between ethnic backgrounds. This makes the impact of ethnic background on membership for an important part not an individual but a relational issue. Namely, it is not one's ethnic background per se that determines ties to amateur football clubs, but rather the extent to which this ethnic background does or does not overlap with the backgrounds of other club members.

Composition over culture

Another key insight of this dissertation is that its findings invalidate cultural explanations for ethnic disparities in the frequency and especially longevity of membership ties to sport clubs. A popular claim in public discourse is that membership ties to voluntary associations are deeply embedded in 'Dutch culture', as opposed to the 'cultures' of people with migrant backgrounds. This cultural deficit approach tends to go hand in hand with ideas that Dutch citizens with migrant backgrounds need to be educated or emancipated in order to fully participate in and contribute to civil society. While over time this claim has already become less and less tenable due to the rise of second and third generation citizens with migrant backgrounds, this dissertation serves an important piece of

counterevidence for when it undoubtedly arises in both public and private discourse on minority participation and membership.

Rising fleetingness of membership ties

Another important insight of my research is that membership dynamics in amateur football stimulate member ties between ethnic peers. As a consequence, heterogeneous club compositions lead to more member turnover. These findings, first of all, imply that the degree in which sports clubs serve as foci for the production of durable interethnic ties is limited, putting the popularized belief that clubs are ethnic integrators into question. Furthermore, as our society continues to ethnically diversify in the future (Jennissen et al., 2018), we should realize that this trend, at least on the short term, is likely to go hand in hand with an increase in the fleetingness of membership ties. This can have important ramifications for civil society organizations because, as mutual support organizations, their continuity depends for an important part on the stability of these ties.

6.2 Theoretical considerations

Based on these findings, I would like to address several theoretical considerations regarding our understanding of the interrelations between organized sports and ethnicity. First of all, while the appeal of an ethnically neutral or even integrative sports domain is understandable, the results indicate that, on the whole, ethnicity acts as a social divider in organized sports. The ethnic background of oneself and that of others matters for the degree in which citizens become and stay members of amateur football clubs and to whom they are connected through their club memberships. Overall, membership ties are strengthened by ethnic similarity between club members, and it is weakened by ethnic dissimilarity. On the aggregated level, this favours an organizational field that is overall ethnically heterogeneous but marked by a substantial degree of ethnic segregation between relatively homogeneous clubs.

The homophily principle

These outcomes should be first and foremost interpreted as a reaffirmation of the pervasiveness of the homophily principle. McPherson and colleagues have asserted that homophily should be regarded as a basic organization principle and that voluntary organizations in particular are important foci for homophilic tie-formation (McPherson et al., 2001). This dissertation has echoed these assertions by demonstrating the structuring effect of ethnic background on amateur football club membership. When we attribute these outcomes to homophily, we should, however, be careful with solely and directly connecting homophilic tie-formation to deliberate individual decision making. Members do not need to actively compare numbers or percentages of ingroup members for homophily to occur. In fact, some may be completely indifferent to ethnic classifications and still make homophilic choices because other factors such as family, place of residence and social class have produced ethnically homogeneous ego networks which disconnect people from organizations dominated by ethnic outgroup members. Given that tie density is directly associated with membership duration and a substantial share of member recruitment takes place through members' network ties (McPherson et al., 1992), network homogeneity alone may bring about substantial homophilic tie-formation and tie-dissolution in organized sports.

This is not to say that there are no reasons to believe that people prefer contact with members from their own ethnic ingroup and therefore consciously or subconsciously favour and invest their time into memberships of organizations which offer these contact experiences. Social psychologists suggest that ingroup contact can serve important psychological needs like the enhancement of one's self-image and a reduction of feelings of uncertainty (Hogg, 2000; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). It is important, however, to stress that to the extent that ethnic homophily is the product of a deliberate preference or choice, it is, to reiterate Veldboer et al. (2010), most likely positively motivated. By this, I mean that it is motivated by the importance of sharing experiences with similar others, rather than being motivated by the active disapproval or animosity towards one's ethnic outgroup(s). Within the field of social psychology these two phenomena, known as ingroup favouritism and outgroup hostility, are considered to be both analytically and empirically distinct (Levin & Sidanius, 1999, pp. 1–2). This also means that, while there is no denying that both implicit and explicit ethnic discrimination in amateur football exists, the results of this dissertation cannot and should not be interpreted as primarily the result of such discriminatory

practices. This line of reasoning is also substantiated by the results of chapter 4, which demonstrate that outgroup homogeneity does not drive member turnover.

The constriction principle

Instead, I found that in addition to a low ingroup size, the ethnic fractionalization of the outgroup leads to more member dropout. This finding adds to a long-standing debate about the relationship between ethnic heterogeneity and social cohesion ever since Putnam (2007) posited that ethnic heterogeneity by itself erodes social connectivity (e.g. see Koopmans et al., 2015; Van der Meer & Tolsma, 2014). In the past, the existence of such an inverse relationship has repeatedly been questioned and sometimes dismissed as dwarfed by, or an artefact of socio-economic deprivation (Gesthuizen et al., 2009; Letki, 2008; Morales, 2013). Additionally, Van der Meer and Tolsma (2014), made a valid point when asserting that if ethnic heterogeneity's effect can be explained as merely an aggregated effect of homophily, it is not a true heterogeneity effect. More recently, however, a growing body of evidence has suggested that Putnam may have been right after all (Dinesen et al., 2020; Jennissen et al., 2018). This dissertation further contributes to these findings by demonstrating that ethnic heterogeneity, when operationalized as outgroup fractionalization and controlled for ingroup size, still has a substantial effect on such an important behavioural outcome as member dropout.

A further important contribution of this dissertation to the literature is that it sheds more light on the importance of ethnic background for tie-formation's less studied counterpart, tie-dissolution. As one of the only studies on this topic that focuses on voluntary associations, Wiertz (2016) has suggested that Dutch voluntary associations' ethnic composition primarily matters for if and where citizens with particular ethnic backgrounds become a member, but once the initial hurdle of membership has been taken, it no longer plays a significant role. However, using more detailed and accurate data on ethnic background and membership, my research shows that this does not hold true for the Netherlands' most popular voluntary association and that the interaction between the ethnic composition of an association and the ethnic background of standing members has important ramifications for membership dynamics.

This finding aligns well with McPherson's ecological model of affiliation which assumes that organizational competition over membership is a never-ending phenomenon and suggests that compositional change is driven by both

selective recruitment and retention (McPherson et al., 1992; McPherson, 1983, 2004). In this model, the homophily principle makes up the core mechanism which dictates how competition of member's time and energy plays out. If distance in social space expresses similarity in sociodemographic characteristics, the homophily principle implies that the membership longevity is inversely related to the sum of social distance between a member and other members of that same organization. This idea is confirmed by the inverse relationship between ingroup size and member dropout presented in this dissertation.

The positive effect of outgroup fractionalization on member dropout, however, adds a second principle governing the ties between positions in social space. Namely, membership ties are not only a function of the similarity between a member and his or her comembers, but also a function of the degree of similarity between comembers specifically. Consequently, the equation for membership longevity in terms of social distance consists of two parts instead of one: the sum of the distance between a member and comembers and, additionally, the sum of the distance between comembers. This second principle, which we, in an homage to Putnam (2007), may call the constriction principle – i.e., people favour groups or organizations that are constricted in social space as opposed to those that are dispersed – is theoretically congruent with McPherson's ecological model of affiliation. Namely, just like the homophily principle, the constriction principle suggests that homogeneous organizations are more stable over time, which stimulates segregation and the formation of organizational niches.

A relational perspective

Finally, this study's findings have also demonstrated the complex nature of underrepresentation of ethnic minorities in sports clubs and voluntary associations in general. While it is tempting to explain ethnic differences as the mere result of aggregated group differences in resources or access, or of a more or less developed civic culture, this dissertation has demonstrated the merit of taking a relational perspective. Namely, ethnic background cannot solely be regarded as a static characteristic. Instead, its social meaning and consequences are for an important part defined in relation to the backgrounds of others, underscoring the importance of theories that incorporate this relational aspect.

6.3 Methodological strengths and limitations

Reliable data

A major obstacle in research on the impact of ethnic background and ethnic group composition is getting enough reliable data. Consequently, an important strength of this study is the vast amount of high-quality data on which it draws. By matching membership data of the Royal Dutch Football Association with government data from Statistics Netherlands, I was able to construct a dataset that includes millions of membership records linked to thousands of clubs and spanning a full decade, as well as members' individual characteristics. To my knowledge, such a database has never been constructed and analysed before. These data, in the first place, have made it possible to accurately map the ethnic composition of Dutch amateur football clubs at both the national and club level, as well as its development over time.

Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, the number of clubs and variation in club composition have provided a very strong basis to further study the relationship between ethnic organizational composition and membership. In addition to accurate individual level data, this type of research hinges strongly on a large enough pool of diverse organizational units. Not only may the acquirement of such data require costly investments in terms of time and resources, but it is further hindered by the fact that organizational homogenisation reduces the empirical organizational variance required to study it. By including almost all amateur football clubs and memberships of the Netherlands' most popular sport, this study was able to overcome these obstacles.

Finally, a third strength of this study is its longitudinal design. In addition to describing trends over time, the use of data on a large number of consecutive playing seasons, allowed for more robust analyses and inferences than often-used cross-sectional or two-wave data would.

Additional strengths

The focus of this study on membership of amateur football clubs has a few additional advantages. First and foremost, because amateur football clubs are voluntary associations, membership is optional for each individual citizen. Consequently, we may assume that becoming a member and dropping out as a member of these organizations is primarily the result of a deliberate choice based

on the expected and experienced benefits and costs of membership. This makes them ideal organizations to study membership dynamics, as opposed to contexts that are (more) constrained, such as professional, educational and health care organizations, or places of residence.

Second, amateur football clubs are face to face organizations. Reaping the benefits of membership requires physical co-presence, which, compared to some other contexts, makes it relatively likely that members directly experience the ethnic composition of their organization. Lastly, the unwaning popularity of amateur football in the Netherlands, especially among citizens with migrant backgrounds, combined with the high number and balanced distribution of clubs across the country, put relatively few constraints on membership in comparison to other, less popular sports or other types of organizations. This made amateur football a very fitting case to study the relationship between ethnic background and membership in more detail.

Limitations

At the same time, however, this study also came with its own set of challenges and limitations. First of all, partly due to this study's emphasis on large amounts of objective data, I was not able to incorporate more subjective data on the attitudes or experiences of members. Such data would have given a more detailed insight into the mechanisms and pathways involved in the ethnic sorting of members in amateur football. Another limitation of this study is the lack of team data within clubs. Contrary to the club membership data, these data were unfortunately not accessible nor reliable.

Additionally, it must be noted that not all members actively play in teams. However, because - for playing members - the most frequent and intense contacts are bound to occur with members of one's own team, it would have been beneficial to separate both levels and take into account how team compositions either mediate or moderate the relationship between club composition and membership. As of now it remains unknown if and, if so, to what extent the relation between club heterogeneity and member dropout is a product of team heterogeneity. A final limitation that warrants mentioning is that the geographical location of the clubs remained unknown in this study. Knowing where clubs are located would have allowed to study the interrelations between club composition, the ethnic composition of their geographical area, and vicinity of other competing clubs or organization in more detail.

6.4 Social implications

Positively motivated sorting

Now let us consider the social implications of this dissertation's findings. While amateur football is an immensely popular sport and Dutch citizens of all backgrounds become members of local football clubs, this study demonstrates that club membership is subject to homogenising forces. All things being equal; membership ties are strengthened by ethnic similarity and weakened by dissimilarity. This limits the possibilities for interethnic mixing within clubs. Given that the Dutch population will continue to ethnically diversify over time and organizational heterogeneity and inclusion are widely valued, some may find these outcomes to be unsettling.

It is therefore important to stress once more that the lion's share of ethnic sorting is most likely positively motivated. Namely, people, regardless of background, find it easier and more important to connect with others who are like themselves. We should keep in mind that even when these ingroup preferences are small, they can still lead to substantial ethnic sorting because the time and resources we are able to invest in social ties are highly constrained. This, of course, does not mean we should discount the fact that ethnic discrimination is a structural phenomenon both inside and outside amateur football. Indeed, ethic sorting can and will also be the result of explicit or more subtle process of exclusion and this warrants our careful attention. The extent to which this occurs remains, for now, an empirical question. Based on what we know, however, it seems unlikely that discrimination is the primary driver of ethnic homogenisation of membership ties.

Universal preferences, unequal opportunities

This is not to say that when ethnic homogenisation is positively motivated it cannot be problematic. A critical issue within this dynamic is that while the preference for ingroup contacts may be universal, the ability to create or join homogeneous clubs is most definitely not. Given the distribution of ethnic backgrounds in the Netherlands, most clubs tend to have an overwhelming majority of members with Dutch backgrounds. For citizens with a Dutch background, this offers a range of options. Furthermore, when this groups joins a club through an acquaintance, this will almost always be a club in which they are

part of the majority group. For citizens with migrant backgrounds, however, the opposite holds true. Unlike their counterparts, they will struggle to find one club, let alone multiple clubs, in their area in which most of the members have the same ethnic background. Moreover, when clubs have substantial shares of members with migrant backgrounds, this tends to go hand in hand with higher levels of organization heterogeneity, which also leads to member turnover.

This means that, while perhaps counterintuitive, disparities in membership rates and membership duration between citizens with Dutch and migrant backgrounds arise because people are in fact similar, not different. To put it simply, people want the same thing, but clubs offer two contrasting membership experiences. For people with Dutch backgrounds, club membership most often coincides with a majority position and a high degree of ethnic similarity. For people with migrant backgrounds, it often goes hand in hand with a minority position and/or a high degree of ethnic dissimilarity. The latter makes membership substantially less appealing and more fragile, regardless of ethnic background.

This then also implies that to understand and address ethnic disparities in sports club membership, we must account for the differing degrees of ethnic similarity club membership has to offer. As outlined before, this is for an important part determined by the unequal distribution of backgrounds in the Dutch population. Overall, citizens with Dutch backgrounds have a clear advantage over citizens with migrant backgrounds. In turn, large minority groups such as the Dutch with Turkish or Moroccan backgrounds have slightly more possibilities than smaller minority groups. At the same time, however, clubs are local organizations, and it is therefore important to consider that local contexts may differ substantially. People with different backgrounds do not spread equally over municipalities and neighbourhoods. For example, most people with migrant backgrounds live in, or close to big cities which can lead to strong differences in meeting opportunities between rural and urban areas. In bigger cities, important differences may still manifest themselves on the neighbourhood level. The amount of football clubs and their location can play another important role in the extent to which club membership enables or constrains contact with similar others. A dense network of football clubs that are easy to reach, allows for substantially more ethnic sorting than when clubs are few and far between.

A local policy issue

Consequently, the relationship between ethnic background and sports club membership manifests itself first and foremost as a local issue. Sports and social policy makers would therefore do well to start with carefully evaluating to what extent local sports clubs align or misalign with the backgrounds of their residents. A primary cause for concern is high degrees of underrepresentation. Under these circumstances, selective member recruitment and retention can create a vicious cycle that could keep club membership and its associated benefits mostly out of reach for certain minority groups. Policy makers may wish to address underrepresentation by stimulating homogeneous clubs to ethnically diversify. It is, however, important that they recognize that this means that a club must go against the current instead of with it. Rather than relying on informal tie-formation, they will have to actively branch out and invest heavily in both the recruitment and retainment of members of different ethnic backgrounds. Furthermore, it is not unlikely that returns on these investments are limited, especially in the beginning and in cases of strong underrepresentation.

It this thus vital to think realistically about if and which clubs are both willing and able to incorporate minority groups effectively. Clubs that are located in the same area and/or already have members with underrepresented backgrounds will have more potential than those that don't. Regardless of circumstances, however, given that sport clubs are mutual support organizations, run by volunteers, it is likely that they will need but also deserve professional and long-term assistance to reach and maintain such goals. Furthermore, in those rare occasions that homogeneous minority clubs do exist, we should appreciate the fact that they can play an important role in the inclusion of citizens with migrant backgrounds into organized sports. While policy makers must always consider an efficient and effective allocation of public money, in certain situations the most economical way forward could be to assist in the establishment of a new minority club. A key consideration for policy makers then, is that addressing the underrepresentation of minority groups and making organized sports more accessible and inclusive does not imply that all sports clubs need to ethnically diversify. Ethnic difference can also be organized between clubs instead of within them, which may ultimately serve the interests of minorities more effectively.

Contextual possibilities and limitations

The degree in which this is possible is in part a function of a sport's popularity. As discussed before, a high degree of participation from citizens with different backgrounds combined with a dense network of sports clubs makes ethnic sorting easier. Because of this, amateur football in the Netherlands can play a key role in the inclusion of citizens with migrant backgrounds into organized sports. Other, smaller and less ethnically diverse organized sports will on average struggle more to ethnically diversify and it is important that both policymakers and sports federations are aware of this. In this light, it is also important to consider that the trend towards fewer, but bigger clubs in amateur football can substantially constrain ethnic sorting and will on average lead to more ethnically diverse club compositions. This is likely to raise member turnover across the board and may weaken the membership of citizens with migrant backgrounds in particular.

This does not mean that I wish to imply that heterogeneity is bad and that clubs should avoid to ethnically diversify. Even though it may bring its own sets of challenges, football clubs can play an important role in bringing people from different backgrounds together, and the data have shown that this is already happening all over the country. Moreover, many of the municipalities and neighbourhoods in which clubs are located have become substantially more diverse over the past decades. It is simply not feasible but also not desirable that the response to this would be an explosion of small migrant clubs. While homogeneous clubs may be able to retain members more effectively, clubs will still need to recruit enough members to offset natural turnover. Ethnic sorting in membership ties implies that the more a club's composition deviates from its surroundings, the more it will struggle with incorporating new members. Consequently, under these circumstances, ethnic differentiation may be a vital strategy to broaden the club's field of recruitment and ability to adapt to demographic change. This will ultimately ensure its long-term survival and its ability to function as a place to play sports and meet and bond with fellow citizens.

6.5 Lessons and avenues for further research

On the basis of the previous discussion, several lessons and avenues for further research can be distinguished. First of all, following Koopmans and Schaeffer (2015) and Jennissen et al. (2018), this study has demonstrated how important it is to use separate measures for ingroup size and outgroup fractionalization to understand the relation between organizational or group compositions and individual outcomes. While many studies in the past have used single measures for organizational homogeneity or heterogeneity, such measures can obscure substantial disparities in how members with different backgrounds experience organizational compositions and how they are affected by them. Moreover, failure to adequately capture and understand these interrelations may easily lead us to draw false conclusions about inherent group differences instead of fully grasping the mechanisms that produce these differences.

Next, much work can still be done in further unravelling the black box of mediating and moderating mechanisms that link ingroup size and outgroup fractionalization to membership. For example, Leszczensky and Pink (2019) suggest that homophilic tie-formation is in part dependent on mutual strong ingroup identification. This could imply that for members who are strong ingroup identifiers, ingroup share is important to the extent that it offers ties to peers who are also strong identifiers. For members who are low identifiers, a small ingroup size might be primarily problematic if many of the outgroup members are strong ingroup identifiers. Furthermore, in this dissertation I distinguished between several explanations for why ethnic fractionalization may cause social disarray. I encourage future research to collect the data to study and, preferably, simultaneously test these mechanisms. For instance, if social disarray occurs by putting a higher demand on resources required for social interaction, this can be made visible by collecting data on members' perceived and experienced costs and benefits of interacting with comembers. Social disarray may also be brought about by differences in network structures and these structures' capabilities to maintain ties. This may be addressed by collecting data on the ego networks of club members to subsequently map and compare the social networks of clubs in relation to their ethnic composition. Finally, ethnic club compositions may also impact on members' psychological well-being through invoking or suppressing

feelings of uncertainty. Consequently, it would be highly recommended to also collect data on this type of indicators.

Future research may also expand on this study by focusing more on intergroup relations. People can very well experience different degrees of social distance between themselves and people from different ethnic backgrounds. It would be good to account for these differences because it is possible that ingroup share's and outgroup fractionalization's effect on membership is in part dependent on the specific ethnic background(s) of outgroup members. A low ingroup share, for example, might be more problematic if members experience high social distance between their own background and the background(s) of other members. Similarly, outgroup fractionalization might be more difficult to overcome when outgroup members experience higher social distance amongst themselves.

While perceptions and experiences of social distance can be regarded and measured as personal attributes, they may also be in part an expression of similarities – or differences - on other social attributes. Drawing from Blau's work (Blau, 1977; Blau & Swartz, 1987), McPherson and colleagues call this overlap in social attributes social consolidation (McPherson & Smith-Lovin, 1987; McPherson et al., 2001). They suggest that homophily for a social attribute is strengthened when differences in this attribute consolidate with differences in other attributes and vice versa. This could mean that ethnic sorting is stronger or weaker depending on the extent in which differences in ethnic background overlap with differences in other social characteristics, such as socioeconomic status, educational level or gender. Future research can explore this relationship further by measuring the magnitude of consolidation of ethnic background and other socially significant attributes on the club level, and test whether it moderates the effects of ingroup size and ethnic outgroup fractionalization on membership ties. As previously formulated by McPherson and Smith-Lovin (1987), we can expect that social consolidation strengthens the effect of ingroup size by marking in- and outgroup differences. For outgroup fractionalization however, the effect may be the other way around. Namely, while high social consolidation constrains and simplifies ethnically heterogeneous social space, low levels of social consolidation expand social space and make it more complex to navigate for members.

Another important avenue for research is the relationship between positively and negatively motivated sorting. While I believe it's plausible that ethnic sorting

is mostly positively motivated, future research should study whether this is the case or not. The line between these forms of sorting is, however, blurry. For example, ethnic discrimination is not a seldom occurrence in amateur football and direct experiences with such practices or even the mere knowledge of their existence may drive minority members to seek out ethnic peers. Furthermore, when members are able to predominantly form ties with comembers that have the same ethnic background, they, at the same time, constrain tie-formation for members with other backgrounds. This may in turn lead to the dissolution of membership and drive members to greener pastures, but we would probably not call such choices positively motivated. More insight into the motivations and expectations that underly the dynamics of membership tie-formation and dissolution is therefore highly needed.

6.6 Closing remarks

In this dissertation I have explored and studied the relationship between ethnic background and membership. Over the past years, I've come to realize that some may find the outcomes of my research, particularly the finding that ethnic heterogeneity weakens membership ties, uncomfortable. I want to therefore emphasize that this dissertation is by no means a case for cynicism about ethnic heterogeneity in sports or multicultural society as a whole. All over the country and world, in and outside sports, people from various backgrounds come together and realize beautiful things. This is no different for Dutch amateur football, which is growing ever more ethnically diverse. Moreover, on closer inspection there are several causes for optimism.

Firstly, my research does not find any proof for irreconcilable cultural differences. Given the right circumstances, citizens with migrant background are just as likely to involve themselves in this type of voluntary associations as citizens with Dutch backgrounds. Secondly, ethnic minority participation in the Netherlands' most popular organized sports has been steadily growing over time with some ethnic groups showing equal or even higher participation figures than citizens with Dutch backgrounds. These facts stem hopeful for the future of amateur football and civil society as a whole.

Finally, a better understanding of the relationship between ethnic background and membership ties ultimately also allows us to know what aspects we should pay attention to, and which situations warrant more of our care and support. Consequently, while I follow Max Weber in his conviction that social scientists must reveal 'uncomfortable truths' (Weber, 1919, p. 26), there is no reason to paint a bleak picture from this dissertation. If not anything else, knowing uncomfortable truths can produce more comfortable futures, as it is the first step in bringing about effective social change and creating a socially more just world. It is my sincere hope that this dissertation, however modest, contributes to this goal.

References

Blau, P. M. (1977). *Inequality and heterogeneity: A primitive theory of social structure*. Free Press.

Blau, P. M., & Schwartz, J. E. (1984). *Crossing social circles.* Academic Press.

Dinesen, P. T., Schaeffer, M., & Sønderskov, K. M. (2020). Ethnic diversity and social trust: A narrative and meta-analytical review. *Annual Review of Political Science*, *23*(1), 441–465. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-052918-020708

Gesthuizen, M., Van der Meer, T., & Scheepers, P. (2009). Ethnic diversity and social capital in Europe: Tests of Putnam's thesis in European countries. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, *32*(2), 121–142. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9477.2008.00217.x

Hogg, M. A. (2000). Subjective uncertainty reduction through self-categorization: A motivational theory of social identity processes. *European Review of Social Psychology*, *11*(1), 223–255. https://doi.org/10.1080/14792772043000040

Jennissen, R., Engbersen, G., Bokhorst, M., & Bovens, M. (2018) *De nieuwe verscheidenheid. Toenemende diversiteit naar herkomst in Nederland* [The new diversity. Increased ethnic heterogeneity in the Netherlands]. The Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy.

Koopmans, R., Lancee, B., & Schaeffer, M. (2015). Ethnic diversity in diverse societies: An introduction. In R. Koopmans, B. Lancee & M. Schaeffer (Eds.), *Social cohesion and immigration in Europe and North America* (pp. 1–19). Routledge.

Koopmans, R., & Schaeffer, M. (2015). Relational diversity and neighbourhood cohesion. Unpacking variety, balance and in-group size. *Social Science Research*, *53*, 162–176. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2015.05.010

Leszczensky, L., & Pink, S. (2019). What drives ethnic homophily? A relational approach on how ethnic identification moderates preferences for same-ethnic friends. *American Sociological Review*, *84*(3), 394–419. https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122419846849

Letki, N. (2008). Does diversity erode social cohesion? Social capital and race in British neighbourhoods. *Political Studies*, *56*(1), 99–126. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9248.2007.00692.x

Levin, S., & Sidanius, J. (1999). Social dominance and social Identity in the United States and Israel: Ingroup favoritism or outgroup derogation? *Political Psychology*, *20*(1), 99–126. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3792006

McPherson, J. M., Popielarz, P. A., & Drobnic, S. (1992). Social networks and organizational dynamics. *American Sociological Review*, *57*(2), 153–170. https://doi.org/10.2307/2096202

McPherson, J. M., & Smith-Lovin, L. (1987). Homophily in voluntary organizations: Status distance and the composition of face-to-face groups. *American Sociological Review*, *52*(3), 370–379. https://doi.org/10.2307/2095356

McPherson, M. (1983). An ecology of affiliation. *American Sociological Review*, *48*(4), 519–532. https://doi.org/10.2307/2117719

McPherson, M. (2004). A Blau space primer: Prolegomenon to an ecology of affiliation. *Industrial and Corporate Change*, *13*(1), 263–280. https://doi.org/10.1093/icc/13.1.263

McPherson, M., Smith-Lovin, L., & Cook, J. M. (2001). Birds of a feather: Homophily in social networks. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *27*(1), 415–444. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.27.1.415

Morales, L. (2013). Assessing the effects of immigration and diversity in Europe: Introduction to the special issue. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties*, *23*(3), 241–254. https://doi.org/10.1080/17457289.2013.809351

Putnam, R. D. (2007). E pluribus unum: Diversity and community in the twenty-first century. The 2006 Johan Skytte Prize lecture. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, *30*(2), 137–174. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9477.2007.00176.x

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of inter-group conflict. In W. G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of inter-group relations* (pp. 33–47). Brooks/Cole.

Van der Meer, T., & Tolsma, J. (2014). Ethnic diversity and its effects on social cohesion. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *40*(1), 459–478. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-071913-043309

Veldboer, L., Boonstra, N., Krouwel, A., & Duyvendak, J.W. (2010). De mixfactor van sport: eenheid en verdeeldheid op het veld. In F. Kemper (Ed.) *Samenspel: studies over etniciteit, integratie en sport* (pp.85–99). Nederlands Instituut voor Sport en Bewegen (NISB).

Weber, M. (1919) *Wissenschaft als Beruf*. Duncker & Humblot.

Wiertz, D. (2016). Segregation in civic life: Ethnic sorting and mixing across voluntary associations. *American Sociological Review*, *81*(4), 800–827. https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122416651312

Appendix A - List of countries

Table 7.1 List of countries for multinational ethnic backgrounds

North/West/South European & Anglo-Saxon	Middle & Eastern European	North African & Muslim Asian	Sub-Saharan African
Andorra	Albania	Afghanistan	Angola
Australia	Bulgaria	Algerine	Benin
Austria	Cyprus	Bahrain	Botswana
Belgium	Former Czechoslovakia	Bangladesh	Ethiopia
Canada	Former Soviet Union	Brunei	Chad
Channel Islands	Former Yugoslavia	Comoros	Central African Republic
Denmark	Greece	Djibouti	Burkina Faso
Faroe Islands	Hungary	Egypt	Burundi
Finland	Poland	Iran	DR Congo
France	Romania	Iraq	Eritrea
Germany		Jordan	Congo
Gibraltar		Kuwait	Gabon
Iceland		Lebanon	Ghana
Ireland		Libya	Gambia
Isle of Man		Malaysia	Guinea
Israel		Maldives	Guinea-Bissau
Italy		Mauritania	Ivory Coast
Liechtenstein		Oman	Cape Verde
Luxembourg		Pakistan	Cameroon
Malta		Qatar	Kenya
Monaco		Saudi Arabia	Lesotho
New Zealand		Somalia	Liberia
Norway		Sudan	Madagascar
Portugal		Syria	Malawi
Spain		Tunisia	Mali
Sweden		United Arab Emirates	Mauritius
Switzerland		Yemen	Mayotte
United Kingdom			Mozambique
United States			Namibia
Vatican City			Niger
			Nigeria

Table 7.1 Continued

Sub-Saharan African	Non-Muslim Asian & Oceanian	Middle and South American	
Réunion	Bhutan	U.S. Virgin Islands	Panama
Rwanda	Cambodia	Anguilla	Paraguay
São Tomé and Príncipe	China	Antigua in Barbuda	Peru
Senegal	Cook Islands	Argentina	Puerto Rico
Seychelles	East Timor	Bahama's	Saint Kitts in Nevis
Sierra Leone	Equatorial Guinea	Barbados	Saint Lucia
South Africa	Fiji	Belize	Saint-Vincent and the Grenadines
Swaziland	French Polynesia	Bermuda	Trinidad in Tobago
Tanzania	Guam	Bolivia	Uruguay
Togo	Hong Kong	Brazil	Venezuela
Uganda	India	British Virgin Islands	
Zambia	Japan	Cayman Islands	
Zimbabwe	Laos	Chile	
	Macau	Colombia	
	Mongolia	Costa Rica	
	Myanmar	Cuba	
	Nepal	Dominica	
	New Caledonia	Dominican Republic	
	North Korea	Ecuador	
	Palau	El Salvador	
	Papua-New Guinea	French Guiana	
	Philippines	Grenada	
	Samoa	Guadeloupe	
	Singapore	Guatemala	
	Solomon Islands	Guyana	
	South Korea	Haiti	
	Sri Lanka	Honduras	
	Taiwan	Jamaica	
	Thailand	Martinique	
	Tonga	Mexico	
	Vietnam	Nicaragua	

Appendix B - Data management

Data collection

For the purpose of this study, the Royal Dutch Football Association (KNVB) provided me in the fall of 2015 with the digitalized club membership records of all registered members of Dutch amateur football clubs from 2005 onwards. In consultation with the KNVB, playing seasons for membership records were determined to start on the 15th of August and end on the 15th of May. This resulted in a dataset with almost 13 million anonymized membership records distributed over ten playing seasons.

To gain information on the ethnic background of members and other background characteristics needed to conduct the empirical analyses for this dissertation, the membership data provided by the KNVB needed to be matched with microdata from Statistics Netherlands. To do so, membership records contained not only information on members' playing season and club membership, but also information on their date of birth, postal code and gender. Using these markers, roughly 94 percent of the membership records could be successfully matched by Statistics Netherlands.

Data processing and analysis

All matched records were assigned a unique anonymous identifier by Statistics Netherlands. The membership data were first cleaned by identifying false duplicate records and false original records. This resulted in 12,633,031 records, of which 12,093,428 records (96%) had been matched. The unique identifiers were used to merge the membership records with data on sociodemographic markers, such as country of birth, age, and sex, data on income, and housing data. Based on these merged data, the variables used in this study were subsequently constructed and used for analysis. Data processing and analysis was done by using a combination of the statistical software packages SPSS and R. All steps undertaken in this process starting with the raw matched data and ending with the final analyses, were recorded and can be, if necessary, reproduced.

Data storage and protection

The original anonymized membership data provided by the KNVB have been securely stored in Yoda, the protected research data management service of

Utrecht University. These data were only accessed for the purpose of matching them with the microdata of Statistics Netherlands via a secure upload portal. The matched dataset is stored within the secured network of Statistics Netherland. The researcher was the sole person that was able to access these data. This was done by using a computer on the site of Statistics Netherlands in The Hague or remotely through a secure multi-factor authentication process that requires periodic reauthentication.

To protect the anonymity of the data, variables used for matching and identifying records as well as member codes and club codes were encrypted by Statistics Netherlands, prior to giving access to the researcher. All data processing and analysis was carried out within the network of Statistics Netherlands, and the records detailing these steps and the study's results are also stored there. Prior to be released for publication, all results of this dissertation were fist checked independently by two researchers from Statistics Netherland, ensuring no sensitive information would be revealed.

Currently all data remain stored with Statistics Netherlands, until the project is terminated. If approved by the KNVB, it is possible to access these data under the conditions set by Statistics Netherlands to review the research. Per agreement with the KNVB, the membership data stored at Utrecht University and Statistics Netherlands will be deleted as soon as they are no longer of use for this PhD project.

Summary

The Springboks' 1995 Rugby World Cup triumph that pulled a strongly racially divided nation closer together, is widely regarded as one of the most reminiscing examples of sports' promise as a powerful ethnic integrator. As many countries have substantially diversified along ethnic lines in the past decades, pressures to harness this power to strengthen social ties between citizens with different ethnic backgrounds have mounted. The organized sports domain appears to be especially appealing in this respect. Membership ties to sports clubs link an astonishing number of citizens to one another. Consequently, it seems only logical that sports clubs are ideal locales for interethnic tie-formation.

While sports clubs no doubt have a lot of potential in bringing people closer together, past research suggests that ethnic differences may also act as a social fault line. Not only are sports sometimes interpreted or used in ways to strengthen ethnic identities, but some research suggests that people favour membership ties to clubs that specifically link them to ethnic peers. To better understand how ethnic background and sports club membership interrelate, this dissertation focuses on the Netherlands' most popular organized sport, amateur football. By combining membership data of all Dutch football clubs in the Netherlands with data on the ethnic backgrounds of Dutch citizens, it has for the first time become possible to extensively study the relationship between ethnic background and club membership quantitatively. To this end, this dissertation is guided by the following main research question:

What is the impact of ethnic background on membership ties to Dutch football clubs?

The main research question of this dissertation has been broken down into four distinct and more specific research questions. Each of these research questions is addressed in a separate empirical chapter, leading to several key findings and insights.

More minorities among members, but differences between groups

Chapter 2 delves into the ethnic composition of Dutch amateur football by posing the following research question: 'To what extent is Dutch amateur football an

ethnic reflection of the Dutch population and what factors best explain differences in participation between ethnic groups?' Firstly, the results of this chapter demonstrate that the number of members with a migration background has steadily increased over time, mirroring a trend in the overall Dutch population. Overall, membership of citizens with migrant backgrounds remains to lag behind that of citizens with Dutch backgrounds. When members with migrant backgrounds are broken down into eleven distinct groups, this reveals strong differences in membership rates. In multiple instances, memberships rates for specific backgrounds surpass those of members with Dutch backgrounds, which is at odds with what we know of (sports) association membership in general. Furthermore, ethnic differences in membership rates do not seem to align well with traditional explanations for disparities such as a lack of resources or exclusion. This suggests that ethnic groups also differ in their preference to be involved in (certain) organized sports.

Gravitating to ethnic peers

Chapter 3 investigates how members of six different backgrounds spread over clubs. The research question that guides this chapter is: 'To what extent and in what way are ethnic groups within the Netherlands unequally distributed over amateur football clubs?' The results demonstrate that citizens tend to have membership ties to football clubs who have a higher-than-average share of members with the same ethnic background. This leads to substantial ethnic segregation between associations and ensures that an important part of interethnic contact takes place between clubs rather than within clubs. At the same time, however, it becomes apparent that in the long term, ethnic segregation between clubs has been decreasing and that associations are becoming increasingly diverse. An important explanation for this is the steady decline in the number of football associations. As a result, a growing member population must be divided among an ever-smaller number of clubs.

Club heterogeneity leads to dropout

Chapter 4 focuses on the relationship between club composition and member dropout. Its research question is: 'Does the ethnic heterogeneity of amateur football clubs affect member dropout?' The results show that in ethnically heterogeneous associations, members drop out significantly faster than in ethnically homogeneous associations. There are two explanations for this. The

most important explanation is that similarity in ethnic background breeds connection. Because in ethnically diverse associations, the relative proportion of members with the same ethnic background is lower than in homogeneous associations, members drop out faster. The second explanation is that a high degree of internal differences complicates social interaction and coordination. This too, will result in members terminating their membership more quickly. While the results show that members with a migration background on average leave clubs significantly faster than their Dutch counterparts, a key finding is that this difference can almost be entirely explained by the ethnic composition of those clubs. These findings are at odds with cultural explanations for ethnic differences in membership. Namely, members with a Dutch and migration background in fact have roughly the same dropout chances, but the average composition of clubs is more attuned to members with Dutch backgrounds.

No ethnic sorting in club transfers

Chapter 5 explores whether members transfer to clubs with more favourable ethnic compositions by focussing on the question: 'To what extent are transfers of members between clubs related to differences between clubs' ethnic compositions?' The results indicated that when members switch between clubs, they on average do not move to more homogeneous clubs or clubs with a higher degree of ethnic peers. This suggests that differences in ethnic composition between clubs do not drive additional ethnic sorting via member transfers. In addition, the number of members who change clubs is low compared to the total number of dropouts. Consequently, clubs do not seem to compete with one another on the basis of their ethnic composition, and members who drop out as a result of the ethnic composition of their club are likely to leave amateur football all together.

The importance of ethnic similarity

Together, these findings lead to important insights regarding the main research question of this thesis: 'What is the impact of ethnic background on membership ties to Dutch football clubs?' First, despite amateur football's popularity, this dissertation shows that ethnic background plays a decisive role in the likelihood that citizens will form and maintain ties to football clubs. Ethnic groups differ substantially in the degree in which they become and stay members of football clubs, which cannot be explained by differences in resources or socio-economic

position. Instead, it is found that membership ties to football clubs are significantly strengthened by ethnic similarity and, vice versa, weakened by ethnic dissimilarity between members. While this effect appears to be universal, the degree in membership ties link to ethnic peers varies significantly between ethnic backgrounds. This makes the impact of ethnic background on membership for an important part not an individual but a relational issue. Namely, it is not one's ethnic background per se that determines ties to amateur football clubs, but rather the extent to which this ethnic background does or does not overlap with the backgrounds of other club members.

Composition over culture

Another key insight of this dissertation is that its findings invalidate cultural explanations for ethnic disparities in the frequency and especially longevity of membership ties to sport clubs. A popular claim in public discourse is that membership ties to voluntary associations are deeply embedded in 'Dutch culture', as opposed to the 'cultures' of people with migrant backgrounds. This cultural deficit approach tends to go hand in hand with ideas that Dutch citizens with migrant backgrounds need to be educated or emancipated in order to fully participate in and contribute to civil society. While over time this claim has already become less and less tenable due to the rise of second and third generation citizens with migrant backgrounds, this dissertation serves as an important piece of counterevidence for when it undoubtedly arises in both public and private discourse on minority participation and membership.

Rising fleetingness of membership ties

Finally, this dissertation shows that because membership dynamics in amateur football stimulate member ties between ethnic peers, heterogeneous club compositions lead to significantly more member turnover. This finding, first of all, implies that the degree in which sports clubs serve as foci for the production of durable interethnic ties is limited, putting the popularized belief that clubs are ethnic integrators into question. Furthermore, as our society continues to ethnically diversify in the future, we should realize that this trend, at least on the short term, is likely to go hand in hand with an increase in the fleetingness of membership ties. This can have important ramifications for civil society organizations because, as mutual support organizations, their continuity depends for an important part on the stability of these ties.

Samenvatting

In 1995 bracht de overwinning van de Zuid-Afrikaanse Springbokken op het WK rugby de burgers van een sterk etnisch verdeeld land dichter bij elkaar. Deze overwinning wordt tot op de dag van vandaag beschouwd als een van de meest inspirerende voorbeelden van hoe sport als een krachtig interetnisch bindmiddel zou kunnen werken. Aangezien veel landen de afgelopen decennia aanzienlijk zijn gediversifieerd langs etnische lijnen, is de druk toegenomen om sport in te zetten om de sociale banden tussen burgers met verschillende etnische achtergronden te versterken. De georganiseerde sport oogt lijkt hier in het bijzonder voor geschikt. Via het lidmaatschap van sportverenigingen worden een verbazingwekkend aantal burgers met elkaar verbonden. Het ligt dan ook zeer voor de hand om te veronderstellen dat sportclubs ideale organisaties kunnen zijn voor interetnische verbinding.

Hoewel sportclubs ongetwijfeld veel potentieel hebben om mensen dichter bij elkaar te brengen, suggereert eerder onderzoek dat etnische verschillen ook als een sociale scheidslijn kunnen fungeren. Niet alleen worden sporten soms op manieren geïnterpreteerd of gebruikt die etnische identiteiten versterken, maar sommige onderzoeken suggereren ook dat mensen over het algemeen de voorkeur lijken te geven aan verenigingen met leden die dezelfde etnische achtergrond hebben. Om beter te begrijpen hoe etnische achtergrond en lidmaatschap van sportclubs met elkaar samenhangen, richt dit proefschrift zich op de populairste georganiseerde sport van Nederland, het amateurvoetbal. Door ledengegevens van alle Nederlandse voetbalclubs in Nederland te combineren met gegevens over etnische achtergronden van burgers, is het voor het eerst mogelijk om de relatie tussen etnische achtergrond en clublidmaatschap kwantitatief te bestuderen. Daarom ligt aan dit proefschrift de volgende centrale onderzoeksvraag ten grondslag:

Wat is de invloed van etnische achtergrond op het lidmaatschap van Nederlandse voetbalclubs?

De centrale onderzoeksvraag van dit proefschrift is opgesplitst in vier subvragen. Voor de beantwoording van elke subvraag is kwantitatief empirisch

onderzoek verricht, hetgeen heeft geleid tot een aantal belangrijke bevindingen en inzichten. Deze worden behandeld in vier afzonderlijke hoofdstukken.

Toename leden met migratieachtergrond, maar verschillen tussen groepen

Hoofdstuk 2 gaat dieper in op de etnische samenstelling van het Nederlandse amateurvoetbal. Daarbij staat de volgende onderzoeksvraag centraal: 'In hoeverre is het Nederlandse amateurvoetbal een etnische afspiegeling van de Nederlandse bevolking en welke factoren kunnen het beste verschillen in participatie tussen etnische groepen verklaren?' Allereerst laten de onderzoeksresultaten zien dat het aantal leden met een migratieachtergrond door de tijd heen gestaag is toegenomen. Wel loopt deze ontwikkeling achter op groei van het aandeel van mensen met een migratieachtergrond onder de Nederlandse bevolking, waardoor over het algemeen Nederlanders met een migratieachtergrond zijn ondervertegenwoordigd in het amateurvoetbal. Als voetbalclubleden met een migratieachtergrond worden onderverdeeld in elf verschillende etnische achtergronden, komen sterke onderlinge verschillen in lidmaatschapspercentages naar voren. In sommige gevallen overtreffen de lidmaatschapspercentages van groepen Nederlanders met een migratieachtergrond die van leden met een Nederlandse achtergrond, wat haaks staat op eerder onderzoek naar deelname in (sport)verenigingen. Bovendien lijken onderlinge etnische verschillen in lidmaatschapspercentages niet goed overeen te komen met traditionele verklaringen voor ondervertegenwoordiging van leden met een migratieachtergrond zoals een gebrek aan middelen of uitsluiting. Dit wijst erop dat etnische groepen onderling verschillen in hun voorkeur om deel te nemen aan (bepaalde) georganiseerde sporten.

De aantrekkingskracht van leden met dezelfde achtergrond

In hoofdstuk 3 wordt besproken hoe leden van zes verschillende etnische achtergronden zich verspreiden over clubs. De onderzoeksvraag die aan dit hoofdstuk ten grondslag ligt is: 'In hoeverre en op welke wijze zijn etnische groepen binnen Nederland ongelijk verdeeld over amateurvoetbalclubs?' Uit de onderzoeksresultaten komt naar voren dat burgers over het algemeen lid zijn van voetbalclubs die een hoger dan gemiddeld aandeel leden met eenzelfde etnische achtergrond hebben. Dit resulteert in substantiële etnische segregatie tussen verenigingen en zorgt ervoor dat een belangrijk deel van het interetnische contact plaatsvindt tussen clubs in plaats van binnen clubs. Tegelijkertijd wordt echter

duidelijk dat door de tijd heen etnische segregatie tussen clubs is afgenomen en dat verenigingen steeds diverser worden. Een belangrijke verklaring hiervoor is de gestage daling van het aantal voetbalvereniging. Als gevolg hiervan moet een groeiende ledenpopulatie worden verdeeld over een steeds kleiner aantal clubs.

Clubheterogeniteit leidt tot uitstroom

Hoofdstuk 4 gaat in op de relatie tussen clubsamenstelling en ledenverloop. De onderzoeksvraag van dit hoofdstuk luidt: 'Heeft de etnische heterogeniteit van amateurvoetbalclubs invloed op de uitstroom van leden?' De onderzoeksresultaten laten zien dat in etnisch heterogene verenigingen leden significant sneller afhaken dan in etnisch homogene verenigingen. Daar zijn twee verklaringen voor. De belangrijkste verklaring is dat overeenkomst in etnische achtergrond sociale verbindingen versterkt. Omdat in etnisch diverse verenigingen het relatieve aandeel leden met dezelfde etnische achtergrond lager is dan in homogene verenigingen, blijven leden minder lang lid. De tweede verklaring is dat een veelvoud van sociale verschillen sociale interactie en wederzijdse afstemming bemoeilijkt. Ook dit zal ertoe leiden dat leden hun lidmaatschap sneller beëindigen. Hoewel uit de resultaten blijkt dat leden met een migratieachtergrond gemiddeld aanzienlijk korter lid blijven van hun club dan leden met een Nederlandse achtergrond, is een belangrijke bevinding dat dit verschil bijna volledig kan worden verklaard door de etnische samenstelling van die clubs. Deze bevindingen staan haaks op culturele verklaringen voor etnische verschillen in lidmaatschap. Leden met een Nederlandse en migratieachtergrond hebben namelijk ongeveer dezelfde kans om uit te stromen, maar de etnische samenstelling van clubs past over het algemeen beter bij leden met een Nederlandse achtergrond.

Geen etnische selectie bij wisseling van club

Hoofdstuk 5 verkent of leden overstappen naar clubs met aantrekkelijkere etnische samenstellingen. De onderzoeksvraag die hierbij centraal staat is: 'In hoeverre is het overstappen van leden naar andere clubs gerelateerd aan verschillen tussen de etnische samenstelling van clubs?' De onderzoeksresultaten laten zien dat wanneer leden wisselen van club, ze gemiddeld genomen niet overstappen naar homogenere clubs of clubs met een hoger aandeel leden met dezelfde etnische achtergrond als zij zelf. Dit impliceert dat verschillen in etnische samenstelling tussen clubs geen grotere etnische segregatie via

overstappers teweegbrengen. Daarnaast is het aantal leden dat van club wisselt laag in vergelijking met het totaal aantal uitstromers. Clubs blijken dus niet met elkaar te concurreren op basis van hun etnische samenstelling. Verder wijst dit erop dat leden die hun lidmaatschap opzeggen vanwege de etnische samenstelling van hun vereniging waarschijnlijk definitief uitstromen uit het amateurvoetbal.

Het belang van etnische gelijkenis

De onderzoeksbevindingen leiden in hun onderlinge samenhang tot een aantal belangrijke inzichten die betrekking hebben op de centrale onderzoeksvraag van dit proefschrift: 'Wat is de invloed van etnische achtergrond op het lidmaatschap van Nederlandse voetbalclubs?' Ten eerste laat dit proefschrift zien dat ondanks de populariteit van het Nederlandse amateurvoetbal, etnische achtergrond een doorslaggevende rol speelt bij de kans dat burgers lid worden van voetbalclubs of lid blijven. Er bestaan duidelijke verschillen tussen etnische groepen in zowel de aantallen als de duur van lidmaatschap van voetbalverenigingen, hetgeen niet kan worden verklaard door verschillen in andere belangrijke sociale kenmerken. Uit het onderzoek komt naar voren dat etnische gelijkenis tussen leden hun lidmaatschap bestendigt, terwijl onderlinge etnische verschillen vaker leiden tot de beëindiging van lidmaatschap. Hoewel dit effect universeel is, varieert de mate waarin Nederlanders met verschillende achtergronden leden met dezelfde etnische achtergrond kunnen treffen, aanzienlijk. Dit maakt de invloed van etnische achtergrond op het lidmaatschap van voetbalverenigingen grotendeels een relationele in plaats van een individuele kwestie. Het is namelijk niet de etnische achtergrond op zichzelf die van doorslaggevende betekenis is voor lidmaatschap, maar voornamelijk de mate waarin de etnische achtergrond van een lid al dan niet overeenkomt met de achtergronden van andere clubleden.

Etnische samenstelling in plaats van cultuur

Een ander belangrijk inzicht is dat de onderzoeksresultaten culturele verklaringen voor etnische verschillen in lidmaatschap van sportverenigingen niet ondersteunen. Een populaire bewering in het publieke debat is dat verenigingslidmaatschap diep verankerd zou zijn in de Nederlandse cultuur, in tegenstelling tot de 'cultuur' van Nederlanders met een migratieachtergrond. Deze benadering die uitgaat van een cultureel tekort gaat vaak hand in hand met ideeën dat Nederlanders met een migratieachtergrond moeten worden onderwezen of geëmancipeerd om volledig deel te nemen en bij te dragen aan het

maatschappelijk middenveld. Hoewel dit idee door de tijd heen al steeds minder houdbaar is geworden door de opkomst van tweede en derde generatie burgers, vormen de onderzoeksresultaten van dit proefschriftonderzoek belangrijk tegenbewijs voor dergelijke culturele verklaringen.

Vluchtiger lidmaatschap

Tot slot laat dit proefschrift zien dat heterogene clubs te maken hebben met significant meer ledenverloop, omdat de lidmaatschapsdynamiek in eerste instantie de relaties tussen mensen met dezelfde etnische achtergrond stimuleert. Dit betekent in de eerste plaats dat de mate waarin sportverenigingen duurzame interetnische banden kunnen bewerkstelligen, beperkt is en dat daarmee ook de populaire gedachte dat clubs uitgelezen etnische verbinders zijn bijstelling behoeft. Bovendien zullen we ons moeten realiseren dat naarmate onze samenleving in etnisch opzicht steeds diverser wordt, dit waarschijnlijk in ieder geval op de korte termijn gepaard zal gaan met vluchtige lidmaatschappen. Voor sportverenigingen maar ook andere organisaties in het maatschappelijk middenveld heeft dit mogelijk belangrijke gevolgen, omdat de stabiliteit van hun ledenbestand een belangrijke voorwaarde is voor hun voortbestaan.

About the author

Arend van Haaften (1990) studied sociology at Amsterdam University (BSc) and Erasmus University (MSc). In 2014, he graduated with honours on a master thesis in which he studied the involvement in, and ethnic heterogeneity of civil society organizations in Rotterdam, and their effects on intra- and interethnic relations of residents. For this thesis he was subsequently awarded with the Rotterdam Thesis Award 2015. After obtaining his master's degree in sociology, Arend was enrolled in the research master program Sociology in Culture, Media and the Arts at Erasmus University for seven months, before starting his PhD project on the relationship between ethnicity and membership of Dutch amateur football clubs at Utrecht University School of Governance (USG) in 2015.

During his seven-year stay with USG, Arend was a member of the faculty PhD council, chair of the PhD platform and member of the USG research board. He has presented his work to multiple sports organizations and practitioners, on various scientific conferences (European Sociological Association, European Association for the Sociology of Sport and the International Sociology of Sport Association) and in research articles in the European Journal for Sport and Society. In addition to his research, Arend has been actively involved in teaching. He has supervised many bachelor and master theses, taught a variety of courses in organizational science, sociology of sport and quantitative methods at both the graduate and undergraduate level, and has acted as a guest lecturer on numerous occasions. He is part of the team of students and two other colleagues that in 2022 invented a brand-new sport for popular science magazine Quest, called Qontrol-ball.

Dankwoord

Dit proefschrift was niet tot stand gekomen zonder de hulp en medewerking van een aantal personen en organisaties.

Allereerst wil ik mijn promotoren, Maarten van Bottenburg en Mark Bovens bedanken voor hun begeleiding, geduld en vertrouwen in de afgelopen jaren. Voor velen is promoveren een lang en af en toe ook zwaar proces. Dat was voor mij niet anders. Met hun oprechte interesse in mijn onderzoek en stimulerende commentaren hebben Maarten en Mark mij herhaaldelijk een hart onder de riem gestoken. Verder gaven zij mij de ruimte om mijn eigen invulling te geven aan het onderzoek. Zij waren daarin behulpzaam maar nooit sturend. Tekenend voor hun begeleidingsstijl is hun reactie toen ik hen bedankte in mijn eerste publicatie: 'Heel sympathiek, maar echt niet nodig'.

Maarten heeft een aanstekelijk enthousiasme dat ervoor zorgde dat ik altijd opgewekt de deur uitliep. Het was voor mij ook heel inspirerend om samen met hem na te kunnen denken over manieren waarop je juist binnen sport grote sociologische vraagstukken kunt onderzoeken. Naast mijn promotor was Maarten ook mijn leidinggevende. In die rol kon ik altijd rekenen op zijn tijd, begrip en steun.

Gezien zijn status binnen de Nederlandse sociale wetenschappen werd ik in mijn eerste overleggen met Mark een beetje onzeker van zijn soms kritische blik. Gaandeweg heb ik hem echter leren kennen als iemand bij wie ik terecht kon voor zowel een diepgaande inhoudelijke bespreking als een goed gesprek. Aan zijn vermogen om complexe vraagstukken terug te brengen tot de kern, heb ik veel gehad.

De Koninklijke Nederlandse Voetbalbond (KNVB) wil ik uitdrukkelijk bedanken voor zijn medewerking aan dit onderzoek. Laura Jonker heeft als toenmalig hoofd onderzoek van de KNVB een cruciale rol gespeeld in het beschikbaar stellen van de geanonimiseerde ledendata. Arie Kraaijenoord is als informatiespecialist van onschatbare waarde geweest in het verkrijgen van de juiste data in het juiste format en op de juiste manier. Ook Frederike Zwenk wil graag bedanken, voor het feit dat zij als opvolger van Laura Jonker geïnteresseerd in en betrokken bij mijn onderzoek is gebleven.

Joop Hox en wijlen Jaap Dronkers ben ik dankbaar voor het feit dat ik in het beginstadium van mijn onderzoek bij hen terecht kon voor methodologische

vragen. En Roel Jennissen ben ik zeer erkentelijk voor zijn waardevolle commentaar op delen van dit proefschrift.

Mijn oud-collega's van USBO dank ik voor alle leerzame en betekenisvolle momenten. Dit geldt in het bijzonder voor de (oud-)leden van de onderzoeksgroep Sport & Society: Michel, Inge, Ineke, Maikel, Jan-Willem, Frank, Arnout, Sophie, Marianne, Resie, Iris en Anne. Ik koester de prettige samenwerking met hen, onze interessante bijeenkomsten, hun constructieve commentaar op mijn werk en het feit dat we naast dit alles veel plezier hebben gemaakt. Ook denk ik met genoegen terug aan de goede contacten met andere (ex-)promovendi binnen USBO: Jasmijn, Corine, Sabah, Ali, Minou, Ulrike, Judith, Marlot, Joram, Alex, Jurriaan, Julia, Marij, Rosanna, Marija, Olga, Igbal, Jo, Lauren, Evelien, Erik-Jan, Lucas, Jan-Luuk, Isa en Krista. Naast de inhoudelijke discussies tijdens onze bijeenkomsten van het AIO-platform, heb ik genoten van onze borrels, etentjes, goede gesprekken en sociale activiteiten.

Rutger de Kwaasteniet en Maurits van Leeuwen verdienen een aparte vermelding. Niet in de laatste plaats omdat zij het 't langst met mij hebben uitgehouden als mijn kamergenoten. Zwarte humor en flinke lunchwandelingen rondom USBO bleken belangrijke gezamenlijke copingstrategieën om de uitdagingen uit het leven van een promovendus het hoofd te bieden.

Van de onvoorwaardelijke liefde en steun van mijn ouders, Ton van Haaften en Gertrud de Vries, en mijn broer, Remmert, ben ik altijd verzekerd. Door hun eigen wetenschappelijke achtergrond begrepen mijn ouders heel goed waar ik tijdens mijn promotietraject mee bezig was en konden ze regelmatig een luisterend oor bieden.

Tot slot: Lisanne, ik ga ervan uit dat je meteen naar 'het interessantste deel van het proefschrift' bent doorgebladerd. Welkom dus in dit dankwoord. Aan jou heb ik verreweg het meeste te danken. Je bent zeer intelligent en je hebt me in de afgelopen jaren vaak geholpen met dit proefschrift. Maar dat valt in het niet bij de kleur die je aan mijn leven geeft. Het is heerlijk om de boel de boel te laten en er met jou opuit te trekken of gewoon lekker hard te lachen. Daarnaast heb jij me de beste reden die er bestaat, gegeven om dit proefschrift af te ronden. Het mooiste moet nog komen. Ik houd van jou!

Arend van Haaften
Gouda, oktober 2022

This dissertation shows that ethnic background plays a decisive role in the likelihood that Dutch citizens will become and stay members of football clubs. Drawing on data of more than two million club members over ten years, it concludes that members of all backgrounds prefer clubs with a high degree of ethnic peers and few ethnic differences between members. This not only results in a substantial degree of ethnic segregation between clubs, but particularly affects the membership of ethnic minorities, whose small group sizes rather than 'culture' lead to high dropout rates.

At the same time, overall minority participation in amateur football has continued to rise, with some minority groups showing higher membership rates than citizens with Dutch backgrounds. While this is surely a cause for optimism, policy makers and practitioners should also be wary of an increased fleetingness of membership ties. As the ethnic diversity of clubs continues to increase, so will the turnover of their members. This means that ethnically diverse clubs are more likely to struggle with securing a sufficiently stable membership base, which could put the continuity of these mutual aid organizations in jeopardy.

It is therefore recommended that government and sports organizations lend additional support to clubs to curtail these challenges, so that they may continue to serve as one of the primary sports providers and meeting places for both current and future generations from all ethnic backgrounds.