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## **Sport and Social Capital in the United Kingdom: Statistical Evidence from National and International Survey Data**

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## **Sport and Social Capital in the United Kingdom: Statistical Evidence from National and International Survey Data**

### **Abstract**

While sport has long been recognised to have many benefits, researchers, policy makers and politicians have recently become especially interested in the contribution it might make to strengthening community bonds and promoting active citizenship—what the present Labour Government calls ‘civil renewal’. This paper analyses data from a large number of existing statistical studies in order to understand what light they shed on the role sport does or could play in building social capital and civil renewal. We analyse both the extent of sporting participation and the level of social capital in Britain, compare the level of social capital and sporting participation in Britain with the rest of the EU, and examine the links between different types of sporting participation and individual measures of social capital. While making causal inferences from this type of analysis is not recommended, the results provide valuable benchmarking information and will be useful as a background to more experimental studies. The results demonstrate substantial correlations between measures of social capital and measures of sporting participation, both at the national level and, within Britain, at the individual level. Further analysis, controlling for several different types of individual characteristics, yields a more complex picture, with sports club membership positively affecting well-being and sociability but having little effect on political participation and personal trust.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

While the last decade has seen considerable progress in tackling deprivation and inequality, with falling unemployment, crime and child poverty and increased levels of educational attainment, health and life expectancy, Britain still faces huge challenges: levels of child poverty continue to surpass those of many of the UK's more successful European partners; inequalities in wealth, income and wellbeing remain stubbornly high; parental social class and ethnic background still heavily influence life chances. Furthermore these problems are often focused in pockets of deprivation rather than distributed evenly across the country (ippr, 2005).

Civil renewal is one of a number of government strategies intended to take a community based approach to tackling these problems. It is defined as a "state where communities are empowered to tackle social problems" (Home Office, 2003a) and is intended to combine area based and people focused approaches. The theory is that through the process of capacity building among the local population combined with the opening up of the systems and structures of governance the spirit of self-improvement and self-help will be rekindled. Communities themselves will then become a powerful force in rebuilding and regenerating local areas helping to tackle problems like poverty and poor health.

Social capital plays an important role in the capacity building element of civil renewal. Social capital refers to the networks of trust, solidarity and reciprocity that exist in a well functioning community (Putnam, 2000). It is generated by positive social interactions with others, from simply nodding to one's neighbour in the street to getting involved in a local football club or amateur dramatics group or joining a neighbourhood watch scheme. It provides the basic levels of trust and mutuality which allows people to work together to solve problems or run activities as well as providing a sense of belonging and community. Social capital is particularly important for worse off groups as they cannot use money to solve their problems. Putnam and others have shown that people with high levels of social capital are, other things being equal, happier, healthier, safer and more likely to be employed than those with low levels. However it tends to be in the most deprived communities that social capital is scarcest. At the same time, even people who are not themselves trusting or don't have extensive networks of friends and colleagues can benefit from its effects. As a general rule places with high levels of social capital are safer, better governed and more prosperous than those with low levels.

Social capital can have negative as well as positive outcomes. As Putnam and others have stressed it can be used to perpetuate privilege and sustain advantage as well as to reinforce negative and exclusionary group identities. The latter is often referred to as a problem caused by an excess of "bonding" social capital without sufficient "bridging" social capital. In other words social capital can be a powerful way of enhancing the bonds within already polarised groups, reinforcing the "us and them" mentality. For instance very high levels of social capital exist within the various sectarian communities in Northern Ireland, but without any opportunities or willingness to build networks and relationships between these groups and develop "bridging" social capital, its existence serves mainly to consolidate existing divisions.

This paper looks in particular at the role of sport. It takes a broad view of what constitutes sport, including physical activity more widely as well as organised sporting activities.

It has been suggested that sport has an important role to play in the civil renewal agenda, in particular because of its ability to foster social capital. There are a number of ways it is said to do this: it is often a social activity and membership of sports clubs and groups is one of the key forms of associational life identified by Putnam as being important for social capital; sports groups create networks which extend beyond the participants themselves, for instance among groups of parents or supporters of a local team, or volunteers who help run an activity; finally sport plays a valuable role in building shared identities, creating a bond between different groups of people together as supporters of a national, regional or local team.

Of course not all types of sport have the same effect and sport may even in some circumstances have a negative impact. For instance going for a run alone in the local park is not going to create the same level of social capital as joining a running club, likewise the bonds between a spectator at a football match and his or her fellow supporters on the terraces are not likely to be as strong as those between team mates who play in their club at the weekend. Also the social capital created by sport can also be used for ill as well as for good, with the networks and bonds it creates being used to exclude as well as include.

As yet however there has been little detailed analysis of how and when sport can be beneficial, how we can avoid the negative effects and who currently benefits. This paper tackles these questions in a number of stages. The first stage provides a brief analysis of the levels of social capital in the UK and how this compares to the rest of Europe. The second stage reviews the evidence of the numbers who participate in sport, and in what ways they participate: how many volunteer, how many are members of sports clubs and how many attend sporting fixtures? The third stage tells us who volunteers, examining whether there is a particular socio-demographic profile to participation in sport. All these questions can be answered relatively comprehensively with the available data and give an indication of the *reach* of sport in Britain, although without telling us a great deal about its impact. The fourth stage therefore looks at the evidence for sports contribution to social capital and civil renewal. To do this we analyse the correlations between sporting activity and measures of individual and national well-being and social and political trust.

It needs to be emphasised at the outset that the sort of data analysed here does not allow us to make claims of a causal kind about relations between sporting participation and other types of social capital. We can, however, analyse patterns of correlation, and hazard some speculation about the causal processes at work. At the very least, our findings should suggest useful areas for further quantitative and qualitative research.

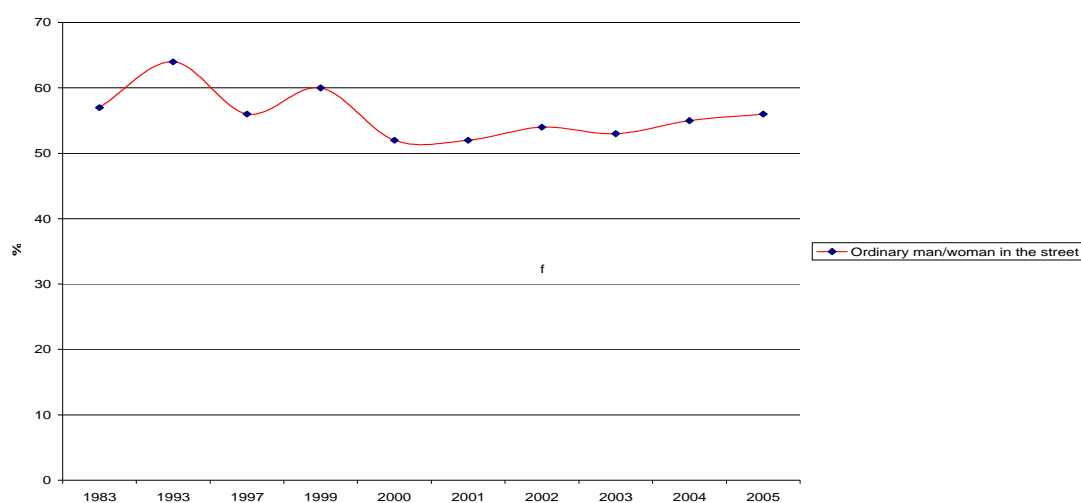
## 2. MEASURES OF SOCIAL CAPITAL

There is some debate about the best ways of measuring social capital. This is reviewed extensively by Daly (2004). In this paper we take a broad view of what may be considered indicators of social capital. We use a variety of measures including civil engagement, interpersonal trust, trust in civil institutions, civil mindedness, informal sociability and levels of volunteering. We also look at subjective well being. Although this is not technically a measure of social capital as it refers to an individual rather than to the networks within a community, it is nevertheless a useful measure. Our personal wellbeing is often affected by the levels of social capital in our community and can also effect how we interact with others.

### 2.1 Social Trust

The degree of trust placed in other people is central to social capital. Putnam identifies a basic level of trust in others as essential to a functioning society. His findings suggested that the US had suffered a decline in social trust and that this decline was primarily generational, with relatively trusting older generations gradually being replaced by less trusting younger people whose levels of trust do not increase with age. Data from the UK however suggest that the same phenomenon is not at work here. Figure 1 uses data from the MORI website showing people's belief that the average man/woman on the street can be trusted to tell the truth, and demonstrates that this measure of social trust has remained fairly constant over the last twenty years.

**Figure 1: Belief that the public can generally be trusted to tell the truth (MORI<sup>1</sup>)**



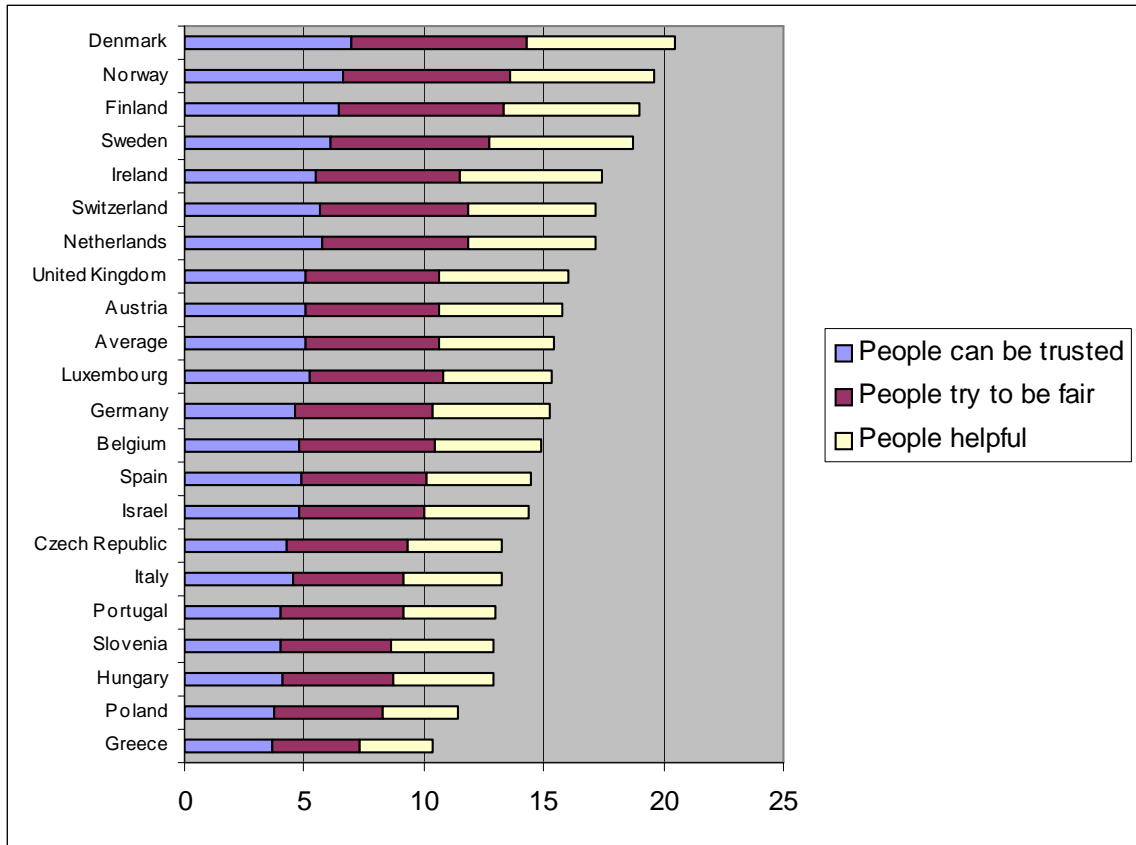
Johnston and Jowell's analysis of the data (2001) paints a similar picture, and they argue that 'in the two decades in which social trust has been in secular decline in the US, we can find no similar pattern in Britain'.

However, although there has not been a decline, levels of trust are not particularly high in comparison to the rest of Europe. Figures 2 and 3 display data on social trust from the 2002 European Social Survey. Figure 2 illustrates levels of social trust across the EU. Figure 3 shows the same data but only compares the UK against the average

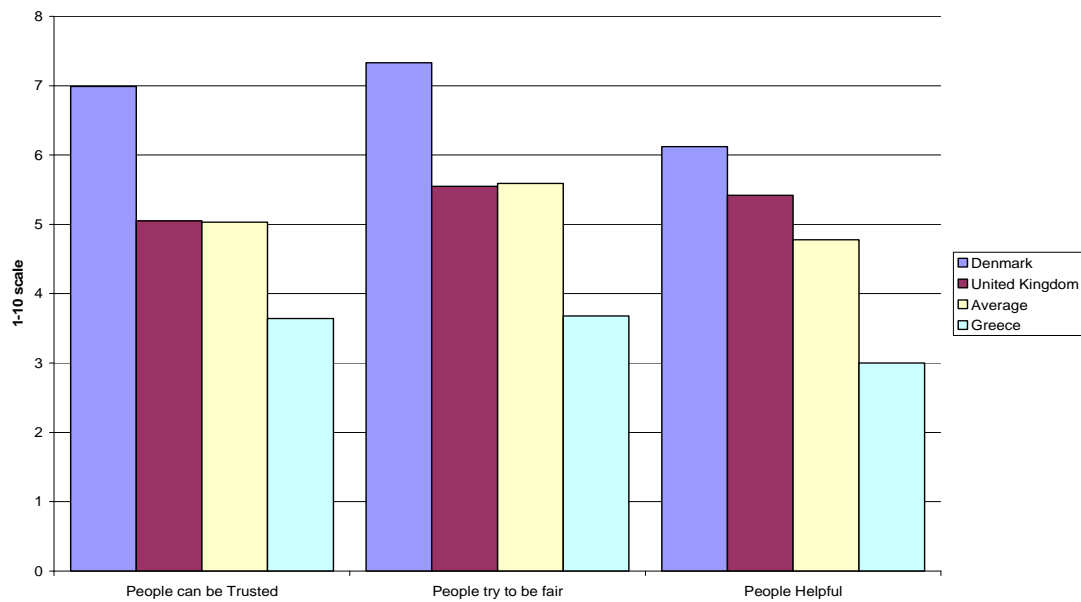
<sup>1</sup> Data can be found at <http://www.mori.com/polls/trends/truth.shtml>

as well as against the highest and lowest performing countries. Social trust levels in Britain are approximately equal to the EU average. However, British levels lag substantially behind high performing countries such as Sweden and Norway.

**Figure 2: Individual Trust (European Social Survey 2002)**



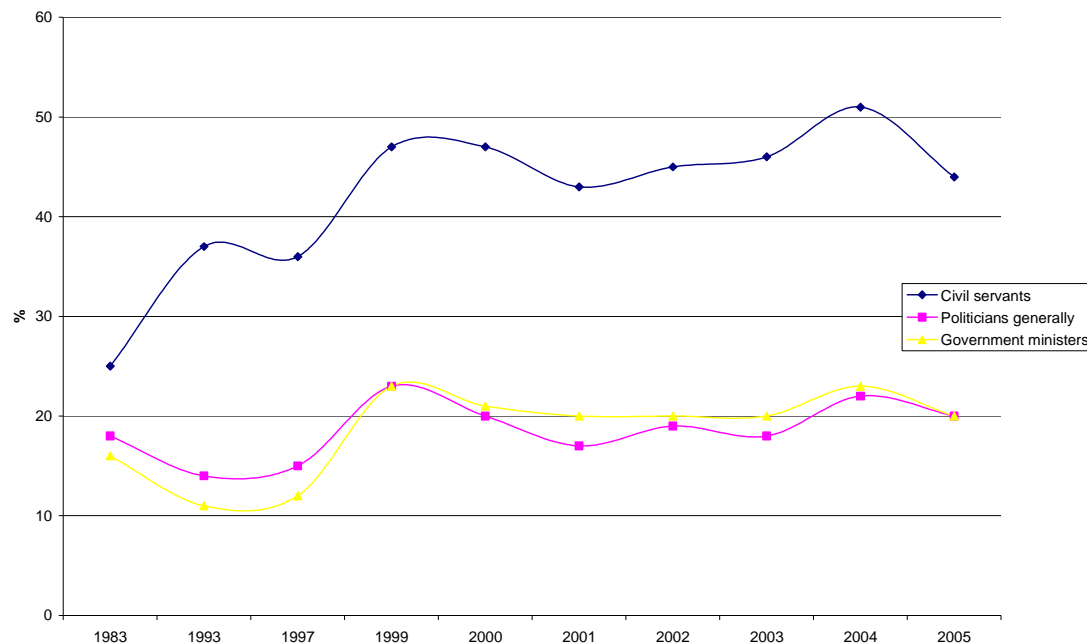
**Figure 3: Trust in other people (European Social Survey 2002)**



## 2.2 Political and Institutional Trust

Levels of social trust are not the only measures of a healthy and well-functioning society. For democracy to work people must have trust in and participate in the institutions of government. The patterns for political and institutional trust appear to be similar to those for social trust, with MORI data suggesting that levels have remained fairly stable over the past twenty years. Figure 4 shows how likely people are to believe different types of professions are telling the truth. This shows that despite a dip in the early 1990s levels of trust in both government ministers and politicians generally has remained fairly constant, and is actually higher in 2005 than it was in 1983. It also demonstrates a significant rise in trust in civil servants. This has begun to dip again after 2004, but is still high relative to previous decades.

**Figure 4: Belief that public figures can generally be trusted to tell the truth (MORI<sup>2</sup>)**



However other data presents a slightly different picture. Table 1 displays the results of civil trust questions taken from the UK Home Office Citizenship Survey 2001. This suggests that while there are reasonably high levels of trust in the police and the legal system the levels of trust in national politicians and parliament are quite low.

**Table 1: Trust in Civil Institutions (UK Home Office Survey).**

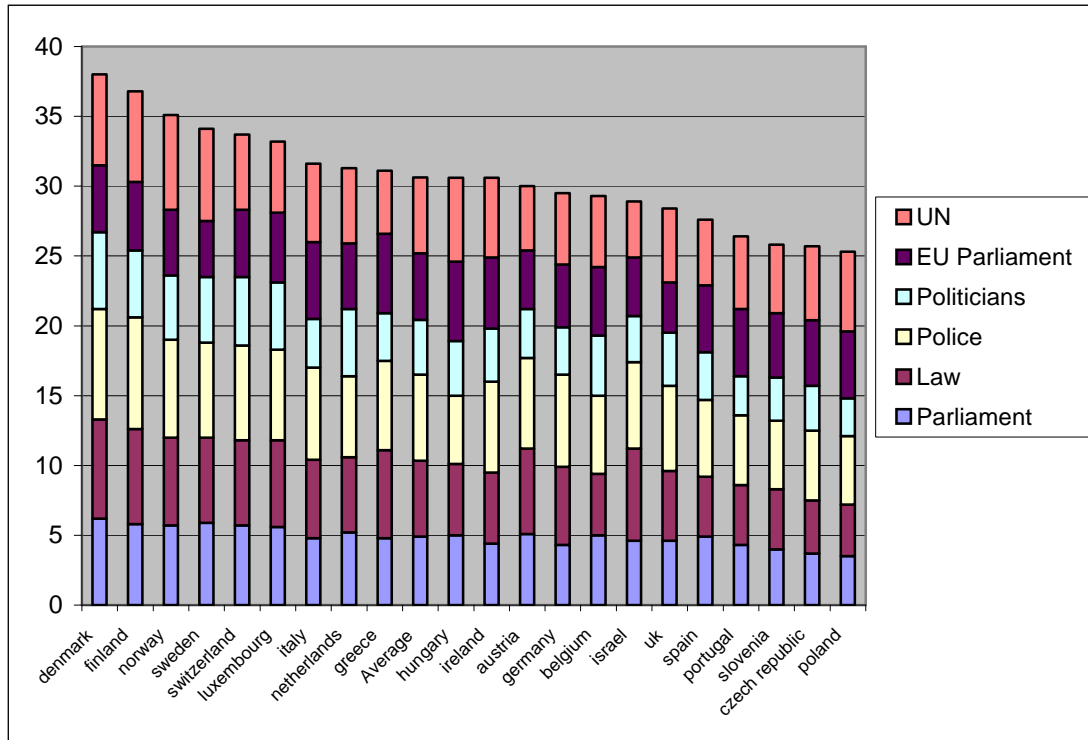
	A lot	A fair amount	Not very much	Not at all	Don't Know
The police	24.9%	49.6%	16.7%	6.1%	2.5%
The courts (Magistrates Courts and Crown Court)	15.6%	46.1%	18.3%	6.4%	13.5%
Your employer	37.2%	42.1%	13.2%	5.0%	2.3%
Politicians	2.3%	21.8%	40.3%	29.2%	6.1%
Parliament	5.2%	31.7%	35.0%	20.4%	7.6%
The Welsh Assembly	2.3%	27.0%	27.0%	24.0%	19.5%
The Greater London Assembly	5.4%	28.3%	22.0%	13.2%	31.0%
Your local council	6.7%	42.1%	28.4%	14.0%	8.7%

They are also not particularly high in comparison to the rest of Europe. Figure 5 shows the results from the European Social Survey which asked respondents to rate on a scale of one to ten how much they trusted a variety of institutions. It demonstrates that UK citizens have less trust in all six civil institutions listed than the average European citizen. Figure 6 uses the same data but compares it just with the best and worst performing countries and the average - though it should be noted that differences highlighted here are really quite slight.

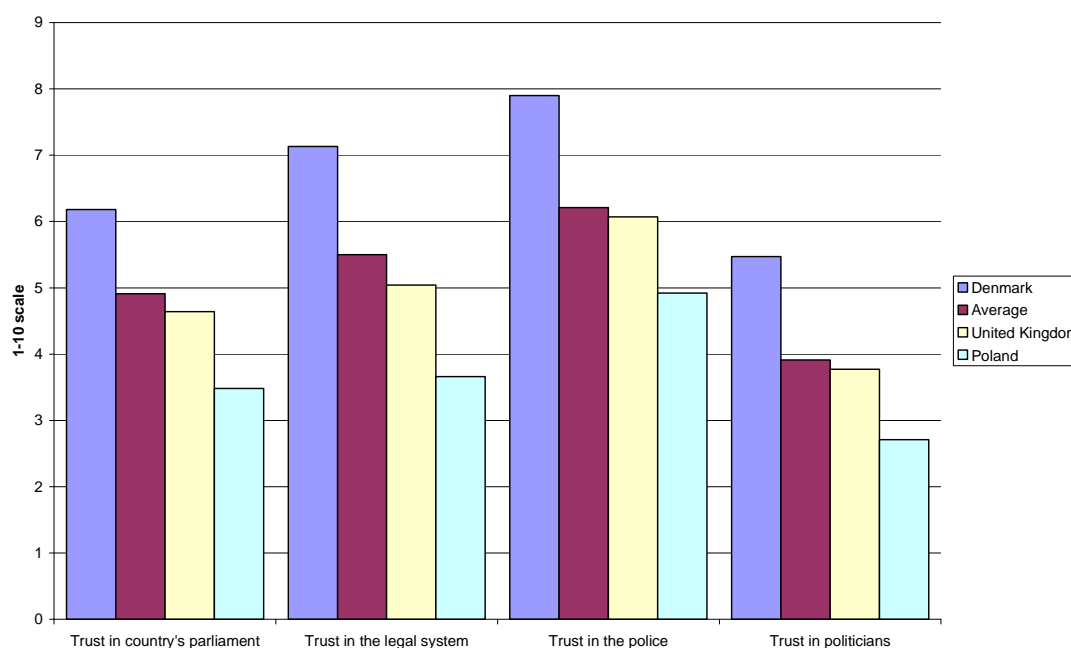
<sup>2</sup> Data can be found at <http://www.mori.com/polls/trends/truth.shtml>



**Figure 5: Trust in Institutions Among EU Citizens**



**Figure 6: Trust in political institutions (European Social Survey 2002)**



### 2.3 Democratic Participation

Social scientists differ as to whether we should view democratic participation as an expression of social capital, or as distinct from it, but all agree that it is closely related to it, as well as being an important good in its own right (Whiteley, 2003). The UK government understands civil renewal as involving both promoting interpersonal trust and interaction (social capital in the strictest sense) and political participation.

There is currently widespread concern about the health of the political culture in Britain and the statistics demonstrate that this concern is justified. Four out of ten voters stayed at home in the last two general elections, and low turnouts have also been the norm in recent elections to the European parliament, in local government elections and elections to the Scottish, Welsh and London assemblies. Research into levels of identification with political parties has also suggested that the electorate has moved from committed partisanship to semi-detached preferences. However if we examine citizens' attitudes to democratic and political involvement these appear to have altered less than we might imagine. Figure 7 displays UK citizens' willingness to engage in various forms of civil acts over the course of twenty years. These figures indicate very little decline in popular attitudes to civil engagement, although of course this may be showing an increase in the number of people who want to be perceived as good citizens – claiming that they participate but regardless of whether they do so – rather than a stable level of people who actually participate. These findings do, though, seem to chime with other studies. As Pattie, Seyd & Whiteley point out, by concentrating attention on one political act, voting in elections, there is a tendency for observers to treat political participation as an either/or/thing. In fact it is much more complex and subtle. They argue that people's participation in conventional political activities, such as voting, contacting a politician and attending a political meeting has declined whereas participation in consumption and contact politics, boycotting goods and contacting the media, have grown. Figure 7 would seem to support that.

**Figure 7: Willingness to Engage in Civil Activities Over Time (BSAS)**

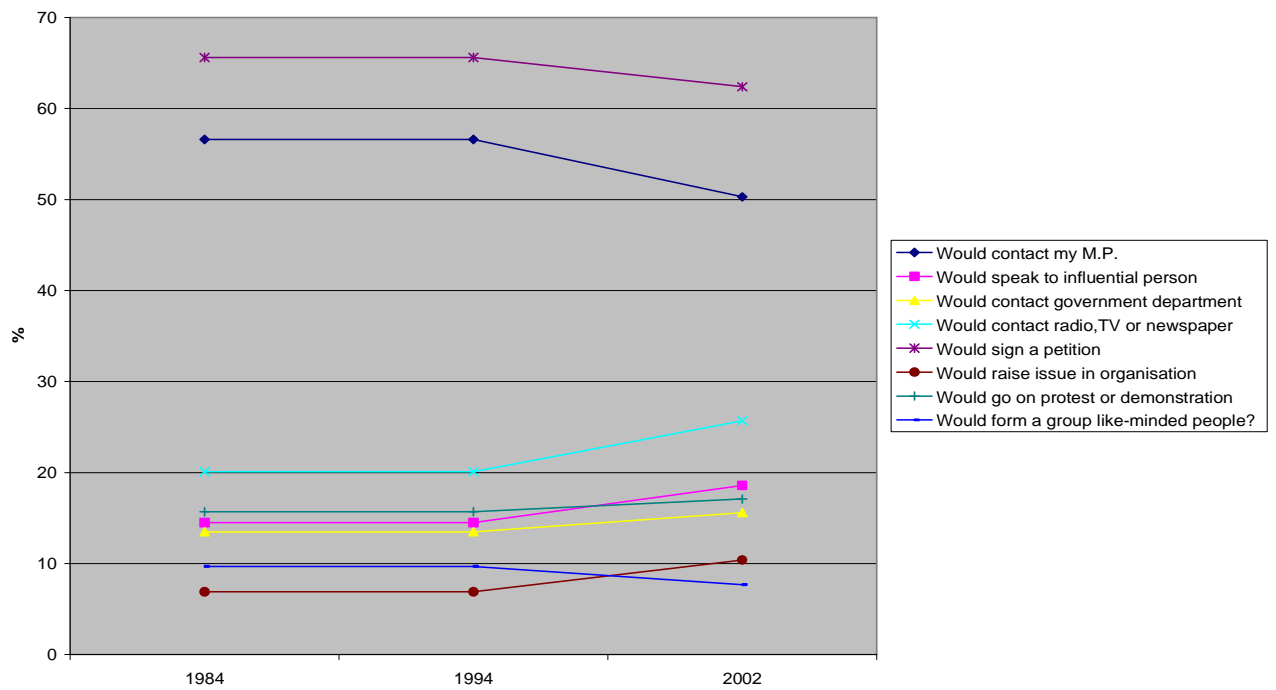
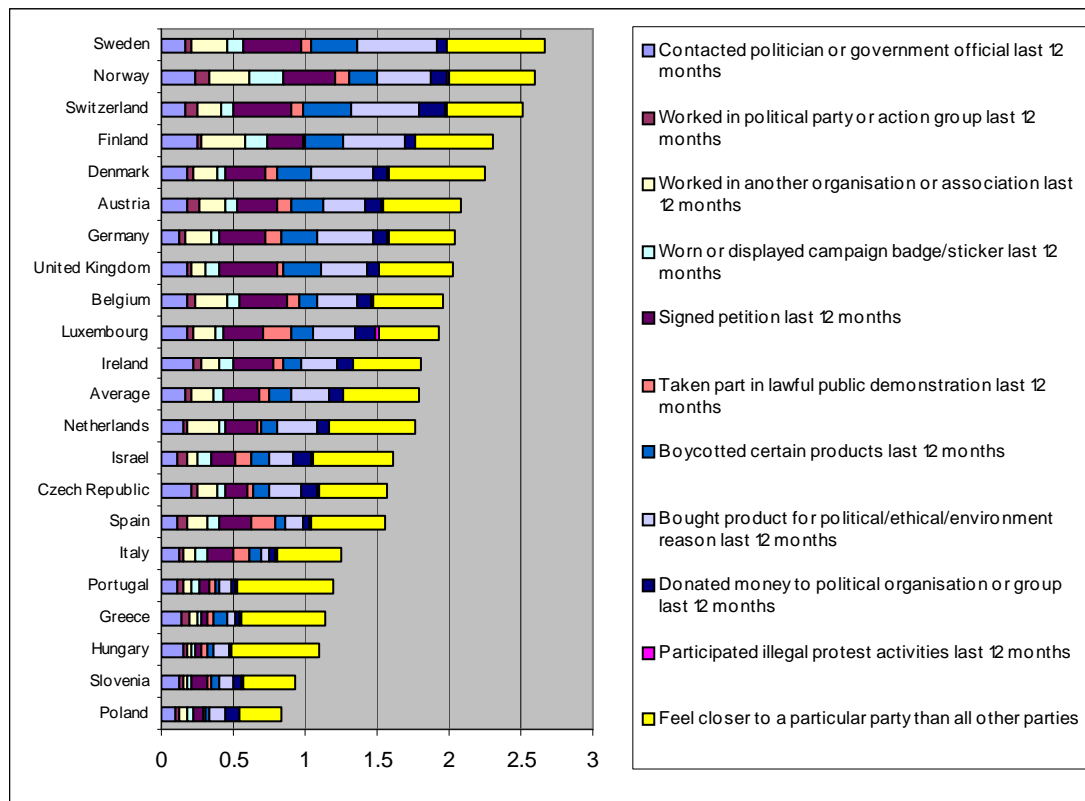


Figure 8 shows how patterns of engagement in the UK compare with the rest of Europe. The UK is again around average, although figures are likely to have been affected by the proximity of the general election.

**Figure 8: Civil Engagement Across Countries**



## 2.4 Social Participation

So much for trends in interpersonal institutional trust and political participation. We now turn to patterns of social participation – that is participation in voluntary and social groups and activities. In the United States there is strong evidence that social participation as well as democratic participation is suffering (Putnam, 2001). However there has been considerable debate about whether Putnam’s picture of declining associational life in the US also holds true for the UK. One of the most well known assessments of social capital in the UK was that undertaken by Peter Hall (2002). Hall’s findings seem to indicate that associational involvement in the UK has not declined in the same way it has in the US. He suggests that average membership levels among most kinds of organisations “seem to have risen enough to keep pace with population growth and rising levels of educational attainment through the post-war period.” He also tentatively suggests that Britain does not seem to have the same problems of generational decline as the United States. He concludes that the indicators suggest a robust – even growing – formal involvement as well as patterns of increasing sociability. He suggests three possible causes for this pattern of continued vibrancy of civic life in Britain: significantly expanded access to higher education, a less rigidly stratified class structure, and government action supporting community involvement.

Other commentators have also pointed to differences between the UK and the US. Johnston and Jowell (2001) point out that although much smaller proportions of the British population are members of social and civic organisations there has been “little variation in membership and participation patterns over the years and, apart from religious identity, nothing approaching the prolonged (and in some cases, drastic) fall-

off in memberships reported in the US by Putnam.” Table 2 illustrates some of their findings.

**Table 2: Membership in community associations**

	1994	1998	2000
	%	%	%
Neighbourhood Watch scheme	13	14	11
Any other local community or voluntary group	7	6	6
Tenants’ or residents’ association	4	5	5
Political party	3	3	3
Parent-Teacher Association	3	3	2
Local conservation or environmental group	2	2	2
Voluntary group helping sick, elderly or children	n.a.	2	2
Board of school governors	1	1	1
Neighbourhood council	1	1	1
Parish or town council	1	1	1
Any of these groups	17	26	25
None of these groups	83	74	75
<i>Base</i>	<i>2302</i>	<i>3144</i>	<i>2293</i>

*Table from Johnston and Jowell (2001) p.177*

These findings are backed up by other figures. Pattie, Seyd and Whiteley (2003) argue that “the evidence from the Citizen Audit suggests that a significant proportion of people give their time to associational life” and Bromley, Curtice and Seyd (2004) argue that in contrast to assertions from Putnam and others that the stock of social trust has declined, there is actually little consistent evidence that this has occurred in the UK.

## **2.5 Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Social Capital**

Although the UK does not seem to have the same marked pattern of decline in trust and participation that has occurred in the United States there is evidence to suggest that there is an increased class profile to the distributin of social capital. (Aldridge et al 2002, Grenier and Wright 2001, Hall 2002, Johnston and Jowell 2001, Pattie etc 2003). Grenier and Wright in particular argue that the withering of many active working class institutions over the past twenty years and the tendency for middle class people to become if anything more socially and politically active (often, for instance, supporting a range of membership organisations and campaigns) have meant that while overall levels of social capital and political activity might not have declined, they have become concentrated among the better off. This should be a matter of grave concern – for there is every reason to think inequality in participation in turn perpetuates other forms of inequality, and that these forms of inequality further extend inequalities in participation.

## **2.6 Summary of Social Capital in the UK and Europe**

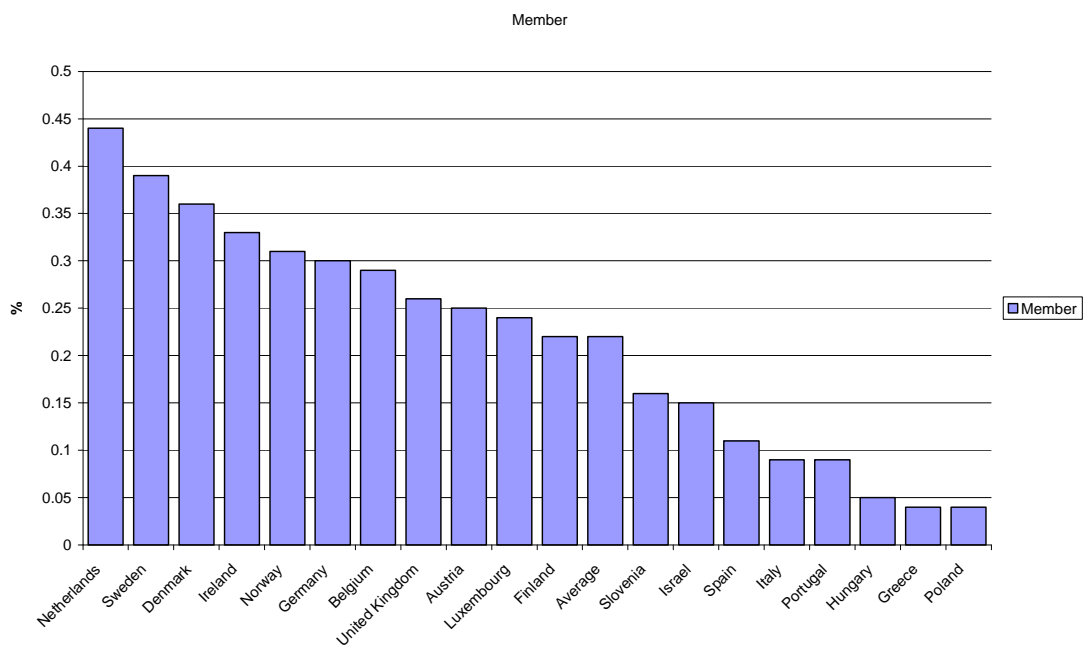
In summary then the UK generally sits around the European average on measures of trust, although it does slightly better on measures of trust in others and social connectivity, and slightly worse on trust in political institutions. Social participation appears to have remained relatively stable over the past twenty years but participation in democratic institutions and processes has changed, with a rise in consumption and contact politics and a fall in more traditional forms of participation. There certainly does not seem to be a crisis in either trust or participation, but that is not to say there is not room for improvement. Britain has a long way to go to catch up with the Scandinavian countries in these respects. Perhaps more worryingly trust and participation appear to be becoming increasingly unequally distributed. In the next section we explore patterns of participation in sport, investigating not just how many people participate but also whether similar patterns of inequality are displayed. If participation in sport does play a role in generating social capital then it is important to see if these benefits are equally distributed.

### 3. PARTICIPATION IN SPORT

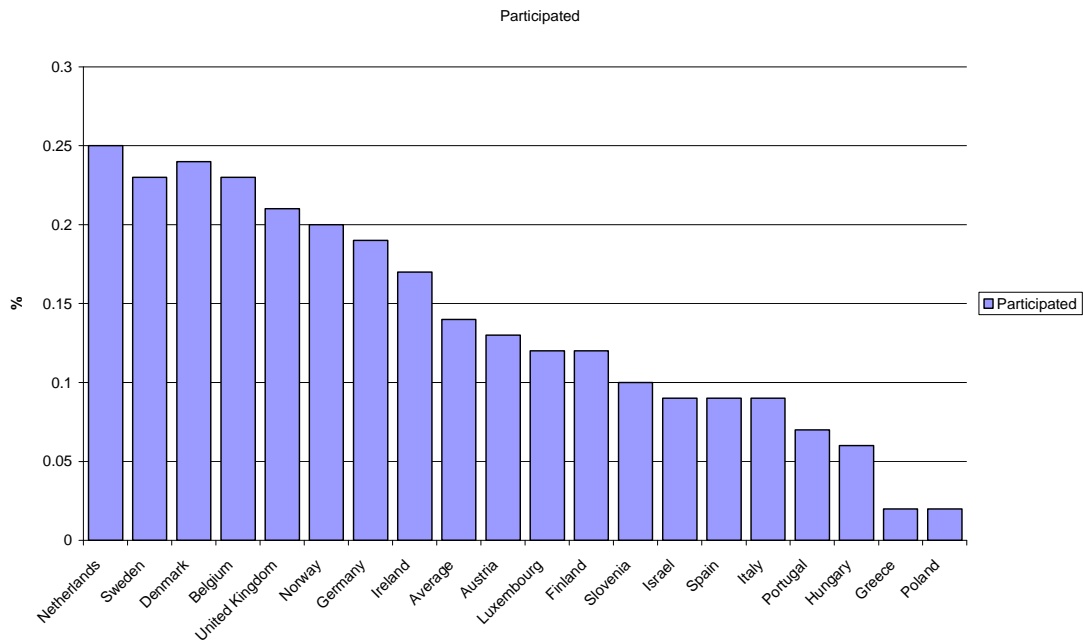
#### 3.1 Patterns of participation across Europe

Our next step was to find out whether the general picture of social participation also holds true for sporting participation. Figures 9, 10, and 11 show the level of engagement with sports organisations across Europe. The results show that the UK is above the European average for both membership and participation, and average for volunteering: twenty six per cent of the UK population were members of a sports club, twenty one per cent actively played sport in the context of a sports organisation and six per cent volunteered in sports clubs. However Scandinavian countries in general display substantially higher levels of associational involvement.

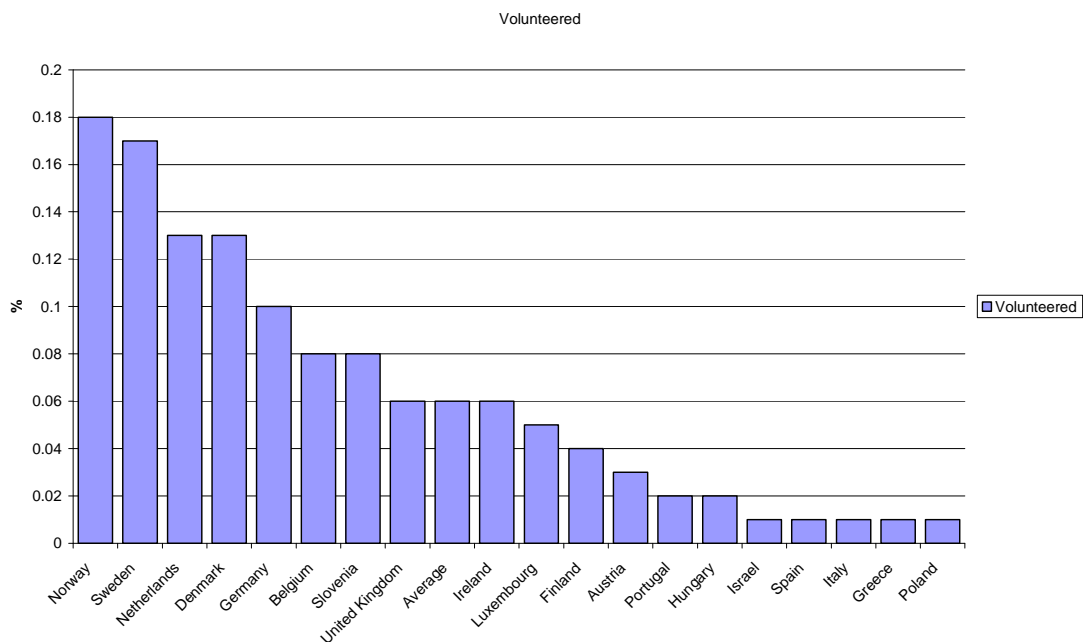
**Figure 9: Probabilities of Membership in Sport Organisations across Europe (European Social Survey 2002)**



**Figure 10: Probabilities of Being Involved in Sport Organisations as a Player across Europe (European Social Survey 2002)**



**Figure 11: Probabilities of Volunteering in Sport Organisations across Europe (European Social Survey 2002)**



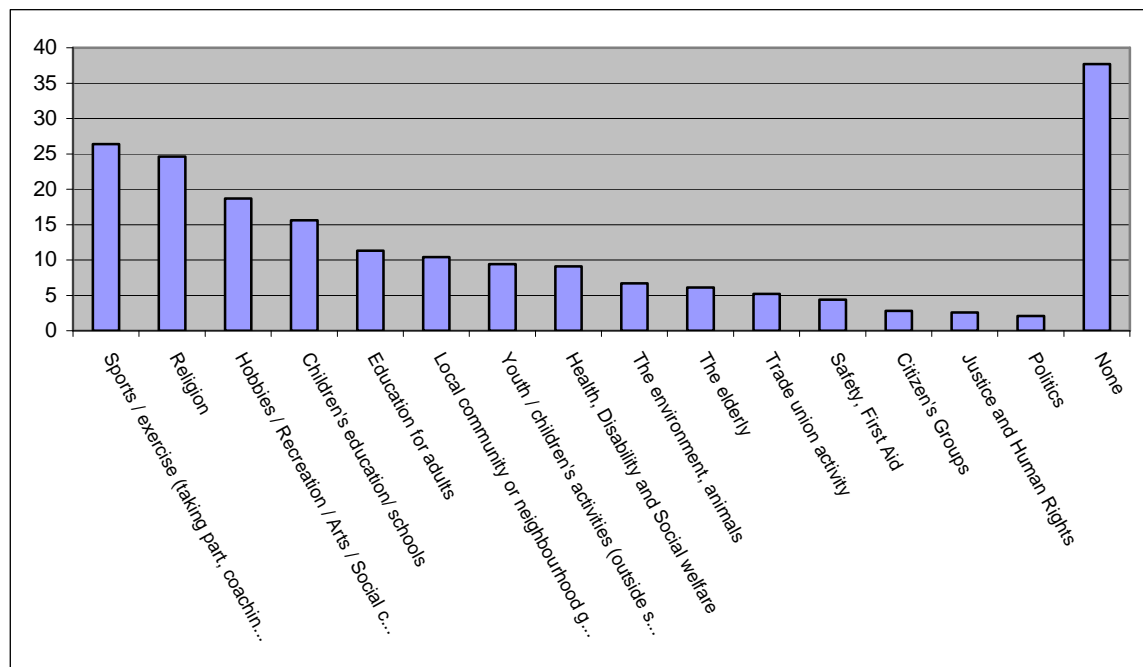
### 3.2 Comparative popularity within the UK

Having established that levels of membership of, and participation in, sports organisations and clubs were relatively high in the UK we then looked at how this compares to the popularity of other types of activity. Figure 12 shows the popularity of sport compared to a range of other types of activity. Sport is the most popular type of group activity in the UK, followed closely by religion, although it is still



outnumbered by those people who do not participate at all, or at least not in any of the categories listed.

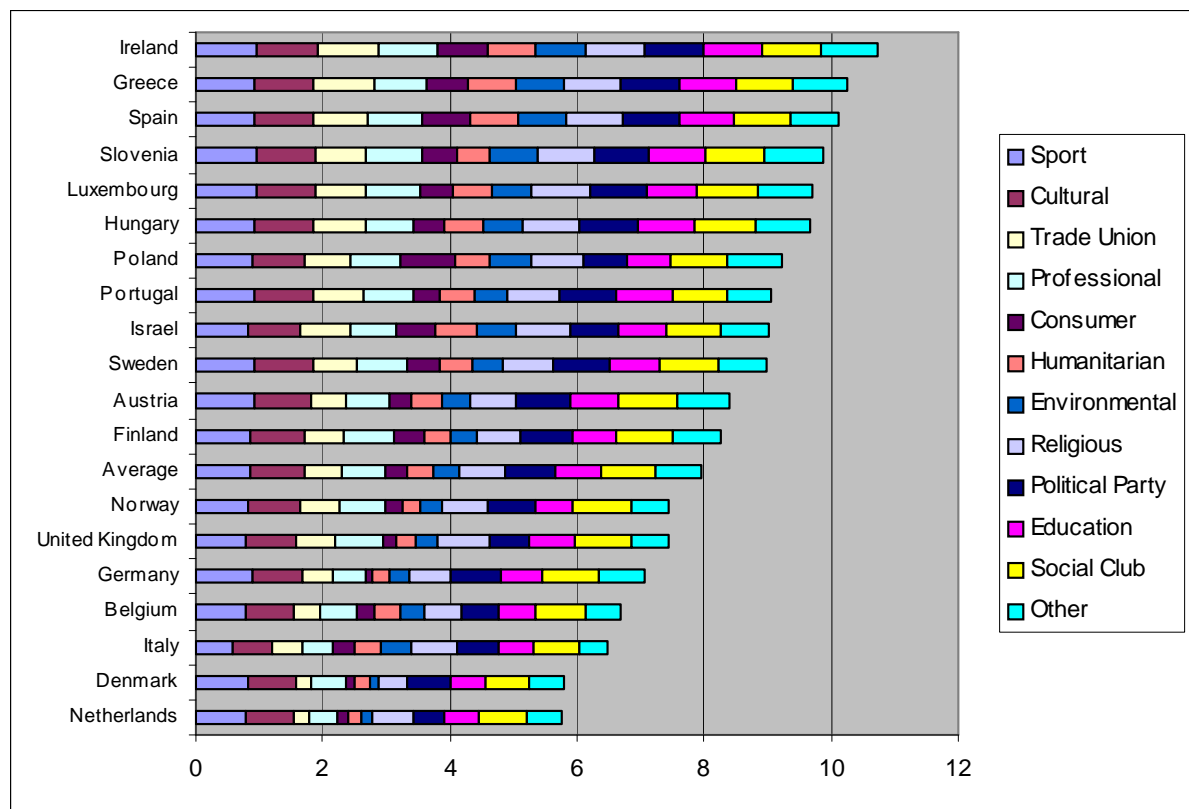
**Figure 12: Percentage of People Involved with Different Groups in the UK (Home Office Citizenship Survey 2000)**



### 3.3 Levels of sociability within sports groups

As well as being popular sports groups also appear to be quite sociable. Figure 13 displays the probability of members of an organisation also having personal friends in that organisation. This shows us how sociable these types of organisations are, and consequently how likely they are to help facilitate the bonds and connections that build social capital. If we look at the figures for the UK it is clear that members of sports organisations are much more likely to have friends in those organisations (an 80% chance) than consumer, humanitarian and environmental organisations, perhaps because these types of organisations require a more passive, often subscription based, involvement. However this is still lower than the European average. The European figures also differ considerably, with some countries like Ireland and Spain scoring highly for all groups and others like Denmark and the Netherlands with much lower levels for many groups. However sports groups consistently score well suggesting that sports groups are likely to be sociable organisations no matter what the cultural or social context.

**Figure 13: Proportion of People Involved in Organisations Who Have Personal Friends in These Organisations (ESS 2002)**



### 3.4 Types of volunteering

Although the figures for volunteering were lower than those for membership and playing there are still a large number of volunteers involved in sport whose networks and interactions are a valuable source of social capital. The 2000 Home Office figures actually come in slightly above the ESS data, showing that 10.2 per cent of people (13.74 per cent of men and 7.45 per cent of women) provided voluntary help to sport activities in the twelve months prior to the survey. This brings the UK slightly above the European average and makes sport the second most popular area in the UK for providing voluntary help, narrowly below religion at 12 per cent (although again the numbers who provided no unpaid help are still in the majority). Table 3, which lists the types of unpaid help given to sports clubs by volunteers, reveals that voluntary activity varies widely in type, from raising or handling money to campaigning or running activities. These help develop a wider variety of skills than might usually be associated with sport, many of which are highly transferable. This is not only beneficial to the individual it can also make a valuable contribution to the civil renewal process by providing skills that can also be employed elsewhere in the community.

**Table 3: Types of Unpaid Help Given to Sports Clubs (Base: Those who Provided Any Help: Multiple Mentions Possible)**

Activity	%
Organising or helping to run an activity or event	41.75
Raising or handling money	31.75

Providing transport / driving	28.25
Leading the group/ member of a committee	22
Giving advice / information / counselling	19.25
Other practical help	20
Representing	9.75
Secretarial, admin or clerical work	9.75
Visiting / befriending people	11
Campaigning	4.25

### 3.5 Types of sporting activity

We also ranked sporting activities according to popularity. As Table 4 shows, using data from the 2000 Time Usage Survey the most popular activities over a four-week period were walking, swimming, cycling, keep-fit, snooker and football. The top four of these are activities however are quite likely to be carried out alone – a reminder that not all types of sports will contribute equally to promoting associational life.

**Table 4: Frequency of Participation and Mean Number of Days Played (Time Usage Survey)**

	%	Mean
WALKING/ HIKING (RECREATIONAL) FOR 2 MILES OR MORE	22.64	8.72
SWIMMING OR DIVING INDOORS	19.07	3.84
CYCLING	14.94	8.67
KEEPFIT, AEROBICS, YOGA, DANCE EXERCISE, EXERCISE BIKE	14.93	7.35
SNOOKER, POOL, BILLIARDS (EXCL BAR BILLIARDS)	11.19	4.50
FOOTBALL OUTDOORS (INCL 5-A-SIDE)	8.95	6.73
JOGGING, CROSS COUNTRY, ROAD RUNNING	6.37	5.69
GOLF, PITCH & PUTT, PUTTING, (EXCL CRAZY GOLF)	5.62	3.69
WEIGHT TRAINING (INCL BODY BUILDING)	5.29	8.50
TENPIN BOWLING	4.74	1.46
TENNIS	4.64	3.28
SWIMMING OR DIVING OUTDOORS	4.55	6.45
FOOTBALL INDOORS (INCL 5-A-SIDE)	4.15	3.99
DARTS	3.75	4.59
BADMINTON	3.59	3.10
BASKETBALL	3.47	3.68
NETBALL	2.98	3.64
CRICKET	2.86	3.70
GYMNASTICS	2.45	4.28
HOCKEY (EXCL ICE, ROLLER OR STREET - SEE 'OTHER' BELOW)	2.35	3.27
ANGLING/ FISHING	2.14	2.88
TABLE TENNIS	2.08	3.44
MARTIAL ARTS (INCL SELF-DEFENCE)	1.81	4.33
WEIGHTLIFTING	1.79	8.13
TRACK OR FIELD ATHLETICS	1.77	3.35
HORSE RIDING (EXCL POLO - SEE OTHER BELOW)	1.61	6.54
RUGBY UNION OR LEAGUE	1.56	4.22
INDOOR BOWLS	1.53	3.18
SQUASH	1.19	3.61
OUTDOOR (LAWN) BOWLS	1.12	5.62

VOLLEYBALL	1.12	3.80
ICE SKATING (EXCL ROLLER - SEE OTHER BELOW)	1.09	1.86
MOTOR SPORTS	1.02	2.94
CLIMBING/ MOUNTAINEERING (INCL INDOORS)	1.00	2.39
SHOOTING	0.96	3.33
YACHTING OR DINGHY SAILING	0.68	3.25
CANOEING	0.56	2.53
SKIING (ON SNOW, ARTIFICIAL OR GRASS)	0.52	3.51
WINDSURFING/ BOARDSAILING	0.29	2.26
GAELIC SPORTS (EG GAELIC FOOTBALL)	0.23	4.58
AMERICAN FOOTBALL	0.14	3.47
CURLING	0.04	2.50
NONE OF THESE	36.95	
DON'T KNOW	0.45	
REFUSED	0.45	

### 3.6 Summary

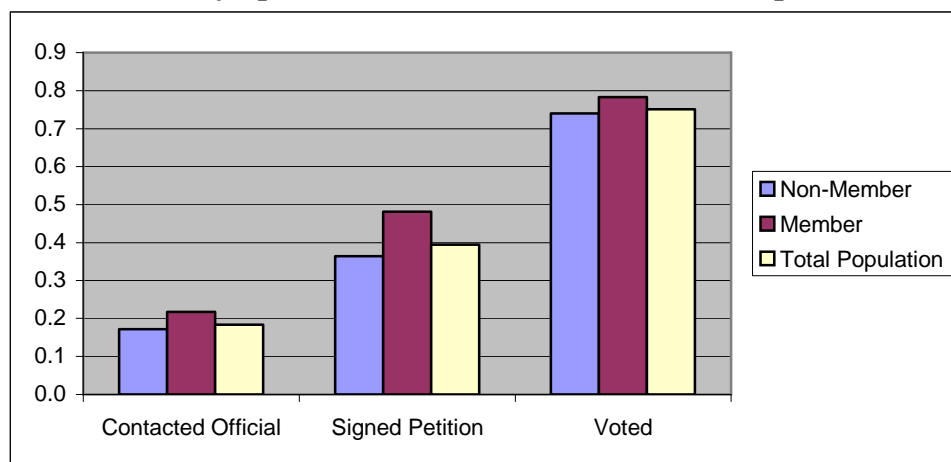
British people are more likely than the average European to belong to a sports club and participate in a sport and are about as likely as the average European to volunteer in sports, but there is still a long way to go before reaching Scandinavian levels of sports participation. Sport is the most popular type of group activity in the UK, and sports organisations do better than most other types of organisations in building and sustaining friendships and networks. However the most popular activities are ones that are often carried out alone and so are less likely to generate social capital.

## 4. THE ROLE OF SPORT IN GENERATING SOCIAL CAPITAL

### 4.1 Sporting participation and civil acts

Our next step was to explore whether there were links between participation in or membership of sports groups and other measures of social capital. We first looked at whether membership of sports groups is associated with a higher likelihood of participating in other forms of civil behaviour such as voting. Figure 14 displays the percentage of members of sports groups who participated in three representative civil acts over the course of the previous twelve months (data from 2002 European Social Survey) and demonstrates that those who are members of sports groups are more likely to engage in civil behaviours.

**Figure 14: Probability of Engaging in a Number of Representative Civil Acts Broken Down by Sports Members and the Rest of the Population (ESS 2002)**



### 4.2 National Correlations between Social Capital and Sporting Participation

We then attempted to identify whether countries with higher levels of sports participation also had higher levels of other measures of social capital. Figure 15 uses the data from the 2002 ESS, taking the two countries that performed best in measures of social and institutional trust in that survey, the average, and the two worst performers and comparing their levels of sporting engagement. This showed that countries with high levels of sports participation also tend to have high levels of social and institutional trust and vice versa.

**Figure 15: Sporting Engagement Across Countries (ESS 2002)**

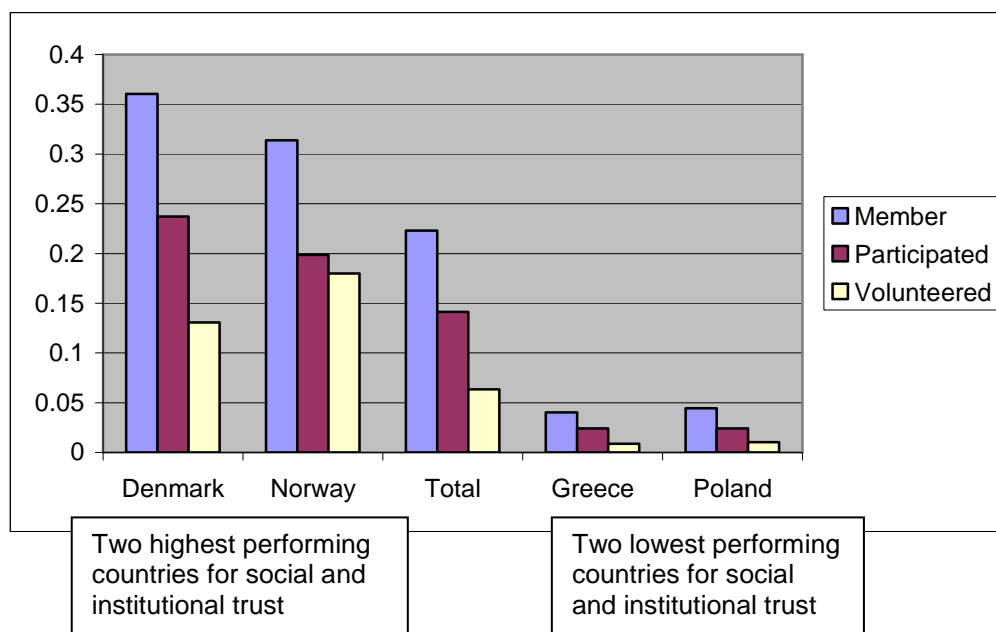


Table 5 breaks this down further, displaying correlations between whether a country has high levels of membership and participation in sports clubs with levels of personal and institutional trust, life satisfaction and subjective health and safety. The presence of two stars next to a measure shows the presence of a strong relationship between the two. In total, there are 21 countries in the sample, which means that the sample size is not very high. But the results are very clear with substantial correlations between participation in sport and measures of social trust, although membership seems to be slightly more powerful in this respect than participation. The relationship between sports membership and life satisfaction is also strong, although not quite as strong, but the relationship between sport and trust in democratic institutions (with the interesting exception of trust in politicians) is much weaker.

**Table 5: Spearman Rank Correlations between National Sports Participation and National Measures of Social Capital**

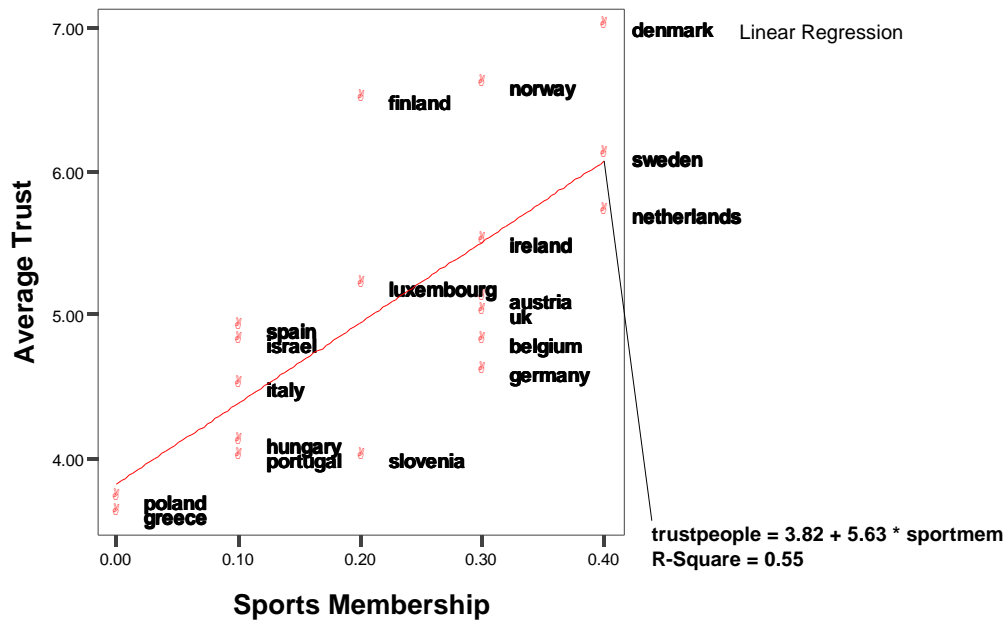
	Member	Participate
Trust people	0.8**	0.7**
People are generally fair	0.8**	0.8**
People are generally helpful	0.9**	0.8**
Trust parliament	0.5**	0.3
Trust legal	0.3	0.1
Trust police	0.5**	0.4
Trust politicians	0.7**	0.6**
Satisfied with life	0.7**	0.6**
Satisfied with Democracy	0.5**	0.3
Socialise with friends	0.5**	0.5**
Unsafe	-0.5**	-0.2
Unhealthy	-0.5**	-0.5**

\*\*Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Figure 16 presents the same results but in a different way, illustrating visually the strength of the correlations. It displays the correlations between average levels of trust

in other people and the extent of sports club membership in each country. The relationship (correlation of 0.8) is clearly linear with countries with low levels of trust also having low levels of sports membership and vice versa.<sup>3</sup>

**Figure 16: Sports Membership and Average Levels of Social Trust (ESS 2002)**



Of course this does not prove causality. We cannot be sure that membership of sports clubs causes increased levels of trust in others. It may be that higher levels of social trust in societies make people more likely to participate in group activities like sport, or there may be a third factor which causes both high levels of participation in sports and high levels of social trust which the data isn't picking up. What these findings do allow us to do though is rule out the argument that membership of sports organisations is associated with lower levels of societal trust. Countries with high levels of sports membership also have higher levels of social trust, social interaction, and in some areas institutional trust. A similar study using this data also found comparable results for membership of cultural organisations, suggesting that it may be associational membership in general rather than sports membership in particular which displays these positive correlations (Delaney and Keaney 2005). This would seem to be backed up by the fact that associational memberships tend to be complements rather than substitutes. In other words countries with high levels of membership of sports groups tend to have high levels of membership of cultural and social groups.

### 4.3 Individual correlations between social capital and sports participation

<sup>3</sup> Space precludes us from displaying all the correlation graphs. However, the correlations of 0.6 and over displayed in Table 10 would look extremely similar to the pattern displayed in Figure 1.

Table 6 displays the same analysis but this time on an individual rather than a country level. It is useful to have both measures because aggregate level country analysis does not tell us very much about individual factors within a particular country. Again the presence of two stars next to a measure shows the presence of a strong relationship between the two. It should be noted that correlations tend to be less strong when we are analysing the behaviour of individuals than when the analysis is at a more aggregate level (for instance cross national comparisons, where the measure used is the average level of participation/trust etc in each country). While cross-country correlations are frequently close to 1 on important variables, much lower correlations are generally observed among individual categories. This reflects the fact that there is a lot more variation in individual variables than in national averages of individual variables.

The individual level correlations are almost exclusively positive, even more so than in the national level correlations. This shows that membership of sports clubs is associated with being more satisfied with life, more trusting, more sociable, healthier and more positive toward state institutions. The only areas where there does not seem to be a relationship is in the belief that people are generally helpful. Sports members also seem to have slightly more liberal views about immigration. They expressed statistically significant, higher levels of agreement with the notion that immigration enriched the cultural life of the nation, and did not display any difference to the rest of the population on the question of whether immigration was good or bad in the long run. Furthermore, as displayed in Figure 17, sports members are more likely than other members of the population to have friends who are immigrants to the country. Thus, while several authors have demonstrated a link between some features of sport and racism, this is unlikely to characterise sport as a whole. Indeed the results would point to the opposite and highlight the potential benefits of sport as a mechanism for promoting tolerance and community cohesion.

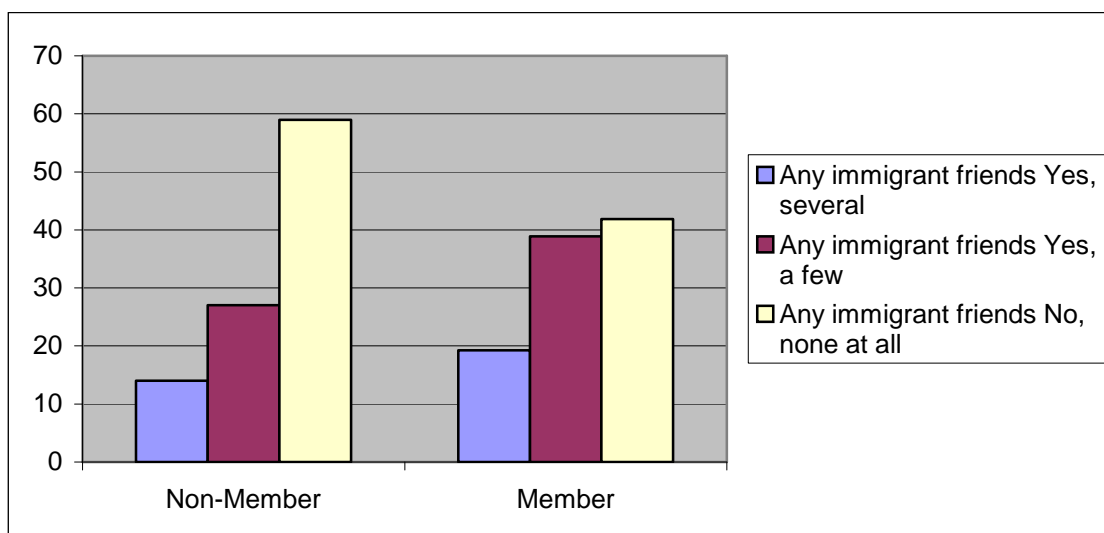
**Table 6: Average levels of agreement with a number of statements broken down by Members and Non-Members: British Population (ESS 2002).**

	Non-Member	Member	Difference
Most People can be trusted (1 to 10)	4.96	5.29	0.33**
Most People Try to be Fair (1 to 10)	5.49	5.72	0.23**
Most People are helpful (1 to 10)	5.44	5.39	-0.04
Trust in country's parliament (1 to 10)	4.54	4.93	0.39**
Trust in the legal system (1 to 10)	4.90	5.44	0.54**
Trust in the police (1 to 10)	6.01	6.25	0.25**
Trust in politicians (1 to 10)	3.69	4.00	0.32**
How satisfied with life as a whole (1 to 10)	6.95	7.23	0.29**
How often socially meet with friends, relatives or colleagues (1 to 7)	5.04	5.37	0.33**
Feel Unsafe After Dark (1 to 4)	2.42	2.09	-0.33**
Feel Unhealthy (1 to 4)	2.17	1.79	-0.37**
Country's cultural life enriched by immigrants (1 to 10)	5.08	5.26	0.18**
Immigration to country bad or good (1 to 10)	4.23	4.20	-0.03

\*\* Indicates that the difference is statistically significant at the .01 level (2-tailed)

**Figure 17: Percentage of People with Immigrant Friends by Membership (ESS 2002)**





#### 4.4 Isolating the Effects of Sport

The next step was to find out if the relationships we identified in the previous section remained once we account for the influence of socio-demographic factors. Without this we are not able to say for sure that participation in sport has an independent effect on social capital. It may be that there is a third factor which causes both. For instance higher levels of education may make somebody more likely to participate in sport and more likely to have higher levels of social capital, and once we account for the effects of education the relationship between sport and social capital would disappear. To find out if this was the case we used multiple regression analysis to see whether the relationships observed in the previous sections persisted even after controlling for a variety of other factors: age, income, gender, other associational memberships (constructed by adding up the number of other associational memberships of the respondent), years of full-time education completed and whether they were a member of a group discriminated against (self-nominated). If the relationships do persist this makes it much more likely that it is participation in sport and not other socio-demographic factors that have an impact on levels of social capital.

All of the evidence discussed in this section refers to the data obtained from the 2002 European Social Survey and the results can be seen in more detail in Tables A3 to A5 in the Appendix.

##### 4.4.1 Effect of Sports Membership on Political Engagement

Our first set of regressions analyse the effect of sports membership on political engagement. We measure political engagement by adding up the number of activities from the following list that the respondent had engaged in during the previous year: contacted a politician or government official; worked in a political party or action group; worked in another organisation or association; displayed a campaign badge; signed a petition; taken part in a lawful demonstration. The results suggest a very small effect of sports club membership on political engagement after controlling for the other factors mentioned, though one which is positive and statistically significant.

##### 4.4.2 Effect of Sports Membership on Social Trust, Personal Trust and Sociability.

Our second set of regressions examines the effect of sports club membership on three broad measures of social capital: trust in civil institutions; trust in people; levels of sociability. The *Trust in Civil Institutions* scale is constructed by adding the scores for each respondent on the four variables: Trust in Police, Trust in Legal System, Trust in Politicians, Trust in Parliament.<sup>4</sup> The trust in people scale is constructed by adding the scores of three individual items: Perception that people can be trusted, Perception that people are fair and Perception that people are helpful.<sup>5</sup> Sociability is measured on a 1 to 7 scale, asking respondents how often they met socially with friends, relatives and colleagues, 1 being never and 7 being every day. The results demonstrate that sport has a statistically significant and substantial effect on the frequency of meeting socially with friends, a statistically significant though less pronounced effect on trust in civil institutions and an insignificant effect on trust in other people.

#### ***4.4.3 Effect of Sports Membership on Subjective Well-Being***

The final set of statistical regressions examines the effect of sports club membership on a composite measure of well-being, which combines subjective life satisfaction and subjective happiness. The results reveal a statistically significant and positive effect of sport on well-being controlling for other factors. This approach allows us to use this analysis to compare the effects of different activities on the happiness of individuals with the happiness they derive from income. To do this we compare the coefficients from the regression equations displayed in Table A5 in the appendix. We compared the coefficient on sports club membership (0.33) with the coefficient on income category (0.29). This indicates that membership of a sports club has an equivalent effect on life satisfaction and happiness as moving up approximately one and a half household income categories (approximately £3,600) – a very impressive testimony to the value of sport to those who take part in it..

#### **4.5 Summary**

Membership of sports groups appears to have a number of beneficial impacts. Members are more likely than non-members and the general population to vote, contact an official and sign a petition. Countries with high levels of sports participation also tend to have high levels of social and institutional trust and vice versa. In particular the correlations are substantial for the level of sports participation in a country and measures of social trust; life satisfaction is also strong, although not quite as significant. The relationship between sport and trust in democratic institutions however (with the interesting exception of trust in politicians) is much weaker. Countries with high levels of membership of sports groups also tend to have high levels of membership of cultural and social groups, suggesting that participation is cumulative. In other words people who are already involved in one type of activity are more rather than less likely to get involved in others. Correlations at the individual level are even more positive. Membership of sports clubs is associated with being more satisfied with life, more trusting, more sociable, healthier and more positive toward state institutions. The only areas where there does not seem to be a relationship is in the belief that people are generally helpful. Sports members also seem to have slightly more liberal views about immigration.

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<sup>4</sup> The degree of inter-item correlation between these measures is quite high, and the calculated Cronbach Alpha coefficient is over .8, which indicates that summing these measures to form a scale is a reasonable empirical strategy.

<sup>5</sup> Once again, the Cronbach Alpha coefficient of 0.73 would indicate that combining these three scales in to one summative scale is a reliable empirical strategy.

However the above analysis can not tell us about causation. To understand more about whether it was participation in sport per se that caused these beneficial effects, or whether it was that the type of person who is likely to participate in sport is also more likely to be more trusting etc anyway we examined the relationships whilst controlling for other factors: age, income, gender, other associational memberships (constructed by adding up the number of other associational memberships of the respondent), years of full-time education completed and whether they were a member of a group discriminated against (self-nominated). There was still a small but statistically significant effect of sports club membership on political engagement, on the frequency of meeting socially with friends and on trust in civil institutions. Membership of a sports club also has a statistically significant effect on life satisfaction and happiness equivalent to moving up approximately one and a half household income categories (approximately £3,600). However there is no relationship between participation in sport and trust in other people once we control for other factors, suggesting that the correlations between participation in sport and social trust may be more down to the type of people who participate in sport than the participation itself.

## 5. SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF PARTICIPATION

### 5.1 Socio-Demographic Profile of Participation in Sport

The above analysis tells us that sports participation has an independent effect on some elements of social capital. What it does not tell us however is who benefits from this. For instance, if participation in sports activities is dominated by one particular social group then its impacts will disproportionately benefit that group. There are certainly some indicators that this may be the case. Grenier and Wright (2001), among others, have argued that although Britain has not suffered the same decline in associational membership that has been catalogued by Putnam in the US, the patterns of associational membership and its attendant benefits are concentrated predominantly in the more privileged sections of society and do not on the whole benefit those most in need of them.

In the UK participation in sport does seem to be skewed towards particular social groups. Taylor's research (2003) found that men were over twice as likely to volunteer in sports as women. The figures from the 2000 Home Office survey show a smaller disparity but still found that while taking part in, coaching, or going to watch sport was the most popular type of social participation for men at 32 per cent it was less popular for women, coming in at 22 per cent. It also found that women are less likely than men to provide informal help around sports activities. 13.74 per cent of men provided unpaid help to sports activities compared with 7.45 per cent of women. Gender is not the only factor. A number of papers (e.g. Alexandris and Carrol 1997, Fahey et al 2004, Farrell and Shields 2002) have also demonstrated significant age and socio-economic status effects on sporting participation in a number of different contexts.

To explore these patterns in more detail we used regression analysis to examine the factors affecting how likely somebody was to participate in sport (looking in particular at playing sport). The findings, based on analysis of raw data from the Time Use Survey 2000 are listed below (see Appendix, Table A1 for estimation results).

- A steep age effect with older respondents being substantially less likely to participate than younger respondents.
- A pronounced gender effect with women being substantially less likely to participate than men.
- Some evidence of regional effects with those in high unemployment areas being less likely to participate.
- Pronounced income effects, with those on higher incomes being significantly more likely to participate.
- Pronounced ethnicity effects, with those from ethnic minorities being significantly less likely to participate
- Pronounced education effects, with those with an A-Level or Degree being significantly more likely to participate than those with less education.

It would appear then that sport fits in to the more general patterns outlined above, with participation skewed toward the more privileged sections of society. These results confirm previous analyses using different data (e.g. Farrell and Shields 2002). This suggests they represent a generalisable effect rather than being specific to this particular study.

## 5.2 Socio-Demographic Profile of Individual Sports

Our next step was to try and explore if and how these patterns differed from sport to sport. If some types are significantly more egalitarian than others these would be more likely to create bridging as well as bonding social capital, and so be more effective in promoting civil renewal. Detailed cross-tabulations of participation in individual sports are presented in Table 7 below. As can be seen, the results confirm existing findings of a marked skew in many sports toward those on higher income and higher education levels. Detailed cross-tabulations of sports club memberships by various groups are provided in Table A6 in the appendix.

**Table 7: Proportion of Respondents Who Had Taken Part in Different Sporting Activities in the Last Four Weeks (Time Usage Survey 2001)**

	INDOOR SWIMMING	OUTDOOR SWIMMING	CYCLING	10-PIN BOWLING	AEROBICS /KEEP FIT	WEIGHT TRAINING	DARTS
<b>Age group</b>							
16 -24 yrs	0.18	0.04	0.15	0.09	0.23	0.12	0.08
25 -44 yrs	0.22	0.05	0.15	0.05	0.19	0.08	0.03
45 -64 yrs	0.11	0.03	0.08	0.02	0.12	0.03	0.03
65 yrs or more	0.05	0.02	0.02	0.00	0.04	0.00	0.01
<b>Gender</b>							
Male	0.12	0.04	0.14	0.04	0.08	0.08	0.05
Female	0.17	0.03	0.08	0.03	0.19	0.04	0.02
<b>White British</b>							
No	0.11	0.02	0.04	0.03	0.14	0.05	0.02
Yes	0.15	0.04	0.11	0.04	0.15	0.06	0.03
<b>College Degree</b>							
No	0.13	0.03	0.10	0.04	0.13	0.05	0.03
Yes	0.25	0.06	0.16	0.03	0.26	0.12	0.02
<b>Household Income</b>							
0-10430	0.07	0.01	0.06	0.02	0.07	0.02	0.03
10430-33800	0.16	0.04	0.13	0.05	0.16	0.06	0.04
33800	0.24	0.07	0.16	0.06	0.24	0.12	0.03
<b>Total</b>	0.15	0.04	0.11	0.04	0.15	0.06	0.03
	CRICKET	TENNIS	BADMINTON	SQUASH	BASKETBALL	SNOOKER	FOOTBALL OUTDOORS (INCL 5-A- SIDE)
<b>Age group</b>							
16 -24 yrs	0.03	0.07	0.06	0.02	0.06	0.30	0.16
25 -44 yrs	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.00	0.11	0.05
45 -64 yrs	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.00	0.05	0.01
65 yrs or more	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.00
<b>Gender</b>							
Male	0.02	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.01	0.17	0.09
Female	0.00	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.00	0.04	0.01
<b>White British</b>							
No	0.03	0.05	0.05	0.02	0.03	0.09	0.05
Yes	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.10	0.04
<b>College Degree</b>							
No	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.10	0.04
Yes	0.02	0.05	0.04	0.03	0.00	0.10	0.05
<b>Household</b>							

<b>Income</b>							
0-10430	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.07	0.02
10430-33800	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.11	0.05
33800	0.02	0.05	0.04	0.02	0.01	0.12	0.06
<b>Total</b>	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.10	0.04

	TABLE TENNIS	JOGGING, CROSS COUNTRY, ROAD RUNNING	ANGLING/ FISHING	GOLF, PITCH & PUTT,	WALKING/ HIKING FOR 2 MILES OR MORE
<b>Age group</b>					
16 -24 yrs	0.03	0.13	0.02	0.06	0.20
25 -44 yrs	0.01	0.07	0.02	0.06	0.26
45 -64 yrs	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.05	0.28
65 yrs or more	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.03	0.15
<b>Gender</b>					
Male	0.01	0.07	0.03	0.10	0.22
Female	0.01	0.03	0.00	0.01	0.25
<b>White British</b>					
No	0.01	0.05	0.00	0.01	0.11
Yes	0.01	0.05	0.02	0.05	0.24
<b>College Degree</b>					
No	0.01	0.04	0.02	0.05	0.22
Yes	0.02	0.11	0.01	0.08	0.36
<b>Household Income</b>					
0-10430	0.00	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.16
10430-33800	0.01	0.05	0.02	0.05	0.27
33800	0.01	0.09	0.02	0.12	0.34
<b>Total</b>	0.01	0.05	0.02	0.05	0.25

Tables A2a-e in the appendix display a series of regression models estimating the probability of having participated in different sports over the last four weeks, utilising the 2002 Time Usage survey data.<sup>6</sup> This clearly shows that different activities are more popular with different groups. Indoor swimming and walking or hiking for two miles or more for instance were among the three most popular activities for those from the lowest income band, those without a college degree and non-white British, while table tennis was among the three least popular for all three groups and cricket was among the least popular for the first two. Some types of activity may therefore be better than others for targeting the most socially excluded groups. So for instance if the aim is to increase participation among priority groups then it may be better to

<sup>6</sup> A binary logistic regression describes the probability of observing a given outcome (e.g. playing a particular sport) as a function of a number of characteristics (e.g. demographics). More detail of these regressions can be found in Appendix 1. It should be noted that sample size restrictions mean that we had to aggregate certain categories. For example, it was not possible to examine the effect of each of the different ethnic categories. Instead, we examined the effect of being white as opposed to other ethnic groups. Also, it was not feasible to give precise estimates of the effect of each different level of education. Instead, we examined the effect of having A-level or above versus having a lower level of education. More detailed models could, in principle, be constructed to examine non-linear effects and to test for the effect of other types of variable. This is beyond the scope of this section, which aims to examine the standard demographic participation function.

focus resources on walking or swimming than, say, cricket. However it is worth noting that these figures do not take account of supply and it may be that particular types of activity are simply more accessible than others. The social capital literature also places considerable emphasis on the importance of bridging social capital which creates bonds and networks across different groups. The most desirable activities for creating healthy communities may therefore be ones which have no discernable skew towards one particular group. For instance although table tennis is one of the least popular activities among the non-white British group this group are just as likely to participate in it as white British. On the other hand indoor swimming is one of the most popular activities for those from the lowest income group but those from the highest income group are still 3.43 times more likely to participate in it. Therefore activities like table tennis, or football where there is no marked class difference for those who participate (although it is more frequent among younger men), may be better activities for creating bridging social capital and helping to build stronger and more integrated communities.

### **5.3 Summary**

Disadvantaged groups are more likely to engage in some types of sports activity than others. Football, for instance, is played at about the same rate across the classes. Nevertheless over all better off groups participate at higher rates than worse off groups, with the average participant being considerably older, wealthier, and better educated, than the average citizen. They are also more likely to be white and male. In so far then, being active in sports tends to bring benefits to individuals or groups, most of these benefits are currently enjoyed by the more privileged sections of society.

## 6. SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

### Summary and conclusions

This paper has compared levels of sports participation in the UK with the experience in other EU countries, and has explored the links between sports participation and social capital. Our work is by no means exhaustive – on the contrary, we are aware that we have raised at least as many questions of as we have answered. That said, we have established what we believe to be strong and helpful findings. These can be summarised as follows:

Firstly, levels of social capital, including trust in institutions, social trust, associational membership and political participation in the UK, do not seem to have declined over time and are all around the EU average, although substantially lower than measured levels in Scandinavian countries.

Secondly the UK comes slightly above the European average for levels of membership and participation in sports and average for volunteering in sport. Within the UK sport is the most popular type of group activity and walking, swimming, cycling, ‘keeping fit’, snooker and football are the most popular types of sports activity. Levels of sport volunteering in the UK though not as impressive as some other European countries, are nevertheless significant. Sport attracts more volunteers than any activity apart from religion, and volunteers undertake a wide range of tasks from helping to organise and run events, through raising or handling money to sitting on committees. These skills are not only of benefit to the sports sector but also provide valuable transferable skills that no doubt contribute, among other things, to civil renewal.

Thirdly participation in sport and social capital are linked. There are very strong correlations between a nation’s level of sports membership and the levels of social trust and well being, although the correlation with trust in institutions is much weaker. This indicates that those countries with higher levels of membership in sports groups among their citizens also have higher levels of social trust. Individuals who are involved in sports organisations, both as members and as participants, are slightly more likely to vote, contact a politician and sign a petition than both non-members and the average citizen. Membership of and participation in sports groups also display strong correlations with higher levels of social trust and trust in institutions, and with life satisfaction. Sports members were also more likely to express the view that immigration enriched the cultural life of the nation.

The impact of sports participation on measures of political trust, on wellbeing and on the frequency of socialising and meeting with friends remains statistically significant even after controlling for other factors, including gender, education, income, age and ethnicity. However there is no relationship between participation in sport and trust in other people once we control for other factors, suggesting that the correlations between participation in sport and social trust may be to do with the type of people who participate in sport than the participation itself.

Finally the wealthy and educated are still much more likely than the poor and uneducated to engage in sports activity although the pattern varies from sport to sport. In general men are also more likely to engage than women, and white British are more



likely than non white British, although this varies quite considerably for different types of activity.

The fact that there are strong links between participation in sport and social and political trust and levels of social engagement, even after controlling for other factors, suggests that sport could be a useful tool for building up community networks and relationships. It is also important to note the fact that participation in sport has a significant impact on self-reported well-being. In fact the evidence shows that membership of a sports club has the same impact on individual wellbeing as an increase in income of £3,600 per year. This has major implication for policy in other areas, in particular mental health and quality of life issues.

However the fact that the relationship between social trust and sports participation does not persist once we control for other socio-demographic factors like education and income suggests that although sport does make people more likely to socialise and form and maintain their social networks it is not one of the primary drivers of trust in others. Sports programmes therefore need to go hand in hand with other measures to stimulate regeneration.

It is also vital that sport policy finds ways of addressing the participation bias we have identified and does more to engage groups who participate relatively little in sports – especially the worse off. As our research indicates, some sports appear better at attracting priority groups than others. We need to examine ways of building on their advantage in this respect as well as drawing lessons that could be applied to other sports. For instance playing football has very little skew toward different income groups, ethnic groups or educational level, pointing to a potentially strong role in creating bridging social capital. Other activities, including swimming and walking were particularly good at attracting less privileged groups, indicating that these may be useful for increasing participation among priority groups.

We hope that these findings may help policy makers and practitioners to address the issue of inequality of provision and ensure that the benefits which participation in sport provides are available to all citizens.

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## APPENDICES

**Table A1: Binary Logistic Regressions of Non-Participation in Sport (Time Usage Data).**

	Coefficient	Standard Error
<b>Age Group</b>		
16-24	<b>1.76***</b>	<b>0.11</b>
25-44	<b>1.19***</b>	<b>0.08</b>
45-64	<b>0.68***</b>	<b>0.08</b>
65+ (Base Category)	-	-
<b>Male</b>	<b>0.41***</b>	<b>0.05</b>
<b>A-Levels/Degree as Opposed to Less Qualifications</b>	<b>0.60***</b>	<b>0.06</b>
<b>Household Income</b>		
0 - 10,430	<b>-0.84***</b>	<b>0.09</b>
10,430 - 33,800	<b>-0.29***</b>	<b>0.08</b>
<b>33,800+</b>	-	-
<b>Unemployment Rate in the Region</b>	<b>-0.06***</b>	<b>0.01</b>
<b>White British (As Opposed to other group)</b>	<b>0.58***</b>	<b>0.13</b>
<b>Constant</b>	<b>-0.63***</b>	<b>0.18</b>

\*Indicates statistically significant at the 10% level. \*\* Indicates statistically significant at the 5% level. \*\*\* Indicates statistically significant at 1% level.

**Table A2a: Binary Logistic Regressions of Who Participates in Particular Sports (Time Usage Data).**

	Swimming Indoors		Swimming Outdoors		Cycling	
	B	S.E.	B	S.E.	B	S.E.
<b>Age Group</b>						
16-24	<b>1.15***</b>	<b>0.16</b>	<b>0.49**</b>	<b>0.28</b>	<b>2.01***</b>	<b>0.21</b>
25-44	<b>1.29***</b>	<b>0.15</b>	<b>0.50**</b>	<b>0.25</b>	<b>1.87***</b>	<b>0.20</b>
45-64	<b>0.60***</b>	<b>0.15</b>	-0.05	0.26	<b>1.20***</b>	<b>0.21</b>
65+ (Base Category)	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Male</b>	<b>-0.40***</b>	<b>0.07</b>	0.06	0.13	<b>0.71***</b>	<b>0.08</b>
<b>A-Levels/Degree</b>	<b>0.45***</b>	<b>0.07</b>	<b>0.32***</b>	<b>0.13</b>	<b>0.34***</b>	<b>0.08</b>
<b>Household Income</b>						
0 - 10,430	<b>-0.81***</b>	<b>0.11</b>	<b>-1.47***</b>	<b>0.23</b>	<b>-0.40***</b>	<b>0.13</b>
10,430 - 33,800	<b>-0.29***</b>	<b>0.08</b>	<b>-0.58***</b>	<b>0.14</b>	-0.07	0.09
<b>33,800+ (Base Category)</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Unemployment Rate in the Region</b>	<b>-0.02**</b>	<b>0.01</b>	0.02	0.02	<b>-0.05***</b>	<b>0.01</b>
<b>White British</b>	<b>0.37**</b>	<b>0.19</b>	<b>0.67</b>	<b>0.40</b>	<b>1.13***</b>	<b>0.29</b>
<b>Constant</b>	<b>-2.54***</b>	<b>0.26</b>	<b>-3.87***</b>	<b>0.51</b>	<b>-4.70***</b>	<b>0.38</b>

\*Indicates statistically significant at the 10% level. \*\* Indicates statistically significant at the 5% level. \*\*\* Indicates statistically significant at 1% level.

**Table A2b: Binary Logistic Regressions of Who Participates in Particular Sports (Time Usage Data).**

	Ten-Pin Bowling		Aerobics/Keep Fit		Weight Training	
	B	S.E.	B	S.E.	B	S.E.
<b>Age Group</b>						
16-24	<b>2.85***</b>	<b>0.43</b>	<b>1.40***</b>	<b>0.16</b>	<b>3.19***</b>	<b>0.46</b>

25-44	<b>2.20***</b>	<b>0.42</b>	<b>0.97***</b>	<b>0.15</b>	<b>2.67***</b>	<b>0.46</b>
45-64	<b>1.20***</b>	<b>0.44</b>	<b>0.62***</b>	<b>0.15</b>	<b>1.53***</b>	<b>0.47</b>
65+ (Base Category)	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Male</b>	<b>0.29***</b>	<b>0.12</b>	<b>-1.13***</b>	<b>0.08</b>	<b>0.81***</b>	<b>0.11</b>
<b>A-Levels/Degree</b>	-0.11	0.13	<b>0.68***</b>	<b>0.07</b>	<b>0.56***</b>	<b>0.11</b>
<b>Household Income</b>						
0 - 10,430	<b>-0.80***</b>	<b>0.22</b>	<b>-0.99**</b>	<b>0.12</b>	<b>-1.21***</b>	<b>0.19</b>
10,430 - 33,800	-0.07	0.14	<b>-0.32***</b>	<b>0.08</b>	<b>-0.48***</b>	<b>0.11</b>
33,800+ (Base Category)	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Unemployment Rate in the Region</b>	-0.02	0.02	-0.02	0.01	0.00	0.02
<b>White British</b>	0.40	0.35	-0.03	0.17	0.24	0.26
<b>Constant</b>	<b>-5.20***</b>	<b>0.59</b>	<b>-1.90***</b>	<b>0.25</b>	<b>-5.46***</b>	<b>0.55</b>

\*Indicates statistically significant at the 10% level. \*\* Indicates statistically significant at the 5% level. \*\*\* Indicates statistically significant at 1% level.

**Table A2c: Binary Logistic Regressions of Who Participates in Particular Sports (Time Usage Data).**

	Snooker/Pool/Billiards		Darts		Outdoor Football	
	B	S.E.	B	S.E.	B	S.E.
<b>Age Group</b>						
16-24	<b>3.23***</b>	<b>0.22</b>	<b>2.42***</b>	<b>0.33</b>	<b>5.53***</b>	<b>1.00</b>
25-44	<b>1.78***</b>	<b>0.21</b>	<b>1.57***</b>	<b>0.32</b>	<b>4.23***</b>	<b>1.00</b>
45-64	<b>0.92***</b>	<b>0.22</b>	<b>1.45***</b>	<b>0.32</b>	<b>2.20***</b>	<b>1.03</b>
65+ (Base Category)						
<b>Male</b>	<b>1.67***</b>	<b>0.10</b>	<b>1.13***</b>	<b>0.14</b>	<b>2.73***</b>	<b>0.20</b>
<b>A-Levels/Degree</b>	0.01	0.09	<b>-0.51***</b>	<b>0.16</b>	-0.18	0.13
<b>Household Income</b>						
0 - 10,430	-0.09	0.14	<b>0.45**</b>	<b>0.22</b>	<b>-0.51***</b>	<b>0.21</b>
10,430 - 33,800	-0.05	0.11	<b>0.36***</b>	<b>0.19</b>	-0.05	0.15
33,800+						
<b>Unemployment Rate in the Region</b>	0.00	0.01	-0.01	0.02	-0.02	0.02
<b>White British</b>	<b>0.45**</b>	<b>0.22</b>	<b>1.17**</b>	<b>0.52</b>	<b>0.56*</b>	<b>0.35</b>
<b>Constant</b>	<b>-5.26***</b>	<b>0.34</b>	<b>-6.79***</b>	<b>0.66</b>	-9.18	1.10

\*Indicates statistically significant at the 10% level. \*\* Indicates statistically significant at the 5% level. \*\*\* Indicates statistically significant at 1% level.

**Table A2d: Binary Logistic Regressions of Who Participates in Particular Sports (Time Usage Data).**

	Cricket		Tennis		Badminton	
	B	S.E.	B	S.E.	B	S.E.
<b>Age Group</b>						
16-24	<b>3.06***</b>	<b>1.02</b>	<b>3.16***</b>	<b>0.60</b>	<b>3.19***</b>	<b>0.72</b>
25-44	<b>2.14**</b>	<b>1.02</b>	<b>1.91***</b>	<b>0.60</b>	<b>2.07**</b>	<b>0.72</b>
45-64	<b>1.43*</b>	<b>1.04</b>	<b>1.54***</b>	<b>0.61</b>	<b>2.13**</b>	<b>0.72</b>
65+ (Base Category)						
<b>Male</b>	<b>2.63***</b>	<b>0.43</b>	<b>0.56***</b>	<b>0.16</b>	<b>0.29**</b>	<b>0.17</b>
<b>A-Levels/Degree</b>	<b>0.41*</b>	<b>0.25</b>	<b>0.69***</b>	<b>0.17</b>	<b>0.47***</b>	<b>0.17</b>
<b>Household Income</b>						
0 - 10,430	<b>-1.46***</b>	<b>0.57</b>	<b>-0.88***</b>	<b>0.27</b>	<b>-0.91***</b>	<b>0.30</b>
10,430 - 33,800	-0.01	0.27	<b>-0.58***</b>	<b>0.17</b>	-0.21	0.19
33,800+						

<b>Unemployment Rate in the Region</b>	-0.05	0.04	<b>-0.09***</b>	<b>0.03</b>	-0.04	0.03
<b>White British</b>	<b>-1.23***</b>	<b>0.39</b>	-0.35	0.35	<b>-0.55***</b>	<b>0.33</b>
<b>Constant</b>	<b>-7.02***</b>	<b>1.21</b>	<b>-4.92***</b>	<b>0.73</b>	<b>-5.31***</b>	<b>0.83</b>

\*Indicates statistically significant at the 10% level. \*\* Indicates statistically significant at the 5% level. \*\*\* Indicates statistically significant at 1% level.

**Table A2e: Binary Logistic Regressions of Who Participates in Particular Sports (Time Usage Data).**

	Walking/Hiking		Golf/Pitch and Putt		Table Tennis	
	B	S.E.	B	S.E.	B	S.E.
<b>Age Group</b>						
16-24	0.19	0.12	<b>0.50**</b>	<b>0.23</b>	<b>1.59***</b>	<b>0.47</b>
25-44	<b>0.37***</b>	<b>0.10</b>	<b>0.33*</b>	<b>0.21</b>	0.29	0.47
45-64	<b>0.54***</b>	<b>0.10</b>	0.07	0.21	-0.10	0.50
65+ (Base Category)						
<b>Male</b>	<b>-0.22***</b>	<b>0.06</b>	<b>2.01***</b>	<b>0.14</b>	<b>0.55**</b>	<b>0.23</b>
<b>A-Levels/Degree</b>	<b>0.53***</b>	<b>0.06</b>	<b>0.18*</b>	<b>0.12</b>	<b>0.67***</b>	<b>0.24</b>
<b>Household Income</b>						
0 - 10,430	<b>-0.57***</b>	<b>0.09</b>	<b>-1.66***</b>	<b>0.21</b>	<b>-0.68*</b>	<b>0.45</b>
10,430 - 33,800	<b>-0.14*</b>	<b>0.07</b>	<b>-0.76***</b>	<b>0.12</b>	<b>0.38*</b>	<b>0.29</b>
33,800+						
<b>Unemployment Rate in the Region</b>	<b>-0.04***</b>	<b>0.01</b>	<b>-0.06***</b>	<b>0.02</b>	0.00	0.03
<b>White British</b>	<b>0.73***</b>	<b>0.18</b>	<b>1.67***</b>	<b>0.59</b>	0.69	0.73
<b>Constant</b>	<b>-1.78***</b>	<b>0.22</b>	<b>-5.04***</b>	<b>0.65</b>	<b>-6.28***</b>	<b>0.96</b>

\*Indicates statistically significant at the 10% level. \*\* Indicates statistically significant at the 5% level. \*\*\* Indicates statistically significant at 1% level.

**Table A3: Multiple Regression Models of the Effects of Sports Club Membership on Political Participation**

	B	Std. Error
(Constant)	-0.13	0.18
AGE	0.00	0.00
Household's total net income, all sources	0.01	0.01
Gender	<b>0.08</b>	<b>0.05</b>
TOTALMEM	<b>0.24***</b>	<b>0.02</b>
Years of full-time education completed	<b>0.03***</b>	<b>0.01</b>
Member of a group discriminated against in this country	<b>0.36***</b>	<b>0.07</b>
Sports/outdoor activity club, last 12 months: member	<b>0.10*</b>	<b>0.06</b>
R-Squared	0.16	

\*Indicates statistically significant at the 10% level. \*\* Indicates statistically significant at the 5% level. \*\*\* Indicates statistically significant at 1% level.

**Table A4: Multiple Regression Models of the Effects of Sports Club Membership on Social Trust, Personal Trust and Sociability**

	Civil Trust		Personal Trust		Sociability	
	B	Std. Error	B	Std. Error	B	Std. Error
(Constant)	17.46	1.28	10.98	0.86	5.26	0.25

AGE	0.00	0.01	0.06	0.01	0.00	0.00
Household's total net income, all sources	<b>0.17**</b>	<b>0.08</b>	0.06	0.05	<b>-0.06***</b>	<b>0.02</b>
Female	<b>-0.56*</b>	<b>0.36</b>	-0.23	0.24	0.12	0.07
Total Number of Memberships of Other Organisations	<b>0.25*</b>	<b>0.14</b>	<b>0.25***</b>	<b>0.09</b>	0.04	0.03
Years of full-time education completed	<b>0.13**</b>	<b>0.06</b>	<b>0.16***</b>	<b>0.04</b>	0.00	0.01
Member of a group discriminated against in this country	<b>-3.30***</b>	<b>0.51</b>	<b>-1.72***</b>	<b>0.34</b>	0.09	0.10
Member of Sports/Outdoor Activity Club	<b>0.90**</b>	<b>0.42</b>	0.28	0.28	<b>0.38***</b>	<b>0.08</b>
R-Squared	0.04		0.07		0.02	

**Note: “Civil Trusted” is constructed by adding the scores for each respondent on the four variables, Trust in Police, Trust in Legal System, Trust in Politicians, Trust in Parliament. The “Personal Trust” scale is constructed by adding the scores of three individual items, Perception that people can be trusted, Perception that people are fair and Perception that people are helpful. Sociability is measured as 1 to 7 scale, with one indicating “never socialise” and 7 indicating “socialise every day”.**

**\*Indicates statistically significant at the 10% level. \*\* Indicates statistically significant at the 5% level. \*\*\* Indicates statistically significant at 1% level.**

**Table A5: Multiple Regression Models of the Effects of Sports Club Membership on Subjective Well-Being**

	B	Std. Error
(Constant)	12.06	0.61
AGE	0.02	0.01
Household's total net income, all sources	<b>0.29***</b>	<b>0.04</b>
Female	0.23	0.17
Total Number of Memberships of Other Organisations	0.05	0.07
Years of full-time education completed	<b>-0.07*</b>	<b>0.03</b>
Member of a group discriminated against in this country	<b>-1.77***</b>	<b>0.24</b>
Member of Sports/Outdoor Activity Club	<b>0.33*</b>	<b>0.20</b>
R-Squared	0.07	

**Note: Subjective Well-Being is constructed by adding the Scores on two variables; (I) How happy are you? (1 to 10) and How satisfied are you with your life overall? (1 to 10)**

**\*Indicates statistically significant at the 10% level. \*\* Indicates statistically significant at the 5% level. \*\*\* Indicates statistically significant at 1% level.**

**Table A6: Detailed Demographic Breakdowns of Membership of Various Groups (ESS 2002); Figures are Proportions. Multiply by 100 to get the percentage of members for each category.**

	Sport Member	Cultural Member	Trade union	Social club etc.
<b>Age categories</b>				
18-30	0.32	0.09	0.15	0.13
31-50	0.29	0.14	0.19	0.08
50-65	0.26	0.22	0.21	0.21
65+	0.15	0.20	0.03	0.26
Total	0.26	0.16	0.15	0.16
<b>Income categories uk</b>				
Bottom	0.14	0.12	0.05	0.16

Middle	0.22	0.13	0.15	0.17
Upper	0.39	0.22	0.24	0.14
Total	0.26	0.16	0.16	0.15
<b>Region, United Kingdom</b>	Sport Member	Cultural Member	Trade union	Social club etc.
North East	0.27	0.17	0.19	0.28
North West	0.25	0.10	0.17	0.11
Yorkshire and Humberside	0.19	0.16	0.15	0.15
East Midlands	0.20	0.11	0.16	0.19
West Midlands	0.28	0.19	0.19	0.12
South West	0.20	0.22	0.14	0.17
Eastern	0.31	0.25	0.09	0.20
London	0.26	0.16	0.13	0.10
South East	0.35	0.20	0.12	0.17
Wales	0.34	0.21	0.19	0.19
Scotland	0.23	0.11	0.20	0.17
Northern Ireland	0.14	0.09	0.05	0.08
Total	0.26	0.17	0.15	0.16
<b>Mother's highest level of education</b>	Sport Member	Cultural Member	Trade union	Social club etc.
Not completed primary education	0.18	0.09	0.00	0.18
Primary or first stage of basic	0.16	0.15	0.07	0.24
Lower secondary or second stage of basic	0.25	0.16	0.16	0.16
Upper secondary	0.38	0.32	0.21	0.09
Post secondary, non-tertiary	0.47	0.24	0.17	0.12
First stage of tertiary	0.43	0.22	0.19	0.13
Second stage of tertiary	0.50	0.25	0.25	0.25
Total	0.27	0.17	0.15	0.16
<b>Father's highest level of education</b>	Sport Member	Cultural Member	Trade union	Social club etc.
Not completed primary education	0.14	0.07	0.07	0.14
Primary or first stage of basic	0.16	0.16	0.05	0.24
Lower secondary or second stage of basic	0.24	0.16	0.15	0.16
Upper secondary	0.40	0.26	0.24	0.12
Post secondary, non-tertiary	0.35	0.14	0.20	0.14
First stage of tertiary	0.42	0.27	0.19	0.16
Second stage of tertiary	0.54	0.23	0.46	0.15
Total	0.27	0.17	0.16	0.16
<b>Any period of unemployment and work seeking within last 5 years</b>	Sport Member	Cultural Member	Trade union	Social club etc.
Yes	0.19	0.12	0.09	0.10
No	0.26	0.16	0.15	0.16
Total	0.23	0.15	0.12	0.13
<b>Doing last 7 days: housework, looking after children, others</b>	Sport Member	Cultural Member	Trade union	Social club etc.
No	0.28	0.17	0.16	0.16
Yes	0.21	0.14	0.12	0.16
Total	0.26	0.17	0.15	0.16
<b>Doing last 7 days: permanently sick or disabled</b>	Sport Member	Cultural Member	Trade union	Social club etc.
No	0.27	0.17	0.16	0.15
Yes	0.13	0.13	0.05	0.22



Total	0.26	0.17	0.15	0.16
<b>Doing last 7 days: unemployed, not actively looking for job</b>	Sport Member	Cultural Member	Trade union	Social club etc.
No	0.26	0.17	0.15	0.16
Yes	0.24	0.18	0.09	0.09
Total	0.26	0.17	0.15	0.16
<b>Highest level of education, United Kingdom</b>	Sport Member	Cultural Member	Trade union	Social club etc.
No qualifications	0.13	0.10	0.07	0.19
GCSE/O-level/CSE/NVQ1/NVQ2 or equiv	0.25	0.15	0.15	0.14
A-level/NVQ3 or equiv	0.34	0.14	0.15	0.14
NVQ4/NVQ5 or equiv	0.31	0.18	0.16	0.22
Degree/HNC/teacher training/nursing or equiv	0.38	0.26	0.24	0.12
PhD/DPhil or equiv	0.38	0.33	0.43	0.05
Total	0.26	0.17	0.15	0.16
<b>Gender</b>	Sport Member	Cultural Member	Trade union	Social club etc.
Male	0.33	0.19	0.15	0.19
Female	0.20	0.14	0.15	0.13
Total	0.26	0.17	0.15	0.16
<b>Born in country</b>	Sport Member	Cultural Member	Trade union	Social club etc.
Yes	0.26	0.16	0.15	0.16
No	0.25	0.21	0.10	0.11
Total	0.26	0.17	0.15	0.16
<b>Belong to minority ethnic group in country</b>	Sport Member	Cultural Member	Trade union	Social club etc.
Yes	0.29	0.24	0.11	0.14
No	0.26	0.16	0.15	0.16
Total	0.26	0.17	0.15	0.16

## **Data Sources**

While data on exercise and physical fitness has been commonly collected over the last number of years, comparatively little publicly available data exists on wider forms of participation in sport in the United Kingdom such as volunteering and membership. In this paper we draw from a number of different data sources to attempt to paint a complete picture of participation. The following datasets are drawn from in particular depth:

- **European Social Survey 2002:** This study is a 21 country comparative study carried out across Europe. The study contains detailed information on the personal values of European adults, their family backgrounds and other relevant socio-demographic characteristics as well as detailed records of respondents' attitudes toward a number of important issues such as globalisation. The information relating to sports participation focuses primarily on club membership.
- **Home Office Citizenship Survey 2001:** The Home Office Citizenship Survey contains comprehensive information on civic participation, social trust, volunteering, informal helping and a wide variety of other related information. The survey also includes questions on whether the respondent was active in a sports club in the last twelve months, whether they provided non-paid labour to a sports club over the period and the nature of the unpaid labour provided.
- **Time Usage Survey 2000:** While somewhat dated, this raw data allows fine-grained analysis of a wide range of sporting activities. The survey also includes detailed socio-demographic coding to allow the analysis of the determinants of different types of sporting activity.

We also utilise raw data from the British Social Attitude surveys, as well as drawing on secondary information from MORI.