

**SPORT CONSUMPTION PATTERNS IN THE EASTERN CAPE: CRICKET
SPECTATORS AS SPORTING UNIVORES OR OMNIVORES**

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DECLARATION

Excepting for the references specifically acknowledged in the text and sources of assistance, insight or information explicitly acknowledged, this thesis is entirely my own work. This thesis has not been submitted to any other University, Technikon or College for degree purposes.

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ABSTRACT

Since its inception, consumption behaviour theory has developed to account for the important social aspect that underpins or at least to some extent can be used to explain consumption behaviour. Modern consumption behaviour theory is anthropocentric in nature, with people and societal influence at the forefront of the theory. To date, empirical studies on consumption behaviour of cultural activities (for example, music and arts), entertainment and sport have used Bourdieu's (1984) omnivore/univore theory to suggest that consumption of leisure activities is bound up in social ties. To date, no such investigation has been conducted in the context of sport in South Africa. The aim of the study therefore is to investigate whether South African cricket spectators are sporting omnivores or univores, thus, essentially investigating whether sports consumption behaviour in South Africa is bound up in social ties.

A number of positive economic and social ramifications could result from gaining a holistic understanding of sports consumption behaviour in South Africa. Given these ramifications, the secondary goal of the research is to identify motives for consumers making specific sport consumption decisions, and determining whether certain characteristics can be attributed to these consumption decisions. Recommendations based on the findings of the research could help various stakeholders understand sports consumption patterns in South Africa, which could in turn lead to the realization of positive economic and social benefits.

The study made use of a questionnaire, administered at four different limited overs cricket matches in the 2012/13 cricket season, to obtain a range of responses reflecting specific types of consumption behaviour as well as motives for consumption decisions of cricket spectators in the Eastern Cape. Using individual binary probit models and post estimation F-tests, the results indicate that consumption behaviour of sport within South Africa predominantly differs on the grounds of education and race. This suggests that there are aspects of social connotations underpinning sports consumption behaviour within South Africa.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Context of the research

Consumption behaviour is an aspect of modern economic theory that has developed and grown in importance, and is of particular interest to producers, manufacturers, and marketers. Consumption behaviour is generally understood as the process in which individuals or groups of individuals acquire, use, and dispose of a product, service, idea, or experience (Batra and Kazmi, 2008). It involves the study of an entire consumption decision process, from gathering the information to the actual purchase stage and involves understanding individuals' feelings, thoughts, and actions (Kumar, 2008). The study of consumption behaviour is based on a number of fundamental economic assumptions. Individuals are assumed to be rational beings that aim to maximize their utility, and who are able to anticipate the consequences of their individual choices (Becker and Murphey, 1988). Consumers will thus use the resources at their disposal to attain commodities that satisfy their optimal level of utility. Any purchase and consumption of a commodity is assumed to provide some satisfaction or utility and the principle of diminishing marginal utility is assumed (Deaton and Muellbauer, 1980). Based on the assumptions, it is possible to predict probable consumption behaviour, allowing economic decisions based on general consumption patterns. Traditional consumption behaviour theory generally considered the impact of changes in income and prices on consumption decisions. Successive consumption behaviour theory builds on this theory and considers other factors that may influence consumer behaviour (Lancaster, 1966). Traditionally, consumption behaviour focuses largely on consumer decisions of tangible commodities; however, because consumption behaviour of intangible commodities also contributes significantly to a country's Gross Domestic Product, examination of such behaviour is also needed (Rao, 2012). As described by Blundell (1988), the proximity of interplay between empirical and theoretical considerations of consumption behaviour, and the rapid growth in availability of new data, makes the analysis of consumption behaviour an attractive area of research. Bray (2008) supports the idea that consumption behaviour, since its inception, has become a sustained area of research in economics.

According to Kumar (2008), traditional consumption behaviour considered the consumption of economic goods and services. Although not a traditional perspective, art (Snowball *et al.*, 2009) and sport (Glencoe, 2013) are seen as commodities, specifically classified as intangible

commodities that can be consumed. Much like the consumption of economic goods and services, watching sport, whether in physical attendance or on television, is a form of consumption, where sport is the consumable intangible commodity (Glencoe, 2013). In the market for economic goods and services, many motives and factors (such as economic determinants, human characteristics, and of particular relevance to this research, social influences) have been identified that underpin the purchasing decisions made by consumers (Shah, 2010). For producers and marketers to make effective business decisions it is vital that they base their decisions on the consumers' motives for particular consumption behaviour (Laesso *et al.*, 2013). In researching consumers' decision-making motives, it becomes possible to identify consumption behaviour that is associated with a specific type of consumer. In this way, producers and marketers are able to identify and target a particular market in order to maximise their revenue. Over and above identifying motivating factors for positive consumption behaviour, empirical studies in the arts for example (which include amongst others, Snowball *et al.*, 2009, Peterson, 1992 and Peterson, 2005) have noted the usefulness of stratifying consumers according to their consumption behaviour patterns, classifying them as either univorous or omnivorous consumers. Such classifications have been used to determine the extent to which consumption is bound up in social ties.

Consumption behaviour studies undertaken in the South African context specifically focused on the consumption patterns of the arts. In this context, univores were defined as patrons with narrower cultural tastes (attending only one modern genre or two traditional genres of art) while omnivorous patrons were those that consumed a wider array (more than two types of art genres) of both popular and high cultural goods (Snowball *et al.*, 2009). The main objective of the study was to identify the determining indicators that differentiate univorous from omnivorous cultural consumers. The information obtained from categorizing consumers of the arts into omnivorous and univorous patrons respectively, allows marketers and producers of the various forms of the arts to base future decisions on the specific classification of their respective audiences (Snowball *et al.*, 2009). To date, however, consumption behaviour studies are notably limited in the context of South African sport (Gerber and Terblanche, 2012). More specifically, there appears to be no empirical research on the classification of consumers as univores or omnivores in the context of sports consumption in South Africa. Snowball *et al.* (2009) argued that studies considering omnivore/univore status are particularly valuable in the case of South Africa given the potential social tolerance ramifications that could stem from such a classification (as was highlighted by Bryson (1996), Coulangeon (2005), Tampubolon (2008) and Van Eijck and Leivens (2008)). This therefore

highlights the need for research on an omnivore/univore classification of sports consumption patterns in South Africa.

A number of studies researching consumption behaviour have been conducted outside South Africa. These include comparative research involving omnivorousness (Peterson, 2005), audience segmentation and omnivore/univore classifications in cultures (Peterson, 1992), theories of consumer behaviour (Trail and James, 2010), contemporary perspectives on consumer motives, goals and desires (Ratneshwar *et al.*, 2000) and consumer behaviour in retrospect and prospect (Zaichkowsky, 1991). Similarly, many studies on consumer behaviour with specific application to sport have been conducted internationally. These include, for instance, predictors of attendance at major sporting events (Hall *et al.*, 2009), theoretical models of sport spectator consumption behaviour (Trail *et al.*, 2000; Trail and James, 2010), and a review of sport motivation constructs (Milne and McDonald, 1999).

While many international empirical analyses have explained consumption behaviour in sport, Gerber and Terblanche (2012) have conducted the only such study in the South African sport context. This study considered team performance and sport attendance at Currie Cup and Super 14 rugby, a context, which, according to Asher (2011), has not suffered a decline in match attendance and consumer interest to the same extent as cricket. South African domestic and national cricket match attendance statistics show that there has been a general decline in attendance in all match formats over the past few decades (ESPN, 2013). Former South African limited-over and test cricket player, Fanie De Villiers, argued that support for limited-over cricket is “diabolical” yet states that this could not be attributed to the quality of cricket played (Asher, 2011). The decline in match attendance highlights the importance of investigating the explanations for such declining attendance and whether the disparity between the supply and demand for cricket in South Africa can be attributed to factors of the game (for instance, the presence of certain players, or the quality of cricket played) or consumer influences (for instance, social factors or omnivorous or univorous consumer characteristics).

According to Brember (2009), sport is highly regarded among South Africans, both in terms of active participation and in a passive role as a spectator. More specifically, South Africans place a great deal of recognition on cricket as both an amateur and professional sport (Louw, 2010). This study will therefore focus on the application of consumption behaviour theory in cricket. With South African cricket forming a significant aspect of international cricket

heritage (Morgan, 2013), it becomes important to examine factors that would increase the likelihood of the long-term survival of the game. This could be achieved by investigating the extent to which sporting consumption patterns in South Africa are bound up in social hierarchies by classifying consumers as either sporting univores or omnivores, in conjunction with considering other possible motives for attendance. Sporting univores could be defined as spectators who choose to attend fixtures of a specific sport/s to the exclusion of others (or have a very narrow consumption demand for sport), while sporting omnivores choose to attend a wide range of sporting events (or are general sports followers).

The study attempts to highlight the importance of classifying a market to facilitate effective marketing, such that the correct target market is identified and marketers are better equipped to direct marketing at the factors that motivate specific consumption behaviour. Sport has also been recognised as an important source of revenue and economic benefit, not only for the individual participants, sporting venues and associations but also for cities, regions and a country as a whole (Hall *et al.*, 2009). More specifically, Hall *et al.* (2009) noted that, owing to a positive correlation between match attendance and revenue, it becomes necessary to determine the internal and external factors that affect attendance with the aim of improving aspects of the sport to increase match attendance and subsequently revenue too. With revenue having such significant and widespread economic importance, such a study will facilitate effective customised marketing to encourage attendance and in so doing facilitate the long-term viability of cricket in South Africa and sustainable sports related revenue for the country. Furthermore, Hall *et al.* (2009) found that high attendance at sports fixtures in the past were positively correlated to an increase in sponsor revenue. It is therefore important to identify factors associated with positive consumption behaviour that could be used to encourage match attendance.

According to empirical results found by Szymanski and Kuypers (1999) and Gilmore *et al.* (2011), sport forms part of an important industry that significantly affects GDP and, as a result, it is important to ensure that the sports industry be nurtured and maintained. Eschenfelder and Li (2007) supported this and noted that sport is a critical centre of the United States economy. They argued that, for 2005, the sports industry was greater than the automobile and agricultural industry as well as greater than the sum of all the public utilities (Eschenfelder and Li, 2007). In 2005, calculated estimates revealed that the Gross National Sports Product or GNSP (an economic measure used to determine the relative size of the sports industry) was \$168.469 billion (Milano and Chelladurai, 2011). As seen in the United

States, the sports industry poses as a fundamental contributor of the economy's revenue and, as a result, it becomes necessary that a sports industry be developed and sustained to ensure maximum possible revenue for the economy. In the case of South Africa, the sports industry has been noted as a "multibillion rand industry" and contributed to 2 percent of the country's GDP (South African Web, 2013). Statistics South Africa (2012) also highlights the importance of the South African sports industry in generating significant tourism revenue. Thus, aiding the growth of South Africa's GNSP (through the positive identification of factors that are correlated to match attendance) would likely facilitate South African GDP growth. Identifying what motivating factors are attributed to positive match attendance would aid in determining whether spectator consumption behaviour can be specifically classified to enhance marketing strategies and encourage specific consumption behaviour. A final argument grounding the need to increase or sustain a country's GNSP is that generally the global sports industry has a large number of existing employees and has annually been accountable for the creation of a significant number of jobs (Eschenfelder and Li, 2007).

Further importance of this study pertains to one of the goals outlined by the Department of Sport and Recreation and the limited funds at their disposal. The Department aims to "maximise access, development and excellence at all levels of participation in sport and recreation in order to improve social cohesion, nation building and the quality of life of all South Africans" (SRSA, 2012:1). Because the Department is subject to limited funds (SRSA, 2012), the information generated from this study could assist in providing guidance as to where the limited funds would most optimally be utilised.

1.2 Goals of the research

The goals of the study are:

- (1) To investigate whether South African cricket spectators are sporting omnivores or univores.
- (2) To identify motives for consumers making specific sport consumption decisions, and whether certain characteristics can be attributed to these consumption decisions.

1.3 Methods, procedures and techniques

With reference to the definition of consumption behaviour, this study focuses on the consumption behaviour of an experience, in this case, sport. Eschenfelder and Li (2007) define sport spectatorship/sport viewership as encompassing the payment for admission to a sports event, subscribing to televised sports programming as well as the purchase of sports related published materials (such as books and magazines). Within sports spectatorship, this study will focus on the payment for admission to attend a sports match where the fixture and the players are seen as saleable commodities (Stander, 2009). The study focuses solely on a team sport. As highlighted by Simmons (2006), the reason for this choice is owing to the fact that literature on attendance for individual-based sport has been found to be negligible. Furthermore, the study focuses solely on the domestic limited-over cricket played by the Chevrolet Warriors at *Axxess DSL St Georges* in Port Elizabeth.

The research follows a post-positivist research approach. Questionnaires comprised of 25 closed-ended questions, five open-ended questions and five demographic questions were developed and administered. The surveys were based largely on the work of Trail and James (2001) and the Center for Sport Consumer Research based in the United States. A combination of the already existing survey formats was used as a guideline for the composition of a questionnaire specifically tailored for the South African cricket context. The surveys were comprised of a number of questions that can be linked to motives for certain consumption decisions and allow for the classification of consumers as sporting omnivores or univores. The questionnaires were also comprised of repeated questions to eradicate any information bias. Questionnaires took approximately ten minutes to complete and were administered to roughly 500 participants during selected fixtures over the duration of a one-day cricket competition. The questionnaires were administered in an interview manner, with the response form for the close-ended questions in a Likert Scale format. Participants were asked to advise the interviewer as to which answer best describes them, with options ranging from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree'. Open-ended questions were used in conjunction with the close-ended questions to generate responses that will inform the research findings. The participants were selected through purposive sampling (Oliver, 2006) from the spectators attending the fixture with the intention of obtaining a relevant representative spectator sample. Data collection was carried out at fixtures played at the same venue to control for any geographical biases. Upon completion of the data collection, the question responses were captured and coded. Individual probit models were estimated for each of the classifications to

examine the predictors of being a sporting omnivore or univore. Finally, the study made use of bivariate cross-tabulations to investigate how the factors that are identified as motives for attendance differ amongst omnivores and univores for a given definition.

1.4 Ethical considerations

The questionnaire was designed in such a way to ensure beneficence and non-maleficence of all participants involved. Participants were made fully aware that their participation in the study was completely voluntary and that they could withdraw from the study at any point. Participants were notified of the purpose of the research and what was required of them prior to the commencement of the questionnaire. Participants were informed that the research is sanctioned by the Chevrolet Warriors cricket franchise (represented by CEO Dave Emslie and marketing and commercial manager Leigh Deyzel). All responses were confidential and the data collected were kept in safe housing upon completion of the study. The data were used for research purposes only and will not be made available for alternate research. Finally, the participants were made aware that they may have access to the overall results of the study (although not to the individual responses), if they so wish, and were informed on how they could go about accessing these results. The questionnaire and research had been approved by the Rhodes University Department of Economics and Economic History's research ethics committee and by the Rhodes University Commerce Higher Degrees Committee.

1.5 Organisation of the study

The study is organised as follows: Chapter 2 presents the theoretical framework upon which the research is based. This chapter includes a general review of consumption theory and then considers the consumption theory for intangible goods. The remainder of the chapter considers the consumption theory underpinning sport as a form of leisure consumption. Chapter 3 considers a review of empirical studies to date. Chapter 4 provides an overview of the methods and data that were employed in this study. Chapter 5 presents the results of the study, a discussion thereof, as well as the recommendations stemming therefrom, while Chapter 6 summarises and concludes the study.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

Although the focus of this study is to investigate whether South African cricket spectators are sporting omnivores or univores, understanding general consumption behaviour is important for a number of purposes. As highlighted in Chapter 1, a number of potential economic and social benefits could result from understanding consumption behaviour. To understand the motives underpinning consumption behaviour, it is important to consider theoretical insights as well as empirical studies that have been completed on the subject. This chapter begins with a review of the theoretical framework that has been used to examine consumption behaviour, in general (Section 2.2), and then focuses particularly on the theoretical underpinning of consumption behaviour of intangible goods, particularly leisure (Section 2.3). Section 2.4 shifts the focus of the review to sport as a form of leisure consumption and considers the determinants of sports consumption. Section 2.5 summarises and concludes the chapter.

2.2 General consumption theory

According to Marx and van der Walt (1989), the theoretical interest in consumption behaviour studies originated from addressing the problem of aligning mass production to mass consumption. Evidence of theoretical insights that were offered to understand consumption behaviour dates back to 1965 (Andeason, 1965). It has been argued that since its inception, “many writers have focused their efforts on this interesting and important subject” (Marx and van der Walt, 1989:72).

Numerous theoretical factors have been identified to underpin and influence consumers’ decisions and consumption behaviour. Understanding such factors is argued to be crucial to explaining and predicting human behaviour, particularly of value in a consumer-orientated market (Marx and van der Walt, 1989). Traditionally, consumption behaviour was theoretically understood by prepositions pertaining to rationality and the predominant role that income plays in determining expenditures (Katona, 1968). Katona (1968) summarises the traditional understanding of consumption behaviour into two core ideas: firstly, that consumers will choose the best alternative from the conceivable actions that are available to them and, secondly, that, apart from tastes, the primary determinant of consumers’

expenditure is absolute and relative income (therefore includes prices as a determining factor). Louden and Della Bitta (1993) supported this notion and noted that consumption behaviour was traditionally approached from a purely economic perspective, where the sole focus was on the act of purchasing goods and services. Bray (2008) argued that the most prevalent model from the traditional approach to consumption behaviour was embedded in utility theory. Utility theory assumed that consumers were rational beings and made choices that were based on the anticipated outcome of their consumption decision (Bray, 2008). Schiffman and Kanuk (2007) explained that the assumption of the consumer as a rational being presupposes that the consumer is informed of all consumption possibilities, is able to order the options that are available to him/her and from the ordered alternatives, is able to make a decision as to the optimum consumption option. These assumptions in turn form the premise of the rational model of consumption behaviour (Lunenburg, 2010).

Under the rational model of consumer behaviour, Towler (2010) states that consumers were well informed of all consumption alternatives as well as the outcomes that would emanate from these alternatives. Consumers are also aware of their decision criteria and are able to make and implement the best possible consumption choice (Towler, 2010). Furthermore, the traditional approach to consumer behaviour is based on the theoretical utility maximising rule. Williams (2013) noted that, theoretically, a rational consumer will not only rank consumption options based on his or her preferences, but will also choose the goods/services that yield the highest marginal utility per unit of expenditure until their limited budget is exhausted. Simon (1997), however, argued that adopting this traditional approach to consumer behaviour is problematic and that the assumptions thereof do not give an accurate account of consumer behaviour. Unlike the assumptions that underpin the rational model and traditional approach to understanding consumer behaviour, Simon (1997) argued that, although theoretically feasible, in reality consumers often do not have adequate information to make optimum consumption decisions. He further criticized the assumption of rationality as being very limiting in its application to the real world. He argued that consumption decisions are often shaped by less rational influences such as an individual's social relationships and intrinsic values. As a result of the limitations of the application of the rational decision-making model, consumption theory has since developed to provide a more accurate account as an explanation of consumers' decisions. The development of consumer theory was highlighted by Katona (1968), who acknowledged that the understanding of consumption behaviour has developed from a traditional perspective to a relatively more comprehensive perspective (in which the inclusion of a wider range of facets that underpin consumption behaviour is considered). On a

similar note, Sahney (2013:10) described contemporary consumer behaviour theory as “dialectical”, emphasizing the broad, complex and encompassing scope of the developed theory of consumer behaviour. This is echoed by Blackwell *et al.* (2001), who noted that the theory of consumer behaviour is evolutionary and has grown to encompass a holistic range of factors that influence a consumer’s decision-making.

Simon (1997) proposed that an alternative to the rational model of consumption behaviour was the bounded rationality model. This model proposed that consumers are unlikely to have all the information that they require to make an optimum consumption decision. Simon (1997) argued that because of this, consumers are likely to make satisfactory as opposed to optimal decisions. As noted in his critique of the rational model, Simon (1997) placed significant emphasis on the importance of social factors underpinning consumption behaviour. This emphasis is similar to a relatively more modern and inclusive understanding of the factors that underpin consumption behaviour, as explained in a model of consumer behaviour by Marx and van der Walt (1989). This model is based on the notion that an individual’s consumption is not only underpinned by the traditional economic factors but also by a complexity of individual factors (which include, amongst others, motivation, attitude, perception, personality and lifestyle) (Tanner and Raymond, 2012) and group factors (such as the consumer’s family, social class, cultural group, reference group and opinion leaders) (Bearden and Etzel, 1982). Frank (1999) agreed and argued that consumption, whether intentional or not, is largely influenced by social factors, particularly an individual’s social reference groups. Drawing on the importance of the social influence on consumption behaviour, Samuelson (2004) argued that consumption decisions have become a matter of relative consumption effects. That is, individual consumers are less concerned with their individual utility maximization but rather measure their utility in relation to that of other individuals (Samuelson, 2004). This idea is closely aligned with the proposition by Basmann *et al.* (1988) that two distinguishable types of utility stem from consumption: the first type of utility is derived directly because of the consumption of a commodity, while the second type of utility is derived from being associated with the consumption of a particular commodity. The latter form of utility reiterates the influence that social factors play in influencing consumption behaviour (Basmann *et al.*, 1988).

2.3 Consumption theory of intangible goods: Social status and leisure consumption

Linked to the idea of the social underpinning of consumption behaviour is the significant role that social status plays in influencing and explaining consumption behaviour. According to Scheetz *et al.* (2014), status consumption pertains to the idea that consumption is a means of projecting one's wealth. This idea of social consumption originated from Thorstein Veblen (1899). Veblen (1899) considered leisure consumption, and argued that social stratification, as opposed to utility, often underpinned consumption decisions. In his theory, Veblen (1899) proposed two explanations of social consumption. The first is conspicuous consumption, which pertained to the use of financial resources to obtain commodities for consumption for the purpose of portraying wealth; the second (which is of particular relevance to this research) is conspicuous leisure, which pertained to the period of time that an individual devotes to leisure activities that grant them a higher social status (Veblen, 1899).

Veblen (1899) suggested that consumption (and the division of labour) were variants of societal behaviour and generally in accordance with one's social status. His theory proposed that "conspicuous abstention from labour therefore becomes the conventional mark of superior pecuniary achievement and the conventional index of reputability" (Veblen, 1994:25). Thus, individuals of higher social status were not only likely to consume specific commodities/activities to portray wealth but were also likely to devote relatively more time to leisure activities, when compared to those of lower social status.

Since Veblen's (1899) suggestion of leisure consumption being largely determined by one's social status, many modern theorists have investigated the determinants of leisure consumption (Scheetz *et al.*, 2014). Many investigations (which include amongst others, Abel, 1990; Constantinides, 1990; Campbell and Cochrane, 1999; Messinis, 1999; Carrasco *et al.* 2005) argued that leisure consumption is likely to be determined by the habitual nature of the individual. Individuals derive utility from consistency in consumption and therefore their consumption decisions are largely dependent on their past consumption choices. Other investigations (for example, Bernheim, 1994; Corneo and Jeanne, 1997; Hogg and Vaughan, 2002; Nir, 2004) argued that the individual consumption decisions are further embedded in their larger social contexts. This argument suggested that the consumption of leisure activities was dependent on other individuals' consumption decisions. As noted by Corneo and Jeanne (1997), consumption is socially embedded in the sense that often individuals avoid the consumption of popular commodities/activities as a means of differentiating their

consumption behaviour in order to gain higher social status. Thus, it is argued that social comparison plays a significant role as a determining factor of leisure consumption.

2.4 Sport as a form of leisure consumption

According to Best (2010), leisure consumption plays a fundamental role in the broader social system. Best (2010:32) argues that leisure consumption helps “to bridge the gap between the individual and the wider social system”. In terms of sport, Trail and James (2001:108) noted that “(s)port spectating also represents a predominant form of leisure behavior in contemporary society”. More specifically, Best (2010) argued that sport, as a form of leisure consumption, plays a significant role in the promotion of social integration. In order to promote social integration, it therefore becomes important to understand the determinants of sports consumption in order to promote and sustain the consumption of sport.

2.4.1 The determinants of sports consumption

As noted by Cunningham and Kwon (2003:127), “sport marketers have long sought to better understand the factors that influence people to attend sporting events”. According to Funk (2008), sports consumption can broadly be understood as the process in which consumers select, purchase, make use of, and dispose of sport-related commodities to satisfy their needs and derive a form of utility. This process is said to often (but not always) lead to the acquisition of a good or service (Economic Glossary, 2012). The focus of this study, and, therefore, the stance adopted in this review of literature, considers only instances where the good/service was actually acquired; where actual event attendance and not only ticket purchases are classified as consumption of the sport. This specification was included as ticket sales may not be a true reflection of the attendance and thus interviewing ticket purchasers may skew the data. For example, a company may block book tickets for their employees (under the assumption that each employee should be allocated a ticket to watch the game); however, only a fraction of those employees might choose to attend the game and as a result, interviewing the ticket purchaser or the ticket holders prior to the match would not be a true reflection of actual sport consumption. This review will thus focus solely on consumption behaviour theory pertaining to the demand for watching a sport (as opposed to ticket demand) as well as motives that govern the decisions individual consumers and groups of consumers make.

Understanding sports consumption has been sighted as seemingly complex in nature (Westbrook and Oliver, 1991), owing to the broad spectrum of factors that influence sports consumers' behaviour (Hansen and Gauthier, 1989; Simmons, 2006; Funk, 2008). In his study on the demand for spectator sports, Simmons (2006) noted that consumption behaviour of spectators at sporting events is largely influenced by the following determinants:

- the price of attending the event (including costs associated with traveling to the event),
- the real income of the spectators,
- the prices of substitute goods,
- the size of the market (which is usually proxied by the local population),
- the relative importance of the match in terms of competition outcomes, and
- uncertainty of outcome or competitive balance.

The identification of these factors is closely aligned to the work of Feehan (2006), who noted that understanding consumption behaviour is fundamental in understanding the demand-side of the market. Furthermore, he argued that the neoclassical theory of demand is the fundamental basis of analysis irrespective of the sport (Feehan, 2006). As such, the demand for sports attendance was specified as a function of the ticket price, income (included to determine whether sports attendance is a normal or inferior good), the prices of complements and substitute goods, and tastes/preferences for a team or a sport (Feehan, 2006). Pawlowski and Breuer (2011) later supported Simmons (2006) and Feehan (2006) but added that theoretically sports consumption is determined by *both* demand and supply-based opportunities.

Ticket pricing has been identified by a number of researchers (for example, Borland, 1987; Whitney, 1988; Simmons, 1996; Garcia and Rodriguez, 2002) as an important factor that determines the consumption behaviour of sport. According to Borland and MacDonald (2003), the majority of empirical findings show that there is a significant negative relationship between the ticket price and the demand for sport consumption. In investigating this relationship, Simmons (2006) argued that ticket pricing is indeed a major issue influencing demand that needs to be carefully managed. Simmons (2006) noted that if spectators are subject to higher ticket prices at 'big' games and lower ticket prices at less attractive games then spectators may be disinclined to attend either the big or less attractive games.

Simmons (2006:82) noted that attendance demand would be affected by the price of the ticket as well as the traveling costs associated with attending the event. Feehan (2006), however, argued that for an attendance demand function to be properly specified it is necessary to account for more than just the travel costs associated with match attendance. The direct and indirect travel costs should be taken into account (for example, the cost of fuel as well as the opportunity cost of time) and the costs of participation-related goods (such as refreshments or merchandise purchased at the event). Forest *et al.* (2002), however, noted that making comparisons in terms of ticket prices and demand is problematic as the majority of previous studies have failed to account for travel costs and, as such, previous estimations are considered biased. A closely related topic is price elasticity of demand. According to Fort (2000), inelastic ticket pricing for sporting events has been a recurring finding for almost thirty years. The motives underpinning this finding are a highly contested topic in sports economics debates. Feehan (2006) found that price-elasticity estimates may be biased downwards if capacity-constrained fixtures occur often. A capacity-constraint, he argued, will result in the observed demand curve lying within the effective demand curve and a relatively steeper observed demand curve will be prevalent (Feehan, 2006). In opposition to Forest *et al.*'s (2002) finding on biased estimations, Feehan (2006) highlighted an alternate view in which highly inelastic estimates of ticket price elasticity were argued to be unbiased. Marburger (1997) and Fort (2000) put forward this argument, stating that if a team's revenue function takes into account complementary sales and television revenue as opposed to just ticket revenue, then "optimising behaviour may correspond to a ticket price on the inelastic portion of demand" (Feehan, 2006:95). In a study of English football by Forest *et al.* (2002), ticket price elasticity estimates were found to be much closer to unity relative to previous estimates. This, they argued, is because of previous estimations corresponding to a time where complementary sales and television revenue were not important.

The second major determining factor of demand for sport, as identified by Simmons (2006) and Feehan (2006), is the income of the spectators. As noted by Feehan (2006), the inclusion of income in the function for demand is particularly relevant in determining whether a good is a normal or inferior good. Empirical evidence on the classification of sport as a normal or inferior good is not unanimous. Cairns (1990) investigated the nature of sports based on the findings of 14 different studies and concluded that there was evidence that basketball and Australian rules football were normal goods, while evidence suggested that hockey was an inferior good. The results pertaining to baseball and soccer in this study were mixed (Cairns, 1990). According to Eschenfelder and Li (2007), most sports activities are considered normal

goods, with the demand for sport increasing as income increases. They further noted that a study by Noll (1974) suggested that baseball is an inferior good (which partly contradicts the finding by Cairns (1990)) and a study by Walsh (1986) similarly suggests that hiking and backpacking are inferior goods. Owing to the lack of unanimity of empirical findings, it is therefore not surprising that “(i)nvestigators often cannot find any significant impact of income on attendance” (Cairns, 1990:10) and that many economists do not support the assertions of various sports as normal or inferior goods owing to the fact that “evidence is not clear-cut” (Siegfried and Eisenberg, 1980:41).

The third factor identified as a determinant of demand is the price of substitute and complementary goods. According to Buraimo (2006), televised sports may have either a complementary or substitute effect concerning match attendance. In some instances, fans have been found to prefer watching a televised version of a fixture, in which case television is seen as a substitute good for live attendance. Conversely, televising sport is seen as a complementary good to match attendance based on the argument that exposure on television is similar to that of advertising (Buraimo, 2006). Studies investigating the relationship between television and match attendance have been conducted for many sports, which include amongst others, college football (Kaempfer and Pacey, 1986; Fizel and Bennett, 1989), English soccer (Baimbridge *et al.*, 1996), and English rugby league (Carmichael *et al.*, 1999). Although the findings of the studies were not unanimous, what was a common finding for all the studies was that televised sport did not adversely affect match attendance (Buraimo, 2006).

Szymanski and Kuypers (1999) found that one of the factors that contributed to declining match attendance was the increasing availability of alternate forms of entertainment. This suggests that other forms of entertainment can be seen as a substitute for match attendance. Montgomery and Robinson (2008:14) found that “sports do compete with arts events for attendance shares”, which similarly suggests that other forms of entertainment could in fact be a substitute for sports consumption. Feehan (2006), however, argued that there is uncertainty in terms of what constitutes a ‘substitute good’ for live attendance. He stated that while other forms of entertainment and even other sports events in the locality may be classified as a substitute for match attendance, it may not necessarily always hold true. For example, match attendance will have no substitute goods if a devoted sports fan were to attend all the matches regardless of other attractions (Feehan, 2006). According to Simmons (2006), complementary goods for sports events include goods such as a match-day programme, betting opportunities,

entertainment provided before and during the event, catering at the event and the intangible products such as the atmosphere, fan solidarity and fan identity, which unify sports fans globally. Eschenfelder and Li (2007) noted that such complementary goods would be used in conjunction with match attendance and therefore have a positive demand relationship.

Feehan (2006) stated that market size has been found to be a major determinant of match attendance demand; a finding that he acknowledged is common to a range of sports. Feehan (2006) argued that a large market size is associated with high attendance levels when other factors are held constant. This is supported by Eschenfelder and Li (2007), who noted that the size of the market is an important economic factor that influences the demand for goods and services. Studies in a number of sports have investigated the relationship between the size of a market and match attendance and the findings appear unanimous. Examples of such studies include Malaysian Semi-Pro League Soccer (Wilson and Sim, 1995) and Major League Baseball (Schmidt and Berri, 2001). Both studies found that market size had a significant and positive effect on match attendance. These arguments, in conjunction with Simmon's (2006) argument on excess demand, suggest that sports consumption is dependant or at least to some degree influenced by the extent of access that consumers have to the sport. Furthermore, it could be suggested that further research should take into account the extent to which potential consumers would have access to or would be able (in terms of venue capacity) to consume the sport if they so wish.

The tastes or preferences of spectators are factors that have been identified to influence demand for sport. According to Eschenfelder and Li (2007), consumer tastes or preferences are subjective elements that influence the consumption behaviour of individuals. Individuals base their consumption decisions on internal aspects of their being (Rutenberg, 2003). Some of the factors that have been identified include personal preferences, social influence, habits, customs, and beliefs (Tamara, 2011). These factors are explored in more depth in Section 3.7.

Uncertainty of outcome is another major factor recognized to influence demand and has been identified as one of the most important tenets in analysing attendance demand for sport (Feehan, 2006). The general hypothesis that underpins this factor is that outcome uncertainty boosts attendance demand. According to Feehan (2006), there is little empirical evidence that supports this hypothesis. A literature study by Szymansky (2003) reviewed the effect of uncertainty of outcome on attendance demand for a wide range of sport. Of the 22 cases that were reviewed, ten suggested that outcome uncertainty had a positive impact on demand,

seven offered weak support for the relationship between outcome uncertainty and demand, while the remaining five cases found outcome uncertainty not to be an influencing factor on demand. From this, it was concluded that the effect of outcome uncertainty on demand is conflicting (Szymansky, 2003). A related study by Gerber and Terblanche (2012) considered the relationship between team success and spectator attendance (or demand) in the case of provincial rugby in South Africa. Their results revealed that there was a significant positive relationship between the games won and final log positions of a team and spectator attendance. It was concluded that team success was an influencing factor on attendance demand (Gerber and Terblanche, 2012).

Another determinant of consumption behaviour in general (and applicable in the case of sports consumption too) is the availability of resources, specifically, time. According to Sullivan and Katz-Gerro (2007), the resource of time that can be divided between working and leisure has become an accentuated scarce resource. Sullivan and Katz-Gerro (2007:9) argued that “(i)ndividuals with high levels of human, economic, and cultural capital have less time for leisure” but very interestingly found that despite their relative time constraint these individuals “still engage in a greater range of out-of-home leisure activities”. Thus, their study suggests that even though these individuals have less time at their disposal, time does not seem to be much of a constraining factor in terms of the variety of leisure activities these individuals choose to consume. Southerton (2003) proposed that a possible reason for this might be that individuals who are faced with relatively greater time constraints are more likely to compress, fragment and compartmentalize their time. This suggests that individuals with less time for leisure activities (including sport) are likely to allocate it in such a way that they are able to fragment their time to consume a wide range of leisure activities as opposed to concentrating their time on one or few leisure activities (Southerton, 2003).

There are a number of other determinants that have been suggested in empirical evidence, which could influence match attendance or the demand for sport. Szymanski and Kuypers (1999) suggested that low attendance figures (or demand) can be attributed to factors such as declining standards of play, declining excitement of the match, unsafe/dilapidated stadiums, the presence of hooliganism at the event and the increasing availability of alternate forms of entertainment (which supports the notion of other forms of entertainment as a substitute for sport, as discussed earlier). Simmons (2006), in turn, suggested factors that could be attributed to high attendance figures, which included a change in tastes towards a sport, the redevelopment of stadiums, more comfortable facilities, and an increase in complimentary

facilities such as restaurants, television screens, and shops. This, in conjunction with the factors proposed by Szymanski and Kuypers (1999), suggests that complements and substitutes (which both constitute other forms of entertainment) have a significant impact in influencing sports consumption.

According to Wakefield (1995), one of the most influential factors determining sports consumption is social influence. Wakefield (1995) argued that, due to their use of aggregate data, previous empirical studies often overlooked the impact that social factors play in influencing the consumption of sport. Choi *et al.* (2009:265) similarly argued that an individual's reference group has a "significant impact" on sports consumption decisions. Zheng (2014) agreed and noted that sports consumption is largely influenced by the specific social environment. Furthermore, Zheng (2014:378) argued that "sports consumption is not only defined as an economic behavior, but also a social behavior, so, it will unavoidably be affected by various non-economic factors in the social life of human beings". This therefore highlights the significant role that social influences play in determining sports consumption behaviour. As in the case of cultural and entertainment leisure activities, the idea that sport may similarly be bound up in social hierarchies has been empirically investigated through the application of the omnivore-univore theory in various sporting contexts and is an important area of future research.

2.5 Summary and conclusion

This chapter presented a review of some of the theoretical underpinnings of consumption behaviour. Since its inception, consumption theory has developed to account for the important social aspect that underpins or at least to some extent can be used to explain consumption behaviour. From the review of the theoretical framework, it is evident that modern consumption theory is anthropocentric in nature, with people and societal influence at the forefront of the theory. The chapter reviewed determining factors of leisure consumption and then considered the factors that affect the demand for sport as a form of leisure consumption. The determinants of sports consumption included ticket prices, costs associated with consumption, spectator income, price and availability of complements and substitutes, market size, tastes and preferences, uncertainty of outcome, availability of resources, and social influences.

CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW– EMPIRICAL STUDIES

3.1 Introduction

Theoretical understandings of consumption behaviour acknowledge social influence as a determinant of consumption behaviour (Veblen, 1899; Wakefield, 1995; Cornea and Jeanne, 1997 and Choi *et al.*, 2009). The idea of social comparison and thus social stratification in leisure consumption was initially investigated for the case of cultural activities (for example, Bourdieu, 1984; Wilensky, 1964; Peterson, 1992; Lamont, 1992) and has since developed to include the consumption of sport (for example, Miles and Sullivan, 2010; Lefvre and Ohl, 2011; Warde, 2006; Widdop and Cutts, 2013). The idea of social stratification of the consumption of culture (as a form of leisure consumption) was initially coined by Bourdieu (1984), and has developed into what is known today as the omnivore/univore theory. This chapter starts by presenting an overview of the omnivore/univore theory, where a review of the main arguments is provided. An empirical stance is then adopted.

To date a number of empirical consumer behaviour studies have been conducted in different contexts. Section 3.3 provides a review of cultural consumption behaviour studies, where the omnivore/univore theory was originally investigated. Section 3.4 provides a review of empirical work on the developments of the omnivore/univore theory since it first appeared in a binary form, while Section 3.5 looks at the developments of the omnivore/univore theory beyond the cultural context. Section 3.6 then expands on this and reviews empirical studies on the application of the omnivore/univore theory in sport. The focus of the chapter then shifts to considering the motives for attendance. Section 3.7 provides a brief overview of factors that have been identified as motives for attendance from empirical studies in both entertainment and sports consumption studies. A final section then summarises and concludes the chapter.

3.2 The omnivore/univore theory

Empirical work on consumption behaviour of different forms of culture has established a definite link between cultural consumption patterns and social stratification (Widdop, 2010). According to Chan and Goldthorpe (2007), the idea of linking cultural consumption to lifestyles dates back to 1964, where empirical research by Wilensky (1964) suggested that individuals from a high

educational background rarely had a strong aversion to culture that was associated with the masses. Wilensky (1964) further noted that highly educated individuals in fact often enjoyed 'mass' culture in at least some of its forms. This relationship, which in essence looked at the prevalence of an omnivore/univore classification in arts, was originally theorized in 1984 when Bourdieu (1984) proposed that social status could be used to understand the cultural consumption preferences. According to Peterson (2005), the theory suggested by Bourdieu (1984) was the first of its kind in that it proposed a theoretically grounded means of conceptualizing the relationship between consumers' tastes, status and social class. Bourdieu (1984) suggested that cultural consumption preferences could be classified according to 'high' and 'low' cultural forms. In order to appreciate 'high' cultural forms, he argued that it required one to have high cultural capital, which, *inter alia*, stems from an individual's upbringing, education and socio-economic background. Bourdieu (1984) noted that these 'high' cultural forms were more likely to be consumed by individuals from high income and high education backgrounds, who were considered to be of a high social class. At the opposite end of the spectrum, 'low' cultural forms, which were referred to as mass or popular culture, were cultural forms that were more likely to be consumed by individuals from lower income and lower education backgrounds and were thus perceived as being of a lower social class. As such, Bourdieu (1984) argued that the appreciation of cultural forms was an indicator of social class and owing to the fact that appreciation of 'high' cultural forms required an individual to have high cultural capital; the "masses" who failed to possess such high cultural capital were essentially excluded from the consumption thereof. Finally, Bourdieu (1984) noted that cultural appreciation, which was essentially indicative of cultural capital, provided a means of judgment of social superiority.

Peterson (1992) contested Bourdieu's (1984) hypothesis that individuals from high income and educational backgrounds would more likely consume 'high' culture forms and individuals from lower income and educational backgrounds would more likely consume 'low' cultural forms. Peterson (1992) investigated patterns of musical preferences and social status in the U.S. The investigation revealed that while elements of Bourdieu's (1984) argument did hold true, his hypothesis did not hold in its entirety. Peterson (1992) argued that while 'high' cultural forms (which in the case of music were classified as the classical and opera genres) were more likely to be preferred by individuals from high income and high education groups, such patrons had also highlighted a preference for a wide range of popular/non-elite musical forms (for example, folk, jazz and rock genres). Peterson's (1992) thinking in this regard was therefore in line with what Wilensky (1964) had originally suggested. Furthermore, Peterson

(1992) noted that individuals from lower education and lower income groups were conversely generally found to appreciate only one genre of music (which was indicative of narrower cultural preferences). As a concluding remark, Peterson (1992) suggested that the notion of social superiority or the existence of the taste-exclusive stratification was no longer applicable in explaining cultural consumption and social status. Instead, he proposed that the classification of patrons' tastes in terms of omnivorousness was a more suitable indicator of social status. This finding was in line with the findings of Lamont (1992).

Consistent with Peterson (1992), Lamont (1992) also contested Bourdieu's (1984) hypothesis. Lamont (1992) considered whether the relationship between social status and tastes was the same across geographical boundaries; essentially questioning Bourdieu's (1984) claim that high-brow patterns of taste were directly attributed to social class and therefore should be the same in all advanced capitalist societies. Lamont (1992) focused on Paris (the same focus area as Bourdieu (1984) originally considered), New York, as well as regional cities in France and the U.S respectively. Lamont (1992) found that high-brow snobbery was evident in all four of the cities but was only found to be a predominant pattern in Paris. This therefore brought to light the fact that high-brow tastes were not the same in all advanced capitalist societies as Bourdieu (1984) had suggested.

The contested hypothesis and differences in empirical findings suggested that there is a need for further empirical investigations. This was supported by Scheetz *et al.* (2014:5) who noted that "while many economists have highlighted the role of social comparison in consumer behavior, little work has been done to empirically test this idea."

3.3 Empirical studies investigating the omnivore/univore theory

Since Peterson (1992) and Lamont (1992) contested Bourdieu's (1984) hypothesis, a wide array of studies have considered the application of the univore/omnivore theory in various contexts. In a review by Peterson (2005), he noted that writers had extensively considered the notion of highbrow snob and omnivory since 1992 when Bourdieu's (1984) theory was first contested. Such studies have been conducted in a range of different countries, in Europe, North America and Australia.

Peterson and Kern (1996) and Rossman and Peterson (2005) considered the extent to which omnivorousness had changed over a ten year period. Peterson and Kern (1996) compared the findings of a national survey from 1982 to 1992, while Rossman and Peterson (2005) considered the same, for ten successive years thereafter. The findings of the two studies were consistent, where an increase in the prevalence of omnivorousness in high-status individuals was found for both of the decades that were investigated (Peterson and Kern, 1996; Rossman and Peterson, 2005). Both studies suggested that this finding was attributed to high-status individuals becoming more omnivorous over time and younger, high-status cohorts, whose tastes were more omnivorously inclined, were replacing older cohorts whose tastes were more snobbishly inclined (Peterson and Kern, 1996).

Since 1996, the focus of such studies has shifted to considering what the prevalence of omnivory and univory has implied for social tolerance. In a study by Bryson (1996), which looked at musical tastes, a strong positive relationship between omnivorousness and social tolerance was found. Similarly, Tampubolon (2008) found that univores were more likely to consume one or only a select few cultural genres, which suggested that they had tendencies to exclude other social groups. Omnivores, on the other hand, had relatively more socially inclusive tendencies and were therefore argued to be relatively more socially tolerant when compared to univores. Coulangeon (2005) supported these findings in suggesting that people from high status groups are likely to have relatively more diverse social ties and as a result thereof are likely to be relatively more eclectic than people from a lower social status. Van Eijck and Leivens (2008) proposed a development of these studies and considered the possible reasons underpinning the relationship between social tolerance and omnivore/univore status. They argued that while omnivores were more likely to be socially tolerant than univores (which supported the previous empirical studies), the reason for univores being relatively less socially tolerant was more to do with the fact that, owing to their exclusive cultural tastes, these individuals felt socially isolated. The study also noted that the extent of social tolerance depended on how the individuals chose to combine different cultural genres. Their argument proposed that unlike univores who felt socially isolated, omnivores were orientated towards the welfare of others and as such would not feel socially isolated. Van Eijck and Leivens (2008) further proposed the notion of 'high-brow dominance'. 'High-brow dominance' referred to the idea that while a high-brow univore would be an individual who is likely associated with a closed and therefore isolated attitude, individuals who were more likely to consume high-brow cultural forms were more likely to be omnivores. From this

finding, they concluded that there was a positive relationship between high-brow tastes and social inclusion.

In relation to the omnivore/univore theory, if high-brow tastes do require a high degree of cultural capital as proposed by Bourdieu (1984) (which is, in turn, associated with an exclusive taste group and therefore social isolation), then Van Eijck and Leivens' (2008) study similarly contested Bourdieu's (1984) theory. The findings are, however, in line with the proposition by Peterson (1992) in that although 'high' cultural forms were generally more likely to be appreciated by high social status individuals; these high status individuals were also found to appreciate a wide array of cultural forms (including non-elite cultural forms), which in turn was associated with social inclusion (Bryson, 1996; Van Eijck and Leivens, 2008).

3.4 Developments of the omnivore/univore theory: Binary to multi-dimensional form

As noted by Antrobus and Snowball (2010), there have been a number of developments on the omnivore/univore theory since it first originated in its binary form. Such studies (Alderson *et al.*, 2007; Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007; Snowball *et al.*, 2009; Antrobus and Snowball, 2010) have suggested different sub-classifications of omnivores/univores to account for the variations of consumption within an omnivore/univore status.

The derivation of the sub-classifications throughout all the studies was dependent on the consumption decisions of attendees of the various cultural forms. Although all the studies essentially investigated the consumption behaviour of the same core product (cultural forms), the sub-classifications that were derived differed according to their respective contexts and the different consumption patterns that emerged.

A study that was largely in line with the general omnivore/univore theory was conducted by Chan and Goldthorpe (2007). The study looked at applying latent class models to musical consumption in an attempt to identify different types of music consumers. Chan and Goldthorpe (2007), however, chose to derive a sub-category of the traditional omnivore classification to account for different forms of cultural consumption (listening to music and attending musical events respectively). Thus, they made use of the traditional univore classification but differentiated between true omnivores and omnivore-listeners. Alderson *et al.* (2007) similarly identified three different classifications of cultural consumers. For this

study, individuals were either classified as ‘omnivores’, ‘paucivores’ or ‘inactives’. The classification of omnivores was largely in line with the traditional classification thereof, where individuals who had a high probability of consuming a wide range of cultural products (including both ‘high’ and ‘low’ cultural forms) received this status. Paucivores was a unique classification that Alderson *et al.* (2007) identified. These individuals had neither radically eclectic tastes nor particular tastes, and therefore were deemed to have intermediate levels of cultural consumption. Given this definition, this classification can therefore be argued to fall between the traditional understanding of an omnivore and univore. While paucivores were seen to consume a wide array of cultural products, Alderson *et al.* (2007) noted that their consumption patterns suggested a bias towards popular culture. The final classification of cultural consumers was the ‘inactives’. These individuals had a relatively low probability of consuming any of the cultural products that were incorporated in the study. Similar to both Chan and Goldthorpe (2007) and Alderson *et al.* (2007), Snowball *et al.* (2009) and Antrobus and Snowball (2010) derived different categories to classify the consumption patterns of the cultural consumers. Both studies chose to focus on the consumption behaviour of the attendees of live theatre performances at the Grahamstown National Arts Festival. Despite analysing consumption behaviour at the same Arts Festival, the sub-classifications differed. This suggested that consumption classifications could be unique to the consumers that are under investigation and therefore suggests that research undertaken should consider the derivation of sub-classifications based on the consumption patterns that emerge for a specific group of consumers in a given context.

As Chan and Goldthorpe (2007) had done, Snowball *et al.* (2009) chose to make use of the traditional understanding of the univore classification, and similarly chose to differentiate between different types of omnivores. Three types of omnivores were identified. The first category of omnivores was referred to as the ‘modern omnivores’. This category was comprised of attendees who chose to consume one of the following forms of entertainment – Comedy, Movies or Popular Music. The second category was that of ‘traditional omnivores’, where attendees chose to consume more than two of the following forms of entertainment – Classical Music, Art, Dance or Musicals. The final category was ‘cultural omnivores’, which comprised of individuals that consumed any four or more types of the live theatre performances that were offered at the National Arts Festival. Univores, on the other hand, were attendees that either chose to consume only one kind of live theatre show at the Festival or they were attendees that chose to consume only two types of entertainment from the

traditional category. From a review of these sub-classifications, it becomes evident that the *type* of product being consumed is important in the derivation of sub-classifications.

Antrobus and Snowball (2010) adopted a relatively broader stance and considered the general consumption behaviour of the Arts Festival as an event (as opposed to Snowball *et al.*'s (2009) stance of looking at consumption within the Arts Festival). The study focused on whether festivals facilitated and promoted omnivorous cultural consumption. More particularly, it considered whether the festival would promote and facilitate omnivorous cultural consumption behaviour amongst consumers who would otherwise be classified as univores. Antrobus and Snowball (2010) investigated the possibility of deriving a new classification of cultural consumers, this being the 'festivores'. Antrobus and Snowball (2010:338) defined the festivoire as being a "festival patron who consumes the festival as a total event, which includes various art and theatre forms and cultural goods". From the identification of a further sub-classification, the focus of the research (for example on an entire event or consumption patterns within an event) similarly plays an important role in the development of sub-classifications of consumption behaviour patterns.

The derivation of the sub-classifications of omnivores/univores suggests that since the omnivore/univore theory was first proposed, the application thereof has developed from its original binary form to a multi-dimensional form. Although the nature of the studies was different, their results bore similarities both to the traditional/binary omnivore/univore theories (Bourdieu, 1984; Peterson, 1992) and to each other.

In terms of the general findings, Alderson *et al.* (2007), Snowball *et al.* (2009), Antrobus and Snowball (2010) and Chan and Goldthorpe (2007) were all in support of Peterson's (1992) view of the omnivore/univore status and therefore similarly contested Bourdieu's (1984) original proposition. Alderson *et al.* (2007) suggested that high status individuals were more likely to be classified as 'paucivores' than 'inactives'. High status individuals were also more likely to be classified as 'omnivores' than 'paucivores'. Therefore, both findings were consistent with Peterson (1992) in that higher status individuals were found to consume a wide array of cultural forms. Snowball *et al.* (2009) found that the attendees of the Festival were representative of the relatively higher income and higher education groups in South Africa and, as such, the results were consistent with Alderson *et al.* (2007) and similarly in line with the thesis proposed by Peterson (1992). According to Chan and Goldthorpe (2007), relatively higher status individuals were more likely to be true omnivores than univores. High

status individuals were also more likely to be classified as a true omnivore than an omnivore-listener. This finding similarly supports Peterson's (1992) understanding of omnivorous traits in that individuals from high status backgrounds tend to prefer a wide variety of cultural products. While the findings of Antrobus and Snowball (2010) were generally in line with Peterson (1992), elements of Bourdieu's (1984) original proposition were evident. Generally, Antrobus and Snowball (2010) found that omnivores were predominantly from upper socio-economic backgrounds and were from a relatively higher educational background. This finding was in accordance with the finding of Peterson (1992) in that higher-status individuals preferred a wide array of cultural products. According to Antrobus and Snowball (2010), the findings of the study were, in turn, generally similar to that of Snowball *et al.* (2009) in that there was no evidence of the Bourdieu-like 'high' cultural consumption patterns. Antrobus and Snowball (2010), however, found that physical theatre and ballet (which are often classed as 'avant garde' and 'elitist' cultural forms respectively) were predominantly consumed by omnivores. Therefore, if omnivores were of high socio-economic and high education backgrounds (as the findings suggest), then the consumption of ballet and physical theatre by omnivores is essentially in line with what was originally proposed by Bourdieu (1984).

While the reviewed empirical studies mostly agreed on their general findings, differences in findings pertaining to demographic variables were evident between the studies. In terms of gender, Antrobus and Snowball (2010) found that generally, women were more likely to be classified as omnivores than men were. This finding was in line with that of Snowball *et al.* (2009). More particularly, Snowball *et al.* (2009) noted that there were distinct differences in the preferences of women and men. While men were found to prefer pop music, comedy and (to a lesser extent) classical music, women showed a preference for fine art, dance and movies. Chan and Goldthorpe (2007), on the other hand, found that women were more likely than men to be classified as univores; a finding that contradicts those of both Snowball *et al.* (2009) and Antrobus and Snowball (2010). In comparison to men, women were less likely to be classified as omnivore-listeners than true-omnivores (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007). Collins (1992) put forward an interesting proposition as a possible explanation for why women were found to be more likely to be classified as univores than men. Collins (1992) suggested that men are often over-represented in the dominant class positions, while women often occupy the less favourable position in the hierarchy of social class. As such, Collins (1992) argued that women might consume relatively more 'high' culture products than men to gain respect.

Age was the other demographic variable in which inconsistencies between the reviewed studies were found. The findings on age of Snowball *et al.* (2009) were consistent with those of Tampubolon (2008), as well as Peterson and Kern (1996) and Rossman and Peterson (2005). The results revealed that there was a significant difference between the attendees classified as ‘traditional omnivores’ and ‘modern omnivores’ in terms of their age. Snowball *et al.* (2009) suggested that the likelihood of being classified as a ‘modern omnivore’ was higher for younger Festival attendees, while the likelihood of receiving a ‘traditional omnivore’ classification was higher for relatively higher age differentials. This finding was consistent with the findings of both Peterson and Kern (1996) and Rossman and Peterson (2005), where younger, high status cohorts, whose tastes were more omnivorously inclined, were replacing older cohorts whose tastes were more snobbishly inclined. Both Antrobus and Snowball (2010) and Chan and Goldthorpe (2007) opposed this finding, but in turn disagreed on the role that age plays in the omnivore/univore classification. Chan and Goldthorpe (2007) found that younger people were more likely to be univores than older people and similarly older people were found more likely to be classified as true omnivores than omnivore-listeners. Antrobus and Snowball (2010), however, found that Festival omnivores were of a wide variety of age groups. This finding was inconsistent with the argument of other writers (for example, Peterson and Kern, 1996; Rossman and Peterson, 2005; Snowball *et al.*, 2009). Antrobus and Snowball (2010) put forward that age was not a determining factor in the omnivore/univore classification.

3.5 Developments of the omnivore/univore theory beyond the cultural context

While the studies that have been reviewed thus far have all considered different types of *cultural* consumption behaviour, developments of the omnivore/univore hypothesis extend to other forms of entertainment as well. Chan and Goldthorpe (2005), for example, considered the omnivore/univore hypothesis in application to the entertainment industry. Their study focused on consumption behaviour of dance, theatre and cinema attendance. The study investigated whether individuals who attended these types of entertainment could similarly be classified as omnivores and univores and whether the classification of consumers could be socially stratified. Suominen (2007) also considered the application of the omnivore/univore theory across different mediums of entertainment, but focused on whether spectators of performing arts and spectators of movies were the same in terms of their consumption behaviour. Suominen (2007) specified ballet, dance performance and opera as ‘high-brow’ goods while movies were specified as ‘low-brow’ goods.

Although the studies were very similar in nature, the findings of these two studies not only revealed differences to each other but definite comparative grounds between consumption patterns of patrons of other forms of entertainment and patrons of cultural forms became evident. Chan and Goldthorpe (2005) found that with some qualification, attendees of dance, theatre and cinema (as alternate forms of entertainment) could be classified as either omnivores or univores. The results also revealed that omnivores were predominantly of a relatively higher social status than univores. This therefore suggested support for Peterson's (1992) omnivore/univore hypothesis in that high status individuals were also found to consume a wide range of entertainment products (or displayed a broad taste spectrum). Omnivores were found to be from relatively higher income and educational backgrounds than univores. Suominen (2007) disagreed with the finding on income and rather argued that income was not found to explain consumption decisions. In terms of education, Chan and Goldthorpe's (2005) finding was again contested by Suominen (2007), who found that while education did significantly explain differences in consumption behaviour, higher educated individuals showed a greater probability of consuming performing arts (which in this study was used as a proxy for high-brow culture). In this regard, the Suominen's (2007) findings on education were consistent with what was originally proposed by Bourdieu (1984), in that those belonging to the dominant or bourgeoisie classes (to which higher levels of education were associated) affirm their higher social status by consuming and appreciating high-brow or legitimate cultural forms. In terms of the other demographic determinants, Suominen (2007) found that females were more likely to be classified as omnivores, as they consumed a wide array of both high-brow and low-brow cultural goods. This finding is in line with Snowball *et al.* (2009) and Antrobus and Snowball (2010). Although they differed in their findings, both studies concluded that consumption behaviour of the entertainment forms in question could indeed be socially stratified (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2005; Suominen, 2007).

As noted by Widdop (2010) and as is evident from this review, empirical evidence to date suggests that consumption behaviour of leisure activities (culture and entertainment) is still largely bound up by social hierarchies. Widdop (2010) further highlighted that empirical investigations on consumption behaviour to date had been encumbered with investigations in the fields of art and music, which he noted have often come to the detriment of other cultural forms, especially sport. To date very little empirical work has been done on the application of the omnivore/univore theory to sport. Warde (2006:108) further stated that sport is a domain of extensive ramifications for a country's economy, society and culture and "is often treated

as a rather trivial topic, and thought to be far less important in understanding the relationship between economy, society and culture than many minority arts and leisure activities”. Owing to these and other ramifications (as were highlighted in Section 1.1), and the fact that “theoretically sport consumption remains at large underdeveloped” (Widdop, 2010:2), there exists a need to further research and develop the application of consumption behaviour theory to the sport context. The next section of this review considers sport as a form of leisure consumption, and reviews the determinants of sports consumption as well as existing empirical evidence on the application of the omnivore/univore theory in sport to date.

3.6 Empirical studies investigating the omnivore/univore theory in sport

Widdop and Cutts (2013) investigated whether consumption of sport is related to social status in England. The study aimed to investigate Bourdieu’s (1984) theory of consumption behaviour being an indicator of social status. The focus was specifically on individuals’ actual participation in different sporting codes as opposed to focusing on self-reported tastes/preferences for different sporting codes. Although participation in sport is acknowledged as a different form of consumption (from the consumption forms that are of interest for this study - match attendance and television viewing), it is argued that there is a positive relationship between sports participation and sports consumption (for example, White and Wilson, 1999; Wilson, 2002; Thrane, 2001; Mehus, 2005). Furthermore, according to Karg and McDonald (2011:327), “sport involvement complements traditional sports consumption”. Given this line of argument, literature considering the omnivore/univore theory for sports participation will also be reviewed.

According to Widdop and Cutts (2013), cultural studies have stressed the importance of distinguishing between ‘mass/popular’ and ‘high/elite’ cultural forms. As such, their study included a wide range of sport that would cut across these existing perceived symbolic boundaries. The study included 29 different sporting codes thought to be representative of sports that were more likely to be associated with the masses (for example soccer) as well as sports that were more likely to be associated with exclusivity (for example water, racket and adventure sports). A number of demographic variables were included in estimating patterns of consumption behaviour. These included age, gender, ethnicity, education, and marital status. The study made use of a Multiple Indicator Multiple Cause (MIMC) model and a Latent Class analysis; and through the estimated regressions was successfully able to classify sports consumers into five different categories. The first consumption category was termed ‘classic

omnivores' and referred to individuals whose consumption behaviour cut across the perceived symbolic hierarchies of sport between exclusive/high-brow and popular sporting codes. More specifically, 'classic omnivores' were those individuals who had a high propensity of participating in all types of sport (or displayed a wide range of sport consumption). The second classification was termed the 'fitness class' and represented individuals who were more likely to participate in swimming, cycling, general fitness and adventure and water sports. They similarly were found to distance themselves from male dominated sports such as soccer, cricket and golf. The third classification was termed 'low-brow omnivores'. According to Widdop and Cutts (2013), this group was similar to the 'fitness class' in that they displayed similar omnivorous consumption patterns (in that both classifications displayed a moderate probability of participation in both popular and exclusive sporting codes). The major difference between the 'fitness class' and 'low-brow omnivores', however, was that unlike the former, the latter did participate in the male dominated sports. As noted by Widdop and Cutts (2013:118), individuals classified as low-brow omnivores "did not readily consume exclusive sports that are perhaps indicators of privileged lifestyles". The fourth classification was termed 'high-brow' and as the name suggests, these were individuals who chose to part-take in high-brow sports to the exclusion of popular or mass sports. These consumed the high-brow or exclusive sporting activities such as golf, racket sports, adventure sports and water sports. Widdop and Cutts (2013) noted that these individuals were similar to the 'high-brow snobs' as identified by Peterson and Kern (1996) in the cultural context. The final classification was referred to as the 'nonparticipants'. These individuals had a very low probability of participating in any form of sporting activities (regardless of the nature of the sport). While these individuals may have consumed sport in the form of watching sport on television or attending sporting events as a spectator, Widdop and Cutts (2013) chose to narrow the focus to individuals who physically participated in a sport.

Widdop and Cutts (2013) found that the 'classic omnivore' group, which represented 9% of the overall sample, was predominantly composed of individuals from higher social strata and higher educational background. This supports Peterson's (1992) view of omnivores in acknowledging that consumers from high social strata are likely to consume a wide range of (in his case cultural) goods. Individuals in the 'classic omnivore' group were found to be predominantly White males and generally fell between the ages of 25 and 44. The 'fitness class' group, which represented 27% of the overall sample, was found to be of a mixed social class and education background. This classification bares similarities to what Alderson *et al.* (2007) identified as 'paucivores' in the cultural context. These sports consumers were

similarly individuals who had neither radically eclectic tastes nor particular tastes, and were similarly deemed to have intermediate levels of sports consumption (Alderson *et al.*, 2007). The ‘fitness class’ group was representative of individuals from higher and lower social classes and educational backgrounds. This group posed a number of similarities to the ‘classic omnivore’, but a significant difference in the gender explanatory variable was evident. The likelihood of being classified under the ‘fitness class’ was significantly higher for women than for men. Owing to the fact that ‘fitness class’ was comprised of consumption of quite a broad range of sport, this finding is in line with Snowball *et al.*, (2009) and Antrobus and Snowball (2010) where women are more likely to be classified as omnivores (in their case represented by a broader taste spectrum than men).

In terms of the ‘high-brow’ group, which represented 13% of the sample, Widdop and Cutts (2013) found that this group comprised of individuals from high and medium social strata and displayed a broad range of educational backgrounds. Widdop and Cutts (2013) noted that similar to the ‘classic omnivore’ group, the ‘high-brow’ group was predominantly made up of White males but these two groups were found to be significantly different in that the individuals from older cohorts were more likely to be classified as ‘high-brows’ than individuals from younger cohorts. This finding is consistent with the findings of Peterson and Kern (1996), where older cohorts are more likely to display snobbish taste preferences. The fourth classification, ‘low-brow omnivores’, represented 13% of the total sample. The ‘low-brow omnivores’ were found to be from lower social strata as well as from lower educational backgrounds and predominantly fell between the ages of 16 and 24. This finding is similarly argued to be in line with Peterson and Kern (1996), in that younger cohorts are more likely to display omnivorous taste preferences than are older cohorts. The remaining 41% of the sample were classified as non-participants and were found to generally be older women from lower educational backgrounds and lower social strata. In conclusion, Widdop and Cutts (2013:107) noted “the findings largely corroborate research in other cultural and leisure fields” both in terms of the similarity between sporting and cultural lifestyle types and in terms of the different classifications’ socio-economic compositions.

Lefevre and Ohl (2011) investigated whether omnivory was prevalent in upper social groups evident in their disagreement of choice with regard to their consumption of physical and sporting activities in France in 2000. The study was primarily concerned with the extent to which sporting fields and social positions were related. The upper social class was the focus group of the study where the upper social class included “managing directors of industry and

business, executives, intellectuals and those in similar professions” (Lefevre and Ohl, 2011:47). The study focused on participants of sport between the ages of 15 and 75 and comprised of 6526 participants. The results showed that 90% of the sporting activities identified by participants were sports that they both participated in and liked. They argued that participation in sport provided an apt proxy for tastes (Lefevre and Ohl, 2011). The study initially made use of 279 different sporting and physical activity codes, but later filtered out any sport that did not represent the participation of at least 30 upper class individuals. The study then focused on the remaining 70 sporting codes, which were argued to be representative of the upper class sports consumption. The results showed that of these 70 sporting codes, 14 of them appeared to be socially discriminating. According to Lefevre and Ohl (2011:48), “the social ranking of sports is generally not very marked”. They further found that activities that dominate are generally widely diffused between the social groups that participate in them, and that the most distinct differences in terms of sports consumption appear to be in terms of age and gender. Univory was found to increase with age (a finding that was supported by Peterson and Kern (1996) and Rossman and Peterson (2005) in the cultural context) and was found to be more prevalent in women than in men (in contrast to the findings of Snowball *et al.*, 2009, Antrobus and Snowball, 2010 and Widdop and Cutts, 2013). As noted by Lefevre and Ohl (2011:48), their study suggested that “distinction is not dominant among the upper class usages of sport and that the relation of homology between social positions and fields seems to be too simple to understand the complexity of usages of a mass culture such as sport”. They further noted that “in a society in which information, styles, fashion and trends circulate faster than previously; homology is not the dominant characteristic of the relation between the sporting field and social positions” (Lefevre and Ohl, 2011:48).

In order to make inferences about the sample in terms of their omnivory, and in recognising the diversity of the forms of sports consumption, the study considered the extent to which individuals’ consumption behaviour of sport was marked by multi-activity. Lefevre and Ohl (2011) identified three different classifications of sports consumption, where individuals were differentiated in accordance with the number of sporting activities they chose to partake in. Individuals were termed ‘univores’ if they participated in one sporting activity to the exclusion of others. Individuals were similarly classified to be of low omnivory if they participated in two or three sporting activities, while participation in four or more sporting activities meant that individuals were ‘high omnivores’. Lefevre and Ohl (2011) found that 83% of the sampled individuals participated in at least one sport (while the remaining 17%

did not participate in any sport). The results revealed that, on average, 2.96 sporting activities were consumed per individual, therefore indicating a clear presence of omnivory in the sample. Of the sampled sports participants, 28% were classified as univores, 41% were classified as 'low omnivores' while the remainder of the sample were classified as 'high omnivores'. In terms of different social levels, the results suggested that there was no statistically significant difference in terms of low omnivory. However, there were differences in social class when univores and high omnivores were compared. Univores were predominantly from the lower social classes, while the relatively higher social status individuals were predominantly classified as high omnivores. This finding therefore supports the proposal by Peterson (1992) in that high status individuals are likely to consume a wide range of (in this case sports) commodities and people of lower social status are conversely likely to be of a narrower taste spectrum. With statistically significant differences only found between the extreme opposite sides of the taste spectrum, this suggests that it may be valuable for further research to consider fewer sub-classifications of an omnivore and univore respectively (for example, not having different degrees of omnivory/univory).

Warde (2006) conducted a similar study to Lefevre and Ohl (2011), in which the relative importance of different social characteristics in predicting individuals' sports participation was investigated. One significant difference between the two studies was that Warde (2006) considered consumption both in the form of participating in sport and in the form of sports spectatorship. Initially, the study investigated the time-use surveys in Britain to obtain a general overview of reported sports participation. Warde (2006) suggested that sports participation differed significantly in terms of gender, age, occupational class and educational background. On average, men were found to participate in more sporting activities than women. Warde (2006:115) further noted that women who are of higher working classes are more likely to participate in sporting activities than women of lower working classes; suggesting a "significant interactive effect between gender and class". As would be expected, sports participation decreased monotonically with age. The survey results also suggested that higher levels of education were predominantly associated with higher levels of sports participation. In terms of class, the findings showed that the higher the class, the greater the participation in sports. In comparison to other empirical results, the findings on education and class are both in line with those of, amongst others, Peterson (1992) in the cultural context, and Lefevre and Ohl (2011) in the sporting context. Warde (2006) further investigated the relationship between the choice of sport and social status by considering the nature (or general classification) of sports that individuals reported to partake in. Warde (2006) acknowledged

that owing to the large number of sports that individuals reported as participating in, and the relatively limited sample size, complex statistical analyses on consumers' preferences for all sports was not possible. As such, Warde (2006) chose to do frequency and cross-tabulation analyses of class, gender, education, age and ethnicity on preferences for the more popular sporting activities. It was found that individuals of professional and managerial classes were not only more likely to participate in sport but were also more likely to participate in a wider range of sporting codes.

The findings also suggested that while some sporting activities did reveal a class bias, sporting activities such as soccer, walking, jogging and general fitness, were found to be in no way correlated to a specific class. Conversely, sports activities such as dancing and bowls were more likely to be preferred by relatively lower class individuals, while cycling and squash were more likely to be preferred by the middle class, and upper class individuals predominantly preferred golf. Furthermore, sailing, cricket and basketball were sports that were less frequently reported to be participated in by lower working classes. Unlike the level of participation (as reviewed earlier), the type of sporting code was not influenced by the level of education. On the other hand, choice of sport significantly differed between ethnic groups. Warde (2006) found that all race groups other than 'White' were less likely to participate in golf and walking, but more likely to participate in cricket. Overall, gender was argued to be the "most powerful discriminating variable" (Warde, 2006:115). Men were not only found to be more likely to participate in sport, they also participated in a wider range of sporting activities than women. If omnivory is defined in terms of the breadth of consumption, this finding was in line with the findings of Lefevre and Ohl (2011) in the sporting context and similarly in contrast to the findings of Snowball *et al.* (2009) and Antrobus and Snowball (2010) in the cultural context. Warde (2006) concluded that in terms of participation in sport there are some distinctions between class' choice of sports consumption, particularly evident between individuals at the top and bottom of the class hierarchy in terms of their occupation. Therefore, Warde (2006:115) noted, "there are thus some elements which would support a Bourdieusian analysis of the role of cultural capital in sport". Furthermore, Warde (2006) found that younger individuals and individuals from higher class and higher educational backgrounds were more likely to participate in sport. According to Warde (2006), this finding is somewhat concerning in that, if sport is a means in which individuals are able to maintain their health and well-being, then the sports industry can be cultivating significant social inequalities (Warde, 2006).

In terms of sports spectatorship, Warde (2006) noted that social meaning can be obtained through investigating consumption behaviour, both in the form of live attendance and in the form of broadcast sports coverage. Warde (2006) considered which sport would be most popular as a spectator sport. The results indicated that soccer was the most popular spectator sport, with tennis nominated as the next most popular. Snooker, rugby union and Formula 1 racing were the next highest ranked spectator sports respectively. In terms of social characteristics, education, gender and class were determining factors of sports spectatorship (although more particularly in terms of specific sports as opposed to an overarching conclusion). Education did not seem to be a determining factor of soccer spectatorship; however, lower levels of education were more likely to be associated with the consumption of motor sport and snooker, while individuals with relatively higher levels of education were more likely to be spectators of rugby union and tennis. Gender was a very important determining factor of sports consumption. Of the sample, 24% of men indicated that sport is their favourite television genre while only 2% of women felt the same way. Conversely, 26% of women reported sport as their least favourite television genre compared to only 6% of men. These findings collectively suggested that there is indeed a strong gender bias in sports consumption, both in the form of spectatorship and in the form of participation (as reviewed earlier).

In terms of class, Warde (2006:119) found that “older unqualified working-class men particularly like snooker, boxing and wrestling, while large employers and senior managers are five times more likely than semi-routine manual workers to like watching golf most.” Although Warde (2006) did not put forward any further comments on this finding; if it is considered in conjunction with the classification of sports by Widdop (2010) and Widdop and Cutts (2013) (where golf was classified as an exclusive sport); it could be argued that this finding supports the notion that individuals from a relatively higher occupational class hierarchy are more likely to consume exclusive sport. This, in turn, is similar to Widdop and Cutts’ (2013) classification of ‘high-brow’ sports consumers, Peterson and Kern’s (1996) classification of ‘high-brow snob’ cultural consumers and in line with Bourdieu’s (1984) hypothesis that the elite usually defined themselves in relation to an exclusive set of cultural tastes and practices. From this finding, it could conversely be suggested that individuals from lower educational and occupational class hierarchy are more likely to consume sports that are associated with the masses (which could also be compared to Widdop and Cutts’ (2013) classification of ‘low-brow omnivores’ who were found to be from lower social strata and lower educational backgrounds).

Warde (2006:119) argued, “there are certainly some hints that different sports carry connotations of social position, limitedly in relation to spectating, a little more in relation to participation”. Warde (2006) further noted that a particularly pertinent finding was that sport creates greater divides between men and women; a finding that he argues requires greater appreciation than initially given by Bourdieu (1984). Sports consumption, both in the form of participation and spectatorship, indicated a strong gender bias. Warde (2006:120) argued that with women consuming a relatively narrow spectrum of sporting activities, their consumption behaviours suggested “some degree of exclusion”. If this finding is looked at in terms of univory (when defined in terms of a narrow taste spectrum), it could imply that women in this case are more likely to display univorous sports consumption tendencies. This finding would then be in line with the previous sports consumption studies reviewed thus far and inconsistent with the gender findings in the cultural context as highlighted by Snowball *et al.* (2009) and Antrobus and Snowball (2010).

Miles and Sullivan (2010) adopted a broader perspective and investigated the relationship between taste and value in culture and sport. While this study looked at sport and cultural activities as a whole, it still proved a very useful study to review in terms of integration of tastes across sports and culture. The study made use of both an analysis of the Taking Part survey (which contained data on participation in sport, leisure and cultural activities in England) and a multiple-correspondence analysis (a method that had previously been used to analyse cultural participation and age). The results of the study were largely in line with other empirical analysts. As was found by Warde (2006), Miles and Sullivan (2010) noted that high levels of education were predominantly associated with participation in the activities, while lower levels of education were more likely to be associated with inactivity. The study also found that relatively higher age groups were more likely to be associated with ‘high-brow’ pursuits; a finding that confirmed those of Peterson and Kern (1996) in the cultural context and Widdop and Cutts (2013) in the sporting context, where older cohorts are more likely to display snobbish taste preferences. Consistent with Warde (2006) in the context of sport, Miles and Sullivan (2010) similarly found that inactivity was more prevalent amongst the older cohorts. In terms of television spectatorship, the results suggested that relatively older age groups were more likely to watch activities associated with ‘high-brow’ tastes while younger cohorts were more likely to consume ‘low-brow’ activities.

Miles and Sullivan (2010) investigated the extent to which adult encouragement affects the consumption behaviour of children. Parental encouragement and participation were strongly related and parents who encouraged children to participate in activities such as reading were also found to encourage participation in sport; possibly suggesting the important parental role in the development of a broad range of activity participation. Miles and Sullivan (2010:14) found that level of education is often linked to the level of encouragement, where “people with no qualifications are less likely to have been encouraged, not just in reading and the arts, but also in sport”. Furthermore, they suggested that children who receive high levels of encouragement generally go on to have high levels of educational attainment (Miles and Sullivan, 2010). Another aspect of tastes that the study considered was the relationship between participation in cultural and sporting activities and well-being. Non-participation in activities was closely related to adverse aspects of well-being such as poor health and unhappiness. Conversely, participation in cultural and sporting activities was associated with positive aspects of well-being such as good health, happiness and non-smoking. These findings could therefore suggest the importance of encouraging, developing and enhancing the consumption of cultural and sporting activities to improve the well-being of a country’s citizens.

In terms of the high-brow/low-brow dimension of the study, Miles and Sullivan (2010) found no link to the aspects of well-being. The findings of the study further highlighted the importance of “family formation and relationship status structure” as an influencing factor of participation (Miles and Sullivan, 2010:22). For example, it was found that prior to motherhood, some women were actively involved in a wide range of cultural and sporting activities, but since they had had children, their participation in activities had changed. Therefore, Miles and Sullivan (2010:22) suggested, “in almost every case, having children re-focuses and privatises interests, reducing time and energy for independent or new pursuits”. This could in turn suggest why women (in at least the sports studies reviewed thus far) are more likely to be classified as univores (in terms of having narrow consumption patterns) than omnivores. Miles and Sullivan (2010) further undertook interviews to gain a more in-depth understanding of cultural and sports participation. From the interviews, Miles and Sullivan (2010:20) noted “the archetypal ‘low’ or popular activity – TV viewing – can provide a means of access to legitimate culture”. This highlights the importance of empirical research to include television spectatorship in order to gain a more accurate understanding of consumption behaviour. Miles and Sullivan (2010:21) further noted the importance of accounting for passing participation, where “(people) may actually visit museums, galleries or

the theatre occasionally but as incidental, uncommitted consumers looking for general entertainment, a distraction for children at weekends and holidays, or just ‘something to do’.” Therefore, Miles and Sullivan (2010) recognized the importance of consumption behaviour studies considering the motives underpinning consumers’ attendance (to be able to determine whether the consumers’ decisions form part of their usual consumption patterns or are as a result of an external influence). Amongst others, Snowball *et al.* (2009) highlight the importance of considering motives for attendance and furthermore suggested that motivation for attendance might be productively linked to the omnivore/univore theory. While Chapter 2 has already highlighted a number of possible factors that influence or underpin consumption behaviour, the next subsection provides a brief overview of some of the other motives for attendance that have been identified in existing empirical studies.

3.7 Motives for attendance: an overview of the entertainment and sports industry

According to Murray (1964:7), motivation can be understood as “an internal factor that arouses, directs, and integrates a person’s behaviour”. Therefore, understanding an individual’s motivation can provide an indication of an individual’s consumption behaviour. Furthermore, according to Laesso *et al.* (2013), understanding consumers’ motives for particular consumption behaviour can facilitate producers and marketers in making effective business decisions, in that they are better able to base their production and marketing decisions respectively on the consumers’ motives for particular consumption behaviour.

Swanson *et al.* (2008) studied the psychological motivation for arts attendance. Data for the study was obtained from a Midwestern United States performing arts centre. The sample of patrons attending the arts was obtained from three different performing arts events. Swanson *et al.* (2008) posed questions to the attendees pertaining to their motives for attending the arts, which ranged across six different motivational categories. These categories included recreation, social inclusion, escapism, self-esteem enhancement (which was taken as a proxy for status), and aesthetics. The reported motives for attending the arts were assessed according to the demographics of the sample. These included income, education, age and gender. In terms of income, the results suggested that individuals from relatively higher income levels were relatively more likely to be motivated by aesthetics, education and recreation, than lower income groups; the highest income group was more motivated by social interaction than any other income group. In terms of education, the results suggested that aesthetics, recreation and educational motives were significantly greater with higher levels of education. Individuals

from lower educational backgrounds were relatively more motivated by escapism than consumers with relatively higher levels of education. A particularly interesting finding in this regard was that “participants with the highest and lowest educational levels are more likely to be motivated by self-esteem than customers of moderate educational levels” (Swanson *et al.*, 2008:315). The study also found that older cohorts were more likely to report aesthetics, education, and recreation as their motives for attendance, while self-esteem was significantly higher only for individuals exceeding 50 years of age. Finally, motives for attendance differed across gender, with females being more likely to be motivated by aesthetics, education and recreation than are male respondents.

Swanson *et al.* (2008) concluded that motives for attendance generally differed between groups of different demographic characteristics, which Swanson *et al.* (2008) noted had implications for the marketing of arts events. With significant relationships being found between demographic variables and the educational, aesthetics and recreational motives, Swanson *et al.* (2008:319) proposed “marketing managers should pay close attention to artistic, educational, and recreational aspects of performing arts when developing services”. Similarly, with a significant relationship found between education level and escapism, Swanson *et al.* (2008:319) suggested “managers should put significant resources into developing and delivering programs that are attractive to patrons with a low educational level”.

Perkins (2013) considered the motives for popular music concert attendance in Australia. The sample was comprised of individuals between the ages of 18 and 32. The data was collected by means of an interview. In the first instance, participants were asked to describe what motivates them to attend popular music concerts (where the responses were completely unaided by the interviewer). The participants were then provided with a list of different motives and asked to provide insight into the applicability of these motives to their attendance of popular music concerts. The study identified eleven common motives for attendance, four of which were particularly pertinent in terms of underpinning attendance of popular music concerts. As noted by Perkins (2013), the most prevalent motivating factor was ‘nostalgia’, where the majority of the sample had indicated that attendance at popular music concerts allowed them to relive old memories to which music was associated, and that music often “took them back to their childhood” (Perkins, 2013:4). The results also identified another dominant theme; that the destination or venue of hosting the music concert highly influenced individuals’ attendance. Another prevailing motivational factor underpinning music concert

attendance was status enhancement. For example, individuals reported that they enjoyed the “bragging rights” associated with concert attendance and that you were considered more of a fan if you attended a music concert than if you engaged in other forms of musical consumption (Perkins, 2013:5). The final motive for attendance of popular music concerts was the “opportunity to experience new music” or the opportunity to listen to music that would only be performed at music concerts (Perkins, 2013:4); for example, if artists played cover songs of another artist that one would otherwise not be able to enjoy. Perkins (2013:5) suggested “it is possible that popular music concert organisers may be able to employ different marketing tactics to broaden the appeal of specific concerts, beyond the promotion of genre and artist”. This therefore suggests that an understanding of motives of attendance can be beneficial to producers and marketers and even result in the enhancement of the product that the consumers are offered.

In the South African context, Snowball *et al.* (2009) considered the factors that motivate attendance in the cultural context. The study tested for the following motives: escapism, entertainment, socializing, artistic (referred to as aesthetics in the Swanson *et al.* (2008) study) and status motive. These motives were regressed against socio-demographic data, which included household income, age, gender, nationality and home language (which was used as a proxy for race/cultural differences). The study showed that the entertainment motive was the most commonly reported motive underpinning cultural consumption. Artistic merit and escapism were found to be the second and third (respectively) most likely motives underpinning cultural consumption. Finally, education and status were found to generally be equally weighted. The results further indicated that the motivation for attendance differed with age, occupation and education (which Snowball *et al.* (2009) highlight is in accordance with Swanson *et al.* (2008)). People of higher level occupations were more motivated by social and status reasons than people of lower occupations. Individuals from relatively lower educational backgrounds were more likely to be motivated by educational factors, while people from relatively higher education were more likely to attend because of artistic motives. In terms of home language, the results suggested that individuals who indicated that their home language was one of European origin were relatively more likely to be motivated by education, status, and escapism, whereas individuals whose home language was of an African decent were relatively more motivated by entertainment (Snowball *et al.*, 2009). Snowball *et al.* (2009) further considered how motivation differed between omnivores and univores. These results revealed only incremental changes between the two groups. Omnivores, for example, were generally more motivated by entertainment than univores; univores were

relatively more motivated by status and social reasons than omnivores. In concluding the research, Snowball *et al.* (2009:482) noted “motivations were found to be as important in determining consumption patterns as socio-demographic variables” and further noted that “this is a potentially fruitful area for further research”.

In terms of the sporting context, James and Ridinger (2002) did a comparative analysis of sports consumption motives between male and female sports fans. The study focused specifically on determining whether the motives for being a fan of women’s college basketball differed from the motives of being a fan of men’s college basketball. The study found that men and women were not equally as likely to be sports fans. More specifically, men and women were not equally as likely to be general sports fans or specific sports fans, which suggested that gender biases were prevalent in terms of sports consumption. The overall results indicated that men’s rating of fans of sport, in general, and fans of specific sports were significantly higher than that of female participants. Females, on the other hand, were found more likely to be a fan of a specific sport as opposed to a fan of sport in general. Although this was not the focus of James and Ridinger’s (2002) study, one could argue that in terms of the spectrum of sports events, this finding could support the findings of Lefevre and Ohl (2011) and Warde (2006) in the sporting context (where females were generally found to have a relatively more narrow taste spectrum than men) and contrast the findings of Snowball *et al.* (2009) and Antrobus and Snowball (2010) in the cultural context (where the opposite holds true). In terms of the motivating factors underpinning attendance, James and Ridinger (2002) identified that the aesthetic motive differed between fans of men and women’s basketball; where fans of women’s basketball reported a greater appreciation for the aesthetic value than was found true for men’s basketball. Finally, the following motives were also found to be higher for men than for women: social identity, empathy and achievement (i.e. sharing the feelings of disappointment or happiness of a team in terms of their performance results) and knowledge (where males want to know about the technical aspects of the game). As noted by James and Ridinger (2002), this therefore suggests that sport provides an important identity for males that is not shared for females. James and Ridinger (2002) interestingly suggested that it is importance for future research to be conducted on specific teams, in order to gain better insight into the motives that influence individual team support and the consumption behaviour of sports fans.

Cunningham and Kwon (2003) made use of a theory of planned behaviour to understand better the consumer’s intentions to attend a specific sporting event (in their case, hockey).

Data were collected from 140 students from a midwestern university in the United States. The participants were individuals who took part in physical activity. The data collection was in the form of questionnaires, which analysed motives for attendance at the particular hockey games. A different questionnaire then considered the previous behaviour, attitudes, subjective norms, perceived behavioural control and the intentions of the sample. 'Previous behaviour' included an analysis of how many hockey matches the spectators had attended in the previous and current season, while attitudes measured how valuable the spectators perceived attending the matches to be. Subjective norms were included to determine the influence that significant others had on match attendance, whereas perceived behavioural control was included to consider time and money as the salient detriments of hockey match attendance. The study found that, in general, friends and family (although to a lesser extent) positively influenced hockey match attendance. Time and money were conversely found to generally constrain hockey match attendance (a finding, which Cunningham and Kwon (2003) noted is not surprising given that the sample was comprised of university students). The results also indicated that previous behaviour and attitude were positively related to the intentions of attending a hockey match. More specifically, previous behaviour significantly contributed to the understandings of the intentions of match attendance; with attitudes and subjective norms being relatively more salient predictors of intentions to attend than perceived behavioural control. Finally, Cunningham and Kwon (2003:140) suggested that these findings have "several practical implications for sport marketers". Given the positive finding of subjective norms, sport marketers should emphasize the social aspect of a sporting event in order to attract people to attend the fixtures. Based on their findings, they further proposed that sports marketers should draw on spectators' attitudes. Sutton *et al.* (1997) proposed that, an example of how this could be done, was through increasing player accessibility to fans. Cunningham and Kwon (2003), however, did acknowledge that a limitation of the study was that it considered only reported intentions and not actual consumption behaviour and therefore it was noted that there is scope for further research to consider actual consumption behaviour as well as to develop theories specific to the sports domain. Trail and James (2011:1) support this shortcoming where they noted, "there is a disconcerting lack of holistic understanding about the components and processes of spectator sports consumption".

To address this shortcoming, Trail and James (2011) proposed a comprehensive model to understand sports consumption behaviour. While it is acknowledged that other studies have previously proposed models to explain sports consumption, as argued by Trail and James (2011) these studies have been lacking in terms of extensiveness, in that they fail to include a

variety of factors that have been known to influence consumption behaviour. The model proposed by Trail and James (2011) was derived from drawing on existing theory and empirical research and thus provided a comprehensive means of understanding spectator sports consumption. Trail and James (2011) acknowledged the important role that culture plays in influencing consumption behaviour of sport. As such, the model was illustrated with culture as an overarching influencer (an illustration of the model is provided in Appendix B). In the development of their model, Trail and James (2011) adopted the understanding of 'culture' from the definition proposed by de Mooij (2004:26) where culture is defined as "shared beliefs, attitudes, norms, roles, and values found among speakers of a particular language who live during the same historical period of a specific geographic region". Trail and James (2011) suggested that the sports consumption process is composed of four main aspects, namely motivation, activation, external constraints and post-consumption reaction (where, as mentioned earlier, culture is seen to influence motivation and activation directly, which in turn affects the other components of the consumption process).

Trail and James (2011) described motivation as an individual's values, goals, personality and needs. They noted that culture influenced motivational factors as well as influenced (both directly and indirectly) how individuals perceived the spectator sport product. In terms of the motivation stage of the consumption process, personality was understood as the "unique pattern of enduring thoughts, feeling and actions that characterize a person" (Bernstein *et al.*, 2006:540). 'Needs', on the other hand, were understood in terms of Miller and Gordon's (1975:8) definition as a "definite state of an organism that recurs periodically and that has a specific requirement for its satisfaction". The model stated that an interaction between personality and needs influenced personal values and goals. The model adopted the understanding of 'value' as defined by Rokeach (1973:5), where value is defined as "an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence". The model states that values influenced personal goals, where personal goals were understood in the model as cognitions that correspond to an individual's objectives (Jolibert and Baumgartner, 1997). The model then showed that personal goals together with values influence the activation process.

Trail and James (2011) described 'activation' (also referred to as the decision-making stage) in terms of an individual's perception of the product. According to James and Trail (2001), the activation process begins with perception, which was understood as the process during

which the consumer is able to make sense of his/her environment. Perception was said to underpin the activation stage, which was comprised of awareness of the product, interest in the product and evaluation of the product. The model suggested that perception of messages from social media interacted with how individuals learnt which, in turn, determined an individual's awareness of the product. Once the individual becomes aware of the product, the model suggested that individuals begin to evaluate the relevance of the product. In conjunction with internal motivators, the evaluation of the relevance influences an individual's attitude towards the product. Trail and James (2011) argued that 'attitude' was the primary determinant of whether individuals chose to consume the product or not. More particularly, they hypothesized that attitudes towards sports products lead to intentions to consume them but that external factors could constrain both intentions and actual consumption.

External constraints were understood in the model as factors that restrict consumption behaviour. As noted by Trail and James (2011), previous empirical results (which include Kim and Trail (2010, 2011) and Trail, Robinson and Kim (2008)) have found that external constraints do affect sports attendance. The final stage of the consumption that was proposed in the model was the post-consumption reaction, which involved factors that either confirmed or refuted an individual's expectations (Trail and James, 2011). The model suggested that if an individual is satisfied (dissatisfied), then they were more (less) likely to repeat their consumption behaviour in future. The final aspect of the model, which was closely linked to satisfaction, was that of self-esteem. The model adopted Rosenberg's (1979) understanding of self-esteem, where self-esteem referred to a positive outlook from a self-evaluation of oneself. Trail and James (2011), as supported by previous empirical studies, noted the inclusion of self-esteem in the model as a factor used to explain consumption behaviour. For example, Trail *et al.* (2005) found that 49% of sport spectator behavioural intentions were explained by self-esteem behaviours. Trail and James (2011) finally noted that the derived model proposed a holistic understanding of the processes and components involved in spectator sports consumption.

In concluding this section of the review, it is evident that the consumption process is a complex process and is influenced and underpinned by a wide range of internal and external factors. It can therefore be argued that, owing to the subjective nature and individuality of the decisions governing consumption behaviour, it is necessary for each individual context to undertake research on motives for attendance for a specific group of individuals in order to

comprehensively understand their consumption decisions as well as pattern of consumption behaviour.

3.8 Summary and conclusion

This chapter adopted an empirical stance. The main propositions of the omnivore/univore theory by Bourdieu (1984) were reviewed, as well as the contested stance on consumption behaviour as proposed by Peterson (1992). Since the origin of the omnivore/univore theory, writers have proposed extensions and developments to the theory, which were then reviewed. It became evident from this, that it is valuable for studies to consider definitions other than the original or conventional definitions of omnivore and univore to move from a binary understanding of consumption behaviour, towards a comprehensive and multidimensional understanding of the omnivore/univore theory for a given context. Overall, it was concluded that consumption behaviour of leisure is largely still bound up by social hierarchies. The final section of this chapter reviewed empirical findings on the motivation for attendance of leisure activities. As noted by Snowball *et al.* (2009), this is a topic closely aligned to the omnivore/univore hypothesis. Numerous factors were identified as motives for attendance. Overall, it was concluded that “motivations were found to be as important in determining consumption patterns as socio-demographic variables” (Snowball *et al.*, 2009:482).

With sport being a domain of extensive ramifications for a country’s economy, society and culture, it was concluded that further research and development of the application of consumption behaviour theory to the sport context is necessary.

CHAPTER 4: METHODS AND DATA

4.1 Introduction

Drawing from previous studies reviewed in Chapter 3, this chapter provides insight into the methods employed and data collected in the study. Section 4.2 provides a discussion of the various definitions and classifications of sporting univores and omnivores to be used in this study. Section 4.3 discusses the econometric methods that were adopted in this study, which includes a model specification and a description of the variables. Section 4.4 provides an overview of the data used in this study. A discussion of the design of the questionnaire is presented, in which an explicit rationale for the choice of the included questions is given. Included in this section is a discussion of the sampling strategies that were adopted for the study and an overview of the administration of the questionnaire. Section 4.5 then provides an overview and discussion of the summary statistics. Finally, Section 4.6 summarises the chapter.

4.2. Defining sporting omnivores and univores

As noted by Widdop (2010), consumption studies to date have considered the classification of consumers on the ground of their social hierarchies. Bourdieu (1984) highlighted that sport is an object of struggles between social classes. This study investigates the classification of consumers' behaviour in terms of social hierarchy in accordance with what was proposed by Widdop (2010:3) where he states that:

“Certain types of sporting activities such as the golf, racket sports, water and winter sports (classified as highbrow or legitimate culture) would be consecrated among those in the higher classes, whilst others, such as football, tenpin bowling and weightlifting would be avoided through the association with the masses”.

This is used in conjunction with Warde (2006), where exclusive sports included racket sports, water sports and adventure sports in the adaptation of the conventional definition in this context. To account for the two dominant forms of sports consumption, two separate conventional definitions were derived. According to Widdop and Cutts (2013), it is important to look at reported tastes as well as actual spectatorship behaviour in order to get a comprehensive overview of the cultural genre (or in this case sporting code). Definitions were derived for consumption in the form of attendance and consumption in the form of television

viewing respectively. In order to investigate the consumption of sport in relation to social hierarchies, a suitable definition² of omnivore and univore was developed, drawing from the work of both Widdop (2010) and Warde (2006).

The first of these conventional definitions specifically focused on consumption of sport in terms of watching the sport in attendance. For this definition³, consumers were classified as univores if they had exclusive sports consumption patterns. The classification of exclusivity in consumption was twofold. Firstly, consumers were assumed to have exclusive consumption behaviour if they attended high-brow/legitimate culture sports (otherwise referred to as elitist or exclusive sports) to the exclusion of other sports that were associated with the masses. Secondly, those consumers who chose to consume only sports that were associated with the masses (to the exclusion of the high-brow/legitimate sports) were also classified as having exclusive tastes (and therefore deemed univores). Conversely, consumers were classified as omnivores if they were found to straddle both consumption classifications. In other words, consumers were classified as omnivores if they displayed a wide array of consumption behaviour, or if they attended both high-brow/legitimate sports and sports that are associated with the masses (otherwise referred to as non-elitist sports). This definition was largely underpinned by Bourdieu's (1984) theory of the appreciation of high and low cultural forms; where high cultural forms were more likely to be appreciated by individuals from high income and high education groups, while low cultural forms (or those that were associated with the masses) were likely to be appreciated by individuals from lower education and income backgrounds. Drawing from both Widdop (2010) and Warde (2006) and by taking careful consideration of the extent to which consumers would have access to consumption (e.g. the extent to which the sport is broadcast on television or the extent to which the venues are able to accommodate large numbers of spectators); the following sports⁴ were classified as high-brow/legitimate culture sports: golf, tennis, equestrianism, swimming, motor-sport, rowing, cycling, water polo, and squash. With the exception of equestrianism and golf, each of these sports fell under either a water, racket or adventure sport. Golf was specifically classified by Widdop (2010) as a high-brow/legitimate sport and was therefore classified as such in the derivation of this definition. For this study, equestrianism was classified as a high-brow/legitimate culture sport. This classification is supported by The Economist (2014:1), in that "equestrianism is considered one of the more elitist sports".

² Hereafter referred to as the conventional definition

³ Hereafter referred to as 'Conventional definition-live'

⁴ Of the sports that the spectators identified as the sports that they choose to watch in attendance

Furthermore, because other sports have not been empirically classified as highbrow/lowbrow, a common ground of classification was needed for the derivation of these classifications. This study made use of structural constraints as a common ground of classification. According to Kim and Trail (2010:192), structural constraints are “factors that interfered between leisure preferences and participation, that is, physical or environmental factors that prevented an individual from leisure participation”. For the purpose of this study, if the venue at which the sport event is generally hosted did not allow for/accommodate large amounts of spectators then the sport was said to exclude the masses and subsequently classified as elitist in nature⁵. Following this line of argument, the remainder of the spectator sports that were identified were classified as lowbrow/associated with the masses, and these included soccer, rugby, hockey, and netball.

The second conventional definition⁶ was derived using the same principles as the first conventional definition (i.e. informed by empirical classifications, and where none are evident the remainder of the sports were classified on common grounds). This definition differed from the first definition in that it looked only at consumption in the form of watching television. As with the previous definition, this definition was derived by classifying the various sports (that spectators had identified as the ones that they watch on television) into high-brow/legitimate sports and sports associated with the masses respectively. In this case, the following sports were classified as high-brow/legitimate culture sports: golf, tennis, equestrianism, swimming, multi-sport events (particularly The Winter Olympic Games), extreme sport, cycling, motorsport, badminton, squash, shooting, and fishing/surfing. The same argument as applied in the Conventional definition-live was used to support the classification of golf and equestrianism as high-brow/legitimate culture sports. Similarly, tennis, badminton and squash were considered high-brow/legitimate culture sports owing to their previous empirical classification as racket sports (Widdop, 2010). Extreme sport and motor sport were classified as what Warde (2006) refers to as ‘adventure sports’, while swimming, fishing and surfing were classified as watersports. The multi-sport event (in this study particularly referring to The Winter Olympic Games) is comprised of an array of different winter sports (Olympic.org, 2013), and as such, watching multi-sport events was classified as a high-brow/legitimate culture sport in accordance with the classification as identified by Widdop (2010). In terms of

⁵ For example, a sport such as soccer is generally hosted at large stadia (therefore having the capacity to accommodate masses of spectators), whereas a sport like shooting is generally hosted at relatively smaller facilities where the capacity/structural constraint of the venue would not allow for masses to attend.

⁶ Hereafter referred to as ‘Conventional definition-TV’.

cycling, Beckett (2014:1) argued that “TV coverage is weak, sporadic and uneven in its global reach”. Based on this, and in conjunction with Kim and Trail’s (2010) structural constraints argument, cycling was classified as a highbrow/legitimate sport.

In order to classify the sports that have not been previously empirically classified, structural constraints (Kim and Trail, 2010) were again used as the basis of classification. In this case, sports were classified based on the extent to which they are broadcast on television in South Africa. Based on the broadcasting schedules available to television viewers in South Africa (Supersport, 2014; SABC Sport, 2014; ETV, 2014) the following sports (excluding sports that have been previously empirically classified) are broadcast: rugby, cricket, soccer, basketball, volleyball, netball, athletics, hockey and wrestling/boxing/mixed martial arts. These sports were therefore classified as sports associated with the masses, as they were available to television viewers. The remaining sports were classified as highbrow/legitimate sports on the grounds of structural constraints.

Similarly, under this definition, consumers were classified as univores if they had exclusive television consumption patterns. In other words, consumers received a univore classification if they watched only high-brow/legitimate culture sports on television (otherwise referred to as elitist or exclusive sports) to the exclusion of the sports that were associated with the masses, or if they watched only sport that was associated with the masses to the exclusion of the high-brow/legitimate culture sports. Conversely, consumers were classified as omnivores if they watched sport on television that was associated with the masses and high-brow/legitimate culture sports (i.e. if they were found to be straddling both consumption classifications).

As highlighted in Chapter 3, sports consumption, particularly in relation to empirical quantitative research, remains a largely underdeveloped field of research (Widdop, 2010). As such, there is need for researchers to explore aspects of research beyond the existing empirical work. As highlighted by empirical research to date (for example, Alderson *et al.*, 2007; Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007; Snowball *et al.*, 2009; Antrobus and Snowball, 2010) there is a need for research to explore new/sub classifications of the omnivore/univore classification, to provide a representational account for variations in consumption behaviour. Thus, in addition to the conventional definitions (as discussed above), this study considers other possible definitions/classifications of omnivore/univore that can be derived for the sporting context.

This study proposes four possible alternative indicators of sporting omnivores/univores. The first of these alternate definitions⁷ pertains to the level at which the sport is played. The development of this definition is largely informed by Montgomery and Robinson (2008) where they noted the importance of differentiating between professional and amateur sport in examining consumption behaviour of art and non-art events. For this definition, spectators are classified as omnivores if they watch both professional and amateur cricket. However, if they only watch professional cricket, such spectators would be classified as univores. This definition pertains to Question 24 (see Appendix A) where spectators were asked whether or not they watch both professional and amateur cricket. This question was recoded so that strongly agree and agree were taken as a proxy for ‘yes’, and strongly disagree and disagree were taken as a proxy for ‘no’. Spectators who responded with ‘yes’ for this question were classified as omnivores, whereas a response of ‘no’ meant that the consumers were univores.

The second alternate definition of omnivore and univore⁸ considers whether spectators watch only cricket live (i.e. in attendance) or choose to watch cricket and other sports live. This definition was based on Peterson’s (1992) definition of omnivores and univores, where participants’ consumption was classified in accordance to the number of forms of art they consumed. The derivation of this definition was also largely informed by the work of Snowball *et al.* (2009)⁹, who defined omnivores and univores in the South African arts context. In addition to this insight, and particularly in the sporting context, the second definition was further informed by Lefevre and Ohl (2011:49)¹⁰, who considered omnivority based on the principle of multi-activity in sports participation, but adapted their understanding in accordance with the consumption form. Therefore, the definition derived for this sporting context defined univores as spectators who choose to only watch cricket live to the exclusion of other sport (in other words, these individuals were characterised as having a very narrow consumption demand for sport), while omnivores were those who choose to attend a wide range of sporting events (or those individuals that were considered to be general sports followers). This definition pertained to Question 2 and Question 6 (of Appendix A) where spectators were asked whether cricket is the only sport that they choose to watch live and whether or not they attend other professional sports matches. Spectators who indicated that

⁷ Hereafter referred to as Definition 1.

⁸ Hereafter referred to as Definition 2.

⁹ Snowball *et al.* (2009) defined univores as patrons with narrower cultural tastes (attending only one modern genre or two traditional genres of art) while omnivorous patrons were those that consumed a wider array (four or more types of art genres) of both popular and high cultural goods.

¹⁰ Lefevre and Ohl (2011) classified individuals according to number of sporting activities that they participated in; where participation in two or three activities was indicative of low omnivority, whereas participation in four or more activities was indicative of high omnivority.

they only watch cricket live and who indicated that they do not choose to attend other professional sports matches (in other words suggesting exclusive consumption behaviour) were considered to be univores. Conversely, spectators who indicated that cricket is not the only sport that they choose to watch live and who indicated that they do attend other professional sports matches were considered to be omnivores (conversely, indicative of a wide/inclusive consumption behaviour). As with the previous definition, 'strongly agree' and 'agree' were taken as a proxy for 'yes', and 'strongly disagree' and 'disagree' were taken as a proxy for 'no'. Spectators who responded with 'yes' to Question 2 and 'no' to Question 6 were classified as univores, whereas a response of 'no' to Question 2 and 'yes' to Question 6 meant that the consumers were omnivores.

The third alternate classification of omnivores and univores¹¹ is very similarly to Definition 2, but considers the consumption of sport in the form of watching television as opposed to live/in attendance. The derivation of this definition was similarly based on the notion of narrow/exclusive and wider/inclusive tastes as used by Peterson (1992) and Snowball *et al.* (2009). For this definition, participants were classified as univores if cricket was the only sport that they watched on television, to the exclusion of other sports. Furthermore, participants who chose to consume only other sports (to the exclusion of cricket) were classified as univores owing to the exclusivity of their taste spectrum. Omnivores, on the other hand, were those participants that chose to watch a wide range of sport on television (indicating that they are general sports fans or had a wide taste spectrum). Definition 3 pertained to Question 25 and Question b (Appendix A). In Question 25, spectators were asked whether cricket is the only sport that they choose to watch on television. For this question, responses of 'strongly agree' and 'agree' were taken as a proxy for 'yes' while 'strongly disagree' and 'disagree' were taken as a proxy for 'no'. Question b (in which the response form was 'yes' or 'no') asked spectators whether they watch cricket on television. Spectators who responded with 'yes' to Question 25 (in other words those spectators who stated that cricket was the only sport that they watch on television) and yes to Question b were classified as univores; or 'agree' or 'strongly agree' to Question 15 (where participants were asked whether they watched sports channels on television) and 'no' to Question b were too classified as univores. Conversely, spectators who answered 'no' to Question 25 and either 'yes' or 'no' to Question b (indicating that they either watch cricket and other sports on television or they just watch other sports on television) were classified as omnivores.

¹¹ Hereafter referred to as Definition 3.

The final proposed classification of omnivore and univore¹² was again based on the spectrum of spectators' tastes, but considered whether the spectators classified themselves as general sports fans (displaying a relatively wide taste spectrum) or only cricket fans (displaying a relatively narrow taste spectrum). This classification pertained to Question 9 (Appendix A) where spectators were asked whether they consider themselves a sports fan as opposed to solely a cricket fan. This definition encompassed all forms of sports consumption. As was done for definition 1 to 3, 'strongly agree' and 'agree' were taken as a proxy for 'yes' while 'strongly disagree' and 'disagree' were taken as a proxy for 'no'. A response of 'yes' implied that spectators considered themselves to be general sports fans. This meant that spectators were characterized as having a relatively wide spectrum of tastes and as a result were classified as omnivores. Spectators who responded 'no' to Question 9 considered themselves to be only cricket fans, suggesting a relatively narrow/exclusive spectrum of tastes and as such were classified as univores.

The above four alternate classifications of omnivore and univore are summarized in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Summary of alternate univore/omnivore classifications

<u>Response to Question</u>	<u>Classification</u>	<u>Definition</u>
If 'yes' to Question 24	Univore	1
If 'no' to Question 24	Omnivore	1
If 'yes' to Question 2 and 'no' to Question 6	Univore	2
If 'no' to Question 2 and 'yes' to Question 6	Omnivore	2
If 'yes' to Question 25 and 'yes' to Question b	Univore	3
If 'yes' to Question 15 and 'no' to Question b	Univore	3
If 'no' to Question 25 and either 'yes' or 'no' to Question b	Omnivore	3
If 'no' to Question 9	Univore	4
If 'yes' to Question 9	Omnivore	4

¹² Hereafter referred to as Definition 4

4.3 Method

This section presents the model specification as well as a description of the variables included.

4.3.1 Model specification

Since the dependent variables are all in binary form, binary probit models were estimated for the conventional definitions as well as for all four alternate omnivore/univore classifications. This was done to determine the probability of someone being an omnivore or univore, given specific individual characteristics.

For each definition i , it is assumed that individuals are either classified as univores ($definition_i=1$) or omnivores ($definition_i=0$). The model is specified as follows:

$$\Pr(definition_i=1 \mid X_i) = \Phi(X_i'\beta)$$

where Φ is the cumulative normal distribution function, β is a vector of parameters, and the probability of being classified as a univore depends on a vector of explanatory variables X' .

The general model that is estimated takes the form:

$$\Pr(definition_i=1 \mid X_i) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 race_i + \beta_2 gender_i + \beta_3 age_i + \beta_4 education_i + \beta_5 income_i + u_i$$

Where u_i is the error term, and all other variables are discussed in the following section. All regressions were estimated using White heteroscedasticity-robust standard errors.

4.3.2 Variable description

Based on existing literature (for example, Snowball *et al.*, 2009; Antrobus and Snowball, 2010; Chan and Goldthorpe, 2007; Widdop and Cutts, 2013) the variables included in the study were age, gender, race, highest level of education and personal monthly net income. The variable 'age' was measured in years, which consisted of the categories of 11-20, 21-30, 31-40, 41-50, and 51 and above. The gender variable was coded as 1 if a spectator was male

and 0 for a female spectator. The race variable included 'Black', 'White', 'Coloured'¹³ and 'Indian'. The education variable denotes the highest level of education obtained and consisted of 'primary education', 'secondary education (but no matric)', 'matric', 'and post-secondary education'. Finally, personal monthly net income was measured in South African Rands and represented the spectators' personal monthly income after tax and other statutory deductions. The categories for personal monthly net income were R0 – R20 000, R20 001 - R40 000, and R40 001+.

4.4 Data

This sub-section provides insight into the data that was obtained for this study. The section considers how the questionnaire that was used to obtain the data was developed, and discusses various aspects pertaining to the administration of the questionnaire.

4.4.1 Overview of the data and questionnaire composition

As noted by Lefevre and Ohl (2011:46), "(a) questionnaire survey provides a convenient tool for studying the social distribution of sports practices". The study made use of a questionnaire to obtain a range of responses reflecting specific types of consumption behaviour as well as motives for consumption decisions of cricket spectators in the Eastern Cape. The questionnaire was comprised of 25 closed-ended questions with a Likert scale response format. Response options for these questions ranged from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree'. The questionnaire was further comprised of five open-ended questions that were designed to generate qualitative data pertaining to spectators' perceptions of their consumption behaviour. Finally, five demographic questions were designed and included in the questionnaire, providing a basis upon which consumers could be classified.

The questionnaire was developed to elicit responses pertaining to the two elements of the study. To elicit responses regarding motives for specific consumption decisions, questions were developed that were largely informed by the work of Trail and James (2001) and the Centre for Sport Consumer Research based in the U.S. This aspect of the study was also largely underpinned by the work done by Snowball *et al.* (2009) on motivation for attendance. To generate data pertaining to this aspect of the study, a combination of both closed and open-ended questions were developed. Referring to the questionnaire in Appendix A, questions 1,

¹³ The term 'Coloured' in South Africa pertains to people of mixed race origin (SAHO, 2014).

3, 4, 5, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14 16, 18, 19, 21, 22 and 23 as well as the open-ended question referring to the influencing factors of watching a cricket match live or on television were developed to determine the factors underpinning certain consumption behaviour decisions (or motives for attendance) that cricket spectators make.

To generate data pertaining to the classification of cricket spectators as sporting omnivores or univores, the questionnaire included questions that were positively and directly associated with consumption behaviour that would typically be characteristic of either a sporting omnivore or univore respectively. For the two conventional definitions, questions marked (d) and (e) of Appendix A were used to obtain data pertaining to the types of sport that consumers chose to consume live and on television respectively. Questions marked (g), (h), (i) and (j) of Appendix A were incorporated in order to obtain demographic data, to be able to make inferences about the type of consumer that would typically be associated with particular consumption behaviour.

The development of the alternate definitions was largely informed by the empirical study by Snowball *et al.* (2009), which similarly needed to construct relevant definitions/sub-classifications of omnivore and univore for their given research context. Referring to the questionnaire, questions 2, 6, 9, 15, 24, and 25 of the closed-ended questions, as well as the question asking whether spectators watch cricket on television or not, were all structured to elicit responses pertaining to the alternative omnivore/univore classifications.

4.4.2 Sampling and administration

Data collection took place by means of a cross-sectional survey. The questionnaire was administered at four different first class limited-over cricket matches played by the Chevrolet Warriors at Axxess DSL St Georges in Port Elizabeth during the 2012/2013 cricket season¹⁴.

Purposive sampling was chosen as the sampling strategy to select participants for this study. As highlighted by Battaglia (2008), purposive sampling is a means of obtaining a sample, which is logically assumed to be representative of an entire population. In this instance, the selected sample was logically assumed to be representative of the cricket spectators in the

¹⁴ The matches were played on 7 November 2012, 18 November 2012, 23 November 2012 and 22 February 2013.

Eastern Cape that watch the limited-overs format of the game¹⁵. The motive for the choice of the sampling technique was underpinned by the Laerd dissertation (2013) where it was noted that purposive sampling is an efficient means of sample selection when the population size is relatively small and the intention of the study is to make accurate statistical inferences from a sample to a population of interest. Within purposive sampling, the study made use of a combination of maximum variation/heterogeneous sampling and critical case sampling techniques. The maximum variation/heterogeneous sampling technique is a manner in which a sample is selected, where the aim is to capture a diverse range of perspectives pertaining to the topic of interest (Laerd, 2013). This technique has been argued to exhibit a wide range of participant attributes, behaviours and experiences and was deemed appropriate for this study. Elements of critical case sampling techniques were also used to inform the sample selection. This technique was deemed appropriate for this study in that it has been noted to be particularly useful in research where the number of cases studied is relatively small (in this study four cases/matches were considered). It has further been noted that critical case sampling is beneficial in that, decisive explanations of phenomena and logical generalisations can be made from the chosen sample (Laerd, 2013) and thus proved a valuable and appropriate technique to use in this study.

In order to purposefully generate the sample required, each of the four interviewers were advised to specifically only interview individuals that possessed certain characteristics. For example, ‘Interviewer 1’ was instructed to interview only Black males and females, ‘Interviewer 2’ was advised to only interview White males and females, and so on. Owing to the limited number of spectators that attended these matches, the interviewers were able to conduct interviews with the majority (if not all) of the population that were willing to participate in the study.

Interviewers were briefed and trained prior to the fixtures on how best to illicit accurate spectator perspectives. The interviewers were specifically briefed on how they were to respectively select their respondents (with regards to the different dependent variables that were included in the study) as well as how to make a value judgement as to the reliability of the data collected. The questionnaire was developed in a manner in which the interviewers were guided and prompted throughout the interviews (this is explained in the prelude to Appendix A). Upon selection, the spectator was approached by the interviewer and asked

¹⁵ This specification was made owing to Date’s (2012) comment that limited overs and test matches differ so significantly that they should essentially be viewed as separate sporting codes.

whether they would be willing to be interviewed for the study. All participants were explained the purpose of the study and were given a document (found as the first page of Appendix A) explaining the nature of the study and interview. Only after the spectator had agreed to be a participant in the study, did the interview commence. The duration of the administration of the interviews was approximately ten minutes per respondent (although this did vary in accordance with the lengths of discussions of topics presented in certain questions, but on average interviews ranged from between 5 and 15 minutes each).

The data collected from the four matches were then pooled to obtain the final data set, with a final sample size (excluding any interviews where data was deemed unreliable) of 438 respondents.

4.5 Summary statistics

An overview of the summary statistics of the demographics of the sample and the question responses are presented in the following sub-section.

4.5.1 Demographic statistics

Table 4.2 presents some basic summary statistics. Roughly, 71.69% of the sample was male, while the majority of the sample was White. The largest proportion of spectators was between the ages of 21 and 30. The table also shows that 47.26% of the spectators had a post-secondary education. This, if considered in conjunction with the age composition, could suggest that the majority of the sampled spectators were young professionals. Finally, the statistics revealed that the majority of the sampled spectators earned a monthly net income between R0 and R20 000.

Table 4.2: Summary statistics

	N	%
<u>Gender:</u>		
Male	314	71.69
Female	124	28.31
<u>Race:</u>		
Black	91	20.78
White	229	52.28
Coloured	98	22.37
Indian	20	4.57
<u>Age:</u>		
No Response	3	0.68
11-20	92	21.00
21-30	145	33.11
31-40	62	14.16
41-50	67	15.30
51+	69	15.75
<u>Highest level of education:</u>		
No Response	4	0.91
Primary education	11	2.51
Secondary education (no matric)	69	15.76
Matric	147	33.56
Post-secondary	207	47.26
<u>Personal Monthly Net Income:</u>		
No Response	41	9.36
R0-R20 000	314	71.69
R20 001-R40 000	59	13.47
R40 001+	24	5.48

4.5.2 Question responses

Table 4.3 provides an overview of the responses to the questions pertaining to the motives for attendance and the omnivore/univore classification respectively. The results illustrate that 94.97% consider themselves fans of South African cricket. About 91.94% of the sample indicated that watching South African cricket makes them feel proudly South African. From these two indicators, the majority of spectators are likely to be intrinsically rather than extrinsically motivated to attend the fixtures. Questions 4 and 10 both indicate that the majority of the spectators are motivated to attend the cricket matches because of the sport in general as opposed to watching because a particular player or team is playing. It is also evident that the majority of the spectators consider uncertainty of outcome or good competitive balance as important in motivating their attendance. Finally, 90.62% indicated that their love for sport developed because of participating in sport at school; suggesting that there is a strong developmental aspect in sport.

Table 4.3: Motives for attendance (%)

	<u>Strongly Agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly Disagree</u>	<u>Total</u>
Q1: I consider myself a fan of South African cricket	71.00 [311]	23.97 [105]	3.65 [16]	1.37 [6]	100.00 [438]
Q3: I play/have played cricket competitively before	37.76 [165]	25.86 [113]	18.08 [79]	18.30 [80]	100.00 [437]
Q4: I consider myself a fan of cricket as a whole and not just of a particular team	55.15 [241]	33.41 [146]	9.84 [43]	1.60 [7]	100.00 [437]
Q5: I attend cricket matches mainly because my friends or family are attending	18.76 [82]	25.17 [110]	38.44 [168]	17.63 [77]	100.00 [437]
Q8: The social experience is just as important as the cricket match	44.95 [196]	33.94 [148]	17.43 [76]	3.68 [16]	100.00 [436]
Q10: I attend cricket matches because I am specifically a fan of one/some of the players	6.68 [29]	18.43 [80]	52.07 [226]	22.82 [99]	100.00 [434]
Q11: I enjoy attending the before and after game entertainment	18.20 [79]	35.02 [152]	37.79 [164]	8.99 [39]	100.00 [434]
Q13: I prefer close competition games where the outcome is uncertain.	61.93 [270]	26.61 [116]	7.56 [33]	3.90 [17]	100.00 [436]
Q14: I attend the cricket matches as a way of meeting new people	13.93 [61]	31.28 [137]	42.47 [186]	12.33 [54]	100.00 [438]
Q16: Cricket is my favourite sport to watch live	33.33 [145]	23.67 [103]	35.63 [155]	7.37 [32]	100.00 [435]
Q18: Watching cricket allows me to feel part of the community	41.61 [181]	39.54 [172]	16.55 [72]	2.30 [10]	100.00 [435]
Q19: Watching South African cricket makes me feel proudly South African	64.52 [280]	27.42 [119]	5.99 [26]	2.07 [9]	100.00 [434]
Q21: I believe playing sport at school developed my love for sport	59.50 [260]	31.12 [136]	7.09 [31]	2.29 [10]	100.00 [437]
Q22: If a certain player/some players was/were not playing I would not attend	4.82 [21]	7.80 [34]	48.62 [212]	38.76 [169]	100.00 [436]
Q23: Some of my family members play/have played cricket competitively	29.49 [128]	29.72 [129]	25.12 [109]	15.67 [68]	100.00 [434]

Note: Values in square brackets denote the sample size.

Table 4.4 presents an overview of the sample statistics that pertain to the alternate definitions/sub-classifications of omnivore and univore. These definitions as well as the conventional definition of omnivore and univore are discussed in Section 4.2.1.

Table 4.4: Omnivore/Univore classification (%)

	<u>Strongly Agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly Disagree</u>	<u>Total</u>
Q24: I watch both professional and amateur cricket	34.40 [150]	43.58 [190]	15.14 [66]	6.88 [30]	100.00 [436]
Q2: Cricket is the <u>only</u> sport I choose to watch live (in attendance)	9.64 [42]	10.55 [46]	44.72 [195]	35.09 [153]	100.00 [436]
Q6: From time to time I go to other professional sports matches	53.10 [232]	33.64 [147]	9.38 [41]	3.88 [17]	100.00 [437]
Q25: Cricket is the only sport I choose to watch on TV	3.44 [15]	4.14 [18]	43.22 [188]	49.20 [214]	100.00 [435]
Q15: I watch sports channels on TV	59.59 [261]	32.42 [142]	5.02 [22]	2.74 [12]	100.00 [438]
Q9: I would consider myself as a sports fan rather than just a cricket fan	63.39 [277]	27.92 [122]	7.32 [32]	1.37 [6]	100.00 [437]

Note: Values in square brackets denote the sample size.

Table 4.4 indicates that 78% of the sample watched both professional and amateur cricket. The majority of the sample considered themselves sports fans as opposed to only a cricket fan, and indicated that cricket is not the only sport that they choose to watch on television and live respectively. Overall, the table suggests that across the alternate classifications, consumers display inclusive as opposed to exclusive consumption behaviour.

4.6 Summary and conclusion

This chapter described the methods and data that were used for the empirical analysis of this study. The chapter described the different ways in which cricket spectators were classified into omnivores and univores. The chapter also included an overview of the questionnaire, sampling and administration, and summary statistics. An analysis of how omnivores and univores differ according to socio-demographic characteristics could be used to determine whether consumption behaviour of cricket spectators supports the omnivore/univore hypothesis claims made by Bourdieu (1984) or whether the findings are in line with the counter-argument proposed by Peterson (1992). In conjunction with this, an analysis of how

the motives of attendance differ between omnivores and univores for a given definition may provide substantial insight into understanding sports consumption behaviour as well as prove useful in identifying aspects that could be drawn on by marketers to improve consumption demand for sport. Thus, the next chapter presents the empirical results that were obtained for each of the omnivore/univore definitions as well as the results pertaining to how the omnivores and univores differed in terms of their motives for attendance.

CHAPTER 5: RESULTS, DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the empirical results and interpretation thereof from the conventional and alternate omnivore/univore classifications as well as the results pertaining to the motivation for attendance. The results derived from the probit models for each definition are presented and interpreted. The chapter then presents the bivariate cross-tabulation results that suggest how omnivores and univores differ in terms of their motives for attendance; here a comparative approach for the classifications is adopted. Throughout the chapter, a discussion of the findings and recommendations stemming therefrom are presented.

The chapter is comprised of the following sections: Section 5.2 provides an overview of the results and interpretation for the omnivore/univore classification. Section 5.3 presents the probit regression results predicting the probability of a univore classification relative to an omnivore classification. This section is divided into two subsections. Section 5.3.1 provides the probit results for the conventional omnivore/univore definitions, while Section 5.3.2 provides the probit results for the four alternative definitions proposed in the study. Section 5.3.3 then goes on to present a comparative analysis of socio-demographic findings across both the conventional and the proposed alternative definitions. The results for the motivation for attendance are provided in Section 5.4. Finally, Section 5.5 summarises and concludes the chapter.

5.2 Omnivore/univore classifications

Table 5.1 indicates the proportion of the sample classified as univores and omnivores respectively for the different definitions.

Table 5.1: Omnivore/univore classifications

	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>Conventional definition- Live</u>		
Univore	30	6.85
Omnivore	408	93.15
<u>Conventional definition-TV</u>		
Univore	12	2.74
Omnivore	426	97.26
<u>Definition 1</u>		
Univore	98	22.37
Omnivore	340	77.63
<u>Definition 2</u>		
Univore	85	19.41
Omnivore	353	80.59
<u>Definition 3</u>		
Univore	37	8.45
Omnivore	401	91.55
<u>Definition 4</u>		
Univore	39	8.90
Omnivore	199	91.10

From the omnivore/univore classification results, it appears that spectators were far more likely to be classified as omnivores than univores for all definitions. In terms of the overall results of the specific definitions, the vast majority of the sample was omnivores when spectators were classified according to the two conventional definitions. This finding suggests that for both forms of sports consumption (television and live), the majority of the spectators are more likely to have an inclusive sport taste spectrum as opposed to an exclusive taste spectrum. That is, spectators are more likely to consume sport across classifications (elitist sports and sport associated with the masses), as opposed to consuming sport from only one classification. In order to comment on whether or not sports consumption is tied up in social hierarchies, it is necessary to disaggregate the probability of a univore classification by all the explanatory variables that are employed in the study. These results are presented and discussed in Section 5.3.

The results that pertained to the alternate four definitions similarly revealed that the majority of the sample was omnivores as opposed to univores. A relatively greater proportion of the sample was classified as omnivores under the two conventional definitions than the four alternative definitions. Similarly, a much smaller proportion of the sample was classified as univores under the conventional definitions than under the alternative definitions. This suggests that spectators are more likely to be classified as a univore under any of the alternate definitions than under the conventional definitions. This could alternatively be interpreted as: the probability of being classified as a univore is significantly lower for the conventional definitions relative to the alternate proposed definitions. These results suggest that generally it appears easier to classify omnivores and univores in terms of their taste spectrum as opposed to classifying them according to the ‘eliteness/exclusivity’ of the sports consumed.

5.3 Probit results predicting the probability of a univore classification

In order to make inferences about the types of people that were classified as omnivores and univores under the respective definitions, regressions were estimated to determine what characteristics were more likely associated with each classification for the six different definitions. The probit regression results for the overall sample, for both the conventional and the alternative definitions are presented in Tables 5.2 and 5.3 respectively.

Table 5.2: Probit results predicting the probability of a univore classification under the conventional definitions

Variable	Conventional Definition - Live		Conventional Definition- TV	
	Coefficient	Marginal Effects	Coefficient	Marginal effects
Race				
White	.2063 (.2608)	.0166	-.1791 (.4396)	-.0067
Coloured	.1301 (.3169)	.0097	-.5909 (.4272)	-.0313
Indian	-.0459 (.4689)	-.0038	-.6477 (.5941)	-.0486
Male	.9562*** (.2372)	.1128	.1033 (.2994)	.0040
Age				
21-30	.0725 (.3459)	.0056	-.6617 (.4525)	-.0312
31-40	-.3945 (.3918)	-.0405	-.7577 (.4695)	-.0530
41-50	-.3222 (.3214)	-.0313	-.4823 (.5067)	-.0270
51+	-.3056 (.3361)	-.0296	-.3327 (.5877)	-.0164
Education				
Secondary education (no matric)	-3.9051*** (.2496)	-.9889	-3.7960*** (.5619)	-.9438
Matric	-2.9673*** (.3169)	-.8193	-3.1523*** (.4407)	-.6432
Post-secondary	-3.0876*** (.3419)	-.6792	-3.4970*** (.3916)	-.6765
Income				
R20 0001-R40 000	.1006 (.3382)	.0075		
R40 001+	-.1374 (.4317)	-.0122		
Constant	4.1642*** (.4047)		6.0867*** (.8063)	
N	396		313	
Wald χ^2	816.23***		346.88***	
Pseudo R ²	0.1378		0.0796	
% Correctly predicted	93.18		97.12	

Note: Values in brackets denote the robust standard errors. The omitted group for race is “Black”, for gender is “female”, for age is “11-20”, for education is “primary education” and for income is “R0-R20 000”
P<0.01***, p<0.05**, p<0.10*. Worth noting is that ‘Income’ could not be included in the regression for the Conventional definition-TV. This is because only 12 individuals were classified as univores, and after a cross-tabulation, it became evident that of these 12 individuals, none fell into the top two income categories; hence, no comparison groups were available for the omnivore status.

5.3.1 Probit results for the conventional definitions

The Pseudo R² ranged between roughly 7.9% and 13.8% (Table 5.2). The Wald χ^2 statistics show that for both conventional definitions, the explanatory variables jointly explain the variation in the probability of being classified as a univore (with both P<0.01).

a) Conventional definition - live

Looking at the full model (Table 5.2) and post-estimation F-tests (Appendix C), statistically significant differences in univore status were found between males and females, and univore status differed significantly across different levels of education. No significant differences

were found in univore status across racial, age and income groups. The gender bias suggested that males were 11.28% more likely to be univores when compared to females. Stated in terms of their consumption behaviour, males are more likely to display exclusivity in their choice of live sports consumption. Although this finding is in contrast to existing research in the sport context (for example, James and Ridinger, 2002; Warde, 2006; Lefevre and Ohl, 2011), it is in line with previous empirical evidence in the South African context (for example, Snowball *et al.*, 2009; Antrobus and Snowball, 2010). The gender bias similarities between this study and the existing South African research on consumption behaviour is not surprising, given Bourdieu's (1984) argument that tastes of consumers in societies of similar nature were likely to display great similarities.

In terms of education, a strong significant relationship with univore/omnivore status was evident. Individuals in all the education categories were significantly less likely to be classified as univores when compared to individuals with primary education, although the results indicate that the probability of being classified as a univore decreases as education increases. Univores (or spectators who displayed exclusivity in terms of the types of sporting codes they consumed) therefore seem to be more likely to come from the lowest education level (in this case primary education) as opposed to any other education group. This result opposes what Bourdieu (1984) originally proposed for cultural consumption (in that 'high' cultural forms are more likely to be consumed by individuals from high educational backgrounds). The decreasing probability of being a univore, however, does suggest support for Bourdieu's (1984) proposition. It is similarly in line with other existing empirical studies (which include amongst others, Sullivan and Katz-Gerro, 2007; van Eijck and Leivens, 2008; Antrobus and Snowball, 2010) that argue that education promotes or at least to some extent facilitates the movement away from univorous consumption behaviour towards omnivory.

The results pertaining to education for this definition seem to present an anomaly. That is, it appears that the extremes on the spectrum of education level (in this case those with primary education and those with post-secondary education respectively) are both more likely than the middle education groups to be classified as a univore. A possible explanation for this could lie within the way in which the sports have been classified into elitist sports and sports associated with the masses. Furthermore, it may be attributed to the fact that the individuals from the two extremes engage in different types of univorous consumption (for example, one group may consume only elite sports and the other only sports that are associated with the masses – yet

both are classified as univores owing to the exclusivity in their taste spectrum). Further research could empirically explain this anomaly.

b) Conventional definition - TV

The results for the Conventional definition–TV are presented in Table 5.2. Similar to the Conventional definition-live case, education was found to be a statistically significant variable in explaining univore status. Across all the education categories, a significant negative relationship was evident which means that, individuals in all the education categories were found to be significantly less likely to be classified as univores than individuals with a primary education. Interestingly, unlike live sports consumption, the television consumption behaviour results for this definition showed no gender bias. This could potentially be explained in that men may be relatively more likely to watch sport live when compared to women, whereas no such gender differences in the viewing of sport on television are evident. This explanation is supported by previous empirical studies (for example, Mallon, 2012; James and Ridinger, 2002) where it was noted that relatively more men watch live sporting events when compared to women yet the difference is not as distinct in terms of watching sport on television (Muller, 2014; McGinnis *et al.*, 2003).

For both the conventional definitions, the results for age were not found to be statistically significant. This finding is somewhat surprising, given the existing empirical stance that the most distinct differences in terms of sports consumption appear to be in terms age and gender (Lefvre and Ohl, 2011; Warde, 2006). Similarly, for both conventional definitions, income was not found to be statistically significant in explaining omnivore/univore status. With previous empirical research (for example, Lefvre and Ohl, 2011; Peterson, 1992) generally referring to education and income combined as a proxy for social class, this finding does not support any of the empirical research findings in their entirety.

As a general overview, from the conventional definitions it appears that the results do not conclusively support a single stance taken in previous empirical studies with regards to socio-demographic variables. This lack of support is warranted by Warde (2006) where he noted that, while some sports carry connotations of social position, this is limited in relation to sports spectating. It could possibly further be explained by the preposition by Lefvre and Ohl (2011:48) who noted that “homology is not the dominant characteristic of the relation between the sporting field and social positions”. This general finding again emphasizes the

importance of taking into account the results from alternative classifications of univores and omnivores to be able to gauge whether sports consumption is to any extent held up in social ties. As such, the next subsection considers the results from the four alternative definitions of omnivores and univores.

Table 5.3: Probit results predicting the probability of a univore classification under the alternate definitions

Variable	Definition 1 ¹⁶		Definition 2 ¹⁷		Definition 3 ¹⁸		Definition 4 ¹⁹	
	Coefficient	Marginal Effects	Coefficient	Marginal effects	Coefficient	Marginal Effects	Coefficient	Marginal Effects
Race								
White	.7118*** (.2125)	.2053	-.5731** (.1881)	-.1474	-.0876 (.2256)	-.0113	-1.1523*** (.2494)	-.1128
Coloured	.4629** (.2579)	.1488	-.1951 (.2270)	-.0470	.0056 (.2844)	.0007	-.4972* (.2636)	-.0333
Indian	-.2763 (.4065)	-.0733	-.1566 (.3234)	-.0371	.4456 (.4250)	.0763	.0137 (.3660)	.0012
Male	-.3357 (.1639)	-.1040	-.5539*** (.1688)	-.1555	.0461 (.2100)	.0058	-.6298** (.2139)	-.0681
Age								
21-30	-.0446 (.2289)	-.0130	-.0173 (.2747)	-.0044	.4018 (.3632)	.0576	.0564 (.2873)	.0048
31-40	-.0615 (.2786)	-.0178	-.1535 (.3245)	-.0370	.2791 (.4306)	.0416	-.1725 (.3686)	-.0130
41-50	-.3318 (.2809)	-.0888	.0370 (.2858)	.0095	.3523 (.4207)	.0542	-.3911 (.3360)	-.0262
51+	-.3519 (.2646)	-.0938	-.1817 (.3038)	-.0435	.5973 (.3762)	.1030	-.6875* (.3831)	-.0396
Education								
Secondary education (no matric)	.4226 (.5820)	.1374	.2347 (.4635)	.0641	-.1013 (.5563)	-.0124	4.5012*** (.3169)	.9942
Matric	.5260 (.5717)	.1636	-.3834 (.4815)	-.0920	-.1230 (.5830)	-.0154	4.0846*** (.3316)	.9467
Post-secondary	.6920 (.5780)	.2055	-.1998 (.4971)	-.0505	.0150 (.5789)	.0019	3.5956*** (.3701)	.7633
Income								
R20 001-R40 000	.3363 (.2160)	.1076	-.0874 (.2465)	-.0216	-.9700* (.4037)	-.0770	.3068 (.2982)	.0312
R40 001+	.0650 (.3163)	.0196	.0368 (.3317)	0.009	-.5105 (.4920)	-.0466	.7800 (.4851)	.1161
Constant	-1.4975** (.5923)		.0471 (.4871)		-1.612** (.5652)		-5.377*** (.3010)	
N	396	396			396		396	
Wald χ^2	25.73**	30.35**			13.41**		386.66***	
Pseudo R ²	0.0633	0.0753			0.0541		0.2156	
% Correctly predicted	76.52	81.82			92.17		91.16	

Note: Values in brackets denote the robust standard errors. The omitted group for race is “Black”, for gender is “female”, for age is “11-20”, for education is “primary education” and for income is “R0-R20 000”.
P<0.01***, p<0.05**, p<0.10*.

¹⁶ Participants were classified as univores if they watched only professional cricket, or omnivores if they watched professional and amateur cricket.

¹⁷ Participants were classified as univores if they watched only cricket live, or omnivores if they watched cricket and other sport live.

¹⁸ Participants were classified as univores if they watched only cricket, or only other sports (excluding cricket) on television, or omnivores if they watched cricket and other sport on television.

¹⁹ Participants were classified as univores if they considered themselves to be only cricket fans, or omnivores if they considered themselves general sports fans.

5.3.2 Probit results for the alternative definitions 1 to 4

The Pseudo R^2 ranged between roughly 5.3% and 25.4% (Table 5.3). The Wald χ^2 statistics show that for all four alternative definitions, the explanatory variables jointly explain the variation in the probability of being classified as a univore (with all four statistics being significant at the 5% level).

a) Definition 1

Definition 1 pertained to the consumption of varying levels of cricket played. For this definition, race was found to be statistically significant predictor. Apart from race, none of the other explanatory variables significantly explain univore status (although education appears to be a relatively important explanatory variable, it was not statistically significant). The results show that White participants are on average 20.53% more likely to be classified as univores when compared to Black participants. Coloured participants were on average also more likely to be classified as univores than were Black participants. This suggested that Black participants were relatively more inclined to watch professional and amateur cricket fixtures (thus displaying omnivorous consumption behaviour), while White and Coloured participants were relatively more likely to watch only professional cricket (which is associated with univorous consumption behaviour).

While previous empirical studies have made no comment on the likelihood of a univore/omnivore classification with regards to race specifically, given South Africa's history of racial divisions and the social tolerance implications that are associated with univore status (Bryson, 1996), it is valuable to consider the possible reasons underpinning differences in consumption behaviour with regards to race. The origin of the omnivore/univore theory in conjunction with considering South Africa's past of racial segregation could explain these findings. In Bourdieu's (1984) study of cultural consumption, he noted that consumption behaviour essentially stems from, *inter alia*, one's upbringing, education and socio-economic background. More specifically, he noted that univores (or consumers with high cultural capital) were likely to be from higher income and higher education *backgrounds*, while omnivores (consumers with low cultural capital) were more likely to be from lower income and lower education *backgrounds*. Given the nature of the Apartheid regime, it could be argued that the large majority of the Black South African population may be from lower

income and lower educational backgrounds (even if on average their income and education status has since progressed to higher levels respectively), which, if considered in conjunction with Bourdieu's (1984) preposition, could explain why Black participants were more likely to display omnivorous sports consumption relative to White participants. Another possible reason for this finding may similarly be attributed to South Africa's history. As noted by Nixon (1992:70), during the Apartheid years the "South African 'national' (sports) teams were racially exclusive" and non-White sportsmen were banned from professional sport participation. To redress the inequalities of the past, "sporting authorities have reintroduced racial quotas for SA's teams in a bid to encourage more Black sportspeople to emerge through the ranks" (Njanji, 2013:1). If one takes into account the empirical findings of Miles and Sullivan (2010)²⁰, it could be suggested that Black parents (who were previously excluded from sports participation in the Apartheid era) may now be encouraging and supporting/spectating their children (who are not sanctioned by the exclusions of Apartheid) to get involved in a number of sports. This could explain why Black participants were on average less likely to be classified as univores. Furthermore, Brand South Africa (2012) argued that, "it is football – or soccer, as it is universally called here – that has won the hearts of South Africa's black majority". With South Africa's Black majority consuming more soccer (irrespective of the level at which it is played) it could explain why Black participants were found to be relatively more omnivorously inclined.

Bourdieu (1984) and Jensen (2009) underpin a further argument that could support the racial differences found in consumption behaviour. Bourdieu (1984) noted that cultural appreciation provided a means of judgment of social superiority – suggesting that univores were likely to have relatively higher grounds of social superiority when compared to omnivores. While this would have been the case of White consumers under the Apartheid regime, it is somewhat concerning that such consumption behaviour divisions still prevail a decade after the end of Apartheid. Jensen (2009:1), however, argues that "the brutality of apartheid ended in 1994 with free elections, but the white-supremacist ideas that had animated apartheid and the racialized distribution of wealth it was designed to justify didn't magically evaporate". This could further imply that, although South Africa is in many ways trying to redress the effects of apartheid, there are still characteristics of apartheid that prevail. Such prevailing characteristics could therefore suggest why consumption behaviour of sport is still to some extent reflective of racial and supremacy divisions. This is concerning if Bryson's (1996) and Tampubolon's (2008) findings are taken into account. According to Bryson (1996),

²⁰ A positive relationship between consumption behaviour and adult encouragement was found

omnivorousness was found to be positively related to social tolerance. Similarly, Tampubolon (2008) noted that univores had tendencies to exclude other social groups. With South Africa being in a phase of rectifying and reconciling racial divisions of the Apartheid era, it is concerning that consumption behaviour was found to differ significantly along racial lines under this definition. In light of this finding, it would therefore be suggested that it is necessary to encourage the consumption of amateur sport, particularly between White and Coloured South Africans. An increase in the consumption of amateur sport could result in a movement away from univorousness and towards omnivorousness, which could in turn suggest a movement towards higher degrees of social tolerance (Bryson, 1996).

b) Definition 2

Definition 2 pertained to whether participants chose to watch only cricket live, or chose to watch other sport live too. For this definition, the emphasis of the consumption classification was again on the breadth of the participants' consumption. For this definition, results for race and gender were found to be statistically significant. White participants were on average 14.74% less likely than Black participants were to be classified as univores under this definition. This means that Black participants were on average more likely to watch only cricket live, whereas White participants were on average more likely to attend a range of different sports live. Stated in terms of their univore status, it was found that Black participants were on average relatively more likely to be classified as a univore than any other race group. A possible explanation for this finding could relate to the racial notion of the 'Black Diamond'. According to Chevalier (2014:4), the racial term 'Black Diamonds' refers to "members of the new Black middle class - well-educated, professional and affluent". Such individuals' consumption behaviour has been described as "conspicuous consumption" (Sentleste, 2010:1) and has been argued to be a response to "historical deprivation by groups who wish to affirm their new social standing" (Chevalier, 2014:6). With this in mind, it could explain why Black South Africans are likely to be more univorous and in a sense display 'exclusive tastes' by choosing to consume only cricket live as a means of affirming their post-apartheid social standing. The post-estimation F-test results (Appendix C) also revealed a similar finding between White and Coloured participants. A statistically significant difference was found, which suggested that Coloured participants were more likely to be classified as univores when compared to White participants. A plausible explanation for this may similarly be that (although to a lesser extent than were Black participants), Coloured participants display exclusive tastes as a means of affirming their post-apartheid social standing. In light

of these finding and, given the social tolerance implications that are attributed to univore status, this finding is somewhat concerning given that South Africa is aiming to redress the inequalities and racial divisions of the Apartheid era and encourage social tolerance (National Development Plan, 2014). Therefore, it is necessary to promote the live consumption of a wide range of sports, particularly amongst Black and Coloured participants. A possible way in which this can be done is through issuing complimentary tickets for a variety of sporting codes for instance (perhaps specifically targeting previously disadvantaged individuals). This could promote a wide range of sports consumption and in turn encourage omnivory. This may also allow individuals who were previously subject to narrow consumption options (because of the Apartheid regime constraints) the option to consume a wider variety of sports codes. Encouraging a breadth of sports consumption could in turn result in an increase in social tolerance in South Africa.

Gender differences were found in the classifications of univores under this definition. Men were on average 15.55% less likely to be classified as univores under Definition 2 when compared to women. In terms of exclusivity of tastes, this finding is consistent with previous empirical research in the sporting context (Peterson, 1992; Lefevre and Ohl, 2011; Warde, 2006; James and Ridinger, 2002); however, inconsistent with what was shown for the Conventional definition-live. The gender difference that was found is, however, surprisingly, inconsistent with previous empirical research conducted in South Africa (Snowball *et al.*, 2009; Antrobus and Snowball, 2010). The inconsistency of empirical results of the South African studies (all of which were conducted within the same geographical context, i.e. Eastern Cape, South Africa) is in contrast to previous empirical prepositions. Bourdieu (1984), for instance, noted that tastes of consumers in societies of similar nature were likely to display great similarities. The results, however, suggest that sport and cultural tastes of the same geographical context did not display such similarities. A likely explanation for why sports consumption taste-patterns do not closely resemble those of the cultural context within the same society could be attributed to a change in tastes over time. As noted by Simmons (2006), shifts in consumption behaviour can be attributed to a change in tastes towards sport, which could possibly explain the differences in tastes between cultural and sports consumers in the Eastern Cape.

c) Definition 3

Definition 3 considered the breadth of consumption with regards to watching sport on television. Owing to the similarity of the definitions, and with the only differentiating factor between the definitions being the nature of consumption, the *a priori* expectation (underpinned by the argument of Karg and McDonald, (2011)²¹) was that the findings for Definition 3 would be largely in line with Definition 2. In other words, it was expected that consumption behaviour would be similar regardless of the nature of the consumption (watching in attendance as opposed to on television). Interestingly, the results for the different forms of consumption were found to be vastly different. As shown in Table 5.1, relatively less people were classified as univores under Definition 3 when compared to Definition 2. This is surprising given that Miles and Sullivan (2010) noted that television viewing should in fact provide consumers with a means of accessing legitimate culture (which could in turn suggest that television encourages univorous consumption behaviour). Miles and Sullivan's (2010) argument could, however, be used to explain why relatively more participants were omnivores under Definition 3 than Definition 2. In line with their argument, television can allow consumers access to sports consumption that they may not necessarily have had access to in terms of live consumption. Individuals, for instance, may not be able to afford admission tickets, or may be subjected to geographical restrictions that prevent them from having access to watch live sport; but television would allow such restrictions to be overcome. Television can therefore afford consumers the opportunity to consume a wider range of sport than what is accessible to them in terms of watching sport in attendance. The access to a wider array of sporting codes could in turn suggest support for the relatively greater amount of participants classified as omnivores under Definition 3 as opposed to Definition 2.

The probit regression results for Definition 3 show that, unlike what was found for live sports consumption under Definition 2, gender and race were not significant predictors of univore status. The post-estimation F-tests²² indicate that no significant difference was found between any of the other explanatory variables, except between individuals in the R0 – R20 000 and R20 001 – R40000 income categories ($P < 0.10$). This finding suggests that the likelihood of middle income (R20 001 - R40 000) earners being classified as a univore is 7.70% less than it is for lower income (R0 – R20 000) earners. This finding is inconsistent with Bourdieu's

²¹ It was argued that complements/similarities in consumption exist across different forms of sports consumptions

²² The post estimation F-test results that test for significant differences between the explanatory variables (other than the assigned base groups) are found in Table C1 in Appendix C.

(1984) proposition, yet consistent with more recent empirical research (for example, Peterson, 1992; Snowball *et al.*, 2009; Chan and Goldthorpe, 2005). A plausible explanation for the relatively greater probability of being a univore among lower income earners could be attributed to the availability of leisure time. According to Devine *et al.* (2006) and VW Staff (2012), low-income earners spend a larger portion of their time working (often having to work more than one job to support their families – particularly prevalent in a third world country like South Africa). With relatively less leisure time at their disposal, low-income earners may not spend as much time watching television²³ in comparison to relatively higher income earners. Given this, it is probable that higher income groups are likely to consume a relatively greater range of sporting codes on television, which could in turn suggest why they are likely to be more omnivorous when compared to lower income earners. To overcome the restriction of limited time at the disposal of many lower-income earners, a possible recommendation would be to make televised sport accessible at areas of employment. Employers, for example, may provide a communal work television that employees may have access to during their mandatory work breaks (such as scheduled lunch and tea breaks). This would afford employees the opportunity to watch televised sport. This opportunity could encourage the consumption of a wider range of televised sport that would have otherwise not been possible.

Reid (2012) highlights another argument that could explain the differences in univore status among different income earners. According to Reid (2012), many South Africans cannot afford television subscriptions to broadcasting networks such as DStv and TopTV. Given that DStv, for instance, prides itself as having “an unbelievable range of [...] sport” (DSTV, 2014:1), individuals who are able to afford such networks are more likely to have access to a wider range of sport, relative to those who cannot afford such networks. This could therefore suggest why lower income earners were on average found more likely to be univores than relatively higher income earners. In the interest of promoting social tolerance, through the promotion of omnivority (Bryson, 1996), there is a need to promote a wide range of sports television consumption particularly amongst lower income earners. A possible recommendation to promote this would be to establish events where a range of sport is broadcast to the public at an open access venue. This would allow consumers who cannot afford to own a television, access to watch a range of sporting activities. As argued by Banks (2013), sport, particularly in conjunction with technology, has been recognized as having

²³ Worth noting is that, although it is an encompassing generalisation, according to Frey and Benesch (2008) television consumption is regarded as a dominant leisure activity in most individuals’ lives.

unifying properties amongst citizens, even in trying circumstances. Furthermore, Banks (2013:1) noted that sport, through the development of a universal language, promotes better communication amongst a country's citizens and allows communities to "face up to, and solve, many of the challenges where they (we) live". This supports the need for creating ways of allowing greater public access to televised sport, and in so doing, promoting omnivory through access to a broader range of televised sport.

d) Definition 4

The final definition looked at whether sports consumers considered themselves to be general sports fans or solely cricket fans. The results showed statistically significant differences within race, gender, age, and education in determining the consumption classification. The *a priori* expectation for the findings under this definition was that they should be largely similar to the findings of Definition 2 and 3. This *a priori* expectation is grounded in the reasoning that, if an individual considers himself/herself to be a fan of cricket only, he or she is likely to choose to consume only cricket live; whereas a general sports fan would be more likely to choose to consume a range of sporting codes.

In contrast to Definition 1, White and Coloured participants were on average found less likely to be classified as a univore than were Black participants. This meant that White and Coloured participants were more likely to be general sports fans as opposed to only cricket fans, while the opposite was found to be true for Black participants. A possible explanation for this may again be attributed to the notion of the 'Black Diamond'. It is therefore recommended that there is a need to promote a broader sports consumption taste spectrum, particularly amongst Black South Africans, in order to promote social tolerance. This finding is largely similar to what was found under Definition 2 and therefore confirms (in part) the *a priori* expectations. The finding could suggest that, when compared to Black participants, White and Coloured participants generally engage in similar consumption behaviour trends across different forms of consumption. Furthermore, the similarities that were found between Definition 2 and Definition 4 could suggest that trends of live sports consumption could be an indication of the likelihood of a participant classifying themselves as a fan of cricket only or a general sports fan²⁴. In contrast to the *a priori* expectation, the results for Definition 4 appeared vastly different to Definition 3. This could suggest that there is a stronger

²⁴ This differentiation is hereafter referred to as 'fan classification'.

relationship between live consumption of sport and fan classification than there is between television consumption of sport and the same classification.

Similar to Definition 2, the results showed that there was a slight gender bias for Definition 4. Men were on average found to be 6.81% less likely to be classified as univores than women. As was the case for Definition 2, this finding was consistent with previous empirical research in the sports context, but inconsistent with consumption behaviour studies that were conducted within the same society. In terms of age, only very marginal differences were found, with the only statistically significant difference being found between the youngest and oldest age categories. Individuals from the oldest age bracket (51+) were 3.96% less likely to be classified as a univore when compared to individuals in the 11-20 years age bracket. Although not statistically significant, worth noting is that the size of the coefficients do suggest that older participants were on average less likely to be classified as univores than were relatively younger cohorts. This suggests that on average, younger cohorts are more likely to be classified as cricket fans only, as opposed to general sports fans. The finding that younger cohorts are on average relatively more likely to display univorous characteristics than older cohorts is consistent with existing research (Collins, 1992; Antrobus and Snowball, 2010). The finding is, however, inconsistent with other empirical studies (Peterson and Kern, 1996; Rossman and Peterson, 2005; Warde, 2006; Tampubolon, 2008; Snowball *et al.*, 2009; Widdop and Cutts, 2013). A plausible explanation for the exclusivity of younger cohorts' consumption may be underpinned by a characteristic of their life stage. According to Roberts (2012), it is during the younger/childhood ages when people gain their basic leisure tastes. This suggests that leisure tastes start off as basic and as individuals get older, their leisure tastes may develop. This could in turn possibly explain why younger cohorts were found more likely to be only cricket fans (as this was in their early stages of leisure taste attrition), while older cohorts were more likely to be general sports fans (given that their leisure tastes have developed with age). Another explanation for the difference found between the oldest and youngest age groups could be attributed to the time that is at their disposal to allocate to leisure consumption. As highlighted in The World Youth Report (2003:213), "the quality and quantity of young people's discretionary hours are often diminished by strict curfews. When test scores drop or family incomes dip, opportunities to participate in voluntary activities are often restricted, as the hours required for work or study are increased". Thus, with less time at their discretion, this could explain why younger cohorts were relatively more likely to be associated with univorous consumption behaviour. Furthermore, it is plausible that individuals who fell under the oldest age category may be individuals that are no longer part

of the workforce and therefore could have more time at their disposal to allocate to the consumption of leisure activities. This could therefore explain why individuals in the oldest age category were found to be significantly more likely than the youngest ($P < 0.10$) and second youngest ($P < 0.05$ as evident in the post-estimation F-test) age categories to be general sports fans.

Given the social tolerance implications that are attributed to univorous consumption behaviour, it would therefore be recommended that the Department of Sport and Recreation in South Africa consider trying to encourage young South Africans to become fans of a wider array of sporting codes. In line with the arguments of White and Wilson (1999), Wilson (2002), Thrane (2001) and Mehus (2005)²⁵, this could be done by encouraging young people to participate in sport. The Department, for example, could invest in development programs of a range of sports (other than mainly cricket, rugby and soccer) for young people to partake in. Based on the argument that sports participation is positively related to other forms of sports consumption, this may encourage young people to become general sports fans and therefore a movement away from univory. Another manner in which omnivorous consumption behaviour can be encouraged amongst young and older (in this case 51+) individuals, is for sports franchises/stadia to provide some sort of incentive for attendance for these age groups. For example, all sports events could give scholars and pensioners discounted rates of admission, which could in turn encourage consumption.

Unlike the findings of both conventional definitions, under Definition 4, participants with either secondary education (with no matric), matric, or post-secondary levels of education were all on average found a lot *more* likely to be classified as univores than participants with primary education. This could otherwise be interpreted as compared to individuals with primary education, individuals from relatively higher levels of education were on average more likely to be general sports fans as opposed to only cricket fans. Furthermore, the probability of being a univore under this definition decreases as the level of education increase. Thus, this finding presents a similar anomaly to that found for education under the Conventional definition-live. That is, that compared to all the other education groups, individuals with primary education are least likely to be univores. Underpinned by Bourdieu's (1984) line of argument, a possible explanation for this finding could be that individuals from the lowest level of education are associated with the least amounts of social capital (in this case specifically sporting knowledge) which is needed to appreciate the technical aspects of a

²⁵ These researchers noted that sports participation is positively related to other forms of sports consumption.

sport. Thus, individuals with primary education generally do not possess high degrees of social capital and are thus not likely to get more involved (i.e. a deeper approach/appreciation) in one sport but rather be involved with a relatively more surface approach in a range of sports. Although this may explain part of the finding, the same line of argument does not hold for higher levels of education. The results indicate that the probability of being a univore decreases as education increases, which essentially supports Peterson's (1992) hypothesis. Peterson (1992) argued that individuals from higher education groups are likely to prefer a wider range of consumption. This could be used to explain why the probability of being classified as an omnivore (or being classified as a general sports fan and therefore having a wide sports consumption) increased as education levels increased. The anomaly in this instance exists in that this argument would not hold true for the lowest level of education. Why the anomaly exists is not clear. In this instance the prevalence of the anomaly cannot be attributed to the way in which the sports were classified (as was proposed for the Conventional definition-live) as this definition did not account for the nature/eliteness of sporting codes. Thus, as was suggested for the Conventional definition-live, the explanation for the existence of the anomaly calls for further research.

5.3.3 A comparative analysis of socio-demographic findings across definitions

This section presents a general overview of the demographic variables that were found to be significant determinants of univore status under each definition. Possible explanations for the differences in determinants across definitions are suggested and a conclusion on the extent to which sports consumption is bound up in social ties is drawn.

In comparing the demographic determinants of univore status in the conventional definitions, it is evident that education was a strong determinant of univore status. Levels of education were therefore suggested to be significant in influencing types of sport consumed. For both conventional definitions, income was not statistically significant. With income and education generally considered proxies for social status, it is therefore suggested that this finding does not warrant a single stance in empirical research to date. In line with the argument by Warde (2006), it appears that when assigning univore status on the basis of the nature/eliteness of sports consumed, consumption behaviour may carry connotations of social position, but to a limited extent in relation to sports spectating.

An *a priori* expectation of the research was that there would be consistency in the determinants of the different definitions that pertain to the same form of consumption behaviour. That is, it was expected that similarities in the Conventional definition-live and Definition 2 (which pertained to live sports consumption) would be evident, and, similarly, similarities between determinants under the Conventional definition-TV and Definition 3 would emerge. In terms of live consumption, the only similarity that emerged was that, in both instances, univore status was found to differ significantly between males and females. Although gender was a common determinant in explaining univore status under both definitions, the nature of the gender bias was different. When compared to females, males were more likely to be classified as univores under the Conventional definition-live and less likely to be classified as univores under Definition 2. This difference could stem from the difference in the nature of the classification. For example, the Conventional definition-live takes into account the nature/eliteness of the sporting codes whereas Definition 2 considers only the breadth of individuals' live sports consumption spectrum. This highlights the value of including more than just the conventional understanding of omnivores/univores in order to provide a multidimensional understanding of the extent to which consumption behaviour of sport is bound up in social ties. This value is reiterated in the fact that there were no similarities found in the determinants of consumption of sport on television.

Across the alternative definitions, education was only found to be statistically significant under Definition 4. In line with the conventional definitions, this finding could be indicative of connotations of social positioning within the breadth of consumption. Owing to the differences in the nature of the relationship between education and univore status across the definitions, it is not possible to attribute the similarities found to the amount of social capital needed to appreciate an inclusive taste spectrum. The similarities between Definition 4 and the conventional definitions could, however, be explained in terms of similarities in the breadth of consumption behaviour. That is, it could be that individuals who displayed exclusivity in their consumption behaviour under the conventional definitions, may similarly display exclusivity in that they consider themselves only cricket fans as opposed to general sports fans. Another plausible explanation could be underpinned by the fact that each of the definitions is tested exclusively. Therefore, it may be that the same individuals were assigned as univores under more than one definition, and therefore, the similarities in the findings of the determinants should be attributed to the individuals rather than the variable itself (i.e. it may be that the univores under Definition 4 and the conventional definitions were largely the same group of individuals). Future research would be needed to decipher whether the group

of individuals that were classified as univores under one definition were the same group of individuals that were assigned as univores under a different definition.

Statistical significant differences between race groups were evident in explaining univore status under Definition 1, 2 and 4. Given that Definition 3 pertains to television consumption, this could imply that consumption behaviour between races is different for different forms of consumption; and that watching sport on television narrows the existence of racial differences in sports consumption behaviour. It can thus be suggested that, given the social tolerance ramifications that are attributed to univore status, and given the history of South African racial divides, South Africa should value sports broadcasting and perhaps undertake initiatives to enhance greater accessibility to televised sport (for example, giving broadcast rights to the non-pay television channels).

Univore status was only found to differ significantly based on age in one instance. As was explained in Section 5.3.2, this could be attributed to the time at the disposal of the individuals in the oldest age category. The lack of significance of the age variables under all the other definitions suggests that, unlike what was found in previous empirical studies (for example, Snowball *et al.*, 2009; Tampubolon, 2008; Peterson and Kern, 1996; Rossman and Peterson, 2005), consumption behaviour patterns (in this case of sport) do not significantly differ with age. One possible reason for this could be that the nature of watching sport in South Africa is family-orientated and as a result, members of a family across different age groups, for example, would watch sport together. As highlighted in the Green Paper for Families (2012:40), the South African Department of Sport and Recreation prides itself on “making sport and recreation accessible to South African families”. Therefore, it could be that in South Africa, an individual’s sports consumption is underpinned by the sports consumption of other members in their family. This reiterates the need to consider the motives for attendance to obtain a holistic understanding of sports consumption behaviour patterns.

From an overall comparative analysis of the socio-demographic findings across all definitions, it is concluded that consumption behaviour of sport displays elements of social connotations. It appears that to a large extent sports consumption behaviour is tied to educational hierarchies, yet the same cannot be said for income groups. Given that previous empirical studies use both education and income as a proxy for social position, this finding therefore does not support any previous empirical studies in its entirety. It is suggested from this, that consumption behaviour of sport for this context is unique, in that not only do the

findings differ from sports consumption in other countries (for example, Widdop and Cutts, 2013; Lefevre and Ohl, 2011; Warde, 2006) but they also differ from the findings of other forms of luxury activity consumption behaviour within South Africa (for example, Snowball *et al.*, 2009; Antrobus and Snowball, 2010). Finally, and particularly pertinent to South Africa, was the role that race played in underpinning consumption behaviour. From this it can be suggested that there are elements of racial differences in sports consumption behaviour in South Africa (in this case, particularly amongst Eastern Cape cricket spectators). As discussed in Section 5.3.2, given South Africa's history of racial divides and the social tolerance implications that could stem from exclusive consumption behaviour, it is strongly suggested that the Department of Sport and Recreation and sports marketers consider strategies to eradicate, or at least minimise, these racial differences in consumption behaviour of sport. Possible ways in which this could be done might be through targeted marketing strategies with the aim of 'speaking to' all racial groups (for example, using professional players of different races in marketing media or advertising in different South African languages). Based on the arguments of Bryson (1996) and Van Eijck and Leivens (2008), this could encourage relatively more inclusive taste spectrums and in turn lead to higher levels of social tolerance levels in South Africa, particularly amongst race groups.

5.4 Motivation for attendance: A comparison between classifications

As reviewed in Section 2.4.1, existing literature (both theoretical and empirical) has proposed numerous factors/motives that could explain consumption behaviour of sport. According to Crompton and McKay (1997), understanding motives for attendance of an event is vital for the provision of better service, in that motives are fundamental in the consumption decision-making process, and subsequently, understanding motives could lead to better attendance. Snowball *et al.* (2009) argued that motives for attendance might be productively linked to omnivore/univore status and therefore an analysis of how motivation differs across univore status is valuable in understanding sports consumption behaviour.

Table 5.4 presents the findings generated from the bivariate cross-tabulations, showing differences in motivation for attendance between omnivores and univores across the conventional and alternative definitions.

Table 5.4: Motivation for attendance results: A comparison between classifications

Question	Definition 1		Definition 2		Definition 3		Definition 4		Conventional definition-live		Conventional definition-TV	
	Univore	Omnivore	Univore	Omnivore	Univore	Omnivore	Univore	Omnivore	Univore	Omnivore	Univore	Omnivore
1 ²⁶	20.67	79.33	19.95	80.05***	8.41	91.59	8.17	91.83*	93.27	6.73*	97.36	2.64
3 ²⁷	19.06	80.94	18.71	81.29**	8.99	91.01	7.55	92.45**	94.96	5.04	97.48	2.52
4 ²⁸	22.22	77.78	18.60	81.40*	8.27	91.73	7.75	92.25	94.32	5.68	97.16	2.84*
5 ²⁹	22.92	77.08	18.23	81.77	11.46	88.54	9.38	90.63	91.67	8.33	97.40	2.60
8 ³⁰	21.80	78.20**	19.19	80.81**	8.72	91.28	9.59	90.41	94.48	5.52	97.09	2.91
10 ³¹	18.35	81.65	19.27	80.73	10.09	89.91	9.17	90.83	94.50	5.50	99.08	0.92
11 ³²	20.35	79.65	16.88	83.12**	10.39	89.61	8.23	91.77	96.97	3.03	97.84	2.16
13 ³³	23.32	76.68	19.17	80.83**	8.29	91.71	8.81	91.19*	93.01	6.99	97.15	2.85
14 ³⁴	15.66	84.34**	20.71	79.29**	11.11	88.89	9.60	90.40	91.92	8.08	97.47	2.53
16 ³⁵	13.31	86.69	27.42	72.58	12.10	87.90	11.29	88.71	89.92	10.08	96.77	3.23
18 ³⁶	18.13	81.87*	19.55	80.45	8.50	91.50	8.78	91.22	92.92	7.08	97.73	2.27
19 ³⁷	20.05	79.95	20.30	79.70***	8.27	91.73	9.02	90.98	92.98	7.02	97.74	2.26
21 ³⁸	20.45	79.55*	20.20	79.80**	8.33	91.67**	7.32	92.68**	93.43	6.57	97.47	2.53
22 ³⁹	25.45	74.55	20.00	80.00	10.91	89.09	9.09	90.91	94.55	5.45	96.36	3.64
23 ⁴⁰	15.56	84.44	18.29	81.71**	8.95	91.05	8.17	91.83	93.77	6.23	98.05	1.95

Note: Figure shows the proportion of the spectators who indicated either ‘strongly agree’ or ‘agree’ for the respective questions. P<0.01***, p<0.05**, p<0.10* (indicating significant differences in motivation to attend between omnivores and univores).

²⁶ Question 1: “I consider myself a fan of South African cricket”

²⁷ Question 3: “I play/have played cricket competitively before (At school/provincially/internationally)”

²⁸ Question 4: “I consider myself a fan of cricket as a whole and not just of a particular team”

²⁹ Question 5: “I attend cricket matches mainly because my friends or family are attending”

³⁰ Question 8: “The social experience (e.g. socialising at the game, dancing, beer tent, competitions, etc.) is just as important as the cricket match”

³¹ Question 10: “I attend cricket matches because I am specifically a fan of one/some of the players”

³² Question 11: “I enjoy attending the before and after game entertainment”

³³ Question 13: “I prefer close competition games where the outcome is uncertain”

³⁴ Question 14: “I attend the cricket matches a way of meeting new people”

³⁵ Question 16: “Cricket is my favourite sport to watch live”

³⁶ Question 18: “Watching cricket allows me to feel part of the community”

³⁷ Question 19: “Watching South African cricket makes me feel proudly South African”

³⁸ Question 21: “I believe playing sport at school developed my love for sport”

³⁹ Question 22: “If a certain player/some players was/were not playing I would not attend”

⁴⁰ Question 23: “Some of my family members play/have played cricket competitively”

In terms of the conventional definitions, it appears that motivation for attendance was largely the same between omnivores and univores, with the exception of one motive for each conventional definition respectively. Statistically significant differences in the motivation for attendance under the Conventional definition-live pertained to whether individuals considered themselves fans of South African cricket. For this question, 93.27% of the individuals who considered themselves fans of South African cricket were univores, whereas 6.73% were omnivores. This could suggest that considering oneself as a fan of a specific sport may be indicative of an exclusive taste spectrum. As argued by Simmons (2011), if you are a fan of a specific sport (in this case South African cricket) it requires one to devote time, energy and financial resources into that particular sport. Given that the resources devoted to such activities may not simultaneously be used to engage in other sports/luxury activities (Goode, 1960), it may mean that individuals are choosing to be devoted fans of a specific sport, to the exclusion of others. To encourage omnivorous behaviour within South African sport, it could therefore be recommended that stakeholders (for example, the Department of Sport and Recreation) refrain from focusing on the promotion/marketing of a single sport and rather encourage consumption of a range of sport. Possible ways in which this could be done could be to distribute complementary tickets or fan apparel to individuals in hope of igniting an interest in consuming a wider range of sport than what they would ordinarily choose to consume. This could encourage individuals to navigate away from univorous fandom to omnivory, which could in turn have positive implications on social tolerance.

Under the Conventional Definition-TV, the only significant difference in motivation between omnivores and univores pertained to the nature of their cricket consumption preferences. About 97.16% of those who considered themselves to be fans of cricket as a whole as opposed to being a fan of a particular team were univores. This could suggest that individuals who display inclusive taste spectrums in terms of television consumption are generally more concerned about the sport that is screened as opposed to the teams that are playing. A possible explanation for this could be attributed to the nature of sports television broadcasting in South Africa. According to Borland (2013:1), cricket broadcast in South Africa receives “limited coverage”. Therefore, given the limited coverage of cricket on television, fans may not have the opportunity to watch one specific team throughout a series, and as a result thereof may be more inclined to appreciate the sport as a whole rather than a particular team. Conversely, given that omnivores watch a wide array of sport on television, their consumption behaviour could be as a result of them choosing to only watch cricket mainly when a specific team is playing (otherwise they substitute their television consumption for other televised sport).

As a general observation, when individuals are classified as under the conventional definitions, the biggest proportion of individuals who agreed to the different questions were univores; whereas the opposite was true in the case of Definitions 1 to 4. This finding suggests that a significant difference lies within motivation for attendance and classifications. More specifically this suggests that, when individuals are classified in terms of the exclusivity of their taste spectrum because of the nature/eliteness of their consumption choices, there are significant differences in their motivation to attend as opposed to when the breadth of consumption is used as the basis of the classification. A possible reason for such differences could stem from the way in which sports were classified as elite/non-elite. It is, however, not apparent why motivation would be vastly different under the conventional definitions as opposed to other understandings of consumption behaviour. This would be a fruitful area of future research in order to ascertain why such significant differences exist. Nonetheless, it highlights the importance of considering more than just the conventional definitions in order to gain a holistic understanding of motivation for attendance.

Under Definition 1, statistically significant differences in motivation between omnivores and univores pertained to the social experience of the game. More specifically, under Definition 1, a strong social motive for attendance is evident amongst omnivores. That is, the majority of the individuals who said yes to Question 8, 14 and 18 (all of which are underpinned by a social motive) were omnivores. In order to encourage omnivorous consumption behaviour (which could in turn be interpreted as encouraging social tolerance) it could therefore be recommended that hosts of sports events invest in social elements of the experience (for example, providing complementary entertainment at the grounds throughout the event).

Across all four alternative definitions, significant differences in response to Question 21 were found. The majority of the omnivores under Definition 1 to 4 agreed that playing sport at school developed their love for sport. This could signal to stakeholders that, in order to encourage omnivorous behaviour, it is important to encourage school-goers to participate in sport. Therefore, it may be worthwhile to invest in school sport and developmental sports programs that have the potential to develop a love for sport at a young age. In line with the arguments by White and Wilson (1999), Wilson (2002), Thrane (2001) and Mehus (2005), encouraging participation of sport at school could imply that there be positive developmental implications for other forms of sports consumption too (e.g. in turn encouraging omnivorous

television and live sports consumption). This recommendation could in turn essentially assist South Africa's Department of Sport and Recreation (2014) in achieving its mission⁴¹.

Finally, from the lack of significant differences across univores and omnivores for Questions 10 and 22 across all definitions, it could be suggested that consumption of sport in South Africa is not significantly dependent on the presence of certain players. That is, motives for consumption do not seem to be underpinned by the presence of specific players. This could in turn imply that marketers of cricket events should not focus on using specific players to market the event but structure the marketing focus around the sport as a whole.

5.5 Summary and Conclusion

This chapter presented the main empirical findings of the research. The probit regression results predicting the probability of a univore classification under each definition were presented and interpreted. From these results, it was concluded that sports consumption behaviour in the Eastern Cape displays elements of social connotations, with significant differences in consumption behaviour of sport found on the grounds of race and education. The chapter then presented the bivariate cross-tabulation results that suggested that omnivores and univores differ in terms of their motives for attendance. Throughout the chapter, a discussion of the findings and recommendations stemming therefrom were presented. The following chapter will summarise the research, discuss the limitations of the study and provide suggestions for future research.

⁴¹ As per their mission statement the Department of Sport and Recreation's (2014:1) mission is "to transform the delivery of sport and recreation by ensuring equitable access, development and excellence at all levels of participation and to harness the socio-economic contributions that can create a better life for all South Africans".

CHAPTER 6: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Introduction

The primary goal of this research was to investigate whether South African cricket spectators are sporting omnivores or univores; with a secondary goal of identifying motives for consumers making specific sport consumption decisions, and ascertaining whether certain characteristics could be attributed to these consumption decisions. Chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5 presented the theoretical background, core empirical literature, data and methods, and empirical findings and recommendations pertaining to this study. An executive summary of each chapter is presented in Section 6.2, followed by limitations of the study and suggestions for future research in Section 6.3.

6.2 Executive summary of the research

Chapter 2 considers the theoretical background of the study. The chapter presents a broad review of some of the theoretical underpinnings of consumption behaviour in general, the consumption behaviour of leisure, and the consumption behaviour of sport as a form of leisure. Since its inception, consumption theory has evolved and become anthropocentric in nature, with people and societal influence at the forefront of the theory, and as an important source of understanding consumption behaviour. From a review of the determining factors of leisure consumption and particularly sport as form of leisure consumption, it is concluded that social comparison plays a significant role as a determining factor of both leisure and sports consumption.

Given the anthropocentric nature of consumption theory and the theoretical proposition that social comparison/influence is an important determinant of consumption behaviour (Veblen, 1899; Wakefield, 1995; Cornea and Jeanne, 1997 and Choi *et al.*, 2009), Chapter 3 reviews empirical literature investigating social comparison and consumption behaviour of leisure activities. The idea of social comparison in leisure consumption was initially investigated for cultural activities (for example, Bourdieu, 1984; Wilensky, 1964; Peterson, 1992; Lamont, 1992) and has since developed to include the consumption of sport (for example, Miles and Sullivan, 2010; Lefvre and Ohl, 2011; Warde, 2006; Widdop and Cutts, 2013). The idea of social stratification of the consumption of culture (as a form of leisure consumption) was

initially coined by Bourdieu (1984), and first contested by Peterson (1992). Since the origin of the omnivore/univore theory, writers have proposed extensions and developments to the theory, which are reviewed. From these extensions and developments, it is evident that there is value in studies that consider definitions other than the original or conventional definitions of omnivore and univore to move away from the binary understanding of consumption behaviour, towards a more comprehensive and multidimensional understanding of the omnivore/univore theory for a given context.

To date the omnivore/univore hypothesis has been tested in a number of different contexts. Studies testing this hypothesis in the cultural context are reviewed first. The general finding for these studies is that an omnivore/univore classification (or an extension thereof) was possible for patrons who consumed cultural products. Generally, the studies support the ‘contested hypothesis’ by Peterson (1992). However, there are cases (for example, in Suominen, 2007) where support of Bourdieu’s (1984) hypothesis is evident. A common finding of the studies is that cultural tastes, in many cases, can be differentiated along socio-demographic lines; where in most cases reviewed, consumption behaviour differed in accordance with age, gender, education and income. Overall, it is concluded that consumption behaviour is largely still bound up by social hierarchies.

In a review of the application of the omnivore/univore hypothesis in the entertainment industry, the results are very much in line with that of the cultural context. Entertainment consumption behaviour was classified in terms of omnivorous or univorous characteristics and consumption patterns were identifiable on the grounds of socio-demographic variables. An overarching conclusion from the review of these studies, as noted by Chan and Goldthorpe (2005), is that consumption behaviour of entertainment forms can be socially stratified.

A review of the omnivore/univore hypothesis in sport (for the variety of different consumption forms) similarly suggests that the general findings of consumption behaviour of cultural products can largely be used to understand consumption behaviour of sport. Sports consumers can be classified as omnivores or univores and consumption behaviour can be differentiated in terms of socio-demographic variables. A striking difference between the studies in the cultural context and those in the sports context pertains to gender. A number of the cultural context studies generally found that females were more likely to be classified as omnivores than univores (Snowball *et al.*, 2009; Antrobus and Snowball, 2010; Suominen,

2007). The opposite is evident in the case of sports consumption (Lefevre and Ohl, 2011; Warde, 2006; James and Ridinger, 2002). As an overarching conclusion from the review of the sports consumption studies it is concluded that “there are certainly some hints that different sports carry connotations of social position, limitedly in relation to spectating, a little more in relation to participation” (Warde, 2006:119).

The final section of Chapter 3 reviews empirical findings on the motivation for attendance of entertainment products and sports products. As noted by Snowball *et al.* (2009), this is a topic closely related to the omnivore/univore hypothesis. The studies identified numerous influences as factors that motivated attendance. In the cultural context, these factors included recreation, social inclusion, escapism, self-esteem enhancement (which was taken as a proxy for status), and aesthetics. Motives for attendance at cultural events were found to differ across socio-demographic variables. Other motives for attendance included escapism, entertainment, socializing, artistic and status motive. Snowball *et al.* (2009), in support of Swanson *et al.* (2008), found motives to be significantly different across socio-demographic variables (particularly age, occupation and education). Overall, it is concluded from this section that “motivations were found to be as important in determining consumption patterns as socio-demographic variables” (Snowball *et al.*, 2009:482).

Similarly, in the case of sport, motivation for attendance differs across socio-demographic variables. Specifically, motivation for attendance is found to be significantly different between males and females. James and Ridinger (2002) concluded that sport provides an important identity for males that is not shared for females. The motivation for attendance is found to produce interesting implications for marketers and producers of such events, an understanding of motives of attendance can be beneficial to producers and marketers and even result in the enhancement of the product that the consumers are offered. James and Ridinger (2002) further provide an interesting suggestion for future research; that future studies on motivation for attendance should be conducted relative to specific teams, in order to gain better insight into the motives that influence individual team support and the consumption behaviour of sports fans. Snowball *et al.* (2009:482) further support this in the cultural context where it was suggested that “(t)his (motivation for attendance) is a potentially fruitful area for further research”.

Finally, the consumption model, proposed by Trail and James (2011), shows that the consumption process is a complex process and is influenced by a wide range of internal and

external factors. From this, it was argued that, owing to the subjective nature and individuality of the decisions governing consumption behaviour, it is necessary for each individual context to undertake research on motives for attendance for a specific group of individuals in order to comprehensively understand their consumption decisions as well as pattern of consumption behaviour. Warde (2006) further noted that sport is a domain of extensive ramifications for a country's economy, society and culture and yet it is often treated as inferior to many of the minority forms of art. Owing to these and other ramifications (as were highlighted in Section 1.1), and the fact that research on sport consumption remains largely underdeveloped (Widdop, 2010), a need to further research and develop the application of consumption behaviour theory to the sport context is concluded.

Chapter 4 presents the data and empirical methods of the study. The chapter provides a description of the different ways in which cricket spectators could be classified into omnivores and univores. Based on previous empirical research the study investigates the conventional classification; in which spectators are classified as omnivores or univores according to the exclusivity of the sports consumed. This is largely informed by Bourdieu's (1984) theory. The adaptation of this definition for the sporting context is done for the two main forms of sports consumption; watching in attendance/live and watching the televised version of the sport. Four alternate omnivore/univore sub-classifications are then proposed for this study.

The first alternate definition focuses on the level at which sport is played. For this definition, spectators are classified as omnivores if they chose to consume professional and amateur sport; or univores if they chose to consume only professional sport. The second alternate definition is based on Peterson's (1992) argument on the importance of considering the array of consumption. In this case, individuals are classified as univores if they only chose to watch cricket live (to the exclusion of other sports), while omnivores are those that watched cricket and other sports live. The third alternate definition is largely the same as the second alternative definition but considers tastes in terms of consumption of televised sport as opposed to consumption in the form of attendance. The final alternate definition is similar to the second alternate definition (and therefore similarly in line with Peterson's (1992) recognition of a consumer's taste spectrum) but encompasses both television and live attendance forms of consumption. For this definition, univores are spectators who only considered themselves cricket fans, while omnivores considered themselves to be general sports fans.

The chapter then provides a description of the questions from the questionnaire that elicited responses that are true to the omnivore/univore classification for each of the definitions. A description of the questions underpinning the various motives for attendance are also presented. To determine the effect of individual characteristics in predicting the likelihood of being a univore, binary probit models were estimated for the conventional definitions as well as for all four alternate omnivore/univore classifications. The degree to which motivation for attendance differed in terms of omnivore/univore status was also examined.

In Chapter 5, the core empirical results of the study are presented. The results indicate that there are differences in the social-demographic determinants of univore status under each definition. These determinants and the implications thereof are discussed for each of the six definitions. Recommendations pertaining to encouraging omnivorous consumption behaviour (with the aim of promoting social tolerance) are proposed based on the findings.

6.3 Conclusions of the research

From an overall analysis of the findings on univore status under all the definitions, it is concluded that consumption behaviour of sport displays elements of social connotations. It is established that sports consumption behaviour is linked to educational hierarchies, but not significantly to levels of income. Given that education and income have generally been used as a proxy for social position, the findings of this study therefore do not support any previous empirical studies in its entirety. From an overall analysis of the findings, it is also showed that there are elements of racial differences in sports consumption behaviour in South Africa, suggesting that race plays a role in underpinning sports consumption behaviour. This finding is particularly pertinent given South Africa's history of racial divides. Considering the social tolerance implications that could stem from univorous consumption behaviour, it is suggested that stakeholders consider strategies to eradicate or minimise racial differences in consumption behaviour of sport. Suggestions of such strategies are, to ensure that marketing is targeted at all racial groups (for example, using professional players of different races in marketing media or advertising of sport events in different South African languages). Based on the arguments of Bryson (1996) and Van Eijck and Leivens (2008), such strategies could encourage relatively more inclusive taste spectrums and in turn lead to higher levels of social tolerance levels in South Africa, particularly amongst racial groups.

It appears that sports consumption behaviour of Eastern Cape cricket spectators is particularly unique when compared to consumption behaviour of cultural consumers in South Africa and consumption behaviour of sport internationally. The findings of the study differ from both the finding on sports consumption behaviour in other countries and from the findings of other forms of luxury activities consumption behaviour within South Africa.

Finally, in terms of motivation for attendance, it is concluded that there are differences in motivation for attendance between omnivores and univores. Considering the differences in motivation between omnivores and univores, proved useful in putting forward practical recommendations to stakeholders in order to promote specific consumption behaviour that could in turn have positive social tolerance ramifications.

6.4 Limitations of study and suggestions for future research

The first limitation of the study pertains to the cross-sectional nature of the research design. Given that consumption behaviour is dynamic as opposed to static in nature, making definite causal inferences from cross-sectional data should only be attempted with caution. It is suggested that future research should consider the use of longitudinal data in order to make accurate causal inferences and to account for the dynamic nature of sports consumption.

The second possible limitation is that even though the results may be representative of cricket spectators in the Eastern Cape, generalization of the findings to consumers of the wider context is limited. The results of the study only pertain to cricket spectators and therefore one cannot infer the findings to all sports spectators. The generalization of the results is further limited in that data collection was conducted at the same ground and same catchment area. Furthermore, and related to this, is the limitation of the relatively small sample size of the study. Thus, it is suggested that, in order to attain results that can be generalized to South African sports consumers, future research should be conducted at a range of sporting events, hosted at a range of stadia throughout the country.

The final shortcoming of the study could be the presence of common-method variance. Given that data collection is performed by means of a questionnaire only, there may be spurious correlation between the variables in the study, which may have in turn caused the

relationships between variables to be under- or over-stated. Thus, it is suggested that future research in this area collect data by means of triangulation.

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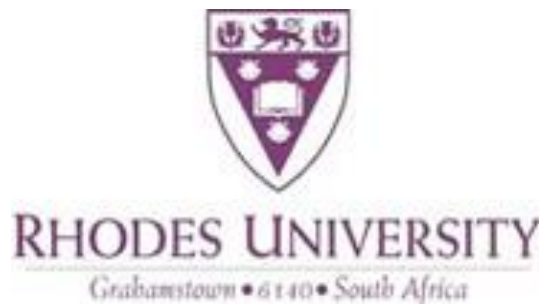
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APPENDIX A: QUESTIONNAIRE

Appendix A is a copy of the questionnaire that was developed and administered to ascertain motives for consumption behaviour and possible responses revealing tendencies of sporting omnivores and univores for various definitions (referred to throughout Chapter Three). The first page was given to each participant to read prior to the commencement of their interview. The subsequent pages of this appendix are the questionnaire itself. The text stated in square brackets are instructions to the interviewers, prompting them to either do or say specific things at different stages of the interview.



Dear Participant

The purpose of this research is to investigate consumption behaviour of cricket in South Africa. The research aims to identify the motives for match attendance with the ultimate goal of adding value to the game from a developmental and informed marketing perspective. The research is commissioned by both Rhodes University and the Chevrolet Warriors, represented by Dave Emslie and Leigh Deyzel.

I kindly request that you share your motives for match attendance by completing the questionnaire. The questionnaire will take approximately 10 minutes to complete. There are no correct or incorrect answers and your opinion is highly valued. You may withdraw from completing the survey at any time.

Please note that your participation in this survey is voluntary and anonymous. All information provided will be used for research purposes only. Privacy and confidentiality will be respected. The data obtained will be housed in private storage upon completion of the analysis. The research study has been approved by the Departmental Research Ethics Committee as well as by the Faculty of Commerce Higher Degrees Committee.

Thank you for taking the time to complete the survey and help us ensure that the legacy of the game be maintained and developed.

Ms Kelcey Brock and Prof GCG Fraser
Department of Economics and Economic History
Rhodes University
Grahamstown

[The first part of the survey is to find out what your opinions are on watching cricket and other sport. I will read out a statement, and you will then please tell me if you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with it. OK? If you would like me to repeat a statement, or remind you of the categories as we go along, just let me know.]

STRONGLY AGREE (SA), AGREE (A), DISAGREE (D), STRONGLY DISAGREE (SD)	SA	A	D	SD
1. I consider myself a fan of South African cricket				
2. Cricket is the <u>only</u> sport I choose to watch live (in attendance)				
3. I play/ have played cricket competitively before (At school/provincially/internationally)				
4. I consider myself a fan of cricket as a whole and not just of a particular team				
5. I attend cricket matches mainly because my friends or family are attending				
6. From time to time I go to other professional sports matches				
7. I prefer watching sport live as opposed to on TV.				
8. The social experience (e.g. socialising at the game, dancing, beer tent, competitions etc) is just as important as the cricket match				
9. I would consider myself as a sports fan rather than just a cricket fan				
10. I attend cricket matches because I am specifically a fan of one/some of the players				
11. I enjoy attending the before and after game entertainment				
12. I would like to attend more live cricket matches				
13. I prefer close competition games where the outcome is uncertain				
14. I attend the cricket matches as a way of meeting new people				
15. I watch sports channels on TV				
16. Cricket is my favourite sport to watch live				
17. I feel the matches are advertised well				
18. Watching cricket allows me to feel part of the community				
19. Watching South African cricket makes me feel proudly South African				
20. I believe that the ticket price is worth the experience				
21. I believe playing sport at school developed my love for sport				
22. If a certain player/some players was/were not playing I would not attend				

23. Some of my family members play/have played cricket competitively				
24. I watch both professional and amateur cricket				
25. Cricket is the only sport I choose to watch on TV				

[Please ask the participants the following open-ended questions]

- a) Approximately how many live cricket matches do you watch in a 12 month period?

.....

- b) Do you watch cricket on TV?

YES

NO

- c) During the cricket season, about how many games would you say you watch on TV per month?

- d) What other sports do you go and watch live?

Golf	
Tennis	
Soccer	
Rugby	
Horse Racing	

Other (Please specify).....

- e) What sport do you watch on TV?

Golf	
Tennis	
Soccer	
Rugby	
Horse Racing	

Other (Please Specify).....

- f) What influences whether you watch a cricket match live or on TV?

.....
.....
.....
.....

[Thanks very much for your help so far. The last part of the questionnaire is about you. While we support non-discrimination, this information will be useful in analysing the results. Your name will not be attached to the questionnaire at all, and you can refuse to answer a particular question if you like. OK?]

g) How old are you?

h) Please record this information but DO NOT ask the participants

Race:

Gender:

[Provide participants with the table and ask them to please state what their highest level of education is – record their response on the table below]

i) Highest level of education:

Primary education	Secondary education but no matric	Matric	Tertiary education	Other (please specify)

j) Personal Monthly Net (after tax) Income Bracket

[Provide interviewee with income bracket table and ask them to please state which bracket best describes their personal monthly income after tax – record their response on the table below]

R0 – R10 000	R10 000 – R20 000	R20 000 – R30 000	R30 000 – R40 000	R 50 000 – R60 000	R60 000 – R70 000	R70 000 +

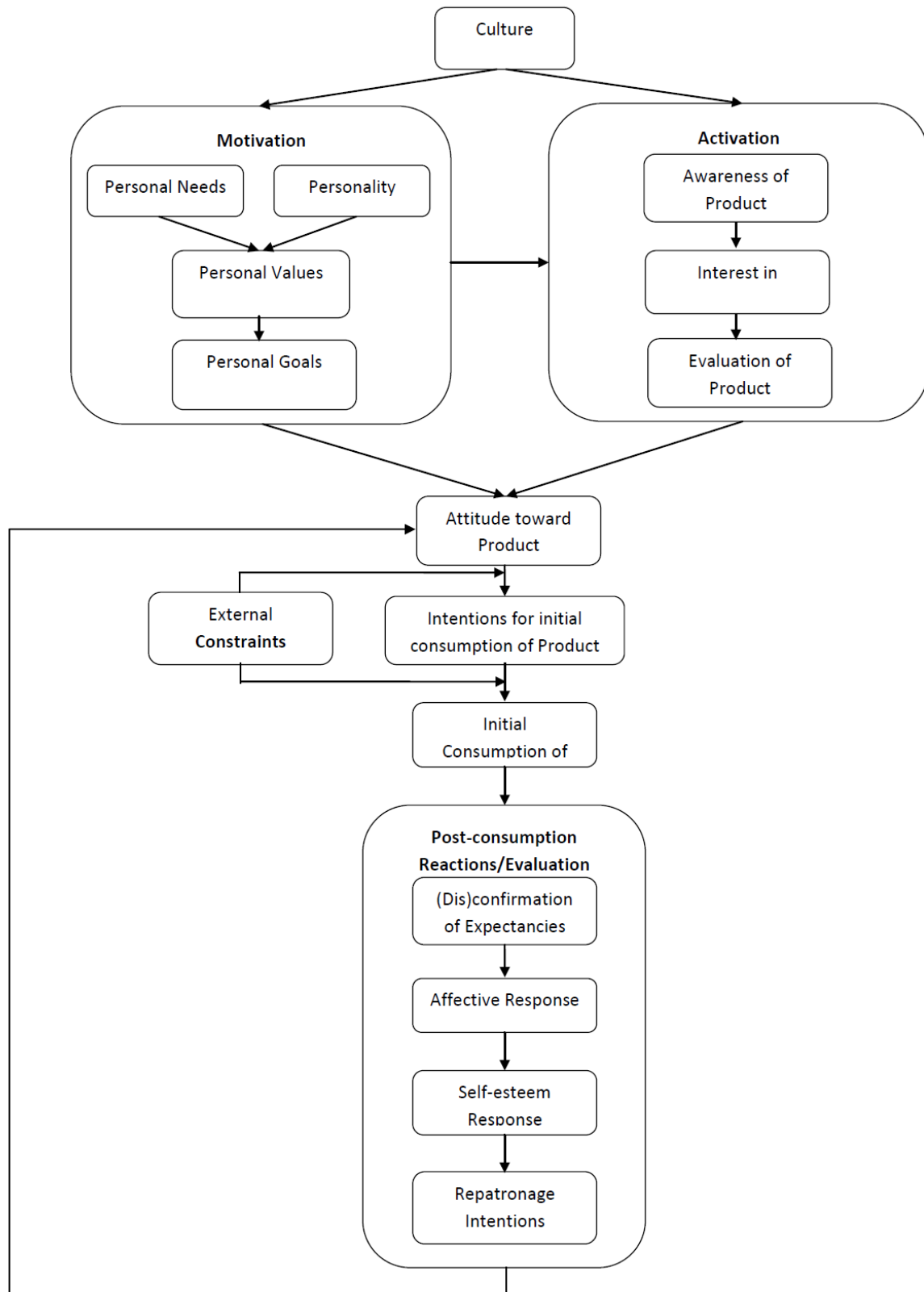
[Thank you for taking the time to complete the questionnaire.]

Interviewer's initials:

Interviewer, please state whether you believe that the data collected is reliable (e.g. the participant understood all questions asked, the participant was not under the influence of alcohol or not affected by any other factors that may skew their responses): **Y/N**

APPENDIX B:

Figure B1: Model of Spectator Sport Consumption



Source: Trail and James (2011)

APPENDIX C:

POST-ESTIMATION F-TEST RESULTS OF SIGNIFICANCE BETWEEN EXPLANATORY VARIABLES (OTHER THAN BETWEEN THE SPECIFIED BASE GROUPS AS TESTED FOR IN THE INDIVIDUAL PROBIT MODELS).

Table C1: Post-estimation F-test results showing significance between explanatory variables

Test for significant difference between:	Definition 1 ⁴²		Definition 2 ⁴³		Definition 3 ⁴⁴		Definition 4 ⁴⁵		Conventional Live		Conventional TV	
	χ^2	P > χ^2	χ^2	P > χ^2	χ^2	P > χ^2	χ^2	P > χ^2	χ^2	P > χ^2	χ^2	P > χ^2
Race:												
White and Coloured	1.78	0.1823	3.58	0.0585	0.19	0.6669	5.81	0.0159	0.07	0.7970	1.35	0.2459
White and Indian	6.80	0.0091	1.81	0.1783	1.85	0.1738	9.69	0.0019	0.32	0.5739	0.90	0.3429
Coloured and Indian	3.47	0.0624	0.01	0.9080	1.21	0.2722	1.74	0.1871	0.14	0.7120	0.02	0.8800
Age:												
21-30 and 31-40	0.01	0.9414	0.28	0.5969	0.17	0.6825	0.53	0.4665	1.70	0.1927	0.06	0.8040
21-30 and 41-50	1.41	0.2349	0.06	0.8139	0.03	0.8673	2.00	0.1572	1.47	0.2258	0.11	0.7426
21-30 and 51+	1.85	0.1733	0.39	0.5332	0.47	0.4911	3.99	0.0457	1.28	0.2572	0.86	0.3536
31-40 and 41-50	0.93	0.3339	0.45	0.5002	0.04	0.8396	0.31	0.5764	0.05	0.8273	0.26	0.6084
31-40 and 51+	1.22	0.2688	0.01	0.9261	0.77	0.3801	1.48	0.2240	0.07	0.7970	1.06	0.3041
41-50 and 51+	0.01	0.9385	0.63	0.4291	0.50	0.4797	0.48	0.4893	0.00	0.9662	0.07	0.7966
Education:												
Secondary (no matric) and matric	0.18	0.6738	5.41	0.0200	0.00	0.9531	2.40	0.1216	8.66	0.0032	2.49	0.1147
Secondary (no matric) and post-secondary	1.09	0.2967	2.21	0.1372	0.10	0.7525	8.19	0.0042	5.39	0.0203	0.53	0.4657
Matric and post-secondary	1.00	0.3173	0.97	0.3236	0.41	0.5236	4.16	0.0318	0.24	0.6262	0.85	0.3559
Income:												
R20001- R40 001	0.65	0.4210	0.11	0.7357	0.62	0.4311	0.83	0.3636	0.25	0.6148		

Worth noting is that 'Income' could not be included in the regression for the Conventional Definition-TV. This is because only 12 individuals were classified as univores, and after a cross-tabulation, it became evident that of these 12 individuals, none fell into the top two income categories; hence, no comparison groups were available for the omnivore status.

⁴² For Definition 1 participants were classified as univores if they watched only professional cricket; or omnivores if they watched professional and amateur cricket.

⁴³ For Definition 2 participants were classified as univores if they watched only cricket live; or omnivores if they watched cricket and other sport live.

⁴⁴ For Definition 3 participants were classified as univores if they watched only cricket on television; or omnivores if they watched cricket and other sport on television.

⁴⁵ For Definition 4 participants were classified as univores if they considered themselves to be only cricket fans; or omnivores if they considered themselves general sports fans.