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The influence of expectancies on sport consumer behaviour: from BIRGing to COFFing

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Abstract: This study makes a novel contribution to the consumer behaviour literature by confirming the influence of expectations on the propensity of sport consumers to engage in BIRGing behaviours. Notably, while many researchers have measured behaviour via self-reported surveys, this study breaks new ground in its analysis of actual consumer behaviour. Consistent with expectancy theory, results revealed that study participants who expected a win were more than twice as likely to BIRG, and the effect of expectations on behaviour was not moderated by the outcome of the game. An analysis of participants who expected a loss provides the first empirical support in the sport consumer behaviour literature for the theory of COFFing (i.e., 'cutting off future failure'). Given the need to protect their ego from future damage, those who did not expect to win were 50.5% less likely to BIRG, representing an important theoretical contribution to the literature.

Keywords: consumer behaviour; expectancy theory; BIRGing; COFFing.

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1 Introduction

Expectations can play a powerful role in the ways in which we act, react to occurrences, and go about our daily lives. Researchers have found that our expectations may even influence our subsequent behaviour. For example, researchers in the field of organisational behaviour confirmed that one's expectations can influence a variety of different measures of effort and performance (Lawler and Suttle, 1973). Since that time, the power of expectations to influence behaviour has extended to the study of one's performance as a salesperson (Oliver, 1974), leadership and motivation (Isaac et al., 2001), and even alcohol consumption (Jones et al., 2001). More recently, the vast influence of one's expectations has also extended into the field of management, specifically collaborative group work settings, suggesting it may be useful in predicting the effectiveness of group collaboration (Baumann and Bonner, 2016).

In the field of sport psychology, researchers have also confirmed that the expectations of coaches can have a significant impact on the performance of the athletes and teams they coach (Solomon, 2001), as well as their own effectiveness (Becker and Solomon, 2005). For example, in a qualitative study of English Premier League managers, Mills and Boardley (2016) confirmed the importance of setting high performance expectations. Off of the field, coaches often use expectations to frame seasonal and weekly narratives in their communication with important stakeholders, such as the media and fans of their teams, with many coaches purporting to embrace high expectations.

Despite the multitude of contexts in which researchers have confirmed the importance and influence of expectations, it is as of yet unknown the role they may play in the responses of sport consumers to the performances of their favoured athletes, coaches, and teams. One of the most influential studies of sport consumer behaviour, Cialdini et al.'s (1976) field studies, revealed the existence of the phenomenon of 'basking in reflected glory' (i.e., BIRGing). Cialdini et al. (1976) were the first researchers to investigate how the results of athletic contests affected and predicted sport consumers' subsequent behaviours. However, the authors did not examine whether behaviours differed based on the expectations of either a victory or a loss prior to the athletic contest, and there is no study in the sport consumer behaviour literature that investigates how pre-game expectations influence the behaviour of sport consumers. Within sport consumer behaviour research, expectancy theory could help explain how behaviours may be impacted when the performance of a product or service does not match expectations, either positively or negatively (i.e., expectancy disconfirmation; Trail and James, 2012). Thus, the purpose of this study is to utilise the tenets of expectancy theory to improve our understanding of the impact of expectations on the consumer behaviour phenomenon of BIRGing (Cialdini et al., 1976). More than 40 years after the original BIRGing study, this work seeks to build upon the continued study of the phenomenon of BIRGing in an empirical investigation of whether a consumer's expectations (Trail, 2016) can influence one's propensity to engage in BIRGing behaviours.

Researchers have previously utilised self-reported surveys to investigate whether consumers indicate if they believe these factors will influence their future behaviour. For example, Lee et al. (2013) found expectancy had an indirect relationship (via satisfaction) with self-reported intentions to purchase team-related apparel. Trail et al. (2005) suggested that a confirmation or disconfirmation of expectations could influence future purchase intentions through mood and self-esteem responses. However, many consumer behaviour scholars now suggest that researchers should use experimental designs to investigate actual behavioural outcomes, rather than merely relying on the self-reported intentions of study participants responding to scenarios (e.g., Morales et al., 2017). In the current study, a novel difference between this prior research and the current study is that we covertly monitored student participants at seven university campuses throughout the entirety of a football season to determine how expectations influenced their actual behaviour (i.e., propensity to BIRG) following their teams' competitions. Although some have examined the effect of expectations on the behavioural intentions of sport consumers (e.g., Lee et al., 2013; Trail et al., 2005), the present research is the first of its type to explore how expectations influence actual consumer behaviour in the sport context. Thus, this study extends earlier research, yet also fills an important gap in the sport consumer behaviour literature related to the influence of expectations on the behaviour of sport consumers.

2 Literature review

Since Cialdini et al. (1976), BIRGing has been utilised as a lens with which to examine a variety of different topics in consumer behaviour, such as identification (Madrigal, 1995; Madrigal and Chen, 2008; Wann and Branscombe, 1990; Wann et al., 1995), vicarious achievement (Kwon et al., 2008; Trail et al., 2012), and spectator loyalty (Trail et al., 2005). In addition, Cialdini and a series of other researchers have extended the BIRGing phenomenon to a wide variety of new concepts and theories to help explain a number of behaviours, including Blasting, CORFing, COFFing, BIRFing, and CORSing (see Table 1 for a helpful overview of each acronym). Most recently, based on high levels of identification among university students, some of these concepts were reframed as collectively celebrating the ingroup's shared accomplishments (i.e., 'celebrating our accomplishment together', or COATing, rather than BIRGing), and a reflection of a 'failure to achieve a shared triumph' (i.e., FASTing, rather than CORFing) (Jensen et al., 2016).

Table 1 Overview of sport consumer behaviour psychological phenomenon

<i>Phenomenon</i>	<i>Acronym</i>	<i>Seminal study</i>
Basking in reflected glory	BIRGing	Cialdini et al. (1976)
Blasting	N/A	Cialdini and Richardson (1980)
Burnishing	N/A	Cialdini and Richardson (1980)
Cutting off reflected failure	CORFing	Snyder et al. (1983)
Boosting	N/A	Finch and Cialdini (1989)
Cutting off future failure	COFFing	Wann et al. (1995)
Basking in spite of reflected failure	BIRFing	Campbell et al. (2004)
Cutting off reflected success	CORSing	Campbell et al. (2004)
Glory out of reflected failure	GORFing	Havard (2014)
Celebrating our accomplishment together	COATing	Jensen et al. (2016)
Failure to achieve a shared triumph	FASTing	Jensen et al. (2016)
Hedging against future failure	HAFFing	Agha and Tyler (2017)

Following their original three field studies, Cialdini and Richardson (1980) built upon their prior work by introducing the concept of blasting. Blasting reflected a way in which individuals could convey negative assertions about outgroups (i.e., rivals). Rather than enhancing prestige by promoting one's association to an observer about a team or group in which one is positively associated, blasting refers to a similar effect that decreased an evaluation of an entity of which one has a negative association. The researchers utilised the rivalry between the University of Arizona and Arizona State University, with Cialdini and Richardson (1980) observing that students from Arizona State University were more likely to criticise their outgroup from the University of Arizona when their self-esteem had been challenged, following a subpar performance on a test. The authors suggested that in addition to the implications of the study for sport consumer behaviour, the concept may also have important repercussions in improving our understanding of prejudice and discrimination. Subsequent work found evidence of yet another indirect image management tactic they called 'boosting', which involves an individual's propensity to

elevate aspects of their own character when confronted with a personal connection to a negative other (such as a fan of a rival team; Finch and Cialdini, 1989). The work of Cialdini and Richardson (1980) on fans' responses to rivals was subsequently extended by postulating that rival fans will rejoice a rival team's defeat, or 'glory out of reflected failure' (GORFing; Havard, 2014).

The BIRGing phenomenon was then extended to the study of how individuals respond to negative events, with the concept of 'cutting off reflected failure' (CORFing; Snyder et al., 1983). CORFing is based on balance theory (Heider, 1958), and suggests that individuals are motivated to continue a consistent evaluation between various items or groups. When the individual suspects imbalance, he or she then seeks to restore it. CORFing is in effect the direct opposite of BIRGing, and explains an individual's tendency to distance one's self from unsuccessful affiliations, such as a losing team, due to a need to manage one's sense of self. The concept of CORFing was then empirically tested in an effort to explain how it may serve as a tactic designed to protect one's image (Snyder et al., 1986). Using an experimental study involving college students, the researchers found that those individuals placed in a group that failed were less likely to associate themselves with their group, compared to those placed in a group that was successful. Thus, the tendency for these individuals to distance themselves from the group was a product of the group's failure, rather than one's own personal failure.

In one of the first studies to examine the role of group identity on the propensity of an individual to BIRG and CORF, 'die-hard' fans, or individuals more heavily identified with their team of choice, were found to be more likely to BIRG and less likely to CORF (Wann and Branscombe, 1990). In a subsequent study that examined the role of identity on BIRGing behaviours, the role of team identification in both vicarious achievement and BIRGing among fans of two college football national championship contenders was investigated (Trail et al., 2012). The authors suggested that the team's success reinforces an individual's identity as a fan of the team, which in turn enhances the individual's self-esteem. Among highly identified fans, winning also improved their feelings of worth and self-esteem. This view is consistent with that of Cialdini et al. (1976), who found that students chose to wear school-affiliated apparel in an effort to publicly display their connection with the successful team, thereby enhancing their esteem in the eyes of others. In addition to BIRGing, Blasting, and CORFing, Campbell et al. (2004) emphasised how previously established theories failed to account for the propensity of some fans to associate oneself with a team despite its failure ('basking in spite of reflected failure,' or BIRFing) and disassociate themselves with a successful team ('cutting off reflected success', or CORS). Recently, the existence of the BIRFing phenomenon was found among fans of the Chicago Cubs, in a study that also confirmed their propensity to BIRG increased following the team's World Series title (Jensen et al., 2018).

The phenomenon of HAFFing, or 'hedging against future failure' among fans who bet against their favourite teams, has also been investigated (Agha and Tyler, 2017). Similar to COFFing, the researchers postulated that HAFFing offsets a perceived emotional loss by serving as a self-image management strategy. A similar quantitative study found that participants were reluctant to bet against their favoured teams in both professional and college games (Morewedge et al., 2017). In studies involving college basketball and hockey games, more than 45% of fans turned down an opportunity to receive \$5 if their team lost (i.e., a riskless hedge). The researchers suspected that fans were reluctant to accept a potentially lucrative hedge given that it was identity-relevant,

and accepting such might provide a negative signal (i.e., identity signalling) regarding their identification with their chosen team (Morewedge et al., 2017).

Despite the prevalence of studies that have investigated these various self-image management behaviours, replications of these studies have been rare. Both Sigelman (1986) and Wann et al. (1995) failed to replicate the findings of Cialdini et al. (1976) that revealed the existence of the BIRGing phenomenon. Sigelman (1986) utilised the context of politics, and found no evidence of a BIRGing effect when examining the propensity for consumers to display yard signs for winning political candidates. Sigelman (1986) speculated that perhaps the effect is due to the requisite level of football success enjoyed by the participating universities involved in the study, all of whom were successful football powerhouses. "For one thing, would the same BIRG effect also be observed at schools where football is not king?" wrote Sigelman (1986, p.90). "Would students at Yale or Oregon State be as likely as those at Notre Dame or Ohio State to try to link themselves to the fortunes of the football team?" Wann et al. (1995) also investigated the phenomenon in the political context, finding that supporters of a winning candidate were no more likely to display their allegiance to a winning candidate publicly, in the form of a campaign button.

In contrast, on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the publication of the original study, the results of Cialdini et al.'s (1976) seminal studies were replicated, in a study finding that student participants were 2.2 times as likely to wear school-affiliated apparel after wins and 55% less likely after losses (Jensen et al., 2016). Further, utilising linguistic analysis, the researchers also found that study participants were more likely to use first person plural pronouns in describing the results of recent games, providing further empirical evidence of BIRGing. The present study builds on this new stream of research on BIRGing in its analysis of data collected at multiple universities by Jensen et al. (2016). This research adds to this prior work by integrating the respondents' expectations prior to the contest, as well as an important additional control variable (uncertainty of outcome). As Jensen et al. (2016) did not investigate how participants' expectations prior to the event impacted their subsequent behaviour, this study makes an important and much-needed incremental contribution to the sport consumer behaviour literature by undertaking the first analysis in the literature of how expectations prior to a contest influence the subsequent behaviour of highly identified individuals.

2.1 Theoretical framework

Expectancy theory (Vroom, 1964) is a useful motivation theory that helps to explain an individual's actions, based upon the expectation of a certain outcome and the attractiveness of that outcome to the individual. The theory posits, in short, that expected consequences drive an individual's subsequent actions. Via his valence-instrumentality-expectancy (VIE) model, Vroom (1964) posits that expectancy is one's own belief in the probability that one's effort will result in the achievement of certain desired goals (Gatewood, 1993). In addition to expectations, Vroom (1964) also suggests that instrumentality, or one's belief that the achievement of goals will result in greater rewards, and valence and that the stated reward should be attractive in order for one to be motivated to attain it, are important to understanding the impact of expectations on motivation. As explained by Renko et al. (2012), researchers have previously applied expectancy theory liberally throughout the organisational behaviour literature, including

to research related to the motivation to train, employee turnover and productivity, and goal commitment. Researchers have also utilised the theory to explain one's intent to apply for and turn over in a job (e.g., Van Eerde and Thierry, 1996), future employment status (e.g., Lynd-Stevenson, 1999), and decision-making (e.g., Julian and Ofori-Dankwa, 2008).

In the context of sport consumers, based on the work of Oliver's (1977) satisfaction theory, Trail et al. (2005) tested several different models that applied both the confirmation and disconfirmation of expectations to affect, self-esteem, and behavioural intentions, and found that expectations were an antecedent of each. However, Trail et al. (2005) measured the effect of expectations on behavioural intentions. While prior studies examined participants' reporting of their mood and satisfaction following the outcome of a particular game and its influence on behavioural intentions (i.e., whether the consumers indicate that they intended to purchase tickets and attend future contests), in the present study we extend this prior work by assessing consumers' actual behaviour in the week following an athletic contest.

Trail and James (2012) suggest sport organisations must be careful not to raise fan expectations beyond what is reasonable, given that the degree and direction of expectancy (dis)confirmation can influence fans' moods dramatically. Harrolle and Trail (2006) reported that a disconfirmation of expectancy explained the same amount of variance in postgame mood as did the actual game outcome, both by approximately 17%. Trail et al. (2000) created a conceptual model explaining the motivations of sport spectator consumption behaviour. First, they found that individual motives and team identification interact to create expectations for the attendee in terms of both experience and outcome. These expectations are then either confirmed or disconfirmed, which affects both self-esteem (provided identification is high enough) and one's affective state. Affective state, which essentially reflects whether the individual is satisfied or dissatisfied, in turn determines future consumption behaviour. Trail et al. (2003) tested the model and ascertained, surprisingly, that the relationship between level of expectation and disconfirmation was not significant, although they attributed this to survey error. Notwithstanding the low correlation between expectation and disconfirmation, identification with the team did moderate the relationship between individual motives and expectations. Disconfirmation of expectations explained 32% of the variance in spectators' affective state but only 2% of the variance in self-esteem. The authors suggest these findings support earlier work from Madrigal (1995), who found that a fans' affective state (and presumably, future purchase intentions) can be manipulated by managing expectations (Trail et al., 2003).

Kim et al. (2014) argued expectancy disconfirmation theory (EDT) did not fully assess the complexity of sport consumption and proposed a modified or alternative theory of counterfactual thinking. In this framework, the authors suggest consumer satisfaction is formed not only by performance and expectation, but also by explicit post-exposure information. Thus, the authors distinguished between what fans knew going into a purchase (foresight expectation) event versus what they learn as the event unfolds (hindsight expectation). This distinction is especially useful in the context of a live sporting event, during which the spectator's level of information and satisfaction may undergo dramatic shifts, depending on what happens during competition (Kim et al., 2014). Counterfactual information may be upward (i.e., what might have been better) or downward (i.e., what might have been worse; Kim et al., 2014).

Trail and James (2012) cited another important difference to be made within EDT research – performance expectations versus outcome expectations. Depending on a fan's level of expectation within each category, his or her satisfaction may be different. For example, a team with a historically poor record versus a conference rival may be a heavy underdog in a football contest. Even when the team ultimately loses (causing dissatisfaction with outcome), its fans may be satisfied with the performance if the game is still close late in the fourth quarter, due to a positive disconfirmation of expectations. Conversely, if a heavy favourite or traditionally dominant team wins but plays sloppily, its fans' performance expectations may be disconfirmed (negatively), while outcome expectations are confirmed. The work of Harrolle et al. (2007) supports this distinction. They found that the (dis)confirmation of a performance expectation and the (dis)confirmation of an outcome expectation shared only 17% of total variance in a consumer's postgame mood. When an outcome was negatively (dis)confirmed, fan mood was significantly lower than when performance was negatively (dis)confirmed, suggesting that a loss is much worse to fans than mere poor play (Harrolle et al., 2007).

3 Research hypotheses

Based on the results of Trail et al. (2005), one may assume that those consumers whose expectations were not met may be more likely to have their behaviour influenced in the future. For example, Trail and James (2012) surmised that a fan's affect (as measured by mood and satisfaction) may improve as a result of a favourite team winning a game in which a loss was expected, compared to a win that was expected. Harrolle and Trail (2006) explained that the outcome of a game impacts mood, with mood ratings increasing after a win and decreasing after a loss (Malmon, 1990). While Malmon (1990) noted that the consumers' mood would then have a corresponding effect on subsequent behaviour, he did not empirically prove this effect. However, given that this study examines consumer behaviour in the form of BIRGing, a more nuanced approach is warranted. Based on expectancy theory, we surmise that a fan would be most likely to exhibit expected behaviours when one's expectations are met. Specific to BIRGing behaviours, we would expect that BIRGing would most likely occur among those who expect a win, given that after an expected win fans would be most likely to not only publicly display their allegiance to their favoured team but also signal to meaningful others that their expectations were met. Therefore:

H1 Consumers who expect to win will be more likely to engage in BIRGing behaviours.

This study's second hypothesis involves negative pre-game expectations, or one's favoured team winning when a loss is expected. One may assume that a fan who is surprised by a win may be more likely to BIRG than when a win is expected. However, the aforementioned work of Wann et al. (1995) empirically tested and confirmed a theory of 'cutting off future failure' (i.e., COFFing). In their study using the context of a political race, Wann et al. (1995, p.382) uncovered what they termed a 'previously undetected impression management tactic'. The effect revealed in their study, COFFing, indicated that those who supported a winning candidate in an election were more likely to choose an election pin of their preferred candidate (91% in fact chose the badges). However, they were much less likely to publicly display their allegiance to the candidate,

as only 16% of those who supported the winning candidate wore the badge publicly. Wann et al. (1995) reasoned that those supporting the winning candidate who was not expected to win heading into the election displayed a certain level of uncertainty about their future performance while in office. The researchers suggested that the participants were concerned about being associated with a candidate who may be negatively perceived in the future.

In the context of sport, this scenario is similar to a supporter of a lesser team who may not publicly announce their support after a win, based on misgivings about the team's future performance. In one example, Bernache-Assollant and Chantal (2011) investigated the COFFing effect by surveying supporters of high and middle-status rugby teams. The researchers found that supporters of the middle status team were less likely to BIRG and were less optimistic about their team's performances. Based on this review of literature and the impression management tactic of COFFing, we expect that those expecting a loss will continue to resist publicly displaying their allegiance. Therefore:

H2 Consumers who expect a loss will be less likely to engage in BIRGing behaviours.

4 Method

Utilising procedures similar to that of study 1 in Cialdini et al. (1976), the present study involved monitoring the prevalence of school-affiliated apparel worn by students on seven university campuses throughout the entirety of a US college football regular season. Methods included having instructors code whether each student wore school-affiliated apparel during the first class following each institution's game, along with tracking whether their particular university either won or lost the respective contest. All participating universities are members of the five premier conferences (i.e., the 'power five') in the highest level of college football (the Football Bowl Subdivision, or FBS). However, based on the criticism of Sigelman (1986) that on-field success may bias the study's findings, the football programs at the institutions exhibited different levels of historical success. The all-time winning percentages of each program ranged from highs of 71.6% for The Ohio State University and 64.8% for Louisiana State University, both of whom also served as study sites in Cialdini et al. (1976), to lows of 41.9% for Indiana University and 51.5% for the University of Louisville. This variance was in fact a necessary condition of the study, as there needed to be games in which each team was expected to win the game, as well as games in which the favoured team was expected to lose. Though it obviously was unknown prior to the season how many games each team would win, nor was the number of games in which each team was favoured to win known, an attempt was made to choose a wide variety of teams from different conferences and of varying quality. Thus, the universities selected represented several different regions of the country and athletic conferences, including the Atlantic Coast Conference (ACC), Big Ten, and Southeastern Conferences (SEC).

4.1 Data collection procedures

Each week during the season, instructors at each institution coded each individual student's decision to wear school-affiliated apparel prior to the start of class (1 = YES, 0 = NO). Rather than simply computing the percentage of student's wearing apparel in

each class, this approach allowed for the use of more modern statistical data analysis than was utilised by Cialdini et al. (1976). Rather than Wilcoxon matched-pairs signed-ranks tests, this approach allowed for the use of binary logistic regression analysis, utilising the student's decision whether or not to wear school-affiliated apparel as the model's dependent variable. The criteria utilised by the researchers was the same as in Cialdini et al. (1976). Items that qualified included several different types of items, including 'buttons, jackets, sweatshirts, tee shirts, etc.' [Cialdini et al., (1976), p.367]. Clothing that simply displayed the school colours did not qualify, nor did 'utilitarian' objects such as notebooks or bookcovers, as these were thought to be brought to each and every class [Cialdini et al., (1976), p.367].

4.2 Measures

In addition to the dependent variable indicating each student's choice whether to wear university-affiliated apparel (1 = YES, 0 = NO), several control variables were also inserted into the models in order to ensure results are generalisable across a variety of different contexts and consumers. First, the result of the game was controlled for (1 = WIN, 0 = LOSS), and an interaction term of pre-game expectations and the result of the game was also included to ensure that the effect of expectations on the propensity to BIRG did not depend on the result of the game. The gender of the participant was also included (1 = MALE, 0 = FEMALE). Similar to the approach of Cialdini et al. (1976), who found that the location of the game did not have an effect on BIRGing behaviours, the location of the game (1 = HOME, 0 = AWAY) was also recorded. To control for the varying historical performance of each team involved, a variable reflecting the all-time winning percentage of the football program heading into the season in question (NCAA, 2013) was also included as a control variable. On several occasions, researchers have utilised historical winning percentage in research on college sport consumers' attitudes and behaviours. For example, Clopton and Finch (2012) found prior winning percentage of a football program significantly predicted fans' perceptions of external athletic prestige. Likewise, researchers found historical winning percentage was significantly and positively related to the price of luxury suites in college football stadiums (Mayer et al., 2017).

Using the same approach as Paul et al. (2011), Salaga and Tainsky (2015a), Kang et al. (2018), Tainsky and Xu (2019), and Salaga et al. (2020), we also inserted the absolute value of the pregame point spread into the models, in order to control for each game's uncertainty of outcome prior to the contest. As explained by Brown and Salaga (2017), anticipated uncertainty of outcome is commonly proxied by the absolute value of the point spread and is a reflection of a consumer's perceived quality of the matchup. This approach also helps to control for whether the game is expected to be close, or whether it is not expected to be competitive, as well as the quality of opponent for each contest. Finally, to control for the passage of time throughout the season, a continuous variable indicating the week of the season was also included.

Given their ubiquitous application in predicting the expected results of future contests and prior use as an independent variable in academic research (i.e., Kang et al., 2018; Paul and Weinbach, 2015; Salaga and Tainsky, 2015a, 2015b; Salaga et al., 2020; Tainsky and Xu, 2019), we utilised point spreads as a proxy for study participant expectations prior to the event in question. Given the rise in daily fantasy sports (DFS)

and the continued expansion of legal sport betting throughout the US, point spreads have become a common point of discussion in the daily lives of sport consumers. This expansion has become even more pronounced since the 2018 decision by the US Supreme Court that allowed individual states to legalise sports betting, which has led to more acceptance of the communication of pre-game betting lines during the televised broadcasts of sport events (Salaga et al., 2020).

Perhaps reflective of this increased acceptance and discussion in the mainstream media, researchers are increasingly using point spreads in academic research. For example, in their examination of television ratings for National Football League (NFL) games, Paul and Weinbach (2015) utilised the point spread of the games as a proxy for uncertainty of outcome prior to each game. They found it had a negative, yet insignificant, influence on ratings (i.e., the smaller the point spread, the higher the ratings). In another example, Salaga and Tainsky (2015a) utilised pregame point spreads as a proxy for consumer expectations prior to college football games, finding that consumers preferred watching games (as measured by television ratings) in which the outcome of the game matched their expectations. In Salaga and Tainsky (2015a), consumers preferred games in which the expected outcome was more certain, with the researchers surmising that perhaps consumers enjoy watching the prospect of a decided underdog achieve an upset. The same authors (Salaga and Tainsky, 2015b) found that consumer preference (again represented by television ratings) for college football games was higher when the scoring margin of the two teams moves closer to the pregame point spread. Indicating that pregame point spreads influences demand for contests, ratings improved by more than one point when the scoring margin moved seven points closer to the pregame point spread. More recently, Salaga et al. (2020) found that ratings for National Basketball Association (NBA) games were higher when the local team covered the point spread, and when outcome uncertainty (as measured by the absolute value of the point spread) increased, while in a study of NFL game ratings Tainsky and Xu (2019) also used the absolute value of the point spread as a proxy for public sentiment regarding the relative quality of the two teams. This review of recent literature, along with the increased prevalence of legalised betting on sports events across the US, provides ample evidence that pregame point spreads are a reliable proxy for consumer expectations prior to a contest, and provides substantiation for its efficacy in the context of the sport of football as well.

4.3 Data analysis

In order to investigate the aforementioned hypotheses we estimated two separate models, with the probability of the study participant to BIRG (i.e., wear apparel) after the game serving as the dependent variable in both. Both models controlled for the gender of the respondent, whether the game was home or away, and the historical football performance of each respondent's institution. As noted, as a proxy for each game's uncertainty of outcome, we also included the absolute value of the point spread for each game. A continuous variable indicating the week of the season also controlled for the passage of time during the season. To control for any variance across the seven universities participating in the study, binary variables for six of the research sites were also included, with the site displaying the highest propensity to BIRG serving as the reference variable and thus being left out of the model. Finally, we included binary variables indicating whether each team was expected to win the game in question or not (1 = Expected to win,

0 = Expected to lose) and whether each team actually won or lost the game in question. As stated, in order to ensure the effect of pre-game expectations was not dependent on a win or a loss, an interaction term of these two variables was also included. Consistent with H1, we designed the first model to investigate the effects of positive expectations on BIRGing behaviours (i.e., expecting to win). Conversely, to investigate H2 the second model utilised instances in which the team was not expected to win as the key independent variable (1 = Expected to lose, 0 = Expected to win), in order to examine the effects of negative expectations (i.e., expecting to lose) on one's propensity to BIRG.

5 Results

More than 3,200 unique, individual observations were recorded throughout the season. An average of 230 students (SD = 50.33) were monitored each week across the seven campuses, with a total of 305 different study participants across the universities serving as a pooled sample. An analysis of descriptive statistics indicates that students chose to wear school-affiliated apparel 27.3% of the time. Across 78 different contests during each institution's 12-game regular season, 2,620 observations occurred after wins and 604 after losses. A total of 2,583 of observations reflected instances when the team in question was expected to win (80.1%), while 641 represented instances when the team was expected to lose (19.9%). In total, 2,426 of the 3,224 observations (75.2%) involved a positive confirmation of expectations, while 194 (6.0%) of the observations involved a positive disconfirmation of expectations, with these two conditions representing 81.2% of the sample.

Table 2 Logistic regression analysis results – positive expectations condition

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>Wald</i>	<i>Significance</i>	<i>Exp(B)</i>
(Constant)	-2.184	34.172	< 0.001	0.113
Positive expectations	0.703	6.927	0.008	2.020
Game outcome	0.236	0.957	0.328	1.266
POS expectations*game outcome	0.293	0.811	0.368	1.341
Gender	-0.146	2.653	0.103	0.864
Game location	-0.020	0.048	0.827	0.980
Historical success	0.026	0.002	0.966	1.026
Uncertainty of outcome	-0.002	0.415	0.520	0.998
Week of season	0.043	18.981	< 0.001	1.044
Research site no. 1	0.123	0.584	0.445	1.131
Research site no. 2	0.081	0.229	0.632	1.084
Research site no. 3	0.180	1.535	0.215	1.197
Research site no. 4	0.080	0.153	0.695	1.083
Research site no. 5	-0.154	0.861	0.354	0.857
Research site no. 6	0.149	0.543	0.461	1.161

Consistent with expectancy theory, those who expected to win were significantly more likely to exhibit BIRGing behaviours (Wald = 6.927, $p = 0.008$). The odds ratio indicates that they were more than twice as likely (Exp(B) = 2.020) to BIRG when their

expectations were confirmed (Table 2). Thus, hypothesis 1 was supported. The model predicted a significant amount of the variance in BIRGing behaviours ($\chi^2(n = 3,224) = 117.751$, $df = 14$, $p < 0.001$) and a non-significant result in the Hosmer-Lemeshow test suggested good model fit ($\chi^2(n = 3,224) = 5.643$, $df = 8$, $p = 0.687$). The Cox and Snell (1989) pseudo R square measure (0.036) indicates the model explains approximately 3.6% of the variance in BIRGing. Results reflect the power of pre-game expectations, as the variable indicating the result of the game was non-significant (Wald = 0.957, $p = 0.328$) and the non-significance of the interaction term of the game's result and pre-game expectations indicates that the influence of expectations on BIRGing is not moderated by the result of the game (Wald = 0.811, $p = 0.368$). The respondents' propensity to BIRG did not differ based on gender (Wald = 2.653, $p = 0.103$), the location of the game (Wald = 0.048, $p = 0.827$), historical team success (Wald = 0.002, $p = 0.966$), or the game's uncertainty of outcome (Wald = 0.415, $p = 0.520$). The odds of BIRGing did increase over time, with results (Wald = 18.981, $p < 0.001$) indicating that the individual's propensity to BIRG increased by 4.4% each week as the season progressed ($\text{Exp}(B) = 1.044$). As noted in Table 1, none of the variables indicating from which research site the data was collected were significant, indicating that results did not differ significantly across the seven different universities.

Table 3 Logistic regression analysis results – negative expectations condition

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>Wald</i>	<i>Significance</i>	<i>Exp(B)</i>
(Constant)	-1.481	14.946	< 0.001	0.227
Negative expectations	-0.703	6.927	0.008	0.495
Game outcome	0.529	6.169	0.013	1.499
Neg. expectations*game outcome	-0.293	0.811	0.368	0.746
Gender	-0.146	2.653	0.103	0.864
Game location	-0.020	0.048	0.827	0.980
Historical success	0.026	0.002	0.966	1.026
Uncertainty of outcome	-0.002	0.415	0.520	0.998
Week of season	0.043	18.981	< 0.001	1.044
Research site no. 1	0.123	0.584	0.445	1.131
Research site no. 2	0.081	0.229	0.632	1.084
Research site no. 3	0.180	1.535	0.215	1.197
Research site no. 4	0.080	0.153	0.695	1.083
Research site no. 5	-0.154	0.861	0.354	0.857
Research site no. 6	0.149	0.543	0.461	1.161

Hypothesis 2 predicted that those who expected to lose prior to the game would be less likely to BIRG, given our understanding of the theory of 'cutting off future failure', or COFFing (Wann et al., 1995). To answer this research question, we reversed the expectations independent variable to reflect instances in which the favoured team was not expected to win. Consistent with COFFing, those who expected to lose were less likely to exhibit BIRGing behaviours (Wald = 6.927, $p = 0.008$). Therefore, Hypothesis 2 was also confirmed. As indicated in Table 3, the odds ratio indicates that those expecting to lose were 50.5% less likely to BIRG ($\text{Exp}(B) = 0.495$). The Hosmer-Lemeshow test was again non-significant ($\chi^2(n = 3224) = 5.643$, $df = 8$, $p = 0.687$). In this model, the effect of the results of the game was significant (Wald = 6.169, $p = 0.013$), while the effect of

negative pre-game expectations on the propensity to BIRG were not dependent on the result of the game (Wald = 0.811, $p = 0.368$).

6 Discussion and implications

The present study provides ample empirical evidence of the influence of expectations on behaviour among sport consumers. This study makes a novel and much-needed theoretical contribution to the literature on how the tenets of expectancy theory guide the image management behaviour of sport consumers. Consistent with expectancy theory, results indicate that those consumers whose expectations are confirmed are more likely to exhibit expected behaviours. In the positive expectations condition, a scenario in which their favoured team is expected to win, participants were significantly more likely to exhibit BIRGing behaviours. In fact, they were more than twice as likely to BIRG. In the negative expectations scenario, one's favoured team experiences a win when it is expected to lose. A nuanced understanding of the indirect impression management literature predicts that those who did not expect a win would be less likely to BIRG. True to form, those in this condition were 50.5% less likely to BIRG. Interestingly, an important result of this study is that one's expectations prior to each contest were a more reliable predictor of subsequent consumer behaviour than the actual result of the game. In the instance of a positive confirmation of expectations, positive pre-game expectations were a significant predictor of the propensity of a consumer to wear school-affiliated apparel regardless of the outcome of the game. As indicated in Table 1, while a win in the game increased the probability that a highly identified fan will broadcast his or her allegiance to others within the ingroup (i.e., fellow students) by 26.6%, the variable was non-significant. In the negative expectations scenario, the effects of pre-game expectations were also more powerful than game outcome.

This result helps to demonstrate that sport consumer behaviour can largely be predicted prior to game contests, even when the outcome of the game is unknown, and while controlling for a wide variety of other game-related variables, such as the location of the game and uncertainty of outcome prior to the contest. From a managerial perspective, this knowledge can be helpful in both predicting and preparing for shifts in demand for sport-related products such as licensed merchandise, independent of the outcome of an upcoming game. Not only is BIRGing one of the seminal theories in the sport consumer behaviour literature, given that BIRGing is correlated with high identification and the consumption of products such as licensed merchandise, being able to anticipate the behaviour of such loyal fans is an important consideration. Further, this knowledge can then be applied to managerial decision-making relative to budgeting, staffing and human resources, and supply chain management.

6.1 Theoretical contribution

Notably, this research marks the first application of expectancy theory to better understand how a sport consumer's expectations may impact their propensity to publicly express their affiliation, representing an important theoretical extension of the BIRGing literature. From a theoretical standpoint, the results of this study confirm that expectations play an important role in predicting the future behaviour of sport consumers,

as the confirmation of expectations led to expected behaviours, regardless of the outcome of the game. Since the publication of Cialdini et al. (1976), the study of BIRGing has been explored throughout many studies, and many subsequent sport consumer behaviour theories have been introduced. This includes the phenomenon of COFFing, or ‘cutting off future failure’, which had been previously hypothesised in a study of how political contests impacted the behaviour of those who supported winning candidates. However, empirical evidence for this phenomenon had yet to be unearthed in a study of sport consumers. This study confirmed that fans who did not expect a win were less likely to publicly affirm their allegiance for the winning team via BIRGing than those who did not expect a win, representing an important theoretical contribution of this study.

As explained by the work of Wann et al. (1995) and their theory of ‘cutting off future failure’ (i.e., COFFing), study participants are more concerned with the protection of their future ego than the enhancement of their current one. Wann et al. (1995) found that those who supported a winning candidate in an election were more likely to choose an election pin of their preferred candidate, but less likely to publicly display their allegiance. According to Wann et al. (1995), the COFFing effect serves as a distancing tactic whereby, despite a win, individuals may choose to decline the opportunity to BIRG. This behaviour is based on the individual’s need to protect their ego from damage in the future. They are still privately associated with the team, as evidenced by the fact that in Wann et al. (1995) a large percentage chose to take the badge, but chose not to publicly identify their association for fear that the excitement may be short-lived. While the phenomenon of COFFing had been previously found in the political context, this research notably marks the first empirical evidence confirming the COFFing effect in the sport consumer behaviour literature. These results provide clear empirical evidence that when one’s expectations are confirmed; the resultant behaviour is likely to conform to the most predictable behaviour. As explained by expectancy theory, one’s expectations provide a readily available rationale for a consumer’s actions following what was to be an unpredictable result.

6.2 Limitations and future research

As noted by Harrolle and Trail (2006), early researchers studying the impact of expectations on consumer affect did not account for the consumer’s level of identification with the team. As an example, Wann et al. (1995) had assessed the role one’s level of identity with his or her favourite team, or team identification, has on emotion. They found that highly identified fans were more likely to exhibit positive emotions following a win and more negative emotions after a loss. Their research also confirmed that consumers low in identification showed less negative emotions, when compared to those with higher levels of identification. Similarly, Dietz-Uhler and Murrell (1999) found that over the course of a season those with a higher level of identification with the university rated the football team more favourably, while the evaluation of those with lower levels of identification was consistent throughout the season, regardless of wins or losses or whether media coverage about the team was positive or negative.

As stated, this study involved surreptitiously monitoring the apparel choices of student participants throughout an entire season (August-December). Given the choice to covertly monitor behaviour, it was not possible to assess each participant’s level of identification without the potential for biased results. Based on the results of Wann and Branscombe (1990), it would be expected that consumers who BIRG are highly

identified. However, this study was unable to determine whether results differed based on various levels of identification. In addition, it was also not possible to assess expectations at the individual level prior to each contest. Thus, each game's point spread was utilised as a proxy for fan expectations prior to each event. Mindful of these limitations, several other control variables were included in the models, including gender, the location of the contest, the historical success of each team, uncertainty of outcome, and the passage of time. Given the results of Wann and Branscombe (1993), who found that highly identified fans had more positive expectations regarding their team's future performances, future research in this area should assess identification to determine whether it moderates the relationship between a consumer's expectations and their propensity to engage in BIRGing behaviours.

Another limitation of this study is that it focused solely on the probability of a consumer to engage in BIRGing behaviours. Thus, this study did not investigate whether expectations prior to a contest influenced whether a consumer was more or less likely to engage in CORFing behaviours (Snyder et al., 1983). Theoretically, a consumer whose favoured team has lost when expected to lose will be more likely to CORF than a supporter who did not expect their team to lose. When one's expectations are confirmed (i.e., a negative confirmation), a consumer will be more likely to exhibit the expected behaviour by distancing oneself from the team, and will be less likely to display their allegiance to the team publicly. The results of multiple studies support this perspective. For example, Harrolle and Trail (2006) surveyed the affect of fans following a loss, and compared the results of those who expected their team to lose, compared to those who expected their team to win. While all were unhappy, those who expected their team to lose scored one-half point higher on the positive mood scale. Given that their expectations were confirmed, although negatively, they were not as unhappy as those whose expectations were not met.

A follow-up study by Harrolle et al. (2007) confirmed that the outcome of the game had a greater effect on both positive and negative mood than the team's performance. The study found that expectations relative to outcome were different than performance, and that in both cases (i.e., positive and negative outcomes) the outcome explained a greater percentage of the variance of mood than did the performance. The study confirmed that consumer satisfaction also varied based on performance vs. outcome, and that the confirmation or disconfirmation of each explained a large percentage of one's satisfaction of the team's performance and the outcome of the contest. In addition, expected outcomes have a greater impact on satisfaction than on feelings about team performance. Though Harrolle and Trail (2006) and Harrolle et al. (2007) studied mood and satisfaction, the results of both studies suggest that those whose expectations for a loss were met will be more likely to exhibit CORFing behaviours. Similar to this study's design, future research should investigate one's propensity to engage in CORFing behaviours by covertly monitoring human behaviour.

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