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Impact of Sports' Characteristics on the Labor Market

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to analyze how the characteristics of different sports affect their respective labor market characteristics. To that end, we first classified Korean sports into the following four groups according to number of spectators and playing population (participation): Popular, Nonpopular, Leisure, and Media. One sport was selected for each classification, and a survey was conducted of the people specializing in each sport. The resulting data were used to analyze employment characteristics such as business size, wages and job security, career-building path, career goals, and job satisfaction in the labor market for each sport. We found significant differences between the sports with high and low spectatorship, whereas participation appeared to have almost no impact on labor market characteristics.

Introduction

The characteristics of employment and job responsibilities within a labor market depend on the demand and supply, number and quality of jobs, and level of development in job systems. Even within the same industry, each subsector may have different characteristics depending on labor mobility and individual characteristics. For example, the subsectors of the culture industry, such as filmmaking, games, and performance, exhibit dramatic differences in employment contract type (regular/non-regular), contract period, and wage distribution despite some similarities.

The sports industry is made up of different sports and the movement of labor between them is known to be limited to only a few jobs. Although there are some instances of intersports labor mobility such as track and field athletes becoming soccer players and marketing professionals working for different sports, in general such movement does not appear to be an active trend.

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Thus we can predict that despite being categorized as "sports," each of the subsectors of the sports industry exhibits different characteristics.

The purpose of this paper is to analyze how the employment and job characteristics of each sport are different from those of the others, and to identify the causes of such differences. To that end, we first classified Korean sports according to the number of spectators and playing population (participation). According to our classification, soccer is a Popular sport and yachting Nonpopular. Tennis is a Leisure sport with high participation but low spectatorship, and golf is a Media sport with low participation but high spectatorship.

After selecting the sports to be studied, we conducted the Labor Survey in the Sports Industry (hereafter referred to as Labor Survey). Sponsored by the Ministry of Culture, Tourism and Sports, the Labor Survey was held from July to October 2008, and included 2,000 respondents who hold a variety of jobs in sports such as soccer, tennis, golf, and yachting. All of the respondents came from specialized jobs in or related to sports, such as competition, marketing, media, education, leisure, public administration, and associations/teams. The survey includes information on demographic characteristics such as gender, age, and educational level, and on the labor characteristics such as career, wages, work hours, and working conditions.

Based on this data set, we analyzed how the characteristics of different sports affect their respective labor market characteristics. We focused on employment characteristics such as firm size, the distribution of wages, and social insurance coverage. Our results showed significant differences between the sports with high and low spectatorship, that is, soccer and golf compared with tennis and yachting. Participation, however, appeared to have almost no impact on labor market characteristics. The trend was witnessed commonly in other areas, such as career building, career goals, and job satisfaction. In short, the level of spectatorship of a particular sport largely determines its labor market characteristics.

Studies on human resources in the sports industry so far have dealt mostly with teams, either professional or amateur (school), and have focused on individual issues such as wages based on performance (Hall, Szymanski, & Zimbalist, 2002), gender discrimination (Yiamouyiannis & Moorman, 2008) and discrimination based on race and nationality (Berri & Simmons, 2009; Kahn, 2006; Pedace, 2008). Subjects of analysis were also mostly limited to those involved in competition such as pitchers, golfers or other players (Bradbury, 2007; Callan & Thomas, 2007), and coaches.

This paper makes a new contribution in that it attempts to typify each sport, identifies the differences in the labor market of the sport selected under each type, and undertakes an overall analysis of the sports labor market including employment environment, career path, and job satisfaction.

This paper is structured as follows. First, we explain how the sports were classified; second, we hypothesize about how each sport's type affects its labor market characteristics. Third, we verify the hypotheses through empirical analysis. In the last section we present our conclusions.

Classification of Sports

Classification From the Labor Market Perspective: Methodology

The various sports within the sports industry can be classified according to different criteria. In everyday life sports may be divided by the relevant instrument or place: ball games, throwing games, water sports, ice sports, or track and field. But for the sake of research, they tend to be classified as spectator sports or participation sports based on the type of consumer (Burnett, Menon & Smart, 1993; Casper & Menefee, 2008). The best example of a spectator sport would be auto racing, for which public participation is low but spectatorship is relatively high (through TV). Some sports, such as soccer, have both high spectatorship and high participation, and others, such as scuba diving, feature both low spectatorship and low participation. Of course, which sports fall under which types depends on the region and country.

In this paper, sports are classified into four dimensions based on participation (x-axis) and spectatorship (y-axis), as seen in Figure 1. Sports high in both participation and spectatorship are considered Popular sports, those low in both are considered Nonpopular (enthusiast) sports, those high in participation and low in spectatorship are considered Leisure sports, and those low in participation and high in spectatorship are considered Media sports.

Spectatorship is measured by the number of spectators or TV viewers, and participation can be measured through different guidelines such as the number of registered players (professional or corporate) or club members (amateur).

This type of classification is also a subjective concept that would yield different outcomes depending on the country and society. There are of course sports that will fall under the same type in most countries: soccer commands both participation and viewership in most countries, whereas curling, a relatively new sport, has a meager showing on both fronts. However, sports such as yachting are Nonpopular in Korea and other parts of Asia, but Popular or Leisure in France where there are one million club members. Similarly, soccer is a Popular sport in South America but a Media sport in the United States. And this typology is not permanent: Nonpopular sports of today such as yachting may become Media or Leisure, or even Popular sports, as circumstances change over time. Based on this classification, it can be assumed that Popular sports are the most industrialized, whereas Media and Leisure sports are more industrialized than Nonpopular sports.

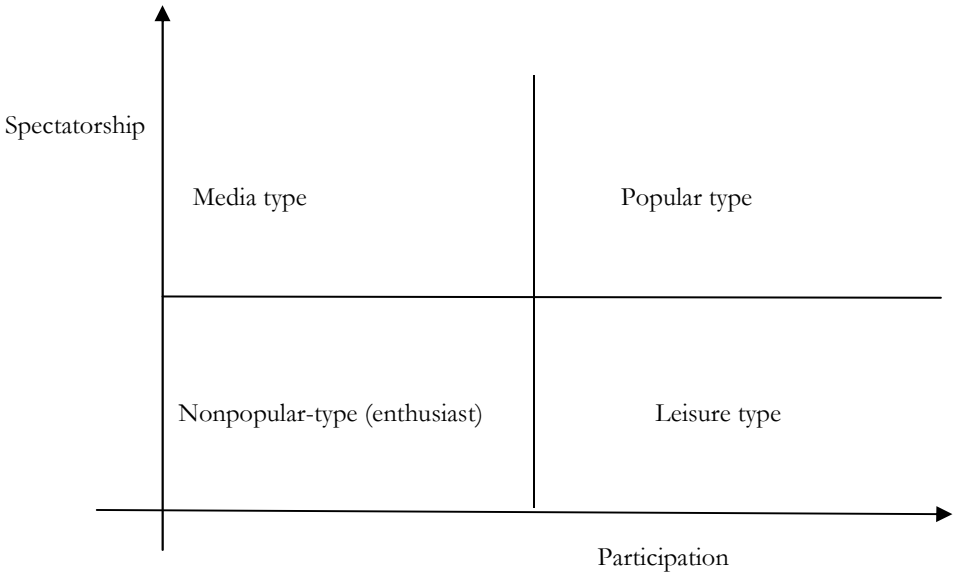

Figure 1. Sports classification by levels of spectatorship and participation.

Classification of Sports: The Case of Korea

In this paper, the 54 sports registered under the Korea Sports Council were classified into Popular, Nonpopular, Media, and Leisure types. Spectatorship was measured by the number of viewers of each sport (by household; average of 2005, 2006, and 2007), and participation was measured by the average number of club members in the same 3 years.

Figure 2 shows the distribution of Korean sports according to the two criteria. Soccer is noticeably higher in both number of spectators and number of players than are the other sports, whereas baseball is higher in spectators. Most other sports are crowded around the baseline as a result of both low spectatorship and low participation. Intersports differences are relatively unclear other than for the two Popular sports, but golf and boxing appear to be comparatively high in numbers of spectators, and tennis and bowling are high in terms of participation.

Because of the unclear representation of intersports differences owing to the dramatic gap in popular sports and others, log values were used for viewers and club members to enable easier comparison. Results are shown in Figure 3.

There are a number of possible ways to select the targets for comparison from such a distribution. One method is to select the sports that are extremely low (or high) in both number of spectators and number of participants or that are extremely low (or high) in only one criterion. But if the number of people involved is too low, it would present challenges in conducting the Labor Survey and interviews that are the main source of data collection in this study. To ensure that sufficient data would be obtained through the survey and interviews, three sports with relatively high participation and viewership were selected (soccer, tennis, and golf) along with yachting, a recently growing sport in Korea. Soccer, which is high in both participation and viewership, is a

Popular sport, yachting, low on both counts, is a Nonpopular sport, tennis is a Leisure sport, and golf is a Media sport.

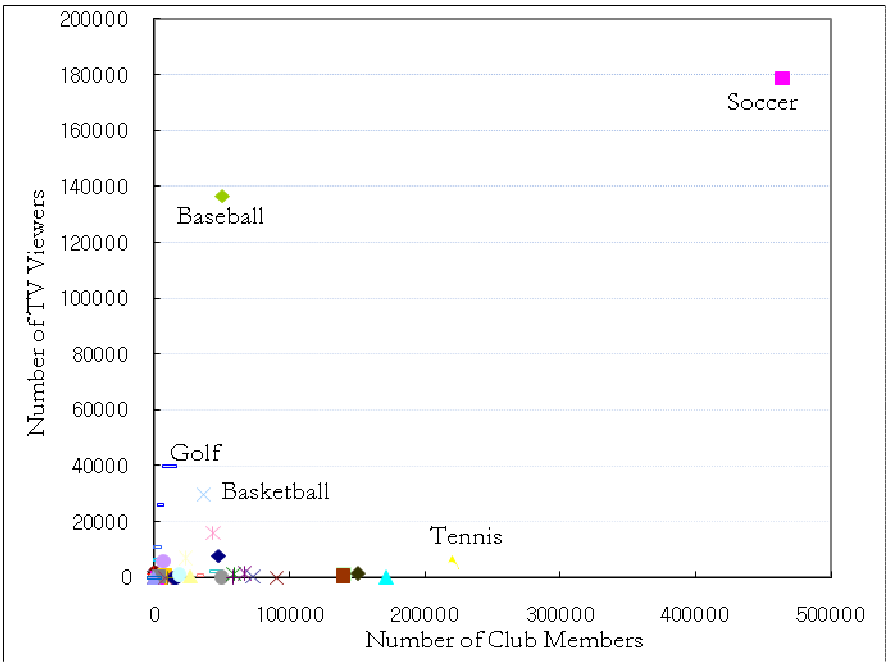

Figure 2. Distribution of spectatorship and participation in Korean sports.

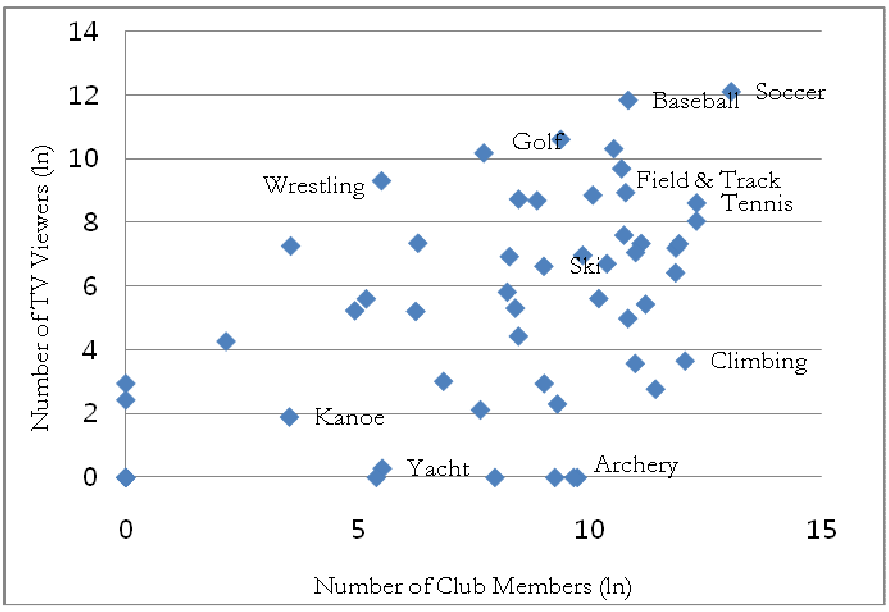

Figure 3. Distribution of spectatorship and participation in Korean sports (log values).

Characteristics by Type: Theoretical Hypotheses

We hypothesize that the labor market characteristics of each of the four selected sports are different. One can assume that Popular sports feature a labor market with many opportunities, high competition, and high diversity, offering more jobs of different types and attracting more job-seekers at the same time. They are more likely to have open hiring system, stable regular jobs, and higher wage gap between jobs. These characteristics may result in mixed job satisfaction among workers: high job security but low wage satisfaction (owing to the big wage gap). In Nonpopular sports, there are likely to be fewer numbers and types of jobs and (assuming that their popularity remains almost the same) fewer job-seekers. Thus hiring practices for such sports are likely to be more subjective (based on recommendations), and the wage gap is likely to be smaller. It is possible that job satisfaction is high in terms of wages but low in terms of working environment. In Leisure and Media sports, a mixture of the above characteristics would prevail. Based on the above hypotheses, the labor characteristics of each of the four sports can be derived as follows.

Soccer

As a Popular sport, soccer would offer many jobs of differing quality levels, would have many workers already in the industry, and would attract many job-seekers as well. We predict that it would thus have the highest numbers and levels of education programs for workers among all four sports. The significant gap in job quality would result in big wage gaps, leading to big gaps in overall job satisfaction and wage satisfaction. If job satisfaction is measured based on comparison, it could also be relatively low. Furthermore, the sport's career-building paths may be concentrated in more industrialized areas such as marketing, media, and teams.

Golf

As a typical Media sport, golf would offer jobs that are fewer in number but more even in quality, given that broadcasting and media jobs are relatively highly paid. There would be fewer workers in the industry but relatively greater numbers of job-seekers. Based on this assumption, we predict that the sport's education programs would also be fewer in number but high in quality. The gap in job quality and wage would be somewhere in the middle among the four sports, whereas overall job satisfaction and wage satisfaction would also be in the middle in terms of both satisfaction level and wage gap. The career-building paths would be concentrated in media and broadcasting.

Tennis

As a Leisure sport, tennis is likely to offer many jobs of relatively even quality. It would already employ many workers but would not attract as many job-seekers. The number and quality of its education programs would be average, the gaps in job quality and wages would be low, and overall job satisfaction and wage satisfaction would be medium, without a big gap. The sport's career-building path is likely to be focused on instructors and facilities necessary for leisure sports.

Yachting

In Korea, yachting remains a sport for a few enthusiasts, and is low in terms of both numbers of spectators and numbers of participants. Thus the number and quality of jobs are likely to be low, but the quality is likely to be relatively even. There would be fewer people working in the industry and fewer job-seekers. The number and quality of the sport's education programs would be low, resulting in a higher percentage of people working away from their educational background. The quality and compensation between the fewer jobs are likely to be more even. The overall job satisfaction and wage satisfaction would exhibit smaller gaps, and the level would be relatively high. The career-building path is likely to be concentrated in instructors and equipment necessary for enthusiasts.

Empirical Analysis

Data

The data used in this paper were gathered through the Labor Survey in the Sports Industry administered in 2008. It was conducted on workers in almost all job groups in the four sports being compared in this paper. To ensure that the general characteristics of the labor market in each sport are compared, player groups or competition groups (coaches, referees, operational staff) are excluded from analysis, as they come with vastly different employment environments and job responsibilities. Thus the areas of analysis are organizational management (teams, associations), school education, marketing, media, recreation, sports facilities, and sports equipment job groups in the four sports, for a total of 948 workers.

Table 1 shows demographic information by sport. Over 80% of workers in soccer and yachting are males, and 79% in tennis. Golf has the lowest percentage of men (71.4%). By age, the highest percentage of workers are in their 30s (46%), followed by the 20s (35.9%). Those in their 20s and 30s combined make up 82% of the total. Very few workers are in their 50s or older, which suggests that workers in the sports industry are much younger than those in other industries. By sport, yachting shows a much higher average age compared with the others.

Table 1. *Summary Characteristics by Sport*

	Golf (%)	Yacht (%)	Soccer (%)	Tennis (%)	Total (%)
Male	71.4	83.9	85.8	79.2	79.5
Age					
20-29	37.2	33.3	36.4	34.3	35.9
30-39	42.0	38.1	51.7	45.9	46.0
40-49	16.3	15.5	10.7	12.6	13.4
50 +	4.5	13.1	1.2	7.2	4.7
Education					
High school or less	20.0	13.2	10.8	30.1	18.2
College	20.4	18.4	13.0	25.3	18.5
University	49.8	61.8	64.4	38.2	53.8
Graduate school	9.8	6.6	11.8	6.5	9.5
Major					
Sports	52.0	53.7	35.7	32.4	42.0
Humanities	14.4	6.0	15.5	21.0	15.0
Business	6.4	9.0	18.6	12.4	12.9
Social sciences	4.5	7.5	15.1	15.2	11.1
Engineering	12.4	11.9	7.2	4.8	8.9
Others	10.4	11.9	7.9	14.3	10.1
Observations	297	87	338	226	948

Characteristics of Employment

Table 2 shows the labor market characteristics of each sport. The average wage is the highest in soccer (585,000 Korean won/week[2]), and is similar in golf (575,000KW/week). Yachting (532,000) and tennis (526,000) have a relatively low average wage. Soccer, whose average wage is the highest, also has the largest standard deviation in wage (31.7), followed by golf (21.9), tennis (19.6), and yachting (18.8). In those sports in which the average wage is high, the wage gap is also large.

[2] The exchange rate is about 1,200won/dollar as of 2008.

Table 2. *Characteristics of Labor Market by Sport*

	Golf	Yacht	Soccer	Tennis	Total
Employment Status (%)					
Employer	8.4	23.3	2.1	17.0	9.5
Regular workers	69.6	46.5	75.4	54.6	66.1
Non-regular workers	20.6	18.6	20.1	26.6	21.6
Freelancer	1.4	11.6	2.4	1.8	2.8
Firm size (no. of employees)					
1-4	17.5	36.4	4.0	44.3	21.5
5-9	19.4	41.6	6.9	33.8	20.9
10-90	29.3	20.8	63.8	21.0	37.9
100-300	30.8	0.0	18.8	1.0	16.3
300+	3.0	1.3	6.5	0.0	3.3
Experience (no. of years)	6.2 (5.6)	5.3 (5.8)	5.2 (4.2)	6.0 (5.1)	5.7 (5.1)
Weekly worked hours	46.5 (15.8)	42.4 (10.3)	47.1 (11.6)	49.0 (20.2)	46.9 (15.2)
Weekly wage (ten thousand Won)	57.5 (21.9)	53.2 (18.8)	58.5 (31.7)	52.6 (19.6)	56.1 (24.9)
Social insurance offered (%)					
Public Pension	72.1	42.5	79.6	55.8	68.1
Health insurance	73.1	42.5	82.0	59.7	70.3
Industrial Accident Compensation	61.3	42.5	80.2	40.7	61.4
Unemployment insurance	70.7	46.0	81.7	42.0	65.5

Note. Numbers in parentheses () are standard deviations.

Social insurance coverage is one of the indicators of job quality[3]; one social insurance plan in Korea is the national pension. National pension coverage is highest in soccer (79.6%), followed by golf (72.1%); it is relatively quite low in tennis (55.8%) and yachting (42.5%). Coverages are similar for health insurance, industrial accident compensation insurance, and unemployment insurance. The survey results show that workplaces with social insurance coverage offer all four major insurance schemes, whereas those that do not, offer none. Very few workplaces offered only

[3] Social Insurances are mandatory by law in Korea. It is the employer's responsibility to let workers participate in the social insurance programs. However, due to the limited enforcement and tax gathering system, many employers especially employers with small business have a room to avoid participating in the social insurance programs.

part of the four major insurance programs. Thus there is little difference in coverage among the four major programs.

The difference in social insurance coverage by sport has something to do with firm size. In soccer and golf, firm sizes are relatively big, whereas in yachting and tennis they are relatively small. For example, 89% of soccer and 63.1% of golf workplaces employ 10 or more people, whereas only 22.1% of yachting and 22% of tennis workplaces employ 10 or more people.

The workplaces are relatively large in soccer and golf, and feature higher social insurance coverage, higher average wages, and a bigger wage gap. In comparison, workplaces in yachting and tennis are relatively small, and feature lower social insurance coverage, lower average wages, and a smaller wage gap.

As such, there are similarities and relatively few differences between the soccer and golf sectors, and between yachting and tennis. Thus soccer and golf could be assigned to one group, and yachting and tennis to another. Based on the analysis framework in the previous section, spectatorship (i.e., level of media exposure, or level of industrialization in relation to the media) affects the labor market characteristics of a particular sport more strongly. Higher spectatorship numbers correspond with a larger firm size, higher social insurance coverage and average wages, and a bigger wage distribution. In contrast, lower spectatorship numbers correspond with a smaller workplace, lower social coverage insurance, lower average wages, and a smaller wage gap. Participation, however, has little impact on labor market characteristics.

Aside from the conclusion that spectatorship affects the labor market characteristics of a sport, other possibilities can be explored. For example, individual characteristics such as age, education, college major, skill level, or experience could also result in wage differences.

To test this possibility, we analyzed the number of years in service (or experience) by sport, and found that golf averaged 6.2 years of experience, tennis 6.0 years, yachting 5.3 years, and soccer 5.2 years. There is little difference in experience by sport, and experience seems to have no correlation with the labor market characteristics identified above.

In terms of education, the percentage of highly educated (college or higher, including graduate school) is as follows: soccer, 76.2%; yachting, 68.4%; golf, 59.6%; and tennis, 44.7%. The percentage is highest in soccer (see Table 1). In terms of age, the percentage of workers in their 20s and 30s in soccer is 88.1%, in tennis is 80.2%, in golf is 77.2%, and in yachting is 71.4%. The age among soccer industry workers is very low. In terms of college major, the percentages of those who majored in nonsports studies (humanities, business management, social science, engineering, etc.) are as follows: : soccer, 56.4%; tennis, 53.4%; golf, 37.7%; and yachting, 34.4%. There are many young, highly educated workers in soccer who did not major in sports. This is because soccer

is a Popular sport. The relatively high average wage in the soccer market results from the combination of the sport's industrialized level and workers' individual characteristics. But such an association between labor market characteristics and demographic characteristics is not found in other sports.

Overall, spectatorship, more than demographic characteristics (age, education, experience) or participation, has a determining impact on labor market characteristics such as firm size, wages, and social insurance coverage.

That media industry characteristics (mainly related to the sports consumer behavior of spectatorship) have an impact on labor market characteristics is also supported by the participants' response to a survey question that asked why they work in a particular sport. As seen Figure 4, a much higher percentage of workers in soccer and golf responded that they entered their chosen field because it has a good prospect of developing as an industry.

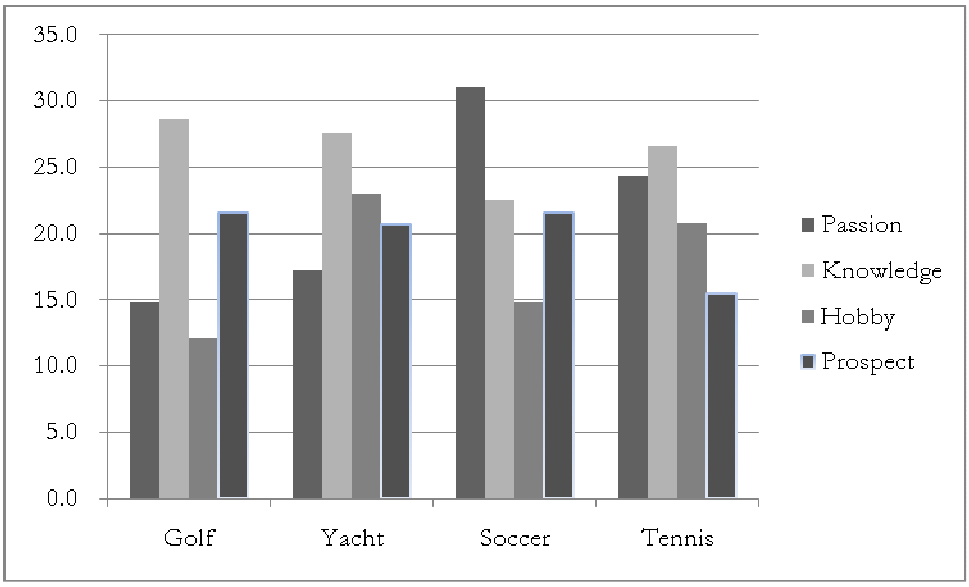

Figure 4. Motives for working in a particular sport (%).

Characteristics of Career-Building Path

To compare the career-building paths in the four sports, the respondents were asked "What is the work (job) that you most wish to do in the future?" and instructed to choose from a table of 92 jobs. The main career goals (chosen by 5% or more of the valid respondents in each sport) are listed in Table 3.

What is clearly noticeable from the responses is that there are differences by sport in career goals, mostly between those sports with high spectatorship and those with high participation.

First, sports marketing is the hallmark of a sport becoming industrialized, whose goals is attracting more spectators or members, selling sports-related goods or facilities and training programs, and otherwise trying to secure funding for sports organizations. Sports marketing is included as a main career goal in golf and soccer. As seen earlier, these two sports are characterized by high levels of spectatorship. In yachting and tennis, for which there are fewer spectators, the main career goal is online sports equipment seller. These results seem to reflect the difference in the level of industrialization, represented by the level of media involvement in spectatorship. In other words, the sports for which sports marketing is included as one of the main career goals have a higher level of industrialization than the sports for which online sports equipment selling is one of the main career goals.

Another frequently mentioned career goal is professional coaching. A professional coach is the leading position among sports instructors, who enhance players' performance by delivering techniques and knowledge, analyzing players' physical condition, and providing moral support. It is included in soccer and tennis as one of the main career goals. These sports share a high relative level of participation. In comparison, professional coaching is not included in golf and yachting, both of which feature low relative levels of participation.

Table 3. *Career Goals of Workers in Four Sports Industries*

Sport	Main career goal
Golf	● Golf course operation specialist (12.1%) ● Golf course manager (9.3%) ● Sports marketer (8.4%)
Yachting	● Offline sports equipment seller (10%) ● Administrator/manager of sports center/facility (10%) ● Online sports equipment seller (6.7%) ● Civil servant in sports (6.7%) ● Sports teacher (6.7%) ● Game analyst (5.6%)
Soccer	● Professional head coach in group sport (11.8%) ● Professor (7.4%) ● Sports marketer (5.7%) ● Representative director of a sports team (5.4%) ● General secretary of a sports organization (5.1%)
Tennis	● Sports product planner (8.4%) ● Online sports equipment seller (8.4%) ● Sports brands (goods) importer (8.4%) ● Professional head coach in group sport (6.5%) ● Professor (6.0%)

Note: Analysis of the career-building path included competition jobs, unlike the analysis of employment characteristics; 815 valid responses out of total 1,446 respondents were used.

Characteristics of Job Satisfaction

Table 4 shows respondents' overall level of satisfaction with their current job, measured according to five levels: very dissatisfied, dissatisfied, average, satisfied, and very satisfied. Among those in soccer, the highest percentage, 52.7%, responded that they were satisfied or very satisfied. Yachting shows the lowest satisfaction level, at 32.1%. The level of dissatisfaction is the highest in yachting, at 10.3%. Both soccer and golf show a relatively high level of wage and job satisfaction.

Table 4. *Distribution of Degree of Satisfaction by Sport*

	Golf (%)	Yacht (%)	Soccer (%)	Tennis (%)	Total (%)
Very dissatisfied	0.7	0.0	4.4	0.0	1.8
Dissatisfied	3.4	10.3	2.7	8.8	5.1
Average	54.9	57.5	40.2	54.0	49.7
Satisfied	34.7	31.0	49.1	31.0	38.6
Very satisfied	6.4	1.1	3.6	6.2	4.9

Table 5 presents a breakdown of satisfaction levels by category. It shows that current objective working conditions such as wages, welfare and benefits, and job security have little correlation with subjective satisfaction level. For example, whereas in soccer satisfaction with working conditions and job security is highest, satisfaction with welfare and benefits is lowest. It is interesting that although yachting trails both soccer and golf in overall satisfaction, it leads in a few categories: learning, use of skills/capabilities, wages/compensation, welfare and benefits, and work environment. Unlike yachting, golf ranks second in overall and average satisfaction, and ranks first only in job security. Similarly, tennis ranks first in satisfaction with work hours. The satisfaction level is generally low in tennis, aside from work hours, and welfare and benefits. As observed earlier, wage/compensation satisfaction is highest in yachting, where the average wage is low, and is lowest in golf, where the average wage is relatively high.

There are several possible explanations for these characteristics; however, a general explanation can apply here: because satisfaction is subjective, it can be different from objective indicators. Aside from this, it may also be that in a Popular sport such as soccer, there is greater differentiation in wages or working conditions, resulting in lower satisfaction among those in lower positions, which in turn lowers the sport's overall average to a level similar to those of other sports.

Although there is only a weak correlation between objective labor market characteristics and subjective satisfaction, in some categories the correlation is stronger: the development potential of the field, the future potential of the job, fairness of HR management, and communica-

tion/interpersonal relations. For example, satisfaction with the development potential of the field and the future potential of the job is highest in soccer, followed by golf, yachting, and tennis, a pattern that matches the respective sports' actual development potential as measured by level of spectatorship.

Table 5. Degree of Satisfaction, by Category

Category	Golf	Yacht	Soccer	Tennis
Job description	3.55 (0.77)	3.21 (0.76)	3.67 (0.80)	3.31 (0.86)
Learning	3.34 (0.78)	3.52 (0.70)	3.48 (0.84)	3.20 (0.75)
Use of skills/capabilities	3.43 (0.87)	3.48 (0.76)	3.46 (0.85)	3.23 (0.83)
Wage/compensation	3.09 (0.87)	3.21 (0.79)	3.19 (0.92)	3.15 (0.92)
Welfare and benefits	3.28 (0.92)	3.43 (0.82)	3.17 (0.90)	3.31 (0.90)
Work hours	3.45 (1.62)	2.89 (0.95)	3.08 (0.95)	3.63 (1.85)
Work environment	3.35 (0.82)	3.39 (0.75)	3.56 (0.83)	3.26 (0.83)
Job security	3.46 (0.87)	3.41 (0.86)	3.38 (0.87)	3.18 (0.88)
Communication/interpersonal relations	3.53 (0.81)	3.37 (0.68)	3.55 (0.78)	3.18 (0.84)
Fairness in HR management	3.38 (0.79)	3.33 (0.68)	3.43 (0.90)	3.23 (0.89)
Personal development potential	3.30 (0.95)	3.41 (0.69)	3.45 (0.91)	3.19 (0.92)
Social reputation	3.39 (0.84)	3.33 (0.82)	3.49 (0.83)	3.15 (0.86)
Future potential of the job	3.38 (0.94)	3.38 (0.80)	3.48 (0.88)	3.35 (0.76)
Development potential of the field	3.42 (0.93)	3.28 (0.68)	3.57 (0.85)	3.22 (0.72)
Average	3.38 (0.61)	3.33 (0.40)	3.43 (0.54)	3.26 (0.59)

Note. Numbers in parentheses () are standard deviations. Level of satisfaction was assessed on a scale from 1 to 5. Results in this table are calculated using the following scores: *very dissatisfied* (1), *dissatisfied* (2), *average* (3), *satisfied* (4), and *very satisfied* (5).

Conclusion

Comparison of employment characteristics, career goals, and job satisfaction in the four chosen sports reveals differences in their labor market characteristics. Thus, the hypotheses defined above are supported. Most noticeable are the differences between the high-spectator soc-

cer/golf and the low-spectator tennis/yachting. In short, the level of spectatorship for a particular sport is a major determinant of its labor market characteristics. The same trend is commonly found in employment characteristics and career goals, and, although to a lesser extent, in the overall job satisfaction level. In terms of employment conditions, the Popular sport soccer and the Media sport golf are characterized by relatively larger businesses, higher social insurance coverage and average wages, and a bigger wage distribution. In comparison, the Nonpopular sport yachting and the Leisure sport tennis are characterized by smaller businesses, lower social insurance coverage, lower average wages, and a smaller wage distribution. Overall, level of spectatorship has a bigger impact on employment characteristics such as business size, wage, and social insurance coverage than do demographic traits (age, education, and experience) or the level of participation.

As for career goals, there are large differences by sport. Sports marketing was a common main career goal in the Popular sport (soccer) and the Media sport (golf), online sports equipment seller was common to the Leisure sport (tennis) and the Nonpopular sport (yachting), and professional coaching in a group sport was common to the Popular sport (soccer) and the Leisure sport (tennis). This shows that career goals tend to be similar in sports with a high level of spectatorship, in sports with a low level of spectatorship, and in sports with high level of participation.

Average satisfaction was higher in soccer and golf than in tennis and yachting, which indicates that workers in the high-spectator Popular sport and Media sport are more satisfied with their jobs than those in the Leisure sport and Nonpopular sport. At the same time, wage satisfaction is the highest in yachting, where the average wage is low, and the lowest in golf, where the average wage is relatively high.

The results summed up above present the following policy implications.

First, the fact that the level of spectatorship affects the labor market characteristics of a particular sport shows that even from a labor market perspective, the media play an important role in the development of the sports industry. Therefore, to develop the labor market in the sports industry, it seems necessary to have a sports policy approach to help link each sport with the media.

Second, it is possible to increase spectatorship by securing more spectators or TV viewers. To that end, it seems necessary to maintain or expand the universal rights of the public to access sports games.

Third, as observed in the analysis above, the working environment in low-spectator sports does not seem to be very favorable. There should be policy support to help bring about improvement.

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