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How Visitors and Locals at a Sport Event Differ in Motives and Identity Ryan Snelgrove, Marijke Taks, Laurence Chalip & B. Christine Green

Although the literature on events differentiates between locals, casual attendees, and those who have travelled specifically to attend the event, little is known about how the types of attendee differ. This study compared the fan motivation, leisure motivation, and identification with the subculture of athletics reported by a sample (N = 777) of attendees at the 2005 Pan American Junior Athletics Championships. Age, gender, and income were also included. Regression analyses were used to determine the structure of relations among the variables, and to ascertain whether the levels of motivation or identity varied among the three types of attendee. Tests for linear restrictions were used to determine whether the structure of relations among the variables differed by type of attendee. The structure of relations among the variables did not differ among the three types of attendee, but attendees who had travelled specifically to attend the event reported substantially higher identification with the subculture of athletics, and slightly higher fan motivation. Identification with the subculture of athletics mediated much of the effect. Females reported higher fan motivation and higher leisure motivation than did males. Age had a small but significant relationship with fan motivation, and income had a small but significant relationship with leisure motivation. Findings are generally consistent with predictions derived from theories of motivation, subculture, and gender roles. It is suggested that marketing communications directed out-of-town should highlight opportunities to strengthen, parade, and celebrate, while those in the local trading radius should underscore the entertainment, aesthetics, and vicarious achievement featured at the event.

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The high costs of hosting major sport events makes it necessary to design marketing strategies to maximize the number of spectators, regardless of their home location. Higher attendance improves revenues from ticket sales and enhances the value of

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sponsorships. Although economic impact studies focus on visitor spending in the host city (Dwyer *et al.*, 2000; Putsis, 1998), marketing to build attendance requires a focus on both locals and visitors. Further, it is useful to differentiate visitors whose primary purpose was to attend the event from those who attend the event but are in town for other reasons. The nature and level of motives associated with travel specifically to attend an event may be quite different from the nature and level of motives associated with attendance at an event by tourists who are at the destination for other reasons. Motives are important to marketers because they provide useful insights regarding the best ways to appeal to target market segments, particularly in tourism contexts (March & Woodside, 2005; Swanson, & Horridge, 2006).

The literature suggests three types of motives that may be associated with travel to sport events: (1) motives associated with being a fan of the sport, (2) motives associated with leisure preferences, and (3) identification with the subculture of the sport at the event (Daniels & Norman, 2005; Green, 2001; Kim & Chalip, 2004). Although sources of variation in fan motivation have been widely studied in the context of professional and school sport teams (e.g. Robinson et al., 2005; Wann et al., 2001), they have been less well studied in the case of one-time sport events, and variations among different types of event attendees (i.e. primary purpose visitors, casual visitors, and locals) have not been examined. Similarly, leisure motivation has been well studied in the context of leisure activity preferences (e.g. Granzin & Olsen, 1989; Losier & Bourque, 1993), including tourism (Dunn Ross & Iso-Ahola, 1991; Ryan & Glendon, 1998), but less so in the case of sport tourism. Further, variations in leisure motivation among different types of event attendees have not been studied. The same is true for identification. Although identification with a sport team has been shown to affect local attendance (e.g. Boyle & Magnusson, 2007; Greenwood et al., 2006) and identification with a sport subculture has been shown to impact consumption choices (e.g. Schouten & McAlexander, 1995; Wheaton, 2000), identity has been less well studied in the context of travel to attend a sport event, and differences among types of event attendees have not been explored.

The purpose of this study is to examine relations among fan motivation, leisure motivation, and identification with a sport subculture for attendees at a sport event. Further, this study explores variations among the levels and relations of those variables as a function of visitor type (i.e. primary purpose event visitors, casual event visitors, and locals). The study also tests the effects of age, gender, and income, as these have been shown elsewhere to condition sport (Greenwell *et al.*, 2002; Hofacre & Burman, 1992) and travel (Gibson & Yiannakis, 2002; Kinnaird & Hall, 1996; Lim 1997) motives.

Literature Review

Identification with Subculture

A subculture can be understood as a subgroup of society composed of individuals who come together to share a common facet, such as a sport, brand, or activity, and who thereby develop distinctive attitudes, beliefs, and values (Gelder, 2007; Jenks, 2005). It has been shown that different sports evolve different subcultures, and that involvement with a particular sport can socialize the individual into the attitudes, beliefs, and values distinctively associated with that sport (Donnelly & Young, 1988; Schouten & McAlexander, 1995; Wheaton, 2000). The socialization renders a degree of identification with the subculture such that the persons in the group describe themselves, and may be described by others, with reference to the group. These two aspects – description of self and description by others – are closely related, but conceptually distinct. They represent self-identity and social identity, respectively (Shamir, 1992; Stets & Burke, 2000).

Identification with a sport subculture can have significant effects on consumption choices and preferences. Identification can lead to choices of products and activities that display the subculture (Schouten & McAlexander, 1995) or that represent values of the subculture (Chalip & McGuirty, 2004). One of the most salient effects is the desire to share time and to interact with others who similarly identify with the subculture – an effect that can itself serve as an attraction to sport events (Green & Chalip, 1998). In a self-reinforcing fashion, the decision to attend a sport event initiates processes that further cultivate identification with the subculture associated with the sport at that event (Pons *et al.*, 2006).

These findings suggest that identification with the subculture represented by a sport event will be made particularly salient by the decision to attend. Further, assuming that greater effort to attend intensifies the effect (Cummings & Venkatesan, 1976), then visitors who travel to a destination for the primary purpose of attending the event should have higher levels of identification with the subculture than those who live locally or are visiting the destination for other purposes (i.e. casuals).

Fan Motivation

One of the most intensive and extensive endeavours in contemporary sport research has been to explain the causes of sport fanship (Wann *et al.*, 2001). In other words, what motivates people to be fans? A number of scales purporting to measure sport fan motivation have been developed (e.g., Madrigal, 1995; Mahony *et al.*, 2000; Wann, 1995; Zhang *et al.*, 2001). Each measure incorporates a varied number of subscales, each of which is then validated against the behaviours (e.g. attendance) or attitudes (e.g. commitment to a particular team) of respondents. Although the various scales do not agree on the number of dimensions required to capture fan motivation, nor on which dimensions are the best to use, the various measures share the assumption that fan behaviours and attitudes are driven by fans' motives. In other words, the expectation is that the higher one's fan motivation, the more likely it is that one will care about and consume sport entertainments.

This notion has intuitive appeal, and there is evidence that the willingness of sport fans to undertake travel to an event does depend somewhat on their fan motivation (Kim & Chalip, 2004). However, attendance also affects concurrent and subsequent motivation. By attending an event and discoursing with others, fans affirm and

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strengthen their consequent identity as fans (Holt, 1995; McFarland & Pals, 2005). Identity, in turn, intensifies the associated motives and commitments (Burke & Reitzes, 1991; Stryker & Burke, 2000). Indeed, this very characteristic of events can make them attractive to fans (Green, 2001; Pons *et al.*, 2006).

These findings suggest that the positive effect of attendance on identity should, in turn, strengthen fan motivation. Thus, the effect of attendance on fan motivation should be positive and mediated, in whole or in part, by its effect on identity.

145 *Leisure Motivation*

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The choice to attend a sport event is one among an array of possible leisure choices. The sport event is chosen because it meets the leisure preferences of the consumer as well as or better than possible substitutes (Bhat *et al.*, 2006; Pritchard & Funk, 2006). Thus, the better an event can meet the leisure needs of the attendee, the more attractive it should be. Again, this notion has some empirical support, as the willingness of potential attendees to undertake travel to an event does depend somewhat on the degree to which they expect it to provide learning, opportunities to socialize, and/or escape (Kim & Chalip, 2004).

On the other hand, the same logic noted for fan motivation also applies to leisure motivation. The degree to which attendance at an event will be felt to meet the needs of the attendee will depend, in part, on the degree to which the attendee wants what the event provides (Besser & Priel, 2006; Caro & Martínez García, 2007). That, in turn, depends on the degree to which the attendee's identification with the sport renders the associated motives both salient and desirable (Laverie & Arnett, 2000; Trail *et al.*, 2005). So, the positive effect of attendance on identity should strengthen leisure motivation. The effect of attendance on leisure motivation should be positive and mediated, in whole or in part, by its effect on identity.

Age, Gender, and Income

The relationship between demographics and consumption is so well demonstrated that market research and market segmentation techniques routinely make use of demographics, particularly age, gender, and income. All three variables have been widely demonstrated to predict sport consumption (Greenwell *et al.*, 2002; Hofacre & Burman, 1992) and tourism behaviours (Gibson & Yiannakis, 2002; Kinnaird & Hall, 1996; Lim, 1997). It has not always been clear, however, why these effects are found.

Gender differences in sport consumption are typically described with reference to gender roles (McCabe, 2007; Robinson & Trail, 2005). Sport is not deemed socially to be feminine, so social norms and expectations discourage women from attending. Consequently, women may require a higher threshold of motivation and identity than men require in order to attend.

Age differences in tourism preferences are most readily explained with reference to life course expectations (Gibson & Yiannakis, 2002). As people age, they normally shift their consumption away from sport and increasingly to the arts (Hofacre &

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Burman, 1992). Thus, sport is socially considered to be a choice for younger consumers, while the arts are deemed a particularly appropriate substitute as consumers age. Consequently, older consumers may require a higher threshold of motivation and identity than younger consumers require in order to attend a sport event.

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Finally, higher levels of income are deemed to enable higher levels of sport and tourism consumption (Greenwell *et al.*, 2002; Lim, 1997). Higher income renders greater discretionary spending capability, with the result that it is easier to purchase sport tourism experiences. When an income is low, more budgetary adjustments and trade-offs are required to enable travel and event attendance than would be required when an income is high. Consequently, as income rises, the motivational threshold required to attend sport events should decrease.

195 Method

Participants

Data were collected by survey from attendees at the 2005 Pan American Junior Athletics Championships in Windsor (Ontario, Canada), a three-day event in July. The six-page questionnaire included measures of expenditures, tourism behaviour, subcultural identification, leisure and fan motivation, as well as demographics. Of the 2067 questionnaires distributed, 1290 were returned (response rate = 62%). Only the questionnaires with no missing values for the variables under investigation were retained for further analysis. Therefore, 777 (60.2% of questionnaires returned; 37.6% of questionnaires distributed) had sufficient data to be usable in the current study.

Slightly more than half of the respondents were female (57.1%), with age ranging from 10 to 90 years (M = 43, SD = 16.31). The majority of respondents were from the local area (76.5%), with another 10.7% visiting from other Canadian cities, and 7% visiting from the United States. Most (79.3%) visitors surveyed had travelled to Windsor primarily to attend the event. Thirty-eight percent of the visitors were related to an athlete, coach, official, administrator and/or journalist involved with the event. Median income for both locals and visitors was between CAN\$75,000 and CAN\$100,000.

Data Collection

Data were collected during the opening ceremony and during all sessions of the three-day event. Researchers approached event attendees as they entered the front gate, and as they watched from the stands. Multiple researchers were stationed at each area of the facility, and approached as many people as possible. Researchers provided event attendees with a pencil and an envelope containing the survey and a letter explaining the study and describing respondents' ethical rights concerning their participation. Attendees were told that the survey would take approximately 10 minutes to complete, and were instructed to place the completed survey in the envelope provided and return it to the research booth (located nearby) in exchange for a Frisbee bearing the event logo.

Questionnaire

Data were collected via a survey that included measures of motivation, subcultural identification, and demographics. Measures are described below.

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Motivation

Two forms of motivation were assessed: leisure motivation and fan motivation. Leisure motivation was measured using Beard & Ragheb's (1983) Leisure Motivation Scale. The scale measures four dimensions of leisure motivation: (1) social, (2) escape, (3) learning, and (4) mastery. Mastery motivation was not included in this study as it was deemed unlikely that spectators would expect to develop mastery by merely watching the event (cf. Kim & Chalip, 2004). Two types of learning motives were assessed: learning about the destination and learning about athletics. The four dimensions were measured via three items each (see Table 1). Items were measured on a sixpoint Likert scale ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (6). Subscale item scores were averaged to form an aggregate measure of the intended motive. Beard & Ragheb (1983) report subscale reliability ranging from 0.89 for Escape to 0.91 for social motivation.

Three dimensions of fan motivation were assessed (see Table 1). Entertainment motivation was assessed via three items developed by Kim and Chalip (2004), and two items developed by Wann (1995). Aesthetic and vicarious achievement motives were measured using items developed by Wann (1995). Two items measured aesthetic motivation, and two measured vicarious achievement. All fan motivation items were measured on six-point Likert scales ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (6). The item scores for each subscale were averaged to form an aggregate measure of the dimension. Subscale alphas in the original studies (Kim & Chalip, 2004; Wann, 1995) ranged from 0.78 for vicarious achievement to 0.85 for entertainment experience.

Identification with the subculture

Two aspects of respondents' identification with the subculture of athletics were measured: self-identity and social identity. Shamir's (1992) scales of self and social identity were modified to reflect the athletics context (see Table 1). Three items measured self-identity, and three measured social-identity. All items were rated on a six-point Likert scale ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (6). The item scores for each scale were averaged to form an aggregate measure of the construct. Shamir reported that both scales were internally consistent, with alphas of 0.87 for selfidentity and 0.89 for social identity.

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Demographics

Spectators were asked to report their age, gender, education, and income. Age was measured in eight categories: under 13, 13-19, 20-29, 30-39, 40-49, 50-59, 60-69, and 70 or over. Participants were asked to indicate their educational

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Table 1	Survey Measures
Table 1	Survey Measures

	α	Mean (SD)
Subcultural Identity: Self Identity		
Athletics:	0.88	4.83 (1.18)
1. describes me/does not describe me		
2. affirms my values/doesn't affirm my values		
3. have strong feelings/don't have strong feelings		
Subcultural Identity: Social Identity	0.93	4.28 (1.40)
Rate how much you agree with each statement:		
1. Many people think of me as being an Athletics fan		
2. Other people think that Athletics is important to me		
3. People would be surprised if I stopped being an Athletics fan		
Leisure Motivation: Learning about the destination	0.94	2.70 (1.50)
Rate the degree to which each of the following were reasons for attending		
the Pan Am Championships:		
1. To expand my knowledge about Windsor-Essex County, the province		
of Ontario, and/or Canada		
2. To discover new things about Windsor-Essex County, the province		
of Ontario, and/or Canada		
To satisfy my curiosity about Windsor-Essey County the province		
of Ontario and/or Canada		
Leisure Motivation: Learning about athletics	0.75	4 37 (1 15)
Pate the degree to which each of the following were reasons for attending	0.75	1.57 (1.15)
the Pan Am Championships:		
1. To satisfy my surjective about Athletics		
2. To discover new things shout Athletics		
2. To ascover new trings about Athletics		
J. To expand my knowledge about Atmetics	0.87	382(120)
Dete the degree to which each of the following were reasons for attending	0.07	5.62 (1.27)
the Day Am Championshing		
the Pan Am Championships:		
2. To just an example with others		
2. To interact with others		
3. To meet new and different people	0.70	4.14 (1.20)
Leisure Motivation: Escape	0.79	4.14 (1.20)
Rate the degree to which each of the following were reasons for attending		
the Pan Am Championships:		
1. To get away from my everyday life		
2. To relax physically		
3. To relax mentally		
Fan Motivation: Entertainment Experience	0.81	4.99 (0.84)
Rate the degree to which each of the following were reasons for attending		
the Pan Am Championships:		
1. To watch high level Athletics		
2. To be a part of a major Athletics event		
3. To see future stars of Athletics		
Rate how much you agree with each statement:		
4. I like being a part of the festivities surrounding the Pan Am		
Championshing		

Table 1 Continued

α	Mean (SD)
0.69	4.77 (1.02)
0.78	4.67 (1.11)
	α 0.69 0.78

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attainment by checking one of four boxes: elementary school, high school, college, or university. Income was measured using six categories: under \$30,000; \$30–50,000; \$50–75,000; \$75–100,000, \$100–125,000, and \$125,000 and above.

In addition, respondents were asked to indicate whether or not the Pan-American Championships were the main reason that they were in the local area (Windsor-Essex County), and whether or not they lived outside of the local area. They were asked to provide their home country and home city. Responses to these questions were used to categorize respondents as either: (1) local residents, (2) casual visitors, or (3) primary visitors. Spectators responding 'no' to living outside of Windsor-Essex County were categorized as locals. Spectators responding 'yes' to living outside of Windsor-Essex County were categorized as casual visitors if they also responded 'no' that their main reason for being in the local area was to attend the Pan-American Championships. Non-local spectators who indicated that their main reason for being in Windsor-Essex County was to attend the Pan-American Championships were categorized as primary visitors.

³⁵⁰ Data analysis

Inter-tester and intra-tester reliability tests were conducted to assure consistency of procedure, yielding acceptable error rates of 0.84% and 0.81%, respectively. Alpha coefficients, were calculated to confirm that all subscale internal consistencies were acceptable in this study, as in the studies from which the measures were taken. As, examination of Table 1 shows, they were.

A correlation matrix was then calculated to explore the possibility that some measures would be better represented through aggregation into second-order factors. When that was the case, the possibility was tested through factor analysis. Given a supportive factor solution, factor scores were exported for subsequent analyses.

Regressions were then conducted to test relationships among the variables. Age, gender, income, and the respondents' basis for being at the event (i.e. came to Essex

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county specifically for the event, attending the event but visiting Essex county for another purpose, or local resident attending the event) were tested as independent variables, identity was entered as a mediating variable, and fan motivation and leisure motivation were entered as dependent variables. Tests for linear restrictions (Katos *et al.*, 2000, pp. 40–59) were conducted to determine if the regression weights in each equation were equivalent for the three types of visitor. Hierarchical regressions were then conducted to determine whether identity fully or partially mediated effects on fan motivation or leisure motivation. Finally, regression weights were tested for significance, and insignificant effects were dropped from the model.

Results

Correlations among the seven motives (four leisure motives and three fan motives) are presented in Table 2. Examination of Table 2 shows that the motives are moderately correlated throughout. The question is whether the motives neatly divide, as expected, into leisure and fan motive dimensions. This was examined through exploratory factor analysis using principal components extraction with varimax rotations. The unit eigenvalue criterion was used to determine the number of factors. Two factors emerged, explaining 66% of the variance in the original measures. The factor matrix is presented in Table 3. As Table 3 shows, the motives load onto their expected factors, with the caveat that the motive 'learning about athletics' was bidimensional – acting as both a leisure and fan motive. Factor scores representing fan motivation and leisure motivation were extracted for further analysis.

As expected (Shamir, 1992), self-identity and social-identity were strongly correlated (r = 0.71, p < 0.001). In order to test whether athletics identity could be estimated as a single dimension, the six items were factor analyzed using principal components analysis. Only one eigenvalue exceeded unity, with the first principal component capturing 72% of the variance in the six items. Consequently, the first principal component score was exported for use in subsequent analyses. Table 4 shows the item loadings for the first principal component.

	Learning Athletics	Social	Escape	Entertainment	Aesthetics	Vicarious Achieve
Learning	0.475**	0.522**	0.406**	0.306**	0.325**	0.316**
Learning Athletics	1	0.479**	0.482**	0.540**	0.449**	0.386**
Social		1	0.536**	0.473**	0.347**	0.366**
Escape			1	0.394**	0.333**	0.341**
Entertainment				1	0.677**	0.533**
Aesthetics					1	0.431**

Table 2 Correlation Matrix for Constructs

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

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	Factor		
	1	2	
Entertainment	0.269	0.855	
Aesthetics	0.177	0.836	
Vicarious Achievement	0.246	0.697	
Social	0.782	0.264	
Learning Destination	0.791	0.130	
Escape	0.739	0.234	
Learning Athletics	0.610	0.471	
Eigenvalue	2.32	2.28	

 Table 3
 Second Order Factor Loadings: Rotated Factor Matrix

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Track and Field Identity as a Single Dimension (Principal Components Analysis) Table 4

		Factor 1
_	Athletics describes me	0.86
)	Athletics affirms my values	0.80
	Strong feelings about athletics	0.80
	Athletics fan	0.87
	Athletics is important to me	0.87
1	Stop being an Athletics fan	0.88

Eigenvalue = 4.31.

In order to examine whether athletics identity affected fan motivation or leisure 435

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motivation differently for the three groups (locals, casual event visitors, primary purpose event visitors), tests for linear restrictions (Katos et al., 2000, pp. 40-59) were conducted. The method provides an *F*-ratio test of whether the effect of identity on each motivation is different for the three groups. A significant *F*-ratio indicates that the effect differs among the groups. The effect of identity on each motivation did not differ among the three groups; for fan motivation, F(2, 272) = 2.53, p > 0.05; for leisure motivation, F(2, 272) = 0.39, p > 0.05. It is concluded that athletics identity affects motivation comparably for each of the three groups.

Tests for linear restrictions were then conducted to determine whether demographics (age, gender, income) affect identity differently for the three groups. The effect of demographics on identity did not differ among the three groups; F(6,766 = 0.067, p > 0.05. It is concluded that demographics affect identity comparably for each of the three groups.

In order to examine whether demographics affected fan motivation or leisure motivation differently (given the effect of identity) for the three groups, tests for linear restrictions were conducted (with the effect of identity included). The effect of demographics on each motivation did not differ among the three groups; for fan motivation, F(6, 765) = 1.55, p > 0.05; for leisure motivation, F(6, 765) = 1.48, p > 0.05. It is concluded that (given the effect of identity) demographics affect motivation comparably for each of the three groups.

Hierarchical regressions then tested whether demographics and visitor type (local, casual visitor, or primary purpose visitor) affect motives directly (i.e. assuming an effect of identity). Thus, identity was entered in the first block, and the demographics and visitor type were entered in the second block. The effect was significant in both cases; for fan motivation, F(5, 771) = 10.32; p < 0.05; for leisure motivation, F(5, 771) = 3.56, p = 0.003. It is concluded that there is a direct effect of demographics and/or visitor type on motives, even given the effect of identity.

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The *t*-values for each effect in the regressions were then used to determine which effects were significant, and which could be eliminated. Only visitor type had a significant effect on athletics identity, such that visitors whose primary purpose was to attend the event had a higher athletics identity than did casual visitors or locals; t(772) = 5.32, p < 0.001. Visitors whose primary purpose was to attend the event reported higher athletics identity than casual visitors and locals. Casuals and locals did not differ t(772) = 0.1, p > 0.05. All other effects on identity were insignificant; 0.16 < t(772) < 1.14, p > 0.05. Identity, age, gender, and visitor type had significant effects on fan motivation; 4.38 < t(771) < 22.72, p < 0.05. However, income did not have a significant effect; t(771) = 0.752, p > 0.05. Further, although visitors whose primary purpose was to attend the event were significantly different in fan motivation from casuals or locals (t[771] = 2.94, p = 0.003), casuals did not differ from locals in their fan motivation (t[771] = 0.61, p > 0.05). Only income, gender, and identity had significant effects on leisure motivation; 1.8 < t(771) < 3.93, p < 0.05 (one tailed). Visitor type and age did not have a significant effect; 0.53 < t(771) < 1.25, p > 0.05.

In order to obtain best estimates of path coefficients, insignificant effects were dropped from the model. The final model is shown in Figure 1. Examination of Figure 1 shows:



Figure 1 The Structure of Relations among Demographics, Identity, Motivation, and Type of Visitor.

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- (1) The structure of relations among variables did not differ as a function of the type of visitor (primary purpose, casual, or local).
- (2) Primary purpose event visitors were, on average, half a standard deviation higher in athletics identity than were casuals or locals.
- (3) For each standard deviation that athletics identity was raised, fan motivation was raised almost two-thirds of a standard deviation.
- (4) The effect of trip purpose on fan motivation was twofold, with a direct effect reducing fan motivation by one fifth of a standard deviation, on average, but with an indirect effect through athletics identity that raised fan motivation by almost one-third of a standard deviation. Thus, the net effect was that primary purpose visitors reported, on average, a tenth of a standard deviation higher fan motivation.
- (5) Age had a negligible but significant effect on fan motivation, such that older visitors (regardless of purpose) reported higher fan motivation than did younger visitors.
- (6) Male visitors (regardless of purpose) reported, on average, a quarter of a standard deviation less fan motivation than did females.
- (7) Male visitors (regardless of purpose) reported, on average, almost an eighth of a standard deviation less leisure motivation.
 - (8) Income had a small but significant effect on leisure motivation, such that higher income visitors (regardless of purpose) reported less leisure motivation than did visitors with lower household incomes.
 - (9) The model provides strong prediction of fan motivation, but weak prediction of identity and leisure motivation.

525 Discussion

These findings are generally consistent with expectations derived from the literature; they add clarity and specificity. In particular, identity was found to mediate the effect of the type of event attendance on motives. The purposeful choice to travel to an event affirmed and strengthened identity, which then strengthened fan motivation and leisure motivation. Yet the effect of trip purpose on identity was small, even though the mean difference in identity between primary purpose visitors, on the one hand, and casuals and locals, on the other, is substantial. More work is needed to examine the ways that trip characteristics, the travel experience, and interactions with the event steer the effects of an event on the identities and consequent motivations of those who attend, particularly those who travel specifically to attend the event.

Throughout this study, casuals and locals were not found to be different on any variable or on any pathway. This makes intuitive sense insomuch as neither has made an effort to travel to the host destination in order to attend. Nevertheless, it seems reasonable to expect differences insomuch as casuals are tourists to the area. Other work has demonstrated that tourists differ from locals in their perceptions of the destination (Jutla, 2000), their interpretation of attractions (Kaltenborn & Williams, 2002), and their uses of spaces that they share with locals (Snepenger

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et al., 2003). Future studies should explore perceptions, interpretations, and uses of sport events that might differ between casuals and locals.

The expected threshold effects of age, gender, and income were found to a limited degree. Women who were at the event scored higher than men on both fan motivation and leisure motivation, which is consistent with the expectation that they would require a higher level of motivation in order to surmount social norms discouraging attendance at a sport event. However, men and women who attended the event identified comparably with athletics. Thus, motives rather than identity seem to have provided the added impetus necessary for women to attend the event.

The effects of income and age were far smaller and more confined than expected. Although the effect of age on fan motivation was in the expected direction, it was small, and there was no effect of age on identity or leisure motivation. Similarly, although the effect of income on leisure motivation was in the expected direction, it was small, and there was no effect of income on identity or fan motivation. More work is needed to explore the effects of life scripts and discretionary income on travel to sport events.

The direct and indirect effects of trip purpose on fan motivation seem to be paradoxical. Whereas the indirect effect (through identity) is substantial and positive, the direct effect is negative (although smaller). The indirect effect is entirely consistent with expectations. Perhaps the negative direct path from purpose to fan motivation reflects a threshold effect comparable to that expected for gender, age, and income. Those who live locally or who are in town for other purposes may require a higher level of fan motivation before they choose to come to the event. Future work should examine the ways that locals, casuals, and primary purpose event attendees formulate their decisions to attend an event.

It is also intriguing that the pathways among demographics, identity, and motives did not vary as a function of visitor type. Relationships among these variables are not conditioned by the nature of trip choice. Thus, the impact of gender, age, income, and identity on motives was not determined by whether the visitor was a local, casual, or primary purpose visitor. This suggests that marketing efforts appealing to identity, as suggested by Green (2001), will not affect motives differently for local, casual, or primary purpose attendees.

However, these results do suggest that event marketing could benefit by formulating marketing communications differently for out-of-town attendees than for locals or casuals. In particular, marketing communications directed outside the local trading radius should highlight opportunities for event attendees to strengthen, parade, and celebrate their identification with the sport's subculture. On the other hand, marketing communications within the local trading radius should highlight the entertainment, aesthetics, and vicarious achievements that the event offers.

Marketing communications targeted at women should also emphasize entertainment, aesthetics, and vicarious achievements at the event, and should do so regardless of whether they are directed out-of-town or within the local trading radius. It may also reinforce the message if opportunities to learn, socialize, and/or get away from everyday life are also incorporated. It appears that women may require a more complex and intensely targeted marketing message.

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Overall, these results demonstrate the utility of differentiating primary purpose event tourists from other attendees. They also demonstrate the value of incorporating measures of fan motivation and identity when studying sport event tourists. Future studies comparing local, casual, and primary purpose event attendees will help us to better understand the cognitive and affective bases of sport event tourism.

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