

Determinants of Spectator Demand in Professional Sports: An Exploratory Analysis of Professional Football in Morocco

Abstract

This study explores the determinants of spectator demand in Moroccan professional football (Botola Pro), an empirical context that remains largely understudied in the literature. Through an exploratory qualitative approach combining lexicometric analysis and synaptic mapping of a corpus of 30 semi-structured interviews conducted with supporters of varying profiles, the research identifies six structuring dimensions: (1) the irreplaceable experiential value of attending matches in person, (2) club identity attachment and sociability, (3) perceived quality of the sporting spectacle, (4) organizational and infrastructural characteristics, (5) competition from digital media, and (6) inclusion of women and families. The findings reveal a structural tension between supporters' aspirations, shaped by exposure to European football, and the reality of the local offering, generating selective and conditional demand. This research contributes to filling an empirical gap on spectator demand in Africa and formulates managerial recommendations for professional clubs and football governance bodies, with a view to the 2030 FIFA World Cup.

Keywords: Spectator demand, professional football, Morocco, Botola Pro, qualitative analysis, determinants, fan experience.

1.1 Introduction

Spectator sport constitutes a singular consumption product whose economic and social characteristics have been the subject of extensive academic inquiry since the pioneering contributions of Rottenberg (1956) and Neale (1964). Unlike conventional goods and services, sporting spectacles are distinguished by outcome uncertainty, the joint production of the contest by opposing teams, and a powerful identity dimension that binds consumers to the clubs they support. The demand for sporting spectacles thus represents a complex research object that draws on economic, sociological, and managerial approaches.

In Morocco, football occupies a dominant position in the national sports landscape. As the kingdom's premier sport, it generates considerable passion among millions of supporters and enjoys extensive media coverage. Recent performances by the national team — most notably the historic qualification for the semi-finals of the 2022 FIFA World Cup in Qatar — have reinforced popular enthusiasm for the sport and stimulated renewed interest in Moroccan football as a whole. Furthermore, Morocco's designation as co-host of the 2030 FIFA World Cup, alongside Spain and Portugal, represents an international recognition and a catalyst for the development of the national game.

However, despite this widespread media popularity and evident passion, stadium attendance at matches in the Moroccan professional championship (Botola Pro) remains variable and often well below the hosting capacity of existing infrastructure. Professional clubs face persistent difficulties in attracting and retaining spectators at match venues. This paradoxical situation raises fundamental questions about the factors influencing Moroccan supporters' decisions to attend or not attend football matches.

The scientific literature on the determinants of spectator demand in sport is substantial, particularly in North American and European contexts. Borland and MacDonald (2003) proposed a conceptual framework distinguishing five major categories of factors: economic variables (price, income), expected match quality (competitive balance, team performance), local market characteristics (population, competition from other leisure activities), consumption habits (loyalty, traditions), and demographic factors. Other research has focused on the psychological motivations of spectators, with measurement scales such as the MSSC (Motivation Scale for Sport Consumption) developed by Trail and James (2001).

Yet the African context in general, and the Moroccan context in particular, remains understudied in this literature. The cultural, economic, and organizational specificities of Moroccan football call for rigorous empirical investigation to understand the mechanisms underlying spectator demand. The Moroccan context indeed presents several distinctive features: purchasing power lower than that of developed nations, a specific supporter culture centered on the ultras phenomenon, a continuously evolving championship structure, stadiums of variable quality, and sport consumption practices in flux due to digitalization.

It is within this context that the present research is situated, aiming to identify and analyze the key determinants of spectator demand in Moroccan professional football. This exploratory study seeks to fill an empirical gap and contribute to a deeper understanding of a phenomenon with significant economic and social implications for all stakeholders in Moroccan football. The central research question is formulated as follows: **What are the determinants of spectator demand in Moroccan professional football, and how do they interact within the specific context of the Botola Pro?**

This article is organized into five sections. The first presents the conceptual framework and literature review on the determinants of spectator demand. The second describes the qualitative methodology employed. The third presents the results of the lexicometric analysis and synaptic mapping. The fourth offers a theoretical and managerial discussion. The fifth concludes by synthesizing contributions and outlining future research directions.

1.2 Conceptual Framework and literature Review

The demand for sporting spectacles has been a central object of study in sports economics for several decades. Understanding the determinants of this demand holds strategic importance for sports clubs, public

policymakers, and broadcasters alike. This conceptual and theoretical framework builds on a systematic review of the literature to identify the principal concepts, models, and explanatory factors of spectator demand in sport.

1.2.1 Spectator Demand in Sport: Definition and Dimensions

Spectator demand in sport is defined as the aggregate manifestations of consumer interest in attending or consuming sporting events (Borland & MacDonald, 2003). This demand is organized around several complementary dimensions that structure the academic literature on the subject.

Direct demand (stadium attendance) corresponds to the physical attendance at sports venues. It represents the most traditional form of sport consumption and constitutes a major revenue source for clubs through ticketing and ancillary income. García and Rodríguez (2009) emphasize that this dimension remains central to the academic literature on sport demand.

Indirect demand (mediated consumption) encompasses remote consumption via traditional media (television, radio) and digital channels (streaming, digital platforms). Buraimo (2008) demonstrates the growing importance of this dimension with the proliferation of broadcast channels. The relationship between direct and indirect demand has been the subject of ongoing debate: substitution versus complementarity (Forrest, Simmons & Szymanski, 2004). Derived demand, for its part, encompasses all economic activities generated by the sporting spectacle: merchandising, sports betting, fantasy leagues, and video games.

1.2.2 Economic Factors

Ticket price is naturally a major determinant of demand. Empirical studies generally reveal a negative price-elasticity, albeit of moderate magnitude (between -0.3 and -0.8), suggesting relatively inelastic demand (Borland & MacDonald, 2003). This low elasticity is explained by the emotional attachment of supporters and the absence of perfect substitutes for unconditional fans.

Consumer income exerts a positive effect on attendance, characterizing the sporting spectacle as a normal — even superior — good in certain contexts. Variations in purchasing power, particularly during economic recessions, significantly affect demand, especially among segments of the population with low or moderate incomes. The opportunity cost of time also represents an often-underestimated determinant: attending a match entails not only a monetary cost (ticket, transportation, catering) but also a significant investment of time, the subjective value of which varies across individuals and their professional and family constraints (García & Rodríguez, 2009).

1.2.3 Factors Related to Sporting Performance and Outcome Uncertainty

Outcome uncertainty has been the cornerstone of sport economics since the pioneering contributions of Rottenberg (1956) and Neale (1964). This concept holds that the attractiveness of a sporting competition depends fundamentally on the unpredictability of its outcome. Peel and Thomas (1988) were among the first to test this hypothesis empirically, suggesting that spectators prefer balanced matches where both teams have comparable chances of winning. Szymanski (2003) distinguishes several levels of uncertainty: short-term (match outcome), medium-term (title race during a season), and long-term (overall competitive balance of the league).

Recent results of the home team positively influence demand in the short run. García and Rodríguez (2002), in their study of the Spanish Liga, demonstrate that a winning streak stimulates attendance at subsequent matches, thereby evidencing an effect sometimes called the “bandwagon effect.” The quality of the opposition represents an additional determining factor: matches against prestigious, historically rival, or league-leading teams generate significantly higher attendance. Forrest and Simmons (2002) further show that decisive late-season matches attract more spectators, reflecting the importance of medium-term uncertainty.

1.2.4 Spectacle Quality and the Star Effect

Beyond uncertainty, the absolute quality of the spectacle offered substantially influences demand. This quality is assessed through several dimensions: team performance levels, generally measured by league standing or recent results, and the presence of star players. Wills, Addesa, and Hofmann (2021) demonstrate that in the UEFA Champions League, spectators value match quality at least as much as outcome uncertainty, underscoring the importance of the appeal of international stars. Playing style and spectacle intensity also influence spectator satisfaction: attacking, spectacular play with abundant scoring opportunities tends to generate higher demand than defensive play (Borland & MacDonald, 2003).

1.2.5 Organizational, Temporal, and Infrastructural Factors

The temporal scheduling of matches exerts a considerable influence on attendance. Matches played on weekends generally attract more spectators than midweek fixtures, due to professional constraints (Forrest & Simmons, 2002). Infrastructure quality constitutes a structural determinant of demand: a modern, comfortable stadium equipped with quality facilities and easily accessible improves the spectator experience and stimulates attendance. Conversely, outdated or poorly located facilities constitute a barrier to demand (Borland & MacDonald, 2003). Weather conditions for outdoor sports also influence the decision to attend a match.

1.2.6 The Effect of Television and Digital Media

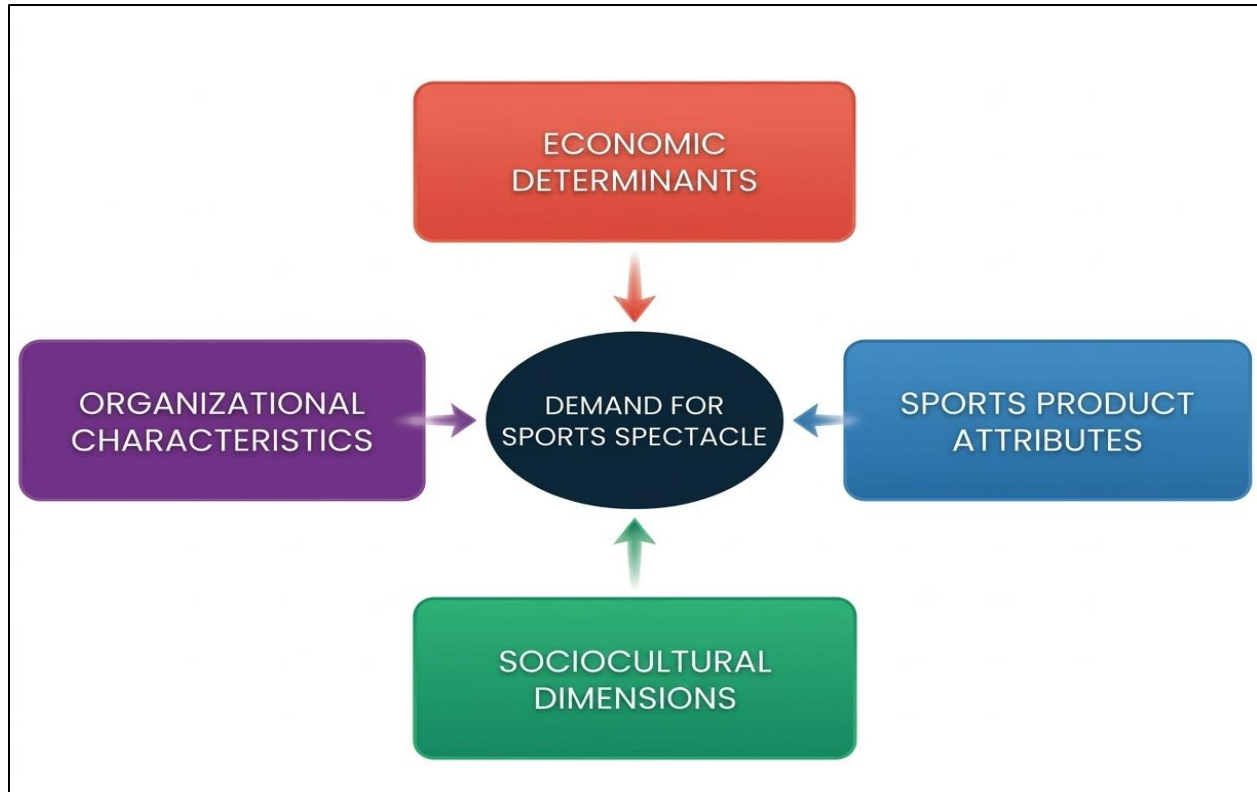
The relationship between television broadcasting and stadium attendance constitutes a recurring debate in the literature. Two hypotheses compete: substitution (television diverts spectators from the stadium) versus complementarity (it stimulates interest and cultivates new supporters). Buraimo (2008) provides nuanced evidence: televising a match effectively reduces stadium attendance in the short term, but regular media exposure enhances club visibility and cultivates a broader supporter base over the long term. Forrest, Simmons, and Buraimo (2005) distinguish unconditional supporters (largely unaffected by television) from occasional spectators (strongly influenced). The proliferation of broadcast channels and the emergence of streaming are profoundly reshaping this dynamic.

1.2.7 Social Capital, Identity, and Club Attachment

The social and identity dimension of sporting spectacles constitutes a fundamental determinant of demand, often overlooked in purely economic approaches. Club attachment transcends the simple pursuit of quality entertainment and is rooted in logics of territorial belonging, community identification, and intergenerational transmission (Schreyer & Ansari, 2022). This loyalty explains why some supporters continue to attend matches even during periods of poor sporting performance. Funk and James (2006) developed a four-stage engagement model (awareness, attraction, attachment, allegiance) that captures the varying depth of supporter involvement.

The synthesis of the literature enables the proposal of an integrated model in which spectator demand results from the interaction of four categories of factors (Schreyer & Ansari, 2022): economic determinants (price, income, transportation costs), sporting product attributes (uncertainty, quality, stakes, stars), organizational characteristics (infrastructure, scheduling, accessibility), and sociocultural dimensions (club attachment, territorial identity, social capital). This model, developed primarily in Western contexts, requires testing and enrichment in emerging contexts such as Morocco.

Figure 1: Integrated Model of the Determinants of Spectator Demand in Sport (adapted from Schreyer & Ansari, 2022; Borland & MacDonald, 2003)



1.3 Methods

1.3.1 Epistemological Positioning and Approach

The present research is situated within an interpretive paradigm and an exploratory qualitative approach. This methodological choice is justified by the nature of our research object and the state of knowledge on Moroccan football. Given the relatively unexplored character of this research terrain and the need to gain an in-depth understanding of the complex mechanisms underlying spectator demand in this specific context, an inductive qualitative approach appears to be the most appropriate (Miles & Huberman, 2003).

Unlike hypothetico-deductive approaches that test predetermined hypotheses, our inductive approach aims to generate new knowledge and to allow analytical categories grounded in the Moroccan field to emerge. This exploratory phase establishes a solid foundation for future quantitative research at a larger scale that will be able to test the relationships between identified variables.

1.3.2 Sampling and Data Collection

Our theoretical sample includes 30 respondents with varying profiles, supporters of several Moroccan clubs (Wydad AC, Raja CA, HUSA d'Agadir, Maghrib Sport de Fès, Renaissance Sportive de Berkane, AS FAR, MCO d'Oujda, KCM de Marrakech). We constructed a diversified sample comprising three categories of respondents:

- Regular spectators (n=12): members of ultras groups, independent supporters and season-ticket holders, in order to understand their motivations, their experience of the spectacle, and their loyalty.
- Occasional spectators (n=10): individuals attending only certain specific matches, to identify what triggers their occasional spectator demand.
- Non-spectators (n=8): individuals who identify as supporters of a club but never or very rarely attend matches in person, in order to understand the barriers to in-person consumption.

The following table presents the sociodemographic characteristics of the sample:

Table 1: Sociodemographic Characteristics of the Sample (n=30)

Characteristic	Category	Count	Percentage
Gender	Male	22	73%
	Female	8	27%
Age	18–25 years	10	33%
	26–35 years	12	40%
	36–50 years	6	20%
	51+ years	2	7%
Profile	Regular spectator	12	40%
	Occasional spectator	10	33%
	Non-spectator	8	27%

1.3.3 Data Collection Instrument and Interview Process

The interview guide is organized around several central themes: supporter background and club attachment, motivations for attending or not attending matches, the lived experience at the stadium (atmosphere, services, safety), economic and practical barriers, expectations and improvement suggestions, the influence of media and social networks, and perceptions of the evolution of Moroccan football. The semi-structured interviews, averaging 45 to 60 minutes in length, were conducted between January and June 2025, recorded with participants' consent, transcribed in full, and anonymized to ensure confidentiality.

1.3.4 Data Analysis Method

The analysis of the collected data was conducted at two complementary levels. The first involved a lexicometric analysis performed using NVivo 12 software on the full textual corpus of the 30 transcribed interviews. Based on word frequencies (minimum of 5 letters), this analysis identified the central thematic clusters, yielding a final corpus of 44 significant words. The second level comprised a thematic content analysis using synaptic mapping, designed to identify and categorize the various factors of spectator demand mentioned by interviewees (Miles & Huberman, 2003). Data triangulation was ensured through cross-comparison of results across respondent profiles and clubs.

1.4 Results

The results are presented in two stages: the lexicometric analysis of the textual corpus first, followed by the synaptic mapping analysis of key concepts.

1.4.1 Lexicometric Analysis of the Textual Corpus

The lexicometric analysis of the semi-structured interview corpus, conducted using NVivo 12 software, reveals the multidimensional structuring of representations associated with sporting spectacles in Moroccan professional football. The word cloud generated (Figure 2) provides an initial mapping of the salient themes in the respondents' discourse.

Figure 2: Word Cloud – Lexicometric Analysis of the Corpus (NVivo 12, n=30 interviews)



1.4.1.1 The Centrality of the Perceptual and Subjective Dimension

The predominance of the term “perception” in the lexical word cloud constitutes a significant finding deserving particular analytical attention. This dominance suggests that spectator demand cannot be understood solely through the lens of objective variables (quality of play, infrastructure, price), but is fundamentally mediated by complex cognitive and evaluative processes. The centrality of perception aligns with the constructivist perspective on sport consumption (Bouchet & Lebrun, 2009), in which the spectator experience is co-constructed through representations, expectations, and interpretive frameworks.

1.4.1.2 The Structural Components of the Sporting Spectacle

The triad of “matches,” “stadium,” and “quality” constitutes the core of the tangible elements around which the sporting spectacle experience is organized. The salience of the term “matches” confirms that the sporting contest remains the heart of the experience, but its co-occurrence with the terms “quality” and “stadium” suggests that the match is understood as one element within a broader experiential system. The term “stadium” occupies a central position in the word cloud, revealing its status as a privileged object of discourse — a functional, symbolic, and experiential space simultaneously.

1.4.1.3 The Tribal and Identity Dimension

The semantic cluster formed by the terms “team,” “supporters,” “derbies,” “attachment,” and “pride” reveals the importance of the tribal and identity dimension in structuring demand. These terms speak to the social and identity function of football (Bromberger, 1998), in which the club serves as an operator of collective identification and a marker of community belonging. The significant presence of the term “derbies” underscores that these fixtures crystallize the identity stakes of football with maximum intensity. The notion of “atmosphere” refers to a collective production to which each spectator contributes while simultaneously benefiting from it.

1.4.1.4 Organizational and Managerial Challenges and Sporting Attractiveness

The emergence of terms such as “security,” “infrastructure,” and “professionalization” reflects respondents’ preoccupation with the managerial dimensions of the sporting spectacle. The term “security” carries particular importance: incidents of violence — actual or feared — constitute a major barrier to demand, especially for families and women. The reference to “professionalization” is part of an aspiration for the modernization of Moroccan football management, likely influenced by growing exposure to international reference models. The presence of terms such as “stars” and “performance” attests to the importance attached to the intrinsic quality of the spectacle and the drawing power of star players (Rein et al., 2006).

The lexicometric analysis of the corpus reveals that spectator demand in Moroccan professional football is organized around six main dimensions: (1) a perceptual and subjective dimension; (2) a structural dimension centered on the match-stadium-quality triad; (3) a tribal and identity dimension; (4) an organizational dimension; (5) a social and relational dimension; and (6) a sporting dimension centered on performance and the attractiveness of play (see Figure 3).

Figure 3: Analytical Framework – The Six Dimensions of Spectator Demand in Moroccan Professional Football (Source: Authors, 2024)



1.4.2 Synaptic Mapping Analysis

1.4.2.1 Analysis of the Synaptic Map for the Concept of "Matches"

The analysis of the synaptic map centered on the concept of “matches” reveals the complex structuring of representations and consumption practices associated with football spectacles. This mapping highlights an implicit hierarchy of fixtures according to their symbolic value and attractiveness. At the apex stand the “big matches” and derbies — exceptional events that justify the trip to the stadium:

"I watch all matches on TV. But for the big ones... you have to be at the stadium to feel the collective emotion."

The verbatim accounts also reveal a central concern regarding the level of competitiveness and outcome uncertainty. Respondents' discourse highlights a perceived competitive imbalance in Moroccan football: “Too much amateurism in management,” “Matches are often very defensive,” “tactics are frequently poor.” This frustration with a spectacle perceived as insufficiently high-quality creates a tension with the uncertainty needed for attractiveness (Neale, 1964; Szymanski, 2003). The temporal dimension also emerges: Friday evening and weekend matches are preferred over midweek fixtures due to professional constraints.

1.4.2.2 Analysis of the Synaptic Map for the Concept of "Quality"

The analysis of the synaptic map centered on the concept of “quality” reveals the complexity of the evaluation criteria employed by spectators. Verbatim accounts reflect a perception of qualitative decline relative to a golden era situated in the 1980s–1990s:

"The level has dropped since the 80s–90s. Back then, it was good football. Today we are far from European standards."

"Far too low for a country that is hosting the 2030 World Cup."

Comparison with European standards emerges as a systematic evaluative reference. This international benchmarking, driven by growing exposure to European leagues through the media, generates a perception gap between the local offering and the expectations shaped by global football spectacle (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2009). The economic dimension reveals a contextual assessment of value for money: while base prices remain accessible, their acceptability is contingent on the perceived quality of the overall service.

1.4.2.3 Analysis of the Synaptic Map for the Concept of "Perception"

The analysis of the synaptic map centered on the concept of "perception" reveals three main dimensions. The first — and most structuring — is the identity and territorial dimension: verbatim accounts reflect a deep intertwining of club attachment and territorial rootedness.

"It's in the blood. Raja represents Casablanca, the people, the working-class neighborhoods."

"It's the pride of Fès. When the MAS wins, the whole city is happy."

"It's the identity of the Moroccan east. We represent a forgotten region. It's our social revenge."

These verbatim accounts reveal that club attachment is experienced as a familial and territorial legacy that resists performance cycles. The second dimension concerns the ambivalent perception of the ultras: their contribution to the atmosphere is valued, but certain behaviors elicit reservations, particularly among families and women. The third dimension — price perception — reveals a relative and contextual rather than absolute evaluation (Zeithaml, 1988).

1.4.2.4 Analysis of the Synaptic Map for the Concept of "Stadium"

The synaptic map for the concept of "stadium" reveals five major analytical dimensions structuring representations of the in-person sporting spectacle experience.

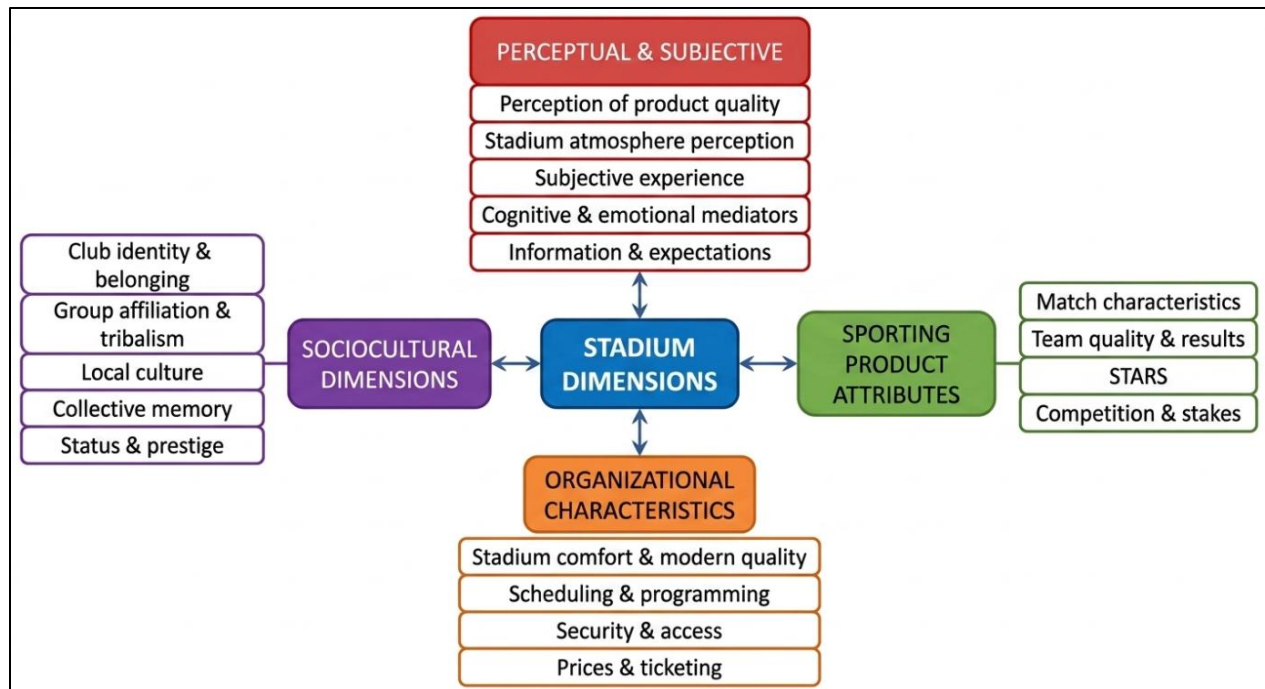
First, the stadium is unanimously described as an exceptional sensory and emotional space: "the atmosphere, the chants, that's what makes the magic," "it's sacred," "you get the thrill live." Yet the map reveals a constant trade-off between stadium and television: the convenience, comfort, and cost-free nature of the screen make it a widely used substitute, especially for regular-season matches.

Second, the stadium fulfills a strong social function: it constitutes one of the rare public spaces in Morocco where collective emotional expression is possible and valorized. Third, several structural barriers weigh on demand: ticket prices (~30 MAD for popular sections), the dilapidated state of infrastructure (Stade Mohamed V described as uncomfortable), "catastrophic" sanitary facilities, and a space perceived as unwelcoming for women and families.

"It remains an intimidating space for women."

Fourth, strong expectations and genuine development potential emerge: respondents cite the national pride generated by the 2030 World Cup as a lever for modernization. Certain clubs are cited positively (HUSA d'Agadir, RSB de Berkane) as examples of more professional management.

Figure 4: Synaptic Map of the Concept "Stadium" (Source: NVivo 12 Analysis – 30 Semi-Structured Interviews, 2024)



1.5 Discussion

1.5.1 A Demand Structured by the Aspirations/Reality Tension

The most salient finding of this research lies in the identification of a structural tension between Moroccan supporters' aspirations — largely shaped by exposure to European football through the media — and the reality of the local offering. This tension generates selective and conditional demand, in which regular attendance is contingent on a substantial improvement in the perceived quality of the product. This result enriches the work of Borland and MacDonald (2003) by showing that, in a context of football globalization (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2009), spectators' reference standards are no longer defined locally but by the dominant leagues to which they have access through the media.

A particularly notable finding concerns the tension between outcome uncertainty and the intrinsic quality of play. Whereas the dominant literature, following Rottenberg (1956), emphasizes outcome uncertainty as the primary determinant of demand, our analysis reveals that in the Moroccan context, the quality of play exerts an effect at least as structuring. Spectators are not simply interested in a balanced match; they want a technically satisfying game. This result nuances the uncertainty thesis and suggests the existence of a quality threshold below which even an uncertain match does not justify attendance.

1.5.2 The Identity Dimension as a Durable Foundation of Demand

The research confirms and enriches the work of Funk and James (2006) on club attachment by revealing the deeply inherited and territorially rooted nature of this affiliation in the Moroccan context. Primary socialization (family, neighborhood, region) constitutes the primary vector through which loyalty is built, explaining why attachment frequently withstands variations in sporting performance or spectacle quality.

Club attachment is described as a form of “social revenge” for marginalized territories or social groups (“It’s the identity of the Moroccan east. We represent a forgotten region”) — a symbolic function that Bromberger (1998) had identified in his work on Mediterranean football. This identity dimension constitutes a durable and relatively inelastic foundation of demand, independent of fluctuations in sporting quality.

1.5.3 Organizational Barriers: A Documented Structural Deficit

The results document a significant structural deficit in conditions for welcoming spectators: dilapidated venues, inadequate sanitary facilities, accessibility difficulties, and a space perceived as intimidating for women and families. This organizational deficit, combined with the availability of free media alternatives, creates unfavorable conditions for the development of direct demand.

These results are consistent with the work of Borland and MacDonald (2003) on the importance of organizational characteristics, but reveal a problematic specific to the African context: the gap between expectations shaped by international standards and an infrastructural reality constrained by limited resources. The prospect of the 2030 World Cup appears as a window of opportunity to reduce this gap.

1.5.4 Competition from Digital Media: Substitution and Complementarity

Partially confirming the work of Buraimo (2008) and Forrest, Simmons, and Buraimo (2005), the research reveals a hybrid consumption strategy in which television and the stadium are used in a complementary fashion by the most engaged supporters, and as substitutes by occasional spectators. The conditional logic identified is particularly revealing:

"I watch all matches on TV. But if we had players of international caliber, I would go to every match."

This conditionality underscores that the competition from digital media does not constitute the primary obstacle to attendance; rather, it is the perceived quality deficit of the local offering that prevents spectators from choosing the stadium over the screen. Media coverage functions here as a revealer of the quality gap rather than its cause.

1.5.5 The Inclusion of Women and Families: A Transversal Issue

The question of including women and families emerges as a major transversal issue, receiving scant attention in the literature on spectator demand. The results show that the stadium is perceived as a predominantly masculine space, access to which for women and families is hindered by sociocultural factors (ultra-culture, behaviors perceived as intimidating) and organizational factors (absence of secure family areas, inadequate sanitary facilities). This observation delineates a considerable segment of latent demand whose mobilization is contingent on structural transformations of the offering.

1.6 Conclusions

This exploratory study set out to identify and analyze the key determinants of spectator demand in Moroccan professional football. Drawing on a qualitative approach combining lexicometric analysis and synaptic mapping applied to a corpus of 30 semi-structured interviews, it has produced three principal contributions.

On the theoretical level, the research confirms the relevance of Schreyer and Ansari's (2022) integrated model in an African context hitherto absent from empirical analyses. It nuances the literature on outcome uncertainty (Rottenberg, 1956; Neale, 1964) by demonstrating that the intrinsic quality of play exerts an effect at least as structuring as competitive balance in the Moroccan context. It further enriches approaches to club attachment (Funk & James, 2006) by revealing the deeply inherited and territorially rooted nature of this affiliation.

On the empirical level, this study represents one of the first systematic qualitative investigations into the determinants of spectator demand in Moroccan professional football, producing a fine-grained semantic mapping of the representations of supporters across a diverse range of clubs and profiles.

The results directly challenge the decision-makers of Moroccan professional clubs on several priority action registers. Improving the spectator experience at the stadium (renovation of infrastructure, optimization of

scheduling, development of entertainment options, creation of family spaces) constitutes the most immediately actionable lever for broadening the audience beyond the core of unconditional supporters.

Pricing policy must integrate the relativity of price perceptions identified in this research: a finely differentiated pricing strategy, combining accessible prices for popular segments with premium offers justified by improved service, would simultaneously optimize social accessibility and ticket revenues. Clubs' digital strategies must be reconceived as a continuum of engagement rather than as a substitute for physical presence. Finally, the prospect of the 2030 World Cup represents a historic opportunity to accelerate the modernization of Moroccan sporting spectacle and to develop a culture of live sport attendance.

The exploratory and qualitative nature of the approach does not allow for measurement of the relative weight of each identified determinant, nor for testing causal relationships between variables. The sample of 30 respondents, while sufficient for an inductive approach aimed at thematic saturation, does not permit statistical generalization to the entirety of Moroccan professional football supporters.

These limitations open several promising research avenues. In the short term, the construction of a quantitative measurement instrument adapted to the Moroccan context, drawing on the dimensions and factors identified in this study, would allow the relative importance of each determinant to be measured on a representative sample of the Botola Pro. Over the longer term, longitudinal studies would enable assessment of the impact of infrastructure investments linked to the 2030 World Cup on stadium attendance and the evolution of spectator practices in Morocco.

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