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MOTIVES OF VISITORS ATTENDING FESTIVAL EVENTS

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Abstract: The escape-seeking dichotomy and the push-pull factors conceptual frameworks were used to identify motives which stimulated visitors to go to events at a festival. These two frameworks were used to guide development of an instrument to measure motives. The sample participated in events that were classified into one of five categories. The extent to which the perceived relevance of motives changed across different types of events was assessed. Six motive domains emerged: cultural exploration, novelty/regression, recover equilibrium, known group socialization, external interaction/socialization, and gregariousness. These were broadly consistent with the guiding push factors framework and confirmed the utility of the escape-seeking dichotomy. **Keywords:** motives, tourism, festivals, conceptualizations. © 1997 Elsevier Science Ltd. All rights reserved

Résumé: Motivations des visiteurs aux festivals. On a utilisé les cadres conceptuels de la dichotomie de la recherche d'évasion et des facteurs "push-pull" identifier les motivations qui incitaient les visiteurs à assister aux événements d'un festival. On a utilisé ces cadres afin de développer un instrument pour mesurer les motivations. Les sondés ont participé à des événements classifiés dans cinq catégories différentes. On a évalué le degré auquel la pertinence des motivations changeait selon la catégorie d'événement. Six domaines de motivation ont surgi: exploration culturelle, nouveauté/régression, rétablissement d'équilibre, activités sociales parmi connaissances, activités sociales avec inconnus, et sociabilité. Ces domaines étaient compatibles avec les facteurs de poussée et confirmaient utilité de la dichotomie de la recherche d'évasion.

Mots-clés: motivations, tourisme, festivals, conceptualisations. © 1997 Elsevier Science Ltd. All rights reserved

INTRODUCTION

A motive is an internal factor that arouses, directs, and integrates a person's behavior (Iso-Ahola 1980:230). A decision to visit a festival is a directed action which is triggered by a desire to meet a need. Although they are only one of multiple variables that explain behavior (others would include learning, cultural conditioning, social influences, and perceptions), motives are the starting point that launches the decision process.

The tourism literature has long recognized that a pleasure trip is rarely the result of a single motive. Tourists' motives are likely to be multiple (Crompton 1979; Mansfeld 1992; Pearce 1982; Uysal, Gahan

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and Martin 1993). This multiplicity may occur at both the individual and the aggregate levels of analysis. At the individual level, a visitor may have several different needs which he/she desires to satisfy through a festival visit. For example, a need to interact with the family, often inhibited by the independent actions of individual members in the home environment, may be accompanied by a desire for cultural enrichment. These may be facilitated by different elements in the package of offerings which constitutes a festival. At the aggregate level of analysis, different visitors may engage in the same package element and derive different benefits from the experience. Thus, for some, eating a particular food may be a means of experiencing a cultural tradition, while for others it may be a means of facilitating inter- or intra-group socialization.

There are three reasons for investing effort into better understanding the motives of festival visitors. First, this is a key to designing offerings for them. It is a marketing truism that people do not buy products or services, they buy the expectation of benefits which satisfy a need. Since program elements may be designed to meet different needs, it is important to identify visitors' needs so a festival's design can be tailored to meet them. Identification of their needs is a prerequisite for effectively developing elements of a festival and marketing them. If those needs are not understood, then the festival element is likely to be presented in a suboptimal way. Thus, enhancement and maintenance of visitors' intrinsic motivations should be the primary goal of festival managers (Iso-Ahola 1980). If motives are identified, then practical settings and contexts in a festival can be amended to facilitate fulfillment of them. For example, if social interaction is the main motivator among many festival goers, it would be foolhardy not to design program elements to facilitate it (Iso Ahola 1989). Organizers have multiple reasons for staging festivals, and identifying visitor benefits sought provides an answer to the question "Are the rationales for staging a festival consistent with the benefits that visitors receive from it?" (Mayfield and Crompton 1995:44).

A second reason for better understanding motives lies in their close relationship with satisfaction. Motives occur before the experience and satisfaction after it. Most festivals draw from a relatively local area, so their continued viability is likely to be dependent on a high level of repeat visitation. There is increasing competition, since almost every community now has at least one festival a year. In Texas alone, over 1,000 festivals are organized in a single year. For visitors to return, they must be relatively satisfied with their previous experience. According to Dann, "It makes little sense to study satisfaction in isolation from motivation" (1981:203). If needs are fulfilled, then satisfaction will result. Therefore, in order to monitor satisfaction, there should be a knowledge of the needs which festival visitors are seeking to satisfy.

Finally, identifying and prioritizing motives is a key ingredient in understanding visitors' decision processes. Thus, it is likely to facilitate effectiveness in other marketing activities. For example, target markets based on benefits sought may be delineated, and promotion may be themed around those needs so it appeals to the target market.

Tourism motivation is conceptualized as a dynamic process of internal psychological factors (needs and wants) that generate a state of tension or disequilibrium within individuals. These inner needs and the resulting disequilibrium lead to actions designed to restore equilibrium through satisfying the needs (Crompton 1979). However, this conceptualization was subsequently refined and supplanted by the notion of an optimal level of arousal. According to Iso-Ahola, "Today psychologists generally agree that a search for some optimum level of arousal or general stimulation underlies most psychological motives" (1989:249). This states that people seek neither an absence nor an excess of stimulation, but rather an optimal level. Fridgin explains optimal arousal in the following terms:

The basic principle behind the theory is that a person seeks out a level of stimulation that is best for him/her as an individual. If a person's life is too quiet, the person may seek out stimulation through activity. If too much is happening in a person's world, then the person seeks to cut-off stimulation and find a quieter environment (1991:57-58).

Building upon this underlying conceptualization of how motives are activated, three alternative taxonomic frameworks have been proposed which delineate and order individual motives into categories. These have been used to guide the limited empirical work that has been reported in tourism. The importance of using such an integrative framework, according to Pearce, "is that without some guiding motivational framework with which to differentiate travel samples, it is difficult to explore and interrelate traveler characteristics in anything but a descriptive manner" (1982:62). He further argues that no single theory of tourism motivation could be expected to fully explain tourists' behavior. The three alternate frameworks are Maslow's *need hierarchy*, Iso-Ahola's *escape-seeking* dichotomy, and the notion of *push-pull factors*. The study reported here used the latter two frameworks for its conceptual base.

Getz (1991) suggests the basic needs met by festivals can be classified into three categories: physical, interpersonal or social, and personal. His taxonomy was heavily influenced by Maslow's (1943) hierarchy, but was adapted to embrace other suggested classifications. Maslow's need hierarchy is "perhaps the most popular theory of motivation used by leisure authors" (Iso-Ahola 1980:233). Maslow classified human needs into five categories which in ascending order from the most fundamental were physiological needs, safety, social, esteem, and self-actualization needs, and he suggested that the appearance of one need depends on the satisfaction of a more fundamental need. As Iso-Ahola points out, "While the theory is intuitively appealing its basic tenet (hierarchy of needs) remains highly suspect" (1980:234). No empirical support for it has appeared in the tourism literature to this point, and it did not appear to be useful in the context of this study. However, adaptations of it by Pearce (cited in Kim 1995) suggesting that it might form the basis of a framework for a "Travel

Career Ladder” may encourage others to adapt and empirically assess its utility in the future.

Iso-Ahola’s escape-seeking dichotomy and the concept of push-pull factors are interrelated. Iso-Ahola’s model of tourism motivation consists of two motivational forces, seeking and escaping. Escaping is “the desire to leave the everyday environment behind oneself”, while seeking is “the desire to obtain psychological (intrinsic) rewards through travel in a contrasting (new or old) environment” (1982:261). These dimensions are similar generic categories to the push (escape) and pull (seeking) forces which were proposed by Dann (1977, 1981) and Crompton (1979). A significant refinement of the Iso-Ahola framework is that it interprets the pull force in terms of intrinsic benefits, whereas the earlier pull conceptualizations related pull to attractions rather than social-psychological needs, such as “the specific attractions of the destination which induces the traveler to go there... (e.g., sunshine, relaxed tempo, friendly natives, etc.)” (Dann 1981:191).

Both the seeking and escape forces are subdivided by Iso-Ahola into personal and interpersonal dimensions. Thus, a tourist,

may escape the personal world (i.e., personal troubles, problems, difficulties and failures) and/or the interpersonal world (i.e., co-workers, family members, relatives, friends, and neighbors) and he may seek personal rewards (e.g., feelings of mastery, learning about other cultures, rest and relaxation, recharge and getting renewed, ego-enhancement and prestige) and/or interpersonal rewards (e.g., varied and increased social interaction, interacting with friendly natives or members of the travel group, interacting with old friends in a new place or with new friends in an old place) (1982:260).

Psychological benefits sought by tourists emanate from the interplay of these two forces. They are seen as “dialectical forces in the sense that they both, to a varying degree, undergird all leisure behaviors and are opposite in their meanings of approach [seeking] and avoidance [escape]” (Iso-Ahola 1989:269). These two forces, each with two dimensions, enable tourists’ motivations to be assigned to one of four cells in this 2×2 model (seeking/escaping and personal/interpersonal). The escape-seeking dichotomy also fits well with the notion of level of optimal arousal, which posits that people’s motives are derived from seeking out additional stimulation and/or escaping from existing stimuli.

MOTIVES OF FESTIVAL VISITORS

The area of motivation, despite its central role in the decision process, is one of the least researched areas in tourism. There is relatively little empirical research that reveals the reasons people travel and vacation (Lundberg 1990). This is particularly true in the more narrow field of festivals and events. According to Getz, “A great deal has been written about basic human needs...But the specific subject of festivals and events has not been raised in this material, so

we must break some new ground" (1991:84). This lack of reported findings probably reflects the relative recency of the emergence of most festivals. However, they are now widely recognized as one of the fastest growing types of tourism attractions. Indeed, it has been suggested that their magnitude now justifies their recognition, along with ambient attractions (e.g., climate, scenery, culture, and wildlife) and permanent attractions (e.g., theme parks, historical sites, sports facilities, and convention centers), as one of the three major categories of tourism attractions (Getz 1991).

Since Getz (1991) made his observation, two studies have reported findings related to the motivations of festival goers. Uysal, Gahan and Martin, using a sample of 174 festival visitors, identified five motivation domains: escape, excitement/thrills, event novelty, socialization, and family togetherness. They recognized their study was exploratory and stated, "further place and festival specific research is needed to measure and validate the stability of the motivation items used in this study" (1993:10). Mohr, Backman, Gahan and Backman (1993) derived the same five motivation domains from their sample of 458 festival visitors, although many of the items operationalizing them were different.

The study reported here extended the contributions of Uysal, Gahan and Martin (1993) and Mohr et al (1993) in four ways. First, it assessed the utility of the escape-seeking dichotomy, as well as using the push-pull factors framework. Second, it followed the classic scale development process suggested by Churchill (1979) to derive the measuring instrument. Third, it explored motives across a substantial number and diverse range of events within a very large festival. Fourth, a relatively large sample was used with data collected from a number of diverse locations at different time periods. The study considered that the seeking rather than the escape force of Iso-Ahola's (1982) dichotomy was more appropriate, because if people had wanted to relax and do nothing, or do their familiar leisure activities then it is unlikely that they would be visiting a festival (Dunn Ross and Iso-Ahola 1991). However, even in a context such as a festival where one force is likely to be more central than the other, the antithetical force is also likely to be present (Mannell and Iso-Ahola 1987).

This study had four objectives. First, to identify the set of motives which stimulated visitors to go to events as a festival. Second, to develop an instrument to measure these motives. Third, to assess the extent to which the perceived relevance of motives changed across different types of events. Fourth, to assess the extent to which these motives validated the escape-seeking dichotomy. Specifically in this latter context, it was anticipated that the study would contribute to addressing Iso-Ahola's question: "What factors and conditions promote the relative dominance of the two motivational dimensions?" (1989:270).

Instrument Development

By definition, a festival implies that visitors are likely to be seeking cultural enrichment, education, novelty, and socialization.

Crompton's (1979) conceptual framework which embraces seven sociopsychological motivational domains appeared to be the most appropriate for representing this situation and was used to guide development of the study. These seven domains, with the operationalizations that were initially adopted in this study, are:

Novelty: A desire to seek out new and different experiences through pleasure travel as motivated by a need to experience thrill, adventure and surprise, and alleviate boredom (Lee and Crompton 1992).

Socialization: A desire to interact with a group and its members.

Prestige/Status: A desire to have high standing in the eyes of surrounding people.

Rest & Relaxation: A desire to refresh oneself mentally and physically from normal day-to-day stresses.

Education Value/Intellectual Enrichment: A desire to gain knowledge and expand intellectual horizons.

Enhancing Kinship and Relations/Family Togetherness: A desire to enhance family relationships.

Regression: A desire to engage in behavior reminiscent of an adolescent or child.

An initial set of 62 motive items was generated from a review of both popular and scientific literature and from interviews with officials associated with Fiesta San Antonio, which was the source of data for the study. These 62 items were presented to a group of eight expert judges who were faculty members or doctoral candidates with expertise in leisure or tourism behavior. The judges were given the seven motive domains and their operationalizations shown above. They were requested to assign each item to one of the seven motive domains if they met the definitions of these domains, and rate it on a scale of from 1 to 3 as being clearly representative of the motive, somewhat representative, or not representative of any motive, respectively (Lee and Crompton 1992). The judges were asked to suggest additional motive domains for items that did not appear to fit in the given seven motive operationalizations. They were also requested to edit and clarify items, and to identify any which might be objectionable to respondents. A series of decision rules was established, similar to those used by Lee and Crompton (1992), and items that did not meet them were discarded. These procedures resulted in a set of 46 items remaining out of the original list of 62 items, and retention of the set of seven proposed domains.

Responses from a convenience sample of 415 undergraduate students were used to pretest the dimensionality and internal reliability of the 46 scale items. An oblique rotation factor analysis was undertaken to validate the *a priori* assignment of items into the seven motive categories. A final reduction in the number of items was made by discarding all items whose factor loadings were <0.40 and those whose communality was <0.40 . These decision rules resulted in a 31-item instrument that measured seven dimensions of the motivation construct. These dimensions were broadly consistent with those used in the initial conceptualization, but the emergent motive domains

were renamed to reflect some changes in item distribution that occurred and which were intuitively appealing. The domains were termed: novelty/regression, cultural exploration, familiarity, recover equilibrium, kinship socialization, external interaction/socialization, and known-group socialization. The prestige motive did not emerge from the factor analysis as being salient, while novelty and regression were combined into a single factor. In contrast, the original socialization motive divided into two factors reflecting interaction with strangers (external) and with friends (known-group).

Data Collection

The festival is organized by Fiesta San Antonio Commission Inc., which is a non-profit organization, governed by a volunteer Board of Directors, with a full-time paid staff of five people. The festival comprises 60 different non-sporting events held over a 10-day period in addition to 13 sports events which were not part of this study. Each event is headed by a commissioner who acts as liaison with the staff to orchestrate the festival.

The festival's purposes are two-fold. First, it is to display and honor cultural traditions. Those of Hispanic origin are particularly prominently featured because the population of San Antonio is almost two-thirds Mexican-American in heritage. The second reason for the festival is economic. Approximately 1.62 million visits are recorded at festival events. The economic surge in sales generated from the festival was estimated to be US\$322 million, while the economic impact on household income was estimated to be US\$16 million.

In an attempt to obtain a sample which was reasonably reflective of the Fiesta's considerable diversity, a taxonomy of five categories was developed and every event was classified into one of these categories. The categories were: parades/carnivals, pageants/balls, food oriented events, musical events, and museums/exhibits/shows. The organizers of each event were contacted and asked to provide an estimate of the projected attendance, and the proportions of it they believed would be San Antonio residents. With this information in hand, between two and five events were selected from each of the five categories with the intent that they would reflect the diversity within each category. The criteria used were size of the event, proportion of resident and non-resident participants, time of week, and time of day.

Surveys were distributed at the 16 different events selected by these procedures. Graduate students were trained and appointed as "team captains" for each of the five categories. They were aided by a substantial number of volunteers recruited by the Fiesta Commission. Volunteers were instructed by their team captain on how to select individuals for their surveys and how to approach them. But the wide range of location types made systematic sampling difficult. The general approach was to situate volunteers at locations and instruct them to contact every n th person going past that location. The n varied across events, but was determined in advance by the study's directors and the team captains. The target goal at the study's commencement

was to distribute approximately 500 questionnaires to individuals in each of the five categories.

The same questionnaire was used to collect data in each category. Individuals who were selected for inclusion in the survey were asked if they would participate. They were informed that all those who returned the questionnaire would be eligible to enter a drawing for a variety of incentives. Fewer than 8% of those selected declined to participate in the study. Those who agreed to cooperate were given a questionnaire and a prepaid envelope, and were requested to complete and mail it back. A postcard reminder and two additional follow-up mailings to non-respondents were undertaken. As a result of these procedures, 2,277 surveys were distributed and 1,496 were returned, yielding an overall response rate of 66%. The response rates within each of the five categories ranged from 55 to 74%. The profile of respondents shown in Table 1 indicates that they were predominantly female, with almost half coming from the San Antonio Metropolitan area, and one-third visiting in groups of five or more. The sample was relatively evenly distributed across age cohorts.

Study Results and Discussion

Respondents were presented with the 31 motivation items and requested to “please circle the number that best reflects how much you agree with each statement” on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Dimensionality and stability of the scale were evaluated by a factor analysis with oblique rotation. A summary of the results is shown in Table 2. Six factors emerged with eigenvalues > 1 and Cronbach α s ranging from 0.88 to 0.65. This process resulted in elimination of three items: two because of low factor loadings and another for lack of association with the other statements contained in its factor. The remaining 28 items loaded on six dimensions that varied slightly from the pretest results. Five factors were consistent

Table 1. Profile of Sample Respondents

GENDER:	Male	33.6%
	Female	66.4%
AGE:	< 35	34.1%
	35-44	26.0%
	45-59	24.0%
	60 +	15.9%
GROUP SIZE:	1	3.8%
	2	30.4%
	3/4	32.5%
	5 +	33.3%
VISITORS' PLACE OF ORIGIN:	San Antonio Metropolitan Area	46.7%
	Elsewhere in Texas	26.3%
	Elsewhere in the United States	24.6%
	International	2.4%

Table 2. Results of Factor Analysis ($n = 1,720$)

Reasons for Attending the Festival	Factor					
	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5	F6
F1. CULTURAL EXPLORATION:						
While at Fiesta, I attend cultural events that I do not normally have an opportunity to go to	0.51					
My ideal Fiesta involves looking at things I have not seen before	0.64					
I want to see new things while at Fiesta	0.63					
I like to visit museums and historical sights when attending Fiesta	0.61					
I want there to be a sense of discovery involved as part of my Fiesta experience	0.54					
I want to experience customs and cultures different from those in my own environment	0.70					
I like to find myself in situations where I can explore new things	0.51					
I come to Fiesta to increase my knowledge of local culture at Fiesta	0.70					
F2. NOVELTY/REGRESSION:						
I enjoy activities at Fiesta that offer thrills		0.54				
I do not like to plan my Fiesta in detail because it takes away some of the unexpectedness		0.40				
When at Fiesta, I like to "let my hair down"		0.68				
I seek adventure at Fiesta		0.70				
Fiesta brings out the youth in me		0.59				
I like things to happen at Fiesta that are unpredictable		0.65				
Fiesta events give me a chance to act like a kid again		0.63				
I do not care if people think my behavior at Fiesta is wild		0.59				
F3. RECOVER EQUILIBRIUM:						
I have to go to events like Fiesta from time to time to avoid getting in a rut			0.57			
I like to attend Fiesta to reduce built-up tension, anxieties, and frustrations			0.76			
I attend Fiesta to recover from my usually hectic pace			0.67			
I go to Fiesta to relieve boredom			0.58			
F4. KNOWN-GROUP SOCIALIZATION:						
I go to Fiesta so I can be with my friends				0.66		
I like to go to Fiesta with a group				0.63		
I do not go to Fiesta to be with others who enjoy the same things I do				0.66		

continued

Table 2—*continued*

Reasons for Attending the Festival	Factor					
	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5	F6
F5. EXTERNAL INTERACTION/SOCIALIZATION:						
I go to Fiesta because it is a chance to be with people who are enjoying themselves					0.56	
I like to go to Fiesta to be with and observe the other people who are attending					0.56	
When attending events at Fiesta, I like to meet new people					0.40	
F6. GREGARIOUSNESS:						
Going to Fiesta with someone is always more fun than going by yourself						0.64
I do not like to go to Fiesta alone						0.61
Eigenvalue	7.76	3.09	2.05	1.62	1.67	1.04
Variance (%)	23.4	8.3	4.9	3.6	2.2	1.9
Cumulative Variance (%)	23.4	31.7	36.6	40.2	42.4	44.4
Cronbach's α	0.88	0.88	0.81	0.76	0.77	0.65
Number of Items (total = 28)	8	8	4	3	3	2

with those that emerged in the pretest: novelty/regression, cultural exploration, recover equilibrium, external interaction/socialization, and known-group socialization. The kinship socialization and familiarity motives did not emerge, but a new domain reflecting a desire to attend events with others rather than alone did emerge. This new domain was termed gregariousness. The mean scores of each item within each of the motive domains were summated and ANOVA tests were undertaken to test for a significant difference in motives among the five types of events. The ANOVAs revealed significant differences (0.05 level) among events on five of the six motive domains. Duncan's tests were conducted to identify the source of those differences. Results are shown in Table 3.

Total explained variance was relatively low, but "to expect motivation to account for a large variance in tourist behavior is probably asking too much since there may be other interrelated forces operating" (Crompton 1979:409; Pearce 1992). The six motive domains that emerged from the empirical procedures adopted in the study showed some differences from those initially conceptualized and developed by Crompton (1979) that were used as a guiding framework for the study, and the more recent motive domains empirically derived by Uysal, Gahan and Martin (1993) and Mohr et al (1993). Some differences from the Crompton (1979) framework were expected because his schemata were formulated from in-depth interviews that focused on pleasure vacations, which are likely to be longer-term experiences than festival visits. The results appear to reflect this difference in context: prestige/status was a relevant motive in pleasure vacations, but it appears not to be relevant in the context of festival

Table 3. Differences in Strength of Motives Associated with Five Types of Festival Events

FACTORS	EVENTS				
	Parades	Balls	Food	Music	Shows
Cultural Exploration	29.55 A ^a	29.49 A	28.08 B	29.90 A	29.52 A
Novelty/Regression	25.31 B	23.31 D	26.60 A	24.89 BC	24.21 CD
Recover Equilibrium	10.69 BC	10.18 C	11.38 A	10.47 C	11.18 AB
Known-Group Socialization	10.82 AB	10.87 AB	11.24 A	10.08 C	10.42 BC
External Interaction	11.60 A	11.49 A	11.69 A	11.54 A	11.38 A
Gregariousness	8.70 BC	8.81 AB	8.96 A	8.46 C	8.69 BC

^aDifferent letters indicate a significant difference between mean scores (0.05 level) revealed by Duncan's tests.

goers (Crompton 1979). It was similarly absent from the findings reported by Uysal, Gahan and Martin (1993) and Mohr et al (1993).

Both of the more recent empirical studies reported no influence of regression which Crompton included in his conceptualization. In this study, it did not emerge as an independent dimension, but it was represented by four of the eight items on the novelty/regression factor (When at Fiesta, I like to: "let my hair down"; Fiesta brings out the youth in me; Fiesta events give me a chance to act like a kid again; I do not care if people think my behavior at Fiesta is wild). Surprisingly, the domain of enhancing kinship relations, which was part of the Crompton (1979) conceptualization, did not emerge here. Its absence may be partially explained by the relative brevity of the festival experience compared to a pleasure vacation, which may preclude sufficient time for bonding to take place beyond that associated with everyday life. However, a family togetherness factor was reported by both Uysal, Gahan and Martin (1993) and Mohr et al (1993). Given these findings, the intuitive appropriateness of this motive, its emergence in the pretest, and its consistent prominence in studies of motives in other leisure contexts (Orthner and Mancini 1991), the instrument developed here probably should be expanded to incorporate a family togetherness domain in future assessments of festival visitors' motives.

Despite the absence of family togetherness, three of the six factors reported here contained dimensions of socialization: known-group socialization, external interaction, and gregariousness. The generic socialization domain divided into socialization with external others who were unacquainted with the visitor prior to the festival, and known-group socialization which referred to interaction with existing friends or acquaintances. The two item independent gregariousness factor that emerged appears to be an extension of the other two socialization domains and in future studies it would not be surprising to see it integrated into one of these two domains.

The recover equilibrium factor was reasonably consistent with Crompton's notion of rest and relaxation, and operationalizations of

the escape domain used by Mohr et al (1993) and Uysal, Gahan and Martin (1993). All four studies report the relevance of novelty as a motivation but, unlike the other three, these respondents delineated cultural exploration as a separate domain distinctive from other dimensions of novelty. This may reflect the strong cultural component associated with Fiesta San Antonio where these data were collected. Indeed, if two words were to be used to describe the central theme of Fiesta, they would probably be "cultural exploration!" Since this is a relevant component of many types of festivals, it is appropriate that it be a central part of an instrument intended to measure festival visitors' motives.

One of the study's objectives was to assess the extent to which the perceived relevance of motives changed across different types of events (Table 3). These data showed that those attending food events were significantly less interested in cultural exploration and significantly more likely to be motivated by novelty/regression, than those in the other groups. Although the Fiesta features different cultural traditions, it was not the heritage or traditions that were most relevant to food event visitors; rather it was the inherent novelty of the foods available. Those going to pageants/balls were significantly less likely to be motivated by novelty/regression than were other groups. These were events for traditionalists. Respondents who attended food events were more strongly motivated by desires to recover equilibrium, known-group socialization, and gregariousness, than by most of the other five motives. In contrast, music attendees were significantly less motivated by these three factors than by most of the other motives. Like music attendees, those going to balls were less motivated by the recover equilibrium factor than were the other groups. The analyses suggested that the motives of food event attendees were distinctively different from those of the other groups. They were particularly antithetical to those who attended balls and music events.

Although significant differences emerged in the relative relevance of the motives to different types of events and these appear to have useful management and behavioral implications, the prevailing impression from an overall review of these data is to note the pervasive similarities of motives across different events. These results demonstrate the importance of considering multiple motives. Several authors (Crompton 1979; Mansfeld 1992; Pearce 1982) have pointed out the fallacy of assuming that only one leading motive exists instead of recognizing that a festival visitation decision is likely to be a result of multiple simultaneous motives. This finding is consistent with Iso-Ahola's (1980) conclusion that different types of events are likely to be able to satisfy the same need albeit to a different degree, as well as the same event type being able to satisfy different needs. For example, the results in Table 3 indicate that external interaction/socialization was perceived to be equally strong across all five types of events, while cultural exploration was equally relevant across four of the five event types.

In the introduction to this paper, it was noted that the seeking rather than the escape motivational force of Iso-Ahola's dichotomy

was likely to be dominant (Dunn Ross and Iso-Ahola 1991). This did occur and items loading on the recover equilibrium domain accounted for only 4.9% of total variance. However, the two forces are intertwined and both forces were represented in the results, since items in the recover equilibrium domain measured escape from the personal world: avoid getting in a rut; reduce built-up tension, anxieties and frustrations; recover from my usual hectic pace; and relieve boredom. Although the escape component was less central, it still may be a necessary condition for the festival visit (Iso-Ahola 1982). That is, the visitor may have felt a need to escape his/her routine environment, and only then may the needs have been aroused which characterized the seeking dimension. "People seek by escaping and escape by seeking" (Dunn Ross and Iso-Ahola 1991:228).

Although both dimensions of the seeking motivational force were represented, the seeking dimension was of much greater importance to festival visitors. This is consistent with the findings reported by Dunn Ross and Iso-Ahola (1991) in their study of intra-city sightseeing tourists on tour buses. Seeking of personal rewards was measured by the cultural exploration and novelty/regression domains, while seeking interpersonal rewards was measured by items on three domains: known-group socialization, external interaction/socialization, and gregariousness. Thus, in terms of Iso-Ahola's 2×2 model, festival visitors appear to fit into the two cells characterized as escaping personal environment/seeking personal rewards, and escaping personal environment/seeking interpersonal rewards. The cultural exploration factor accounted for over half the total explained variance, emphasizing its dominant role in Fiesta San Antonio. These festival visitors were eager to engage in cultural exploration, but they wanted to do so in the company of familiar faces.

In response to Iso-Ahola's (1989:270) question "What factors and conditions promote the relative dominance of the two motivational dimensions?" in the context of festivals, the seeking dimension dominates. Conventional wisdom has generally classified festivals as a subset of tourism (Getz 1991). However, visitors to most festivals are overwhelmingly local and this was true of the sample used in this study which characterized the profile of Fiesta visitors. The case for regarding festivals as recreation rather than tourism offerings is reinforced by motivation findings of this study. In commenting on Iso-Ahola's dichotomy, Mannell and Iso-Ahola note that in relation, "to other leisure behaviors, tourism is more likely to be triggered by the escape motive" (1987:328). Hence, the dominance of the seeking motivational force in this study suggests that it may be more appropriate to view festivals as being recreational rather than tourism offerings.

CONCLUSION

Substantial effort was invested in developing the instrument used in this study. The procedures used followed the classic steps suggested for scale development by Churchill (1979). These led to four domains being uncovered which had not previously been reported in the fes-

tivals literature: cultural exploration, regression, known-group socialization, and external interaction/socialization. The findings complement and supplement those reported by Mohr et al (1993) and Uysal, Gahan and Martin (1993). The aggregate findings of these three studies suggest that six domains should be incorporated on a festival motivations instrument: cultural exploration, novelty/regression, recover equilibrium (rest and relaxation/escape), known-group socialization, external interaction/socialization, and family togetherness (enhancing kinship relationships).

Three of the 31 items included on the final instrument did not load saliently, while the gregariousness domain and its two items may be expected to merge with other socialization domains in future studies. The remaining five domains and the 26 items that operationalize them are intuitively appealing. These 26 items should be supplemented by items measuring a family togetherness domain in future uses of this instrument. Further testing of it should assess its utility across different types of festivals to monitor its generalizability, and should also embrace measures of its construct, convergent and discriminant validity. □ □

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