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Why do we go to festivals?*

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Why do people go to festivals? That is an important question. The answer enables event organizers to tailor their festivals to what visitors want and expect. This increases the likelihood that visitors will enjoy the festival, give the festival a positive rating, talk about it in positive terms with others and possibly attend the festival again.

During the past 30 years, various scientific studies have addressed the topic of the motivations of festival visitors. These studies are discussed and analyzed in this chapter. This is necessary because these studies are often treated only superficially in handbooks on events, such as in that of Berridge (2007). As far as the analysis is concerned, it is important to know that the research on festival motivations stems from, and is embedded in, the broader field of research on events and tourism. The latter field focuses on research questions such as why people go on holiday and how they arrive at a choice of destination. Festivals are seen as a way to enhance the attractiveness of a holiday location. However, festivals have now become an important field of research of their own within the general field of event studies, with a substantial body of literature (see, for example, Getz, 2010).

As an introduction, this chapter begins with two studies into the motivations of visitors to events and festivals (3.1). After that, international research into festival motivations is introduced, from which a number of generic motivations are derived (3.2). The problems that arose in this process are explained. A specific problem concerns the theoretical interpretation of these motivations, which has led to some confusion in recent years (3.3). This confusion can be removed by making a distinction between motivations as the internal drivers of people and the specific focus that these motivations are given by certain festival characteristics, such as the program and location. These festival characteristics, which I refer to as the 'FestivalDNA', are discussed in the next chapter.

Festival visitors bring more to the festival than just their motivations. These additional aspects include demographic variables, 'festigraphic' variables (3.4) and lifestyles (3.5). Because music festivals are by far the most common type of festival, at least in the Netherlands (see Chapter 2), specific attention is paid to the relationship between music preferences and lifestyle (3.6). Finally, other relevant characteristics of festival visitors are briefly mentioned and explained (3.7).

3.1 An introduction: two studies into the motivations of festival visitors

According to Rippen and Bos (2008) in their study of the experience of events, people strive for four values:

1. Connecting with others, living and working together, networking, establishing relationships and social connections; this happens at events such as at reunions, street parties, company events and trade fairs. This concerns whether or not social relationships are strengthened and/or new social relationships are formed. Rippen & Bos call this the social-relational (S) experiential value.

2. Realizing significance, giving meaning and giving shape, which occurs during cultural journeys, music festivals, cultural events, meditative arrangements and other events. An event always has some form of significance. An event, such as an excursion or museum visit, can be meaningful in itself, but it can also be meaningful in an indirect sense because it enables visitors to let off steam before they return to daily life, or it can be meaningful by enabling reflection on ourselves and others. This is the experiential value of meaning (M).

3. Deploying, developing and maintaining competences, with activities such as conferences, training, workshops and active participation in sports. This can be the main purpose, for example of courses for learning skills like scuba diving, mountain climbing or skiing, or it can be an ancillary benefit, like learning about new bands at a music festival. This is the experiential value of competence (C).

4. Relaxing, having fun and enjoying oneself during hikes, parties, visits to amusement parks, fairs and holidays. Every event must have an aspect of enjoyment in the sense of atmosphere, entertainment, excitement, humor and adventure. This is the experiential value of enjoyment (E).

Many hybrid forms of these four experiential values are possible: "It remains true that all four elements always occur to a greater or lesser extent" (2008, p. 101). An interesting aspect of the study by Rippen & Bos is their use of a coordinate system to convert the interrelationship of the four experiential values into a measuring instrument. By measuring the four experiential values and placing them on the coordinate system, a diamond figure is created. This figure can be used to characterize various types of events or to reveal differences between the goals of the festival organizations and the expectations of the festival visitors. Figure 3.1 shows two profiles: that of a cultural trip and that of a study day. The cultural excursion has high scores on enjoyment and meaning, while the most important characteristic of the study day is competence. Figure 3.2 shows the profile of the former Amersfoort Highlands Festival; on the left as the festival organizers saw it and on the right the expectations profile of festival visitors. A striking difference is that visitors had high expectations about the social-relational aspect, which the organization scarcely referred to in its communication (see Hazelaar, 2010).

Figure 3.1: Profiles of a cultural excursion and a study day (Rippen & Bos, 2008)

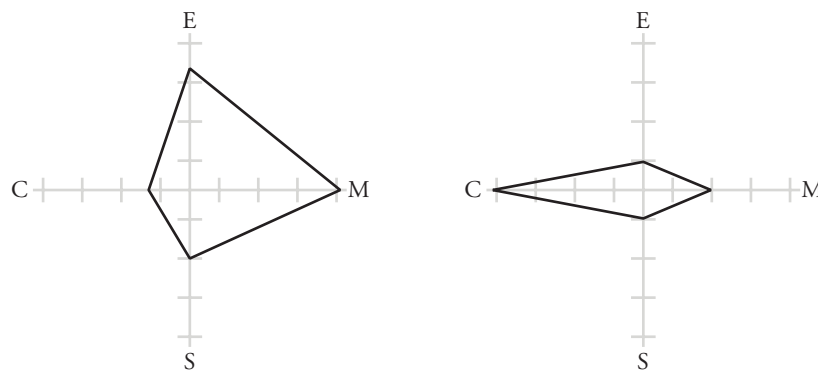
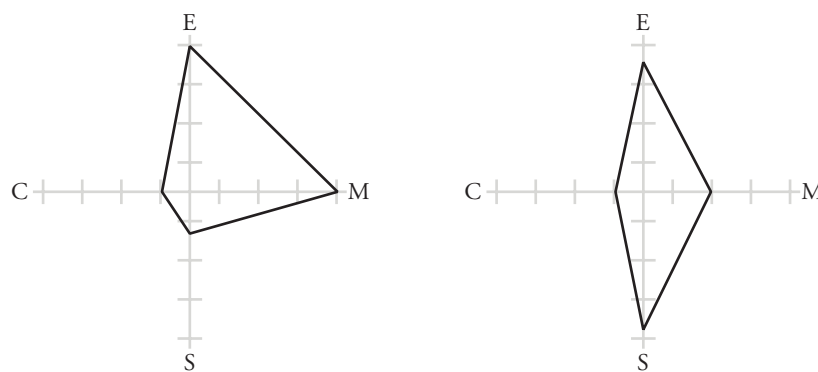


Figure 3.2: Profile of the Highlands Festival as seen by the festival organizers and by festival visitors (Hazelaar, 2010)



A second study, used as the starting point for a discussion about the motivations of festival visitors, is at the heart of the international tradition that emerged in the early 1990s, which Getz (2010) referred to when he wrote: "The study of festival motivation is well-established" (p. 9) This concerns the study of Crompton and McKay (1997). At the time of their study, they concluded that little research had been done into the motivations for tourism in general and for attending festivals in particular. They cited two previous exploratory studies on motivations for festival attendance (Mohr et al., 1993; Uysal, Grahan & Martin, 1993), in which the same five motivations were found: Escape, Excitement/thrills, Event novelty, Socialization, and Family togetherness. As a starting point for their own research, they used a framework of motivations in the context of holidays, which was previously developed by Crompton (1979). They eventually arrived at seven categories of motivations:

- 1) Novelty: the desire to seek out new and different experiences due to the need for excitement, adventure and surprise, and alleviate boredom.
- 2) Socialization: the desire to interact with other people in a group.
- 3) Prestige/Status: the desire to be highly regarded in the eyes of others.
- 4) Rest & Relaxation: the desire to refresh oneself – mentally and physically – from everyday stress.

- 5) Education value/Intellectual enrichment: the desire to gain knowledge and expand your intellectual horizon.
- 6) Enhancing kinship and Relations/Family togetherness: the desire to be with family and enhance family relationships.
- 7) Regression: the desire to behave again like a adolescent or child.

A questionnaire with items about these various types of motivations was used by Crompton & McKay as a measurement tool at the Fiesta festival in San Antonio, Texas. This is a large ten-day festival where all kinds of events take place. The analysis of nearly 1,500 questionnaires ultimately identified six distinguishable factors based on 26 items. These six factors were: Novelty/regression (a combination of two of the seven types), Cultural exploration (previously referred to as Education value/intellectual enrichment), Recover equilibrium (previously referred to as Rest & Relaxation), Known-group socialization (considered as part of Socialization), External interaction/socialization (also considered part of Socialization, but pertaining to unknowns), and Gregariousness. This latter factor was new; it represents the desire to go to a festival with others rather than alone. The analysis did not find two types of motivations from Crompton's framework: Prestige/Status and Enhancing kinship and relations/Family togetherness. Other studies also mentioned family togetherness as an important factor in festival attendance; in their discussion of the results, Crompton & McKay therefore recommended including this factor in future research.

In 1997, Crompton & McKay stated that little research had been done into motivations for tourism and more specific festival attendance, but this is not entirely correct. At that time, research into why people travel and go on holiday had been studied for 20 years (Scott, 1996). The research into why people go to festivals stems from this and was already taking shape in the early 1990s. A search for studies on this topic yields about 30 studies, of which about seven were published before 1997 (Van Vliet, 2011). However, research into motivations for festival attendance has certainly boomed since the early 1990s – to such an extent that subcategories have arisen, such as research into visitors to wineries and wine festivals (see Weiler, Truong & Griffiths, 2004; Yuan et al., 2005; Dodd et al., 2006; Park, Reisinger & Kang, 2008). This subcategory of research even has its own conference (the International Wine Tourism Conference). Other areas of research besides festivals include tourism, leisure and sporting events (Getz, 2007).

3.2 Generic festival motivations

A comparison of the Crompton and McKay study with more than 20 other studies of motivations for festival attendance reveals a number of recurring factors (Table 3.1). Escape is a factor that appears prominently in almost all studies. This factor is based on the same meaning that Crompton & McKay give to Rest & Relaxation/Recover equilibrium: escaping from the daily grind, stress and obligations. This factor has typical items such as "to have a change from daily routine" and "to get away from the demands of everyday life". It is also cited by Brain Bout in its promotional material for the DanceValley festival: "At our festival you can forget everything and let yourself go" (Hoenjet, 2006, p. 55).

A second factor found in almost all studies is Family togetherness: being together with family

members and experiencing and doing things together. A typical item for this factor is "to spend more time together with my family". In fact, the Crompton & McKay study is one of the few studies in which this factor was not found, although they do underline its importance. Two other studies that did not include the family togetherness factor were Bowen & Daniels (2005) and Skoultzos & Tsartas (2010).

A third factor is Socialization, defined in the same way as Crompton & McKay: meeting other people and experiencing the festival together. A further distinction can be made here between socializing with acquaintances (Known-group socialization: "being with my friends") and socializing with others (External socialization: "meeting new people"), although not all studies measured or encountered both aspects.

A fourth factor is Novelty, the need to experience new and exciting things and to be surprised. A typical item is "it was stimulating and exciting". This factor does not contain the aspect of regression that Crompton & McKay reported finding together with novelty. The aspect of regression recurred in only one other study: as a separate factor called reminiscence (Lee & Beeler, 2009). The novelty factor is somewhat problematic: not only is this factor regularly given different names in the various studies – such as Event Excitement, Event Novelty, Novelty/Uniqueness and Enjoyment – but some of the items of this factor also score on other factors and the reverse: some items from other factors score on Novelty (Van Vliet, 2011). Nevertheless, it is undeniably a factor that has been reported in many studies.

Of course, it is also striking to see which factors do not feature prominently in the various studies. First of all, these are the more idiosyncratic factors that recur in only a very few studies. The regression factor of Crompton and McKay's (1997) has already been mentioned, which recurs in only one other study – Lee & Beeler (2009) – where it is called reminiscence. The following 'idiosyncratic' factors can also be mentioned: gregariousness – used in Crompton & McKay (1997); nostalgia – used in the 1988 study by Ralston & Crompton and referenced by Backman et al. (1995), Schneider & Backman (1996) and Li & Petrick (2006); self-esteem or social status – used in Van Zyl & Botha (2004) and Park, Reisinger & Kang (2008) and meeting experts – used in Park, Reisinger & Kang (2008). None of these factors have appeared in other studies.

Even more important are the factors that recur in varying contexts and with varying salience in other studies. For example, the important factor of cultural exploration reported by Crompton & McKay has by no means recurred in all studies. This factor recurred in only three studies under the same name and with the same salience: Lee (2000), Lee, Lee & Wicks (2004) and Weiler, Troung & Griffiths (2004). In four other studies the factor recurred, but with a different name and with fewer items: Formica & Uysal (1996); Kerstetter & Mowrer (1998), Bowen & Daniels (2005) and Lee & Beeler (2009). In the other studies, comparable items were sometimes used in the questionnaires, but these items ultimately ended up with other factors. Another factor – event attractions – was not mentioned by Crompton & McKay, but first appeared in the mid-1990s as used by Formica & Uysal (1996, 1998), Schneider & Backman (1996) and Scott (1996). It also recurred in other studies by Lee (2000), Lee, Lee & Wicks, (2004), Weiler, Troung & Griffiths (2004), Dodd et al. (2005), and Yuan et al. (2005). Almost every study gave event attractions a

Table 3.1: Overview of international research into festival motivations (Van Vliet, 2011)¹

	Cultural exploration	Novelty	Escape	Known-group socialization	External socialization	Family togetherness	Event attractions	External	Misc.
Compton & McKray (1997)	Cultural exploration	Novelty/Regression	Recover equilibrium	Known-group socialization	External socialization				Gregariousness
Ralston & Crompton (1988)	Learning and discovery	Stimulus seeking	Espace	Social contact		Family togetherness			Nostalgia
Uysal, Gahan & Martin (1993)		Event novelty	Escape	Socialization		Family togetherness	Excitement/thrills		
Mohr et al. (1993)		Excitement/Uniqueness	Escape	Socialization		Family togetherness	Event novelty		
Backman et al. (1995)		Excitement	Relaxation	Socializing		Family		External	
Schneider & Backman (1996)		Event excitement	Escape		Socialization	Family togetherness	Festival Atmosphere		
Scott (1996)		Event excitement + Curiosity	Escape from routine		Sociability	Family togetherness	Nature appreciation		

¹ Several substantive overviews have been published, such as Lee, Lee & Wicks (2004), Yuan et al. (2005), Li & Petrick (2006) and Skoultos & Tsartas (2010), but these are less extensive. In addition, the overviews have certain imperfections. There are several difficulties in compiling studies in an overview – for example they are not consistent in their naming of factors (see especially Schneider & Backman, 1996), they do not include the items in the article (Kim & Lee, 2001), or they do not provide information about demographic data (Nicholson & Pearce, 2001; Skoultos & Tsartas, 2010) or about the measurement scale (Bowen & Daniels, 2005). A number of studies into festival motivations were not included in the overviews because they did not perform a factor analysis (Dodd et al., 2006; McMorland & Mactaggart, 2007) or the items used were not specified in the article, which makes it difficult to interpret the factors (Kim & Lee, 2001).

	Cultural exploration	Novelty	Escape	Known-group socialization	External socialization	Family togetherness	Event attractions	External	Misc.
Formica & Uysal (1996)	Entertainment	Event novelty		Socialization		Family togetherness	Excitement & thrills		
Formica & Uysal (1998)		Cultural/Historical		Group togetherness	Socialization and Entertainment	Family togetherness	Event attraction and Excitement		Site Novelty
Kerstetter & Mowrer (1998)	Entertainment				Community	Family fun		Alcohol-free	
Lee (2000)	Cultural exploration	Novelty	Escape	Known-group socialization	External group socialization	Family togetherness	Event attractions		
Dewar, Meyer & Li, 2001		Event novelty + Excitement	Escape		Socialisation	Family togetherness			
Nicholson & Pearce (2001) (1)		Novelty/ Uniqueness	Escape		External interaction/ Socialization	Family			
Nicholson & Pearce (2001) (2)		Novelty/ Uniqueness	Escape		Socialization	Family			
Nicholson & Pearce (2001) (3)		Novelty/ Uniqueness	Escape		Socialization	Family	Specifics		
Nicholson & Pearce (2001) (4)		Novelty/ Uniqueness + Variety	Escape		Socialization	Family	Specifics/ Entertainment		
Kim, Uysal & Chen (2002)		Event Novelty + Curiosity	Escape		Social/ Leisure	Family togetherness			

	Cultural exploration	Novelty	Escape	Known-group socialization	External socialization	Family togetherness	Event attractions	External	Misc.
Lee, Lee & Wicks (2004)	Cultural exploration	Novelty	Escape	Socialization		Family togetherness	Event attractions		
Van Zyl & Botha (2004)		Event novelty	Escape		Socialization Community pride	Family togetherness			Self-esteem
Weiler, Truong & Griffiths (2004)	Cultural exploration		Recover equilibrium	Known-group socialization	External interaction/ Socialization	Family togetherness	Event Novelty		
Bowen & Daniels (2005)	Discovery						Music + Enjoyment		
Yuan et al. (2005)			Festival and Escape	Socialisation		Family togetherness	Wine		
Park, Reisinger & Kang (2008)		Enjoyment	Change		Meeting people	Family	Taste		Social Status + Meeting Experts
Lee & Beeler (2009)	Novelty		Escaping from boredom	Fun with Friends		Family togetherness			Reminiscence
Skoultzos & Tsartas (2010)			Novelty and Escape	Socialization			Music as entertaining experience + Gregariousness/ communitas	Loyalty to festival	

different name, such as nature appreciation (Scott, 1996), specifics (Nicholson & Pearce, 2001), wine (Yuan et al., 2005), and taste (Park, Reisinger & Kang, 2008). This factor concerns aspects such as enjoying the festival atmosphere and the special interest and appreciation for what the festival is about (wine, music, nature, airplanes, etc.). This will be discussed later (3.2.2 and 3.3).

Reviewing the empirical studies, we can state that there are at least four generic factors that describe the motivations for festival attendance: escape, family togetherness, socialization and novelty. This is actually a confirmation of the factors already found in the first studies (including Mohr et al., 1993) and is also comparable to motivational factors found in other domains such as leisure activities (Mulder, 2011) and visiting museums (Van Vliet, 2009). For the latter domain, motivations often also play a role with regard to wanting to learn something. This is in line with Crompton's original motivation factor of Education value/Intellectual enrichment, and also ties in with the aforementioned experiential value of competency of Rippen & Bos. According to Picard & Robinson (2006), this aspect of learning is actually essential to a festival; for them a festival is “a way of gaining knowledge and pleasure through performance” (p. 13).

Additionally, Rippen & Bos linked the social-relational experiential value and the experiential value of enjoyment to motivations emerging from international research: socialization and escape, respectively. However, the experiential value of meaning and significance cannot easily be classified under the four generic motivations. A more or less comparable motivational factor can be found in the study by Crompton (1979): “exploration and evaluation of self” as “an opportunity for re-evaluating and discovering more about themselves or for acting out self-images and in so doing refining or modifying them” (p. 416). It is unclear why this factor was not included in the list made by Crompton himself in Crompton & McKay (1997). The factor resembles what Falk & Dierking (1992) called “reverential reasons” in their study of the museum experience: “A personal experience with something higher, more sacred, and out of the ordinary than home and work are able to supply.” (p.15). This pertains to many ideas suggesting that art, film, theater and literature enable us to broaden our emotional horizons by experiencing emotions in relative safety that we cannot, or do not want to, experience in daily life (Van Vliet, 1991). This is somewhat reflected in the factor novelty, in the aspect of ‘newness’, but that factor is not essentially about significance.

Little or no empirical research has been conducted into these two motivations of learning and significance in the context of festival research. In all reviewed questionnaires, only occasionally items were found about learning, such as “to increase my cultural knowledge” (Lee, 2000; Lee, Lee & Wicks, 2004; Weiler, Troung & Griffiths, 2004; Lee & Beeler, 2009) and “I like to know about cultural events” (Crompton & McKay, 1997; Lee, 2000; Lee, Lee & Wicks, 2004; Weiler, Troung & Griffiths, 2004; Bowen & Daniels, 2005). Such items were also found in some studies about single-theme festivals such as wine (“to increase my wine knowledge”), nature (“to learn more about nature”), and food (“to increase my food knowledge”) (Van Vliet, 2011). In the broader context of event research, however, there are studies into learning as motivation. For example, Gitelson, Kerstetter & Kiernan (1995) referred to “educational experiences” such as discovering new cultures, wines, food and music. Moreover, in their own research they found learning to be a clear motivation of visitors at a three-day event to acquaint the public with

developments in agriculture. Raybould's (1998) study into a "fishing event" also examined learning as a motivation with items such as "so I could develop my skills" and "so that I could learn about issues that are important to me". In their results, they reported that learning was a separate and prominent motivational factor that stands for "desire to develop skills and knowledge and to learn about themselves (self-discovery)" (p. 237). In the context of 'dark tourism', the motivations of learning and significance are prominent and therefore interesting to include in the current analysis.

3.2.1 Dark Tourism

Since the mid-1990s, visiting locations associated with human tragedies has often been referred to with the term 'dark tourism' (Foley & Lennon, 1996). These can be locations about those tragedies, such as a holocaust museum, or a medieval dungeon that was used for torture; virtual tours through concentration camps such as Auschwitz (Kaelber, 2007) or Sobibór (Ribbens, Rieffe, van Vliet, Wierenga & Verschure, 2017); or visiting the actual location where an historical tragedy took place, such as the battlefields of WWI in Flanders, concentration camps, the city of Pompeii, cemeteries, Anne Frank's Secret Annex, Ground Zero in New York, Robben Island, the killing fields in Cambodia, the Costa Concordia shipwreck and so on.

The increase in dark tourism has led to diverse theoretical discussions about the concept and explanations for this increase (Hartmann, 2014; Hermanova & Abrahám, 2015; Podoshen, Venkatesh, Wallin, Andrzejewski & Jin, 2015; Light, 2017; Iliev, 2020). Recently, there has also been an increase in the number of empirical studies into aspects such as the emotions experienced during such a visit and the motivations of the visitors. Regarding these emotions, visitors often reported the dominance of negative emotions such as sadness, horror, anger and frustration, but positive emotions such as hope and love were also reported. The predominance of negative emotions does not automatically lead to a negative evaluation of the visit, which can still be experienced as interesting, valuable and useful, with the intention to visit the place again or to visit similar places, and also to talk positively about the visit to friends and acquaintances (Nawijn & Fricke, 2015).

Many suggestions have been made for the motivations of visitors. For example, Hermanova & Abrahám (2015) referred to an interest in history, a search for family history, commemoration and curiosity. Nawijn & Fricke (2015) mentioned motivations such as horror, identity, empathy and contemplation of life. The number of empirical studies is increasing, but not yet excessive. Zheng et al. (2016) mentioned pilgrimage and morbid fascination with death as motivations. The study by Werdler & Geuskens (2012) looked at the push and pull motivations² of visitors to the Amersfoort internment camp. Based on the results of a survey of 169 visitors, they reported the following main motivations: commemoration and education (pull motivations), and interest in history/heritage, curiosity and nostalgia (push motivations). Isaac & Çakmak (2013) investigated the motivations of visitors to Westerbork. After analysis, they arrived at three important factors in the motivations: 1) self-understanding, with an item such as "coming to one's senses", but this factor also contains

² Werdler & Geuskens referred to Dann (1981) for the characterization of push and pull motivations. See 3.3 for a discussion on this.

items about commemoration, learning (“know more about”) and being able to tell the story to others; 2) curiosity, but two of the four items are about learning/understanding; and 3) conscience, which is about an awareness that the tragedy could recur and the responsibility that accompanies this awareness. Dimitrovski, Lukovic & Senic (2019) studied the motivations of participants in a memorial event for victims of the Second World War. The motivations investigated were: learning, socialization (“widen social contacts”), relaxation/escape and novelty (“uniqueness/authenticity”). They found an effect of all motivations in which learning and novelty in particular influence the intention to attend the event again.

The empirical studies have not yet contributed to a specific typology of motivations; at most they have generated lists of occurrences. Yan et al. (2016) listed dozens of motivations in a summary table of 12 studies, and Light (2017) presented an overview of 20 motivations that have been examined in more than one study. They drew opposite conclusions: Light (2017) concluded that “motivations are now reasonably well understood” (p. 295), while Yan et al. (2016) stated that “dark tourism motivation (DTM) and dark tourism experience (DTE) is not well understood” (p. 109). For the time being, the safest conclusion seems to be that of Iliev (2020): “the motivations of tourists to dark sites are diverse” (p. 9).

In this great diversity, a number of matters stand out in the light of the discussion about generic motivations for festivals. In some cases literally the same motivations were found, such as novelty, escape and socialization in Dimitrovski, Lukovic & Senic (2019) and in Zheng et al. (2016). Socialization is referred to in other studies by the term leisure, which is defined as a day out with friends/family (family togetherness) (Yan et al., 2016; Poria, Reichel & Biran, 2006). The motivation of wanting to learn is also a recurring factor (Poria, Reichel & Biran, 2006; Biran, Poria & Oren, 2011; Werdler & Geuskens, 2012; Isaak & Çakmak, 2013; Yan et al, 2016; Zheng et al., 2016; Dimitrovski, Lukovic & Senic, 2019), and was also ranked 1st in Light's (2017) list of motivations in dark tourism. Significance as a motivation was not mentioned as such in the studies, but there are many items that are about the need of visitors to fathom the meaning (or meaninglessness) of the tragedy (“understanding”) and be able to give it a place (“coming to one's senses”, “contemplate”). This is probably most aptly summarized by Podoshen et al. (2015) when they wrote about “making sense of horrific dehumanizing events”. Finally, a motivation emerged from several studies (Werdler & Geuskens, 2012; Isaak & Çakmak, 2013; Yan et al, 2016; Zheng et al., 2016) that was not previously recognized, i.e. curiosity/interest. This was ranked 2nd on Light's list (2017). Because it is not limited to the specific domain of dark tourism, this motivation can be seen as generic; potential visitors can also be curious about festivals in general or a specific festival that they have heard about. This does not always have to be about wanting to experience something new (novelty); visitors can also be curious about a festival that they have attended previously: they wonder how it is going to be this year.

3.2.2 Some caveats

Identifying generic festival motivations does entail a number of caveats. Most importantly, the studies cited here represent a great diversity of festivals. The diversity concerns aspects such as the nature of the festival (music festivals, cultural-historical festivals, festivals for theater and ballet, celebrations, wine festivals, airshows and ice sculpture festivals), the duration of the festival (from

one day to several days and even two months), the setting of the festival (from an historic urban setting to a zoo) and the location (USA, Italy, Korea, South Africa, China, Canada, Jordan, Australia, New Zealand, etc.). Considering this great diversity, it is striking that there are still so many similarities in motivations. Reservations about this variation have been expressed in studies that examined and compared several festivals at the same time. In their comparison of four festivals, Nicholson & Pearce (2001) found a clear 'event variation': "While some underlying similarities are found, particularly with the two food-and-beverage festivals, the broad pattern is clearly that people go to different events for different reasons and that the majority are going to a particular event for what it offers rather than to an event in general" (p. 458). Yuan et al. (2005) also reported that items inquiring after specific aspects of the festival were the most important motivational factor: "Wine on the average received the highest importance rating among the four motivational factors. This result confirmed the belief that motivations are situation-specific and the kind of festival is a plausible predictor of attendees' motivations" (p. 52). In contrast, Crompton & McKay (1997) found no difference between various 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." (p. 436), although it can be said that all activities belonged to the same type of festival.

In addition, there is the problem of identifying specific factors. At first glance, there seems to be consensus between studies because factors are given the same names. Analysis at the item level sometimes revealed that this concerns (in part) a different type of factor. An extreme example of this is the study by Dewar, Meyer & Li (2001). They concluded that there were only "small differences" (p. 531) between their study and that of Schneider & Backman (1996). This statement may seem justifiable when comparing the importance of factors with the same name, but it does not hold true when considering the meaning of the various factors: of the 16 items common to the two studies, Dewar, Meyer & Li placed nine in a different factor than Schneider & Backman did. Another example is the study by Park, Reisinger & Kang (2008), who claimed that their enjoyment factor corresponded to the festival and escape factor of Yuan et al. (2005). However, of the seven items in enjoyment, only three recurred in the festival and escape factor, which contained nine items in total. This is not exactly a strong match, especially when we realize that the change factor in Park, Reisinger & Kang shared four items with the festival and escape factor in Yuan et al. (Van Vliet, 2011). Nothing was said about this similarity.

It is also important to note that the factors can differ per festival in terms of how essential they are in explaining why visitors come to the festival in question. At one festival, family togetherness may be the most important factor, which was the case at the First Night Festival (Kerstetter & Mowrer, 1998), while at Tallahassee's Annual Winter Festival (Lee & Beeler, 2009) novelty was most important factor. In the study by Nicholson & Pearce (2001), which used the same measurement system to compare four festivals, the importance of the various motivations also differed between the festivals: two festivals that centered on good food were both dominated by the motivation of socialization, but the motivations of visitors to an airshow and a music competition differed: novelty was dominant in the first, and entertainment in the second. This also has to do with the composition of the target groups and their differing motivations (see 3.4). In addition, it is advisable to assume that there are several motivations at play at the same time: "they

[motivations] should not be considered as mutually exclusive, nor should any single tension state be selected as the determinant of behavior. They operate in tandem or combination, for motives are multidimensional. Thus, destination decisions were usually energized by several motives acting in tandem" (Crompton, 1979, p. 421), and "the fallacy of assuming that only one leading motive exists instead of recognizing that a festival visitation decision is likely to result of multiple simultaneous motives" (Crompton & McKay, 1997, p. 436). As Prentice & Anderson (2003) also reported: "As with other festival studies, intention was found to be multiple" (p. 24).

3.2.3 More recent research

A selection of several more recent studies into festival motivations provides both a recognizable picture and a somewhat depressing conclusion that little conceptual progress seems to have been made in the last decade. A number of these studies link directly back to studies from the 1990s. For example, both Yolal, Ozdemir & Batmaz (2019) and Radovic & Ivancevic (2020) used the items from Uysal, Gahan & Martin (1993) for their studies into visitor's motivations at the International Eskesehir Film Festival in Turkey and the St John's Eve Bonfire Festival in Croatia, respectively. The motivations that visitors indicated as important for their visit are very familiar: novelty, socialization, togetherness (family togetherness) and escape. Kocabulut & Kilicarslan (2017) used the same questions for motivations as those in the study by Crompton & McKay (1997), and found similar motivation categories, including gregariousness (3.2), which they renamed as puerility. Rezaei, Mirzaei & Abbasi (2017) based their study on motivations for visitors to the Gol-Ghultan Festival in Iran on previous research. Here too, factor analysis of the 287 questionnaires resulted in familiar motivations: not only novelty, escape and socialization, but also several other motivations that have previously been identified (see 3.2), such as learning ("to increase my cultural knowledge"), interest ("interested in local events and festivals") and something like relevance ("to protect traditional cultural heritage") (see 5.3.1).

Li & Wood (2014) took a refreshing approach in their study of the Midi Music Festival in China, a three-day rock festival. They analyzed social media conversations and conducted semi-structured interviews in chat rooms used by the festival's online communities. Although they also cited familiar motivations such as togetherness, novel experience and educational enrichment, their analysis focused more on the contrast between everyday life in China and the festival as a hedonistic free space. In this analysis they proposed two concepts: 'spiritual escape' (the feeling of personal freedom), and 'spiritual pursuit' (the intrinsic belief in a better world). The authors connected these two concepts with the escape-seek dichotomy of Iso-Aloha, thereby tapping into a deeper layer in the discussion of motivation (see 3.3). In contrast, the study by Krajickova & Sauer (2018) was quite sobering. Their analysis of a beer festival and a wine festival lacked a factor analysis of the questionnaire, making it difficult to say anything about underlying motivation categories. The authors' comment that "We do not have a uniform methodology for identification and measurement of motivation" (p. 191) thus avenges itself here. The study by Hermann, Boshof & Ncala (2020) also missed out on opportunities. The 18 questions that visitors to an annual beer festival in Pretoria were asked about their motivations was a strange mix of motivations (socialize, escape, novelty), loyalty ("annual commitment"), satisfaction ("value for money"), relevance ("support local brewers") and opportunity ("opportunity to visit Pretoria"). Instead of classifying

them all as motivations, these concepts should have been disassembled and then examined in conjunction with each other. The same can be observed, although to a lesser extent, in the study by Hodak, Belosevic & Vlahov (2020). In this study they mainly asked what people enjoy, and also paid attention to the travel itself. This may be due to the perspective of the study, which focused more on tourism than on the music festival from which the data was collected. An interesting aspect of this study is the explicit attention to elements of the destination that are considered relevant for the visitors, such as price, festival program, accommodation and surroundings. These are elements that we characterize in the next chapter as the 'FestivalDNA'.

Finally, a striking aspect is that several of these studies referred to underlying theoretical principles with regard to motivations: the push/pull theory of Crompton (Yolal, Ozdemire & Batmaz, 2019; Hermann, Boshoff & Ncala, 2020; Radovic & Ivancevic, 2020) and Iso-Aloha's escape-seeking dichotomy (Li & Wood, 2014). With the exception of Li & Wood (2014), however, the interpretation of these theoretical principles is highly questionable and can be traced back – as we will see in 3.3 – to an unfortunate misinterpretation that has been circulating in the literature for more than 20 years now, and which apparently still persists.

3.3 The push/pull theory

The generic festival motivations that have been identified require a theoretical framework within which the results can be interpreted consistently.

One well-known motivation theory is that of Abraham Maslow with its hierarchy of basic and higher-level needs, as visualized in Maslow's pyramid. In his theory, Maslow distinguished between two main categories: deficiency needs and growth needs. Deficiency needs are mainly focused on physical and psychological survival such as food, drink, sex and respect and acceptance, while growth needs are aimed at growing, moving forward and achieving potential. They ensure the inner and psychological well-being of the human being, such as the need to discover, the need for art and beauty and the need to reach one's own potential. The pursuit of self-actualization and transcendence is, according to Maslow, the ultimate goal of mankind. In the context of tourism, these ideas about motivations have been used to create the Travel Career Trajectory, in which motives for tourism are linked to Maslow's hierarchy of needs. The underlying idea is that such motives develop from basic motivations such as relaxation and stimulation/novelty, to higher-level motivations in which people want to develop knowledge, skills and themselves, i.e. relationship, self-esteem and development, and ultimately fulfillment (Getz, 2007; Mulder, 2011). This proposal from the Travel Career Trajectory has not been taken up extensively by the field of event research, let alone by researchers at festivals. Maslow's ideas have inspired various researchers, but his theory and its application in festival research is virtually absent. One of the few references to an idea of Maslow – in this case self-actualization – appears on a list of personal motivations for festival attendance (Getz, 2015).

In the research into motivations for tourism and festival attendance, two comparable theoretical views are dominant (Crompton & McKay, 1997; Nicholson & Pearce, 2001; Getz, 2007, 2008, 2010). Iso-Ahola (1983) made a distinction between two motivational forces: the need to escape from one's own environment and the need to seek certain psychological rewards.

For example, if you experience your own environment as boring (daily routine) or hectic (work, family), then the need arises to seek another environment that is more exciting (such as wild water canoeing) or indeed provides more relaxation (such as visiting a spa). And the need to learn something from a different culture or to come into contact with other people can lead to a trip with a group to the Far East. This “escape-seeking” dichotomy is in constant dialectical interaction: “Recreational travel is a process of continuous interplay of two forces: to avoid one’s daily environment and seeking recreation places for certain psychological rewards” (p. 55).

These two ‘forces’ are very similar to the concepts of push (escape) and pull (seeking) proposed by Crompton (1979) and discussed by Dann (1981). According to this theory, there is a certain push to go to festivals in order to escape and be distracted from everyday worries. And there is a certain pull that appeals to specific interests of visitors, for example to learn, experience or meet others. These comparable principles of escape-seeking and push/pull have been widely embraced as a theoretical framework in tourism literature in general (Lee & Beeler, 2009) and in festival research in particular. A number of studies reported that the “seeking and escaping theory” has been largely confirmed by research among festival visitors (Getz, 2010).³

Despite the oft-cited support for the theoretical frameworks of Iso-Ahola and Crompton, there has been confusion over the years about the interpretation of the concept of pull, with rather unfortunate consequences for research into festival motivations. Crompton presented both push and pull as motivational forces. In terms of theory, that is a correct interpretation; since there is a dichotomy, both extremes must fall under the same concept, in this case motivation. For Crompton (1979), factors such as escape, relaxation and prestige can be characterized as push, while factors such as novelty and education can be characterized as pull. Iso-Ahola also referred to two “motivational forces”: the aspects of escape and seeking are both about internal motives. However, some researchers have increasingly interpreted the concept of pull as representing specific characteristics of the festival itself, in other words: external to the visitor. Two typical examples of this are the studies of Yuan et al. (2005) and that of Yoon & Uysal (2005). According to Yuan et al. (2005) “Push factors [are] internal to the individual and create the desire to travel. Pull factors are *external* to the individual and influence the actual destination choice.” (...) Pull factors are the *external* motives that draw the visitor to the winery and in general reflect its characteristics or activities.” (p. 44; my italics). Yoon & Uysal (2005) referred to pull motivations as “*external* forces” (p. 45, my italics), i.e. “the attributes of the destination choices” (p. 46). Examples of external factors are the available beaches, entertainment, nature, amenities, and sunny weather. For these researchers, pull refers to specific characteristics of the destination and so-called “tangible attributes” (see also Backman et al., 1995, p. 17; Kim & Lee, 2001, p. 258; and Van Zyl & Botha, 2004, p. 215). It becomes even more confusing when certain clusters of these external characteristics are presented as motivations (Yuan et al., 2005; Yoon & Uysal, 2005).

The exact source of this ‘alternative’ interpretation of the pull concept is not entirely clear. Indeed, this ‘misinterpretation’ appeared a decade earlier in Backman et al. (1995): “According to

³ However, some critical comments can be made about this theoretical framework. Underlying both dichotomies is the assumption that there is an optimum level to strive for: too much boredom invites you to look for something new, while too much hectic time elicits a need for relaxation. This “need for optimal arousal” was mentioned by Iso-Ahola (1983, p. 50), and also endorsed by Crompton (Crompton, 1979, p. 409; Crompton & McKay, 1997, p. 427), but did not discuss this idea critically. For the role of arousal, see Chapter 5.

Crompton (1979), push factors are the most discussed socio-psychological motives and the pull factors are the motives aroused by the destination rather than those within the travelers themselves. Push motives refer to the desire to visit an event, festival, exhibition, or theme park and pull factors refer to the choice of the destination" (p. 17). The striking thing about this summary of Crompton's position is that in his 1979 article he typified this view as 'traditional' and stated that his study aimed to give the pull factors a motivational character as well: "The study explored the contention that socio-psychological motives may be useful not only in explaining the initial arousal, energizing, or "push" to take a vacation, but may also have directive potential to direct the tourist toward a particular destination. This differs from the traditional conceptual framework described earlier, in which the primary utility of socio-psychological motives lies in explaining the initial decision to go on a vacation, and the consequent decision, choice of destination, is conceived to be primarily a function of the cultural pulling power of the destination" (1979, p. 412). Ironically, it is precisely the view that Crompton wanted to challenge that is most often attributed to him.

Whereas the pull factors were initially defined as external motivations, as in Backman et al. (1995), due to a continuing shift in the subsequent literature, pull factors were interpreted as festival attributes: Kim & Lee (2001) referred to „Pull factors (...) are generally viewed from a supply-side dimension. The force of attractions in a destination area is generally considered as exerting a pull response on the individual" (p. 258). Park, Reisinger & Kang (2008) stated "According to Dann and Crompton pull factors are external forces that are aroused by the object, product or destination (e.g. climate, landscape, infrastructure) and induce the traveler to visit a destination (p. 162)". In contrast, Crompton (1979) never wrote about such external forces. Skoultos & Tsartas (2010), with reference to previous literature, gave the plainest interpretation: "pull factors refer to festival attributes such as festival setting, facilities, services or entertainment etc." (p. 3).

The recurring problem is that two things are intertwined. On the one hand, people have motivations to go on holiday or to visit a festival, which can be called escape and family togetherness, for example. These motivations always relate to internal psychological drives that can be described by the pairs escaping/seeking or push/pull. On the other hand, we have the specific realisation of that motivation, i.e. the motivation must be given a direction. The need to go to a concert with friends (socialization) must be given shape by going to that specific concert with those friends; the desire to learn something (education) and to visit a sunny destination (escape) must be fulfilled by booking a trip to a wine tasting in Perugia in Italy in the month of July. It is the difference between generic driving forces and specific activities as the implementation of these forces. The difference between generic and specific should not be confused with the two concepts of push/pull, which are motivational, internally psychological by definition. Unfortunately, this distinction between generic motivations and specific festival characteristics is often done poorly, not only theoretically but also in the implementation of empirical research when questioning festival visitors. In many of the studies, the analysis of motivations involves questions such as the following: Is the festival alcohol-free? (Kerstetter & Mowrer, 1998); Does it involve appreciation for nature? (Scott, 1996); What is the price of the ticket? (Backman et al., 1995); Is wine for sale? (Yuan et al., 2005). These are conceivable and legitimate questions because they also say something about why people go to that location or that festival, but they are not questions with

which one can classify motivational forces as push/pull.

A possible substantive source of confusion in the discussion is Iso-Ahola's (1983) statement about intrinsic and extrinsic motivations. Examples of extrinsic motivations include money, the prospect of punishment, and in the context of leisure activities, family obligations (Christmas with the in-laws). With extrinsic motivations, however, we are still dealing with internal drivers; only the 'trigger' is extrinsic. Crompton (1979) also referred to motivations that can be 'aroused' by certain environmental characteristics, but he did not deny that it was still about motivations. This distinction between intrinsic/extrinsic may have been understood as the distinction between internal/external, and then it was only a small step to link the external to festival-specific characteristics. This made the 'triggers' into an external force with the label 'pull'. Another possible source of the confusion is the discussion in Dann (1981) who indeed referred to push and pull, but described push as motivation per se, and when describing pull, referred to factors that represent the attractiveness of the destination. Crompton did not use this interpretation in this way, but did use the concept of pull as a motivation per se, thus creating the motivational dichotomy push/pull. Several researchers followed Dann's interpretation of pull as attractions, but they made the 'error' of conceptualizing the factors as a motivation. Dann did not do this, and even warned explicitly about it "...push and pull factors are occasionally confused and both are treated as motives" (1981, p. 193) and "A pull factor is not a necessary component of the desire to travel" (p. 206).

This confusion about push/pull and internal/external has two annoying consequences. First, failure to make the distinction results in 'contamination' of the study into factors underlying the motivations of festival visitors. Besides factors emerging from the research that relate explicitly to festival characteristics in their entirety, such as External and Alcohol-free (Table 3.1), a factor such as event attractions also largely concerns festival-specific characteristics such as nightlife, wine and nature. Items about characteristics such as the historical setting and the local culture also slip into the Cultural Exploration factor (Van Vliet, 2011). This may be why these last two factors do not score unambiguously across the various studies. After all, asking questions about festival-specific characteristics makes it more difficult to compare the reasons for visiting a wine festival ("to buy wines"; Scott, 1996) with the reasons for visiting an airshow ("because I enjoy warbird aircraft"; Nicholson & Pearce, 2001).

The distinction between generic motivations and specific festival characteristics, on the other hand, makes it possible to be more precise in why people visit festivals. An example of this is the summary provided by Terpstra (2005): "According to the interviews, reasons for young people to go to festivals are: having fun, having a good time, the program, socializing, making new contacts, music, variety, memorable experience, tradition, friends who go there and a holiday feeling." (p. 50). In this summary, motivations (having a good time, friends, making new contacts) and festival characteristics (program, music, tradition) are mixed together; the analysis could have been strengthened by separating them.

A second annoying consequence is that researchers sometimes have a rather negative attitude towards generic motivations, for example Yuan et al. (2005): "These studies focusing on behavioural needs have produced some common motivational factors. But the consistency of these results may conceal the unique features of each festival" (p. 44). The same point of view can

be found in Scott (1996), Nicholson & Pearce (2001) and Leenders: "The big trend is to leave the wealth of motives rich in the analysis instead of reducing everything to a small number of underlying super-motives," (2010, p. 29). As a result of this attitude, studies such as that of Yuan et al. intermingled generic motivations and specific festival characteristics (referred to as pull motivations). They even presented this as an "ideal approach" (Yuan et al., 2005, p. 44). In doing so, they lost sight of the fact that it concerns two different concepts – motivations and festival characteristics – which are certainly related or correlated, but should by no means be part of the same underlying dimension or factor analysis.

Of course, the question is not whether generic motivations or festival characteristics are important; it is about the interaction between the two: motivations as the drivers that are focused and interpreted by specific characteristics of festivals. But they are two different things, two different concepts. Being bored, wanting to experience something new and being with friends are given tangible shape when visiting a specific festival because your friends are there, a new band is here and you have a festival pass. For that matter, it is not necessary for there to be a strict sequence. As part of an interplay of considerations, festival characteristics (price, location, what can be seen) can elicit certain driving forces (Crompton, 1979) or guide the choice between driving forces that simultaneously demand satisfaction. For example, the process of choosing a destination for a holiday goes through several stages in which these kinds of considerations play a constant role (Fakeye & Crompton, 1991; Crompton, 1992; McCabe, 2000).

3.4 Festival visitors: demographic and festigraphic characteristics

Visitors can have different motivations to attend the same festival, from 'relaxing' to 'going out with friends' or 'seeing a new band'. Conversely, festivals can meet multiple needs of festival visitors, such as 'good food', 'being surprised' and 'meeting new people'. As Crompton & McKay (1997), following Iso-Ahola, noted: "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" (p. 436). Formulated in this way, it seems that few general statements can be made about the relationship between the motivations of festival visitors and festivals. Various studies aimed to solve this by segmenting the festival audience into groups. The characteristics on which festival audiences are segmented can be divided into three categories: demographic characteristics, 'festigraphic' characteristics and psychosocial characteristics (lifestyles or mentalities).

Demographic characteristics of festival visitors include variables such as age, gender, education, income, occupation and relationship status. The study by Van Zyl & Botha (2005) showed that young people (18-25) mainly go to festivals for socialization and for escape, while older people (everyone over 26 years old!) go for family togetherness. This is also found in a more recent study (Yolal, Ozdemir & Batmaz, 2019). Backman et al. (1995) found that the older a festival visitor is, the less he or she attends a festival for excitement. Yuan et al. (2005) found that young people value escape more than older people. They also found that visitors with a lower level of education value socialization and escape more, and that married festival visitors value family togetherness more. Yolal, Ozdemir & Batmaz (2019) as well as Rezaei, Mirzaei & Abbasi (2017) find that women attach more importance to novelty than men. Backman et al. (1995) found that social benefits were important for married festival visitors. In a study of the differences

between Japanese/Koreans and Americans/Europeans, Lee (2000) found that Westerners place more emphasis on cultural exploration, novelty and event attraction. Bowen & Daniels (2005) found that ethnicity (Western versus non-Western), income and relationship status, but not gender and age, influence the motivation of festival visitors. In contrast, Mohr et al. (1993) did not find any effect of demographic variables on motivations, and Uysal, Gahan & Martin (1993) found only one effect: that of relationship status on family togetherness. One of the few festival studies into the relationship of demographic variables with satisfaction and loyalty found only one effect, that of age on satisfaction; the older the visitor, the greater the likelihood that the visitor was satisfied (Lee & Beeler, 2009).

In short, a demonstrable influence of demographic variables on festival attendance has sometimes been reported, but the picture that emerges from the various studies is too varied to draw general conclusions. The fact that the various studies were conducted on a wide variety of festivals means that the results are not always comparable. Furthermore, the questions on demographic variables in the various studies have never been the same; the only exception is the question about gender (male/female). Age, income, education, relationship status, profession and country of origin have different answer categories in all studies, which hampers the mutual comparison of the findings. Festival research would therefore benefit from international standardization of these relatively simple variables. If these methodological problems are solved, then a more unambiguous picture could emerge about the relationship between demographic variables and festival attendance.

Here we refer to a second category of segmentation characteristics: 'festigraphic' characteristics. Festigraphic characteristics are characteristics of festival visitors that are directly related to their festival attendance. Examples of festigraphic characteristics are the following: group size and group composition (friends, family, colleagues), festival experience (how often one goes to festivals), origin (resident versus non-resident), travel distance to the festival, where the visitor is staying (camping, hotel, with friends), how much money people spend at the festival and when they have decided to attend the festival. The occurrence of these characteristics varies widely in the studies reviewed; like the demographic characteristics, the corresponding questions fall into various response categories. One characteristic that was questioned in several studies is whether or not the visitor is from the region where the festival is held. Visitors from outside the region seem more motivated by entertainment, while visitors from within the region are more motivated by socialization (Formica & Uysal, 1996). Lee (2000) reported that visitors from outside the region are motivated more by socialization than those from inside the region and that there is no difference between visitors from inside or outside the region on entertainment (cultural exploitation in Lee's study). Uysal, Gahan & Martin (1993) did not find a significant relationship between the motivations and origin of the festival visitor or between motivations and group composition. In the study by Bourdeau, De Coster & Paradis (2001), local residents and tourists did not differ in their general satisfaction with the festival, but local residents were more satisfied than tourists with the festival program. Lee, Lee & Wicks (2004) found that foreign visitors to a festival were more satisfied with the festival than domestic visitors, but demographic variables had no influence on satisfaction. Other questions that recurred in various studies were about group size, group type and distance traveled (Schneider & Backman, 1996; Dewar, Meyer & Li, 2001; Dodd et al., 2006), but few studies used these aspects for segmentation.

3.5 Festival visitors: lifestyles

A third category of segmentation characteristics concerns the psychosocial characteristics of festival visitors. Demographic variables such as age, income and education are important for understanding consumer behavior, but they are no longer sufficient. Demographic variables must be supplemented with the wishes, needs, values and interests of consumers. A good example of this broader approach is the 'Regionale leefstijlatlas Dagrecreatie' (Regional Lifestyle Atlas Day Recreation) of the province of Utrecht (2011). In this atlas, target groups for recreational activities are based on people's lifestyles. These lifestyles have a sociological dimension (focused to varying degrees on the individual or the surroundings/group) and a psychological dimension (extravert attitude versus introvert attitude). The combination of these sociological and psychological dimensions and demographic variables yields seven target groups with names such as 'Adventurous purple' (likes to be surprised and inspired), 'Exuberant yellow' (bon vivants who enjoy active and athletic recreation with others) and 'Quiet green' (take a break in your own surroundings with nothing on your mind). The demographic and geographical variables allow these lifestyles to be projected onto regions and neighborhoods, so that municipalities and provinces can respond to the various target groups with a differentiated range of recreational opportunities.

Another good example of this type of segmenting is the 'mentality model' of the Motivaction company (Nijs & Peters, 2002; Lampert & Röhling, 2009; Mulder, 2011). In this model, target groups are compiled based on people's attitude to life, i.e. their personal views and values about ambitions, society and politics, work and performance, lifestyle and social relationships. Socio-demographic aspects are also involved in the compilation of the target groups. According to this model, the Netherlands has eight social environments, ranging from 'traditional bourgeoisie' (moralistic, dutiful and status quo-oriented citizens who adhere to traditions and material possessions) and 'cosmopolitans' (open and critical-minded world citizens who integrate postmodern values such as development and experience with modern values such as social success, materialism and enjoyment) to 'upwardly mobiles' (career-oriented individualists with a pronounced fascination for social status, new technology, risk and excitement). These eight environments can be mapped along the axes of status and values. 'Cosmopolitans' are almost exclusively found in the higher socio-economic classes, while post-materialists are also found in the lower classes. In terms of values, the 'traditional bourgeoisie' falls under the heading of pre-modern or traditional, while 'upwardly mobiles' represent modern values.

Similar approaches to segmenting can be found in the festival studies. Prentice & Andersen (2003) distinguished seven clusters of festival visitors, which are determined primarily by the intentions with which the visitors attended the festival. For example, 'serious consumers of international culture' intend to experience various types of art, while 'incidental festival-goers' focus mainly on sightseeing and attend the festival as an ancillary experience. 'Accidental festival-goers' are not particularly interested in music and performance, but more in the cultural traditions of the location. These last two clusters refer to Hughes' proposed segmentation to distinguish between "Visitors whose consumption style is cultural, incidental or accidental" (in Prentice & Andersen, 2003, p. 9), but this distinction was not even questioned in any of the other studies

reviewed. In the context of museum visits, Hood (1983) used a similar three-way division to characterize visitor groups: the frequent visitor, the incidental visitor and the non-visitor, who sometimes ends up in a museum 'accidentally'.

Lee, Lee & Wicks (2004) used four clusters that are similar to certain motivations, but also take country of origin and satisfaction into account: 'Culture and family seekers', 'Multi-purpose seekers', 'Escape seekers' and 'Event seekers'. In the study by Bowen & Daniels (2005), segmentation was also based on underlying motivations: the group 'Just being social' is driven by social togetherness, the group 'Enrichment over music' is searching and wants to enrich itself (intellectually), the group 'the music matters' comes for the music, and the last group 'Love it all' has all these motivations. These groups did not differ in age, relationship status and spending patterns. In a study of visitors to Scottish music festivals, McMorland & Mactaggart (2007) found four clusters of festival visitors: 'Modernists' (especially young people who want to hear new bands), 'Family and inspiration seekers' (especially women who want to be with family), 'Social pleasure seekers' (older youth who mainly want to be entertained and have fun), and 'Thrill seekers' (especially those over 40 who are looking for excitement).

Although the clusters of festival visitors from the various studies show similarities, it is difficult to arrive at a number of basic clusters. Incidentally, this problem is not limited to festival visitors; a similar conclusion can also be drawn for museum visitors. The search for target groups for museums and archives is characterized by many exotic clusters, from browsers and deep diggers to nomads, emigrants, and the most beautiful series 'ants, butterflies, grasshoppers, fish', but does not get much further than describing these clusters (Van Vliet, 2009). Perhaps the most general statement that can be made is that festival visitors come to festivals for entertainment or for socializing (Formica & Uysal, 1998). This dichotomy between entertainment and socializing is similar to a dichotomy in the study by Gursoy, Spangenberg & Rutherford (2006). In their study of festival experiences, the researchers distinguished two dimensions of experience: hedonic experiences and utilitarian experiences. The hedonistic dimension represents an attitude of visitors aimed at escaping, having fun, novelty, uniqueness, being entertained, et cetera. This differs from a utilitarian dimension in which attending the festival achieves a certain goal, for example to be seen as someone who supports the good cause of the festival. Or parents who allow themselves be dragged to a girl band concert for the umpteenth time to keep the peace with their children. The study by Gursoy, Spangenberg & Rutherford (2006) showed that festivals are not exclusively a hedonistic affair. This contrasts with the findings of Leenders et al. (2005) "It is hard to capture what exactly makes a music festival attractive to an audience. As opposed to utilitarian products, it is not the result of usage that matters to the consumers, but the experience of using the product. Going to a music festival is a form of hedonic consumption, in that visiting these festivals results in the arousal of specific feelings, emotions and sensations" (p.149).

Attitudes such as hedonic and utilitarian ultimately address the research aim "to obtain a better understanding of why people attend festivals" (Gursoy, Spangenberg & Rutherford, 2006, p. 288), and should therefore be included in the discussion about motivations, with the underlying question of how these dimensions of hedonism/utilitarian relate to the theoretical concepts of escaping/seeking and push/pull.

3.6 Lifestyle and music preferences

When comparing a jazz festival with a country music festival, Martin, Bridges & Grunwell (2006) found that these festivals attracted different audiences. Jazz festival visitors were older, had higher incomes, and stayed in hotels more often, while country music festival visitors stayed with friends and family and spent less during the festival. The researchers concluded: “Different types of music will draw different types of visitors with different patterns of behavior” (ibid., p. 7). That sounds logical, almost obvious. Concerts by Ariana Grande, Bruce Springsteen, The Afghan Whigs, Underworld, The Unthanks and Metallica draw different audiences. The question is whether the differences between these audiences are only related to age and income or whether music preferences are also related to other aspects such as lifestyle (Litle & Zuckerman, 1986; North & Hargreaves, 2007a/b/c; Schäfer, 2008).

Music is prominent in our daily lives: as background music, as music we create ourselves, as music at a concert or as an intense experience while listening to one’s favorite cantata or rap song. Of course, it is now very easy to listen to music everywhere through mobile devices and streaming services. We listen to music to energize ourselves, influence our mood, combat boredom, build our identity, stimulate ourselves, have new experiences, dance, feel part of a group, have something to talk about and meet people. The seven main functions of music that Schäfer (2008) reported in his research are: 'Expresses my identity', 'Helps me meet people', 'Makes me feel ecstatic', 'Expresses my values', 'Lets me appreciate art', 'Puts me in a good mood, and 'Gives me information'.⁴

The ubiquity of music raises all kinds of interesting questions. Besides the economic questions that can be asked about the music industry (How much money is involved? Which 'players' are there and what are the power dynamics? What is the influence of streaming services on the industry? And how 'fair' is the industry for artists, especially new ones?), there are also questions about the use of music (When, how much, by whom and where?), the usefulness of music (Why do we listen to music?), the broader impact of music (What is the effect of music on identity formation, social processes, subcultures), and music preferences (How do preferences arise and are there clusters?). Despite the prominence of music in our daily lives, there has not been a substantial research tradition into, for example, music preferences. In a review article, Rentfrow & McDonald (2010) mentioned only a few studies from the 20th century. The number of publications is relatively limited and the number of explanatory models can also be counted on one hand (see Schäfer, 2008). Within sociology, in the 1970s, several studies were conducted into the relationship between music preferences and a more general political and cultural division into groups: so-called 'taste cultures'. Bourdieu's studies into cultural taste can also be mentioned here. Subsequently, this research subsided and it was only from the beginning of the 21st century that research into music, and in particular music preferences, was given a new impulse.

An example of this more recent research is the study by Tekman & Hortascu (2002). They showed that music is not only used to define and convey a social identity, but also that our

⁴ See also Schäfer, Tipandjan & Sedlmeier (2012), which includes a cross-cultural comparison of the functions of music between German and Indian subjects that also mentions which functions such as diversion and reminisce. See also North, Hargreaves & O'Neill (2000), and Zentner, Grandjean & Scherer (2008), who referred to the function of “a reminder of a valued past event”, as an explanation for the often felt emotion of nostalgia when listening to music.

evaluation of someone is influenced by his their music preference. We attribute all kinds of positive qualities to someone who shares our musical preference, in contrast to someone who does not. This can be seen as support for the Social Identity Theory (SIT) which states, among other things, that a clear social identity, i.e. identification with a social group, leads to the minimization of within-group differences and maximization of between-group differences. Music preference can be seen as a characteristic that defines a particular social group, which either enhances or diminishes other characteristics of the group depending on whether the preference of the group matches our own or not. Another example is the study by Schwartz & Fouts (2003). They concluded that adolescents who prefer pop and dance ('light music') are busy trying to do the right thing and are struggling with their independence from, and loyalty to, friends. In contrast, adolescents with a preference for hard rock, heavy metal and rap ('heavy music') are independent and non-conformist, have a lower self-esteem and have more self-doubt. The conclusion from the study was that differences in music preferences among adolescents "demonstrate a unique profile of personality dimensions and developmental issues" (ibid., p. 212). North, Desborough & Skarstein (2005) showed that there is a relationship between 'problem music' (rap, heavy rock) and deviant behavior that cannot be traced back to a stronger identification with the artists as role models. This 'problem music' is a recurring theme in music research, as shown in the study by Mulder et al. (2009) into the relationship between music preferences and the use of addictive substances (tobacco and alcohol). They found that music preferences for punk/hardcore, techno/hardhouse and reggae were more related to addictive substances, while preferences for pop and classical music were less related.

Although there are more studies that have looked for relationships between music preferences and personality traits or behavior/problem behavior (see Rentfrow & McDonald, 2010), the study by Rentfrow & Gosling (2003) was the first to look systematically – and with a broad perspective – at the relationship between music preferences and personality traits. Rentfrow & Gosling did not focus on just a few music genres (pop, jazz, heavy metal) or on certain personality traits (neurotic), but on all music genres and on a wide range of personality traits. In their study they ultimately arrived at 14 music genres that are part of the Short Test of Music Preferences (STOMP), in which the preference for the 14 genres is determined on a 7-point scale (Strongly dislike - Strongly like). Further research with this test showed that the 14 genres cluster into four dimensions for music preferences: genres that facilitate introspection and are structurally complex (Reflective & Complex) such as jazz and classical; genres that are full of energy and have something rebellious, often with negative emotions (Intense & Rebellious) such as rock and heavy metal; genres that radiate positivity and are structurally simple (Upbeat & Conventional) such as pop and country; and genres that are lively and emphasize rhythm (Energetic & Rhythmic) such as dance and hip-hop (see Table 3.2). Subsequently, researchers investigated how these music genre dimensions relate to personality traits. This was measured with instruments such as the Big Five Inventory (BFI). The Big Five are five dimensions that describe people's personalities: Openness, Conscientiousness, Extraversion, Agreeableness and Neuroticism (OCEAN) (Costa & McCrae, 1992). These five dimensions have been found time and again in independent studies. Each dimension is expressed in certain personality traits. The dimension of openness is expressed in the appreciation for art and adventure, curiosity and the search for variety, while agreeableness manifests itself in cooperating with others rather than being suspicious and resisting. The results have shown a significant relationship between music preferences and the personality dimensions

of the Big Five (Table 3.2). For example, people with the music preference Reflective & Complex are open to experiences, resourceful, they value aesthetic experiences, they are tolerant and they have an active imagination. People with the music preference Intense & Rebellious are open to new experiences, take risks, are articulate, are physically active and consider themselves intelligent. The music preference Upbeat & Conventional includes people who are outgoing, helpful, conventional (not very open to new experiences), cheerful and trustworthy. People with the music preference Energetic & Rhythmic are full of energy, talkative, forgiving and see themselves as physically attractive.

Table 3.2 Relationships between STOMP music genres, dimensions and personality traits (Rentfrow & Gosling, 2003)

Music genres	Dimensions	Personality traits (Big Five)
Classical Jazz Blues Folk	Reflective & Complex	Openness
Alternative Rock Heavy metal	Intense & Rebellious	Openness
Country Pop Religious Sound tracks	Upbeat & Conventional	Extraversion Agreeableness Conscientiousness Openness (negatief)
Rap / Hiphop Soul / Funk Electronica / Dance	Energetic & Rhythmic	Extraversion Agreeableness

The above findings have been confirmed in various follow-up studies. The Rentfrow & Gosling study was replicated in Germany (Langmeyer, Guglhör-Rudan & Tarnai, 2012) and the Netherlands (Delsing et al., 2008), confirming the findings in the original study. For example, in a large study of Dutch adolescents, Delsing et al. (2008) concluded that their results strongly correspond with the results of Rentfrow & Gosling with regard to the relationship between music preferences and the Big Five personality dimensions. Due to the differences between America and the Netherlands in the popularity of religious music (gospel) and dance, these genres scored slightly differently on the dimensions. In addition, Delsing et al. (2008) did not use the STOMP instrument but the Musical Preference Questionnaire (MPQ), which does not contain the genres folk, country, blues and soundtracks. In addition, the measurement took place on a five-point scale instead of a seven-point scale as that used with STOMP. Furthermore, Chamorro-Premuzic & Furnham (2007) showed that there is a relationship between the Big Five personality traits and the use of music. People who are more open and intelligent use music rationally, paying attention to its performance or structure, while people who are more introverted and neurotic use music in an emotional way, especially to influence their mood. In the study by Nusbaum & Silvia (2011)

'openness to experience' was the most important predictor for relaxing with music, an effect that was not mediated by preferences for more reflective and complex types of music, but was mainly related to the number of hours people listened to music and whether they could play an instrument. Langmeyer, Guglhör-Rudan & Tarnai (2012) also found that openness was the most important predictor of music preferences. We can thus conclude that there is a substantiated relationship between music preferences and personality traits (Schäfer, 2008). Music preference says something about someone's personality. Music says something substantial about a person's personality, just like clothes and eating preferences, although slightly less than their hobbies (Rentfrow & Gosling, 2003). The composition of the audience at a festival is therefore not only related to aspects such as age and income, but also to the 'type' of people it attracts.

Finally, it is worth noting that music preference is not an isolated characteristic but is embedded in all kinds of other preferences. Fans of 'high-art' music, such as classical music, also prefer highbrow newspapers, books and television programs. The study by North & Hargreaves (2007b) showed that music preference is related to choices for certain newspapers, radio stations, TV channels, TV programs, magazines, books, the amount of time spent reading and the choice for certain leisure activities. There is an association between high-art/low-art music (opera, classical and jazz versus R&B, dance/house, indie and DJ-based music) and high-culture/low-culture media use and preferences in leisure activities. In that sense, music preference also says something about a person's lifestyle. This was certainly the case in additional analyses by North & Hargreaves (2007a/c), which showed that there are also relationships of music preferences with aspects such as interpersonal relationships, moral and political beliefs, travel, health, employment and drinking and smoking behavior. Later studies reported similar results (Gardikiotis & Baltzis, 2012, among others). Furthermore, a number of studies did not make a one-dimensional distinction ('highbrow/lowbrow') but used so-called 'social spaces'. In these social spaces, a multi-dimensional plot is used to cluster groups in two-dimensional or three-dimensional space, depending on the number of dimensions that are distinguished. In the study by Roose, Van Eijck & Lievens (2012), for example, three dimensions are distinguished (engagement/disengagement, contemplation/adventure-action, and openness to new things/neutral stance), which together provide a more differentiated picture of the relationship between lifestyles with aspects such as cultural capital and age.

We can thus conclude that there is a substantiated relationship between music preferences and personality traits. Music preference says something about someone's personality. Research participants themselves also believe this (Rentfrow & Gosling, 2003). Moreover, music preference is not an isolated characteristic, but is embedded in many other preferences. This relationship between music preference and a person's lifestyle offers, especially for music festivals, is a useful pathway to the relatively simple measurement of the lifestyles of visitors that also fits the context of a music festival.

Several methods have been used to measure music preferences. In the 1950s, the IPAT Music Preference Scale was used, where people had to rate 120 audio clips of classical and jazz music (Rentfrow & McDonald, 2010). However, the results were not replicable and reliable (Langmeyer, Guglhör-Rudan & Tarnai, 2012). Litle & Zuckerman (1986) developed the Music

Preference Scale (MPS) to investigate the relationship between music preferences and sensation seeking. The MPS asks for preferences for 60 music genres on a Likert-type scale ranging from “dislike” to “like very much”. In this study, a relationship was found between the experience-seeking subscale of the Sensation Seeking Scale (see Chapter 6) and a preference for rock, folk and classical music. In follow-up research, questions about music preferences were sometimes supplemented with assessments of audio clips (Rentfrow & Gosling, 2003; Langmeyer, Guglhör-Rudan & Tarnai, 2012). This approach solved several problems with genre labels: that they can be subjective, can evoke stereotypical associations and can be too global. For example, there may be a preference for one artist in the genre but not for another artist in the same genre. Nevertheless, identifying music preferences by asking about genre preferences, without playing the actual music, is the most commonly used method (Schäfer, 2008). Another approach that is occasionally used is to measure listening behavior, for example by asking subjects to write down what they listened to over a three-month period. The amount of time spent listening to a particular music genre correlated positively with music preferences indicated by the STOMP questionnaire (Langmeyer, Guglhör-Rudan & Tarnai, 2012).

Although the MPS was subsequently not widely used, it did evoke interest into the relationship of music with personality traits other than sensation seeking. After the MPS, various scales were therefore developed (see Table 3.3). The STOMP questionnaire became a benchmark in this respect due to the thorough study of Rentgrew & Gosling (2003). The MPQ is a variation of STOMP, mainly due to geographical differences in music use (USA versus the Netherlands). The extensive study by North & Hargreaves did not describe how a list of 35 music styles came about, but only that 16 of the genres were picked as music preferences by less than 2% of the subjects (50 out of 2,532) and thus removed from further analysis. This concerned genres such as reggae, punk, electronic and world music. Schäfer (2008) made another inventory of genres by asking 170 test subjects to write down as many music genres as possible. This resulted in 25 genres mentioned by more than 10% of the subjects.

Table 3.3 Music genres used in measuring instruments for music preferences

MPS (Music Preference Scale) (Little & Zuckerman, 1986)	STOMP (Short Test of Music Preferences) (Rentgrew & Gosling, 2003)	MPQ (Musical Preference Questionnaire) (Delsing et al., 2008)	North & Hargreaves (2007a/b/c/)	Schäfer (2008)
Classical (Classical general, Baroque, Classical, Romantic, Impressionistic, Neoclassical, Contemporary)	Classical	Classical music	Opera Classical	Classical
Jazz (Jazz general,	Jazz	Jazz	Jazz	Jazz

Dixieland, Big Band Swing, Bebop, Progressive Jazz, West Coast, East Coast, Big Band Jazz)				
-	Blues	-	Blues	Blues
Folk/Ethnic (Folk or Ethnic general, American Folk, Bluegrass, Folk)	Folk	-	-	Folk
-	Alternative	Punk/Hardcore/grunge	Indie	Punk Alternative
Rock (Rock music, Rock and Roll, Acid Rock, Heavy metal, Surfer, Jazz-Rock, Pop Rock, Punk Rock, New Wave, Mainstream)	Rock	Rock	Rock	Rock Rock 'n' Roll
-	Heavy metal	Heavy metal / Hardrock	-	Metal
Country & Western (Country & Western general, Classic Country, Modern Country, Country-Rock, Gospel, Country-Folk)	Country	-	Country & Western	Country
Popular (Disco, Top 40, Top 40 vocal, Top 40 Jazz oriented, Easy listening, Easy listening vocal, Easy listening instrumental)	Pop	Top 40 / Charts	Current Chart pop Sixties pop Adult pop Other pop	Pop
Religious (Religious general, Gospel, Hymns, Modern)	Religious	Gospel	-	Gospel
Broadway, Movie and TV soundtracks (general,	Sound tracks / Theme songs	-	Musicals	-

Broadway musicals, Movie musicals and soundtracks, Television show soundtracks and themes)				
-	Rap / hip-hop	Hip-hop/rap	Hip-hop/rap	Hip Hop Rap
Soul, Rhythm & Blues (Soul/R&B general, R&B, Soul-Rock, Gospel, Modern, Soul-Jazz)	Soul / Funk	Soul / R&B	R&B Soul	R&B Soul
Electronic (Electronic general, Classical, Modern)	Dance / Electronica	Trance/Techno	Dance/House DJ Based	Techno House Dance Trance
-	-	Gothic	-	Gothic
-	-	-	Disco	-
-	-	-	-	Beat music
-	-	-	-	Reggae
-	-	-	-	Swing
-	-	-	-	Ska

As shown in the overview in Table 3.3, there is overlap but no agreement in the genres and genre classification used. Rentfrow & McDonald (2010) therefore stated “There is a lack of consistency in the measures used to assess music preferences. This inconsistency impairs our ability to make cross-study comparisons, and ultimately limits the generalizability of the results” (p. 683). Moreover, it can be argued that the genres listed in the table are far from complete. The fact that the studies were mostly conducted in an Anglo-Saxon context means that genres such as Latin and world music do not appear. In addition, the actual use of genre terms by festivals to promote and position themselves is much richer than the genres listed in the table. Van Vliet (2016) reported that Dutch music festivals used about 290 different genre terms for their festivals in 2015, not only with recognizable genres (rock, hip-hop, dance) but also with many obscure genres such as terror, dancehall and breakbeat.

A helpful step would be a basic list of genres and subgenres supplemented with typical, or rather prototypical (see Chapter 1), examples of a genre category. This would compensate for unfamiliarity or bias with a genre designation. In addition, measuring music preferences should not be limited to just a choice of genre, but also to the strength of the connection with that genre. People talk about music in terms of 'I prefer ...' and 'that suits me more/less...'. This point was also made by Schafer (2008): “Music preference has two dimensions: type and strength. The type of preference refers to the question which musical style a person likes best. The strength of preference refers to the degree to which one likes a musical piece/style. Music psychology has

mainly concentrated on the type of music preference and asked for the reasons why different people prefer different kinds of music. The strength of music preference has widely been ignored, however. This is peculiar because the strength of music preference represents how strongly one is involved in music and thus is linked with the question why one actually listens to music" (p. 4).

3.7 The festival visitor dissected

Knowing why people go to festivals makes it possible to attune festivals better to what visitors want and expect. In the review of international studies that explored the question of why people go to festivals, generic motivations (internal drivers) were identified to indicate why people go to festivals. The main four that emerged from the studies are: Escape, Socialization, Family togetherness and Novelty. Three additional motivations have also been proposed: Learning, Significance and Curiosity.

However, these motivations are not a complete explanation of why people go to festivals. There are many factors that play a role in this, as explained with a discussion of demographic variables, 'festigraphic' variables and lifestyles. But even then, the picture is not yet complete. In the description of visitor experience (Chapter 5), two factors are discussed that influence festival attendance: the mood of the visitor (see 5.2 and 6.3), and the perceived goal relevance of attending a particular festival, i.e. the value the festival has for the visitor (see 5.3.1). Here we can briefly mention another two additional factors:

1. The willingness to surrender to a situation (van Vliet, 1991). This factor is clearly visible in interactive theater performances and street theater, for example, where the audience is often involved because someone in the audience is directly addressed or is asked to participate in the performance. In that situation, some people show a certain reluctance or even refuse to participate, while others surrender to the 'flow'. Such behavior can also be seen at music festivals; some visitors fully expect to surrender themselves to the performance of a band, while others wait with their arms crossed and have to be 'persuaded' by the performance. This willingness is also a factor prior to the festival: it is about the mindset of going along with the flow or maintaining a certain reserve. When visiting a cultural event (theater, film or festivals) the audience often seems to have a basic willingness to be 'taken along' by the performance, a tendency that can also hamper the producers of the event. The famous theater maker Bertholt Brecht also seemed to assume such an initial willingness on the part of the audience when he wrote "[dann] muss die Neigung des Publikums, sich in eine solche Illusion zu werfen, durch bestimmte Kunstmittel neutralisiert werden" (Schriften zum Theater; from Bain 1977, p. 5). This behavior will be further characterized in 5.3.2 based on the concepts involvement/detachment. This aspect of willingness is rarely included in research. A positive exception is, for example, the study by Poria, Reichel & Biran (2006), who used statements in their research such as "You want to feel emotionally involved" and "Willingness to feel connected to heritage".

2. The opportunity and ability you have to visit a festival. This can be explained with the Motivation-Opportunity-Ability (MOA) model. This model is based on information processes, but has also been used in marketing research and in explaining the participation of local populations in tourism development. Jepson, Clarke & Ragsdell (2014) investigated how this MOA model can

be applied to community festivals, which are local festivals with a strong focus on social cohesion and involvement to celebrate the local way of life. Opportunity then stands for “circumstance facilitating public involvement in the participation process” (p. 340), or the possibilities offered to participate in organizing the festival. Ability is a “complex entity and includes a combination of factors such as awareness, experience, knowledge, skills, accessibility to information and financial resources” (p. 340). More generally, opportunity and ability represent a wide range of aspects that determine whether you can participate in a festival: from restrictions such as lack of time or money, distance from the festival, no friends to go with you, lack of information about the festival, or personal circumstances. The latter would include disabled people who find it difficult to participate in festivals.

Considering all the abovementioned factors (motivation, demography, festigraphic, lifestyle, mood, relevance, willingness and opportunity/ability), it is clear that an apparently simple decision to attend a festival can be dissected into a complex set of explanatory factors that also interact with each other. It is almost surprising that people can still arrive at a decision. It is up to the festival organizations to anticipate this and provide the right triggers to entice visitors to attend their festival in the crowded festival landscape. That side of the story is discussed in the next chapter.

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