**Rethinking the nexus of TV series/movies and destination image: changing perceptions through sensorial cues and authentic identity of a city**

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Akarsu, T.N., Foroudi, P., and Melewar, TC. (2019) Rethinking the nexus of TV series/movies and destination image: changing perceptions through sensorial cues and authentic identity of a city, Place Branding: Connecting Tourist Experiences to Places, Edited by Foroudi, P., Mauri, C., Dennis, C., and Melewar, TC, ***Routledge****,* UK

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Learning outcomes

At the end of this chapter, readers should be able to:
- Assess the opportunities for positive destination image formation

-Identify opportunities arising from TV series/movies for destination-marketing organizations (DMOs) and policy-makers

-Evaluate alternative strategic approaches for destination image formation by implementing TV series/movies, and authentic identity of a city

-Identify different stages needed to create a positive destination image leading tourist and potential tourist on positive behavioral outcome.

Introduction

Considering film-induced industry has an undeniable effect on place branding, this chapter aims to give a wider perspective of the formation of destination image through visual media, TV serials and films, where it leads tourist to have positive behavioral outcomes and contribute to the phenomenon by adding new insights such as the authentic identity of a city and sensorial cues of TV serials/movies such as visual and audial cues. The proposed structure of the highlighted relations is developed through the scrutiny of the literature by the theoretical and exemplary cases from the practitioners. To establish the given concepts, this chapter aims to contribute to the knowledge on film-induced industry as well as add new perspectives to the debates on the potential inclusion of TV series and city-oriented films into tourism investments in destination-marketing organizations (DMOs) and policy-makers.

Background

The undeniable effect of films, TV serials, and visual media on tourism, especially on destination image are recognized and urged practitioners to recognize it as “film-induced tourism” (Kantarci et al., 2017; Koksal & Gjana, 2014). The inevitable influence of visual media, TV serials and films on the formation of positive destination image has been appreciated and advocated that “film-induced tourism is a specific pattern of tourism that attracts visitors to visit screened places during or after films or television productions” (Roesch, 2009, p. 6). Yet, the influence of TV series and films on behavioral outcomes such as actual visit or visit intention to the particular filmed destinations are prioritized (Beeton, 2010; Frost, 2006), including the positive perception regarding where the series has been filmed (Kim et al., 2007; Lee & Bai, 2016), pertinent literature has not been fully explored the wider connections regarding the antecedents and the consequences of attitude towards TV serials or films from a wider perspective (Connell, 2012).

According to Connell (2012), “… conceptualizing film tourism must go well beyond the basic premise that a tangential visual stimulus creates interest in visiting a particular destination as seen on the large or small screen” (p. 1012). For example, it has been advocated that combining the visual representation of a landscape with audial cues such as music can yield one to “express what is otherwise inexpressible” (Lefebvre, 2006, p. 12). Research on sensorial marketing asserting that using distinctive sensorial cues (i.e., visual, olfactory, taste, aural, and touch) can yield positive brand image perception on consumers, where it provides a competitive advantage to a brand against its competitors, especially in the retail context (Aziz et al., 2012). As such, research identifies the influence of music on consumer’s product evaluation and positive behavioral intention (Grewal et al., 2003). Even though the value of stimulating consumers’ senses has long been recognized in consumer behavior, despite the convenience of using TV series as changing potential tourists’ perceptions by stimulating their audial or visual senses remained limited in the tourism discipline. As the key point of using media sources in the competitive tourism industry is influencing potential tourists’ perceptions to lead them an actual visit, where “the key to robust perception is the combination and integration of multiple sources of sensory (i.e. taste, smell, touch, hearing, and sight) information” (Ernst & Bulthoff, 2004, p. 162).

The concept of “identity” is one more complexity, where it has been widely discussed and altered in the context of tourism (Dixon & Durheim, 2000; Foroudi et al., 2018). It has been argued that the film-induced industry is not just the facile desire to motivation or behavioral intention to visit the filmed place (Connell, 2012) but the tension of forming their sense of the place or a quest for an “authentic place identity”, where authenticity. Authenticity often associated with the interpretation of the national identity as it is being projected by the identity of the place (Richardson & Fluker, 2007). Yet, the existence of “authentic identity” is not new and deeply embedded in the context of tourism as well as film-induced tourism; it can be worthwhile to understand the notion of authentic identity of a place in a broader context.

Changing perceptions through sensorial cues and the authentic identity of a city

This chapter, therefore, addresses different perspectives of destination image, motivation to travel, the familiarity of a destination through sensorial cues, and authentic identity of a city in TV series/movies. Therefore, this chapter aims to investigate the linkage between sensorial cues, attitude towards TV series/movies, the authentic identity of a city and its influence on consumers’ attitudes, and consumers’ behavioral outcomes. In doing so, the chapter contributes to the knowledge on film-induced tourism by adding sensorial cues and authentic identity of a city on consumers’ attitude towards TV series, and their destination motivation, familiarity, and image formation as well as their satisfaction and intention to visit as behavioral outcomes and to the debates on the potential inclusion of TV series and city-oriented films into tourism investments in DMOs and policy-makers.

Why do sensorial cues and authentic identity matter?

It has been a known fact that the demand in tourism has shifted from 3S, *namely, sun, sand, and sea* to 4H, which is *habitat, heritage, history, and handicrafts* (Kruczek, 2014). With the changing trends in tourism, the tools of promoting the destinations as well as the features of the destinations have been transformed and had to be altered due to the changing demands. Since cinema is being considered as the “most important cultural form” (Shiel, & Fitzmaurice, (2003), p. 1), “tourism marketers must carefully review all aspects of movie/TV productions including target audience, storyline, and image of a location being featured in the program, since all these factors are interrelated” (Spears et al., 2012, p. 54).

The focus on audial and visual cues as well as the authentic identity of a place in film-induced tourism industry can be seen as crucial as the visual representations of the historical places, landscapes, the sightseeing can be named as the authentic identities of a city where seen in TV series/movies can enhance the familiarity of the destination, motivate potential tourists to travel the particular destination, influence the perception destination image, and subsequently lead potential tourists to have an actual visitation (Shakeela & Weaver, 2013), which is not yet fully recognized by the tourism industry. Considering the interrelatedness of film-induced industry/tourism with different disciplines such as geography, social sciences, media, and visual arts (Kucharska, 2014), it can be worthwhile to have a holistic approach to a worldwide phenomenon rather than a single approach.

Audial and visual cues of TV series/movies

Before visiting particular destinations, potential tourists are looking for a communication cue to see whether this particular destination that they intend to visit fits their travel desires (Ye & Tussyadiah, 2011). The importance of utilization visual cues has often been emphasized to change the perception of a particular destination and motivates tourists to visit the particular destination (Ye & Tussyadiah, 2011), as contented “photographic images organise our anticipation or daydreaming about the places we might gaze on” (Urry, 1990, p. 140). As a result of pictorial advertising research highlighted, visual stimuli affect attitudes towards products as visual stimuli enable them to recall pictorial advertising (Ye & Tussyadiah, 2011). When it comes to the tourism industry, it should be noted that the tourism industry has often associated with the visuality (Anderson, 1995), where visual stimuli “act as signifiers to stimulate the imagination and to communicate with tourists in a personal way” (Ye & Tussyadiah, 2011, p. 129). Since “film-induced tourism is a specific pattern of tourism that attracts visitors to visit screened places during or after films or television productions” (Roesch, 2009, p. 6) rather conveying visual stimuli through pictorial advertising, researchers urged destination managers to locate visual stimuli via TV programs (Tasci, 2009).

One of the leading tourism authorities in this field can be given as United Kingdom’s *Visit Britain*, where United Kingdom attempted to associate the positive influence of the screen with their promotional campaigns by starting their “movie maps” (Zemla & Zadawski, 2014). The streaming effect of Visit Britain’s initial attempt, in 2004, the USA started to associate screen with tourism with its prominent TV campaign “you have seen the movies, now visit the set” (Connell, 2012). To give prominent examples, *the Braveheart*, its filming locations as well as its music it provides a big leap to Scotland by the time the film was released (Shakeela & Weaver, 2013). Another success story was *the Lord of the Rings*, are a prominent examples of the importance of using visual stimuli into the films, which are known to make a great leap by attracting international tourists to New Zealand tourism, particularly the destinations where the movie was filmed (Jones & Smith, 2005; Shakeela & Weaver, 2013). According to Connell (2012), the practitioners’ success stories are not limited with these cases where *Notting Hill* (Busby & Klug, 2001), *Downtown Abbey, Sense and Sensibility, Pride and Prejudice* (Sargent, 1998) are other prominent examples of how audial and visual cues can influence the destination image and behavioral outcome of potential tourists.

As literature highlighted (Gomez-Ramirez et al., 2009; Shams et al., 2002) communication cues can influence consumers’ level and type of response to a product or information about a product. As such, visual stimuli conveying through TV series can influence the tourists’ attitude towards TV series. Even though the importance of utilizing visual stimuli in typical forms of advertising (e.g., print media, radio, television, and the Internet) has been recognized, yet, despite of the being potential primary source of tourism industry, the importance of visual cues and their effect on tourists’ attitude towards TV series/movies and as a consequence, positive image formation and behavioral outcome has been somehow overlooked in the tourism industry.

In order to utilize different communication tools to influence tourists’ behavior, Kim and Kerstetter (2016) take the argument further by suggesting that DMOs need to understand the importance of stimulating multiple senses as “combinations can influence consumers’ level and type of response to a product or information about a product (Gomez-Ramirez et al., 2009; Shams et al., 2002), draw upon memories, encourage emotional response (Lindstrom, 2005) and contribute to a feeling of being present (Dinh et al., 1999)” (p. 52). When it comes to the tourism industry, one should be recognizing the value of stimulating multiple senses of tourists; however, there is a little effort put on researching the impact of utilizing multiple senses to communicate with tourists (Kim & Kerstetter, 2016)

“Tourism is an industry based on imagery, its overriding concern is to construct … an imagery that entices the outsider to place himself or herself into that symbol defined space” (Buck, 1993, p. 112) where image is formed through the “construction of a mental representation of a destination on the basis of information cues delivered by the image formation agents and selected by a person” (Tasci & Gartner, 2007, p. 414). The perception about a destination matters more than the reality about the particular destination (Shakeela & Weaver, 2013). Movies and TV series are the most prominent tools than any other source of information (Cohen, 1986). Additionally, TV series/dramas have become an increasingly important mechanism for positive destination image formation as they are considered as soft power to increase the destination awareness and leads individuals to have a stronger attitude about the particular destination (Hudson & Ritchie, 2006; Koksal & Gjana, 2014; O’Connor & Kim, 2011).

Even though it has been established a long time ago that image is “the whole of all sensory perceptions and thought interrelationships associated with an entity by one individual” (Enis, 1967, p. 51), the literature is addressing a critical gap in terms of the importance of multisensory communication on destination image formation. The only exceptional study can be considered Lee et al.’s (2010) study, revealing that sensorial cues have a positive effect on individuals’ mental image formation, where it leads an individual to have a stronger attitude about this particular destination. While communicating with tourists through visual images is one of the most critical tools for DMOs, it also enables DMOs “… to stimulate the imagination and to communicate with tourists in a personal way” (Ye & Tussyadiah, 2011, p. 129). Therefore, audial and visual cues in the TV series can dramatically influence tourists/potential tourists to have a positive destination where TV series have been filmed.

The authentic identity of a city

Authentic places can be defined with their way of being genuine and reliable, whereas authentic identities of place “are usually efforts to claim for, and impose on, a demarcated space a bounded, often simplistic, set of unchanging meanings that define an identity for a place, in turn, are constituted by it” (Stevenson, 2013, p. 42). With increasing knowledge, evolving technology, and being aware of shifting trends, it has been often noted that tourists became more informed and smarter, where they are seeking experienced, uniqueness as well as the authenticity (André, 2011; Ram et al., 2016). In the pertinent literature, identity has been frequently associated with authenticity, however, authentic place identity has been first acknowledged by where its importance has been highlighted to attract tourists. (Judd, 1995)

Even though the importance of the authentic identity of a place, as being an essential asset, where it “projects the true identity of the destination” (Richardson & Fluker, 2007, p. 82) and is a key trend in tourism for influencing on tourist motivation has been highlighted (European Travel Commission, 2006; Kolar & Zabkar, 2010; Ram et al., 2016) yet, previous research remains limited, merely as conceptual discussions. However, there are some important studies conducted in order to reveal the importance of authenticity on tourist behavior (Cohen, 1986; MacCannell, 1973), there is a need for a quest from scholars to understand the effective ways to deliver authenticity to motivate tourists and influence them to be familiar of a destination, where there is a fierce competition in the tourism industry (André, 2011; Kolar & Zabkar, 2010).

It is vital to comprehend that tourism differs from other fields where there is a need for a “‘multi-sensual’ understanding of place, and in this case, of narrative” (Waysdorf & Reijnders, 2017, p. 178). In this sense, delivering an emotional experience and leading tourists to have an attachment with this particular place, it becomes more and more important to deliver a narrative of the location to make tourists aware of a destination and create a connection towards the destination. Following this argument, it is worthwhile to mention that authentic identity is being considered as a focal concept for the positive image formation of a destination (Beverland, 2005). Even though the term authentic identity has been defined in several ways depending upon the context that scholars have been empirically studied (MacCannell, 1973; Olsen, 2007; Urry, 1990), it has been associated with terms of “value” “a motivational force” and “a perception” (Cohen, 1986; Kolar & Zabkar, 2010).

How authentic identity of a city and sensorial cues can influence destination image formation? Istanbul, Turkey case

Rather than conceptualizing the importance of authentic identity and sensorial cues on destination image formation and tourist behavior here, it is worthwhile to explain the highlighted concepts on Istanbul, Turkey case where it is considered as an exemplary case in film-induced tourism and its potential effects on destination image formation and tourist behavior. Given the Istanbul case, the importance of visually representation authentic identity of a city has been coincidentally recognized by the tourism managers and destination marketers, when a Turkish TV series, Noor’s finale has got 85 million views from the Middle East and Gulf region, the broadcasting company had forced by Middle Eastern tourists to turn the villa on the Bosphorus, where the TV series was filmed (Balli et al., 2013; Farah al-Sweel, 2008; Sobecki, 2010). Turkey’s success of exporting its TV series to the Middle Eastern and Eastern Europe and contributing significant tourism revenue due to the success of ratings of Turkish TV series in other countries can be the most prominent example established over the last decade (Anadolu Agency, 2017; Balli et al., 2013). According to Turkish Exporters Assembly’s (TIM) data, the export of Turkish TV series was substantially increased from $10.000 to $100 million from 2004 to 2012, where it is being expected to reach $1 billion by 2023, according to the head of Radio and Television Broadcast Society (Marketing Turkiye, 2017). With a big leap by not only the Middle East and Eastern Europe, but Turkish TV series has also reached a wide range of audience all over the world, where it has been exported to 80 countries with a value of $200 million in export (Deloitte, 2014)

The impact of TV series on actual visitation is striking: according to Skyscanner, a global search engine for travel research, there is a positive relationship between foreign TV series and flight searches to the destination seen on the TV series. It is not a surprise that when the series has been shot at touristic attractions, the relationship becomes even stronger (Deloitte, 2014). In the light of the applicability of this research, Deloitte (2014) revealed in their report “World’s most colourful screen: TV series sector in Turkey”, that compared to 2011, flight search to Turkey increased %100 from Kuwait, Qatar, Jordan, Yemen and Lebanon; and nearly increased %200 from Bahrain and Saudi Arabia, when the export of TV series to these particular regions reached to $60 million with more than 100 TV series (Oxford Business Group, 2012) What is surprising is that tourists coming to Gulf and Middle East region are willing to pay more to see the places where these TV series are shot when they come to Istanbul, according to Arab Travel Agencies and Tourism Development Association (ASATDER) (Anadolu Agency, 2017; Daily News, 2014).

This case may unveil a potential opportunity which has never been empirically studied by investigating the effect of visual and audial cues on the tourists’ attitude towards TV series, its effect on motivation, familiarity and destination image, where authentic identity of the city as being moderator, which in turn lead tourist to have a satisfaction and intention to visit the particular destination as the behavioral outcome.

Theoretical background

Tourist motivation theory

The notion of travel motivation has its roots in different schools of thought such as psychology, anthropology, and sociology (Cohen, 1972; Crompton, 1979). Motivation refers to “a dynamic process of internal psychological factors (needs, wants, and goals) that generate an uncomfortable level of tension within an individual’s minds and bodies” (Fodness, 1994, p. 2). To release the uncomfortable level of tension, individuals try to release the tension and satisfy their needs. Maslow’s hierarchical theory of motivation can be considered as one of the most cited and frequently used to explain the tourist motivation in the tourism literature, as travel motivation is one of the most important psychological premises to explain tourist behavior (March & Woodside, 2005; Van Vuuren & Slabbert, 2011). Tourists seek to release mental and physical tension (Fodness, 1994; Van Vuuren & Slabbert, 2011).

One of the early works conducted by Crompton (1979) revealed the seven socio-psychological and cultural driven forces that motivate tourists to travel (Snepenger et al., 2006; Van Vuuren & Slabbert, 2011) which are “escape from an everyday environment, discovery and evaluation of oneself, relaxing or participation in recreational activities, gaining a certain level of prestige, for the purpose of regression, strengthening family ties and facilitating their level of social interaction” (Van Vuuren & Slabbert, 2011, p. 296).

In recent years, Jamal and Lee (2003) conducted a study to investigate the micro and macro factors that influence tourist motivations. According to Jamal and Lee (2003), macro factors are referring to the social forces that motivate tourist to travel, whereas micro factors refer to the internal forces such as the need to escape. The interesting outcome that this study has revealed that the “search for authenticity” has been identified as a micro factor that motivates a tourist to travel where it stems from the idea that “the modern world has left people with a sense of experiences that are phony and relationships that are disconnected” (Snepenger et al., 2006, p.141). Even though there is an abundance of research conducted on travel motivation and tourist behavior, there is very few research on the antecedents and the motivational factors that motivate tourists to travel by using means-end theory (Snepenger et al., 2006; Van Vuuren & Slabbert, 2011). Hence, this chapter urges scholars to utilize tourist motivation theory to investigate the effects of visual and audial cues on attitudes towards TV series; the effect authentic identities of a city where seen in TV series on the relationship between attitudes towards TV series, the familiarity of the destination and motivation of tourists to travel the particular destination, influence the perception destination image and may lead potential tourists to have an actual visitation.

Motivation, familiarity, and destination image

Tourist motivation is an internal force originated from the tourist need that can construct their perceptions about the destination and lead to their specific behavior (Pratminingsih et al., 2014). It has been often noted that motivation plays an important part in grasping the tourist decision-making process (Jang & Feng, 2007; Nowacki, 2009; Pratminingsih et al., 2014). Tourist motivation deliberated to be the principal driver concerning the tourist behavior, where there is a strong link between the needs of the tourists and their motivations (Lee & Gross, 2010; Nowacki, 2009; Pratminingsih et al., 2014; Snepenger et al., 2006). Therefore, the motivation of the tourist is one of the key concepts for their traveling behavior. Destination familiarity in the tourism literature can be defined as the preliminary phase of destination knowledge consisted of the amount of information gathered by the tourists (Gursoy & Mccleary, 2004; Jani & Nguni, 2016).

Familiarity can be defined as the understanding or an ability to evaluate the quality of the product or a brand that can impact the perceptions that an individual holds about the company (Herrera & Blanco, 2011). Destination image is a concept that an individual grasp about a particular tourism destination consisted of the combination of feelings, perceptions, beliefs, and knowledge. It combines behavioral, affective and cognitive aspects as well as exhibits a multifaceted phenomenon (Foroudi et al., 2018; Pike & Ryan, 2004). Authors (Beerli & Martín, 2004; Chen & Tsai, 2007; Court & Lupton, 1997) suggested adopting the multi-attribute way to evaluate the image of the destination.

Satisfaction and intention to revisit

In the marketing literature, satisfaction refers to “the consumer’s response to the evaluation of the perceived discrepancy between prior expectations and the actual performance of the product as perceived after its consumption” (Tse & Wilton, 1988, p. 204). Along with this definition, from tourism perspective satisfaction can refer to the responses of tourists to the evaluation of expectations from a particular destination and the actual pleasure and performance perceived from the destination (Foroudi et al., 2018). In the tourism literature, it has been acknowledged that satisfied tourists are more likely to have positive behavioral intentions such as positive word of mouth, repeat visits or recommendation the destination others (Baker & Crompton, 2000; Yoon & Uysal, 2005). In the tourism literature, even though the repeat visitation, positive word of mouth, and recommendation has often established, the research investing the influence of satisfaction on future behavioral intention has remained limited (Baker & Crompton, 2000; Cole & Illum, 2006)

According to Baker and Crompton (2000), “the primary motivation among tourism providers for investing effort in evaluating and improving their quality of performance and seeking to enhance the level of satisfaction, is that such improvements will result in increased visitation and/or revenues” (p. 790). Therefore, it can be expected that the positive destination image formed through TV series can increase potential tourist satisfaction, which can lead them to have an actual visit.

Future research directions

Drawing on the concept of “film-induced tourism” has become widely established as a leading segment of tourism (Waysdorf & Reijnders, 2017) yet, the empirical evidence remained scarce regarding the utilization of authentic identity of a city as the destination and film-induced tourism, where authentic identity seen in a TV series/movies can enhance the positive destination image formation, motivation to visit the destination and familiarity of a destination, where it can help DMOs to develop sustainable economic and social opportunities (Brass, 2005) and reduce the problem of seasonality by promoting authentic identity of a city in TV series (Hudson & Ritchie, 2006). As Moran (2006) highlighted the importance of the landscape as “sites of cinematic friction … form imaginary maps in the minds of viewers” (p. 225).

In spite of long recognition of film-induced tourism, to-date the literature remained limited in giving a holistic approach to the phenomenon where it is related to many different disciplines. When taking the film-induced industry as a whole, one should take into account that as much as the concepts are related with geography, social sciences, media and visual arts, film-induced tourism is strongly related to stakeholders, policy-makers and governments. The current literature urges scholars to investigate the on-location and off-location film-induced tourism (Zemla & Zawadzki, 2014) where the effects of two filmed places might have different attributes on tourists’ perceptions and behavioral outcomes. According to Roesch (2009), off-locations are the artificial locations where they build up for film purposes, whereas on-locations are the authentic and natural environments appeared in the films. As this distinct feature differences might be changed the authentic identity of a place, it can be worthwhile to investigate more in-depth their effect on tourists’ perceptions. The idea can be tempting, since the current cases of off-locations such as themed film parks where Universal Film Studios, Warner Bros and Fox have, and deserted film sets such as Star Wars film set in Tunisian desert (Roesch, 2009) can attract tourists where they might have driven by different attributes or concepts.

Conclusion

This chapter aims to elaborate on how a long-term phenomenon, namely, as visual media, TV serials, and films are influenced the destination image formation, familiarity to the particular destination, motivation to travel and intention to visit. Even though the exemplary exists, there are several debates regarding whether it influences destination image, or visual media creates a disappointment on tourists about the displacement of the locations where the TV series are filmed and actual locations are two different places (Irmias, 2012). This chapter put an effort to provide different cases to widen the concept of the film-induced industry to give a holistic approach to managers, DMOs and marketers.

Nonetheless, with portraying the authentic identity of a city, TV series are not only referring to the enhancing the positive perception of the destination image, but they also create a positive portrayal to the potential tourists and travelers, which lead them to be more familiar and motivate to visit the particular destination.

Key terms and definitions – Definitions for the key constructs

**The authentic identity of a city**: Authentic identity of a city projects the true identity of the destination, where it considered an essential asset of a place (Richardson & Fluker, 2007, p. 82).

**Destination image:** Destination image is a concept that an individual grasp about a particular tourism destination consisted of the combination of feelings, perceptions, beliefs, and knowledge. It combines behavioral, affective and cognitive aspects, as well as exhibits a multifaceted phenomenon (Foroudi et al., 2018; Pike & Ryan, 2004).

**Tourist motivation theory:** Motivation refers to “a dynamic process of internal psychological factors (needs, wants and goals) that generate an uncomfortable level of tension within individual’s minds and bodies” (Fodness, 1994, p. 2). To release the uncomfortable level of tension, individuals try to release the tension and satisfy their needs. Maslow’s hierarchical theory of motivation can be considered as one of the most cited and frequently used to explain the tourist motivation in the tourism literature, as travel motivation is one of the most important psychological premises to explain tourist behavior (March & Woodside, 2005; Van Vuuren & Slabbert, 2011).

**Tourist motivation:** Tourist motivation is an internal force originated from the tourist need that can construct their perceptions about the destination and lead to their specific behavior (Pratminingsih et al., 2014). It has been often noted that motivation plays an important part in grasping the tourist decision-making process (Jang & Feng, 2007; Nowacki, 2009; Pratminingsih et al., 2014).

**Tourist familiarity:** Familiarity can be defined as the understanding or an ability to evaluate the quality of the product or a brand that can impact the perceptions that an individual holds about the company (Herrera & Blanco, 2011).

**Satisfaction:** Satisfaction refers to “the consumer’s response to the evaluation of the perceived discrepancy between prior expectations and the actual performance of the product as perceived after its consumption” (Tse & Wilton, 1988, p. 204).

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