Repeat tourists and familiar place formation: Conversion, inheritance and discovery.

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Highlights

- A typology of familiar place formation (conversion, inheritance and discovery)
- Focuses on familiar places across an individual's lifetime and family generations
- Inherited familiar place sub-divides into heirloom and genealogical types
- Discovered familiar place sub-divides into other-led and self-led types
- Typology interpreted as five strategic themes for repeat tourist marketing

Abstract

Familiar tourists, associated with repeat tourism, demonstrate both behavioural and affective commitment to their special, or familiar, places. Yet they remain overlooked in favour of volume measurements of generic repeat tourists. This interpretive study provides a more holistic understanding of the relationship between tourists demonstrating loyalty and attachment to place (familiar tourists) and the place commanding such behaviour (familiar place). It also evaluates ways in which familiar places enter and evolve in the lives of individuals (familiar place formation). The preparatory phase of the research used focus groups with informants who self-identified as familiar tourists. The main fieldwork was conducted concurrently in two tourist destinations in Wales, UK, namely Gower and Mawddach. It comprised field interviews with familiar tourists, interviews with tourism providers, and a self-completion written instrument for other (non-interviewed) familiar tourists. Overall, the two research phases captured the familiar tourism experiences of 289 informants. The findings showed familiar place relationships as spanning decades and even generations. An original, evidence-based typology of familiar place formation: namely conversion, inheritance (heirloom or genealogy) and discovery (other-led or self-led) is offered. Subsequently, these five types of familiar place formation are interpreted as five corresponding strategic and creative themes for practical marketing campaigns.

Keywords

Familiar tourists, repeat tourists, VFR tourists, tourism typology, familiar places, Wales

1. Introduction

As stated by Fyall et al (2003, p.653), and in resonance with Cohen (1972), "curiosity, rather than comforting familiarity, guides many transactions in tourism". This curiosity or desire for novelty leads particular tourists routinely to seek new destinations, with the act of visiting a given destination barring it from consideration in future vacation decisions (Oppermann, 1999, 2000). The repercussions suggest that satisfaction with a destination might be high and lead to positive recommendation to others, yet undermine the revisit intention of the tourist herself (Anton et al, 2017). In this, tourism is contrary to the marketing norm of satisfaction as a stimulus for repeat purchase, which makes the marketing task of customer retention for destinations seemingly problematic.

Yet repeat business, acknowledged as both stabilising and cost-effective (Tan and Wu, 2016), is the backbone of success for destinations and for contributing industry sub-sectors alike and its development and maintenance a classic marketing priority. Marketing managers have much to gain from deeper understanding of the "cherished" life experience and memories of place exhibited by repeat tourists (Tsai, 2012, p.149). Often contrasted to first time visitors (see, for example, Baloglu, 2001; Caldeira and Kastenholz, 2018; Kastenholz et al, 2013; Liu et al, 2012; Tan, 2017), repeat visitors can also be studied on their own terms. For this paper, the comforting familiarity argued by Fyall et al (2003) offers an alternative route into, and perspective for, a deeper examination of tourists who re-visit destinations that enhances understanding of this particular repeat experience in the context of tourism. Bound with notions of loyalty and place attachment and with specific markets such as Visiting Friends and Relatives (VFR), the concept of familiarity provides rich insights into the relationships that people have over time with places that are special to them. It remains contemporary in an age of mobility and social media communication, as even peripatetic individuals can exhibit strong emotional bonds to place (Gustafson, 2013). Such deep connectivity to place facilitates individual survival and security, goal support and self-regulation, and the provision of temporal and personal continuity (Scannell and Gifford, 2010).

The research study of familiar tourists and their familiar places was funded by the British Academy and by the Leverhulme Foundation through the Small Research Grant Scheme. This paper with its deeper examination of the common phenomenon of familiar places in the real lives of many tourists contributes to the knowledge-base of such repeat tourism and uncovers fresh ways of thinking, rooted in a destination's sense of place, for destination marketing practitioners and tourism businesses alike. In particular, the paper aims, firstly, to examine the ways in which familiar places enter and evolve in the lives of individuals, and secondly, to identify the practical ramifications for destination marketing practice.

In contrast to novelty seekers, the familiar tourists who re-visit their familiar places often lack the public approval of society. Descriptions of familiar tourists are typically couched in negative

language, for example, as "suffering" from "repetitive holiday syndrome" (Staysure, 2015) or are portrayed as "conservative vacationers" (Lehto et al, 2009, p.83) and "habitual vacationers" (Decrop and Snelders, 2005, p.26) lacking in monetary resources, imagination and even perhaps personality. This research paper found the reality less stereotyped, arguably more complex, and with greater alignment to Pearce's (2012) conceptual appraisal of the experience of people returning to places of previous significance and familiarity in their lives.

Identified as a multifaceted phenomenon, Pearce (2012) draws attention to familiar places as either setting-based or people-based in origin, notions that draw comparison to Scannell and Giffords' (2010) physical place attachment and social place attachment respectively. For Pearce (2012), the setting-based can be summarised as the appeal of the landscape and its associated heritage. The people-based has commonalties with VFR as a form of repeat tourism, and with genealogical tourism, also referred to as ancestral, legacy, roots or family heritage tourism (Ray and McCain, 2009). Recognised as a substantial type of tourism (Backer, 2012), whether inbound (Stepchenkova et al, 2015; VisitBritain, 2008), domestic (Backer & Ritchie, 2017; Stepchenkova et al, 2015), or across socio-economic groups (Backer and King, 2017), VFR is believed to be beneficial for crisis amelioration and helpful in securing destination resilience. A resurgence of research interest in VFRallied topics is evident in recent mobility studies of migrant and diaspora travel behaviours, especially those examining visits to the homeland or ancestral country (Ashtar et al, 2017; Huang et al, 2018; Marschall, 2017a, 2017b; McKercher and Yankholmes, 2018). For example, a study of Chinese diaspora living in the USA and home return travel to China (Li and McKercher, 2016) identified four types of spatial visit patterns, including 'local' with its ancestral home focus and 'dispersed' typified by visits to major cities or tourist nodes, and demonstrated spatial behaviour as a function of these diaspora tourist's varied sense of place from strongly localised and focused to more country-generic and dispersed.

This research paper, with its marketing focus on destination loyalty and repeat visits, place attachment, and destination familiarity, presents a typology of familiar place formation that highlights the potential longevity of familiar places and the ways that familiar places enter and evolve in people's lives. These ways comprise conversion, inheritance (heirloom or genealogy) and discovery (other-led or self-led). This evidence-based typology contributes a differing and more nuanced account of customer retention as exhibited by familiar tourists. The applications and implications of the relationships that people have with their familiar places are discussed and the typology of familiar place formation in terms of marketing practice for destinations and associated tourism providers is examined. In doing this, five strategic and creative themes are identified that relate directly to the typology of familiar place formation that marketers can apply to the design of campaigns. To summarise, the paper contributes in two principal ways: first, to the deeper and more holistic theoretical knowledge of familiar tourists and their familiar places through an original typology of

familiar place formation; and second, to the interpretation of this typology for destination and other marketers tasked with targeting repeat tourists for effective results.

The paper is arranged to first present the literature review informing the research study centring on destination loyalty and repeat visits, place attachment, and destination familiarity. The paper then outlines the design and thinking behind the methodology that, in line with the qualitative research tradition in place attachment (Lewicka, 2011; Williams, 2013), uses interpretative research to analyse data collected in two field areas. It moves on to detail the findings and the typology of familiar place formation, with its structure of converted, inherited and discovered familiar place. The subsequent discussion addresses the implications of the typology for destination marketers and associated tourism providers. The conclusion briefly outlines possibilities for future research directions arising from this paper for familiar tourists and their relationships and meaningful connections with familiar places.

2. Literature review

As a real-world phenomenon of complexity and corresponding with Pearce's (2012) observation, the connections between familiar tourists and their familiar places are framed using different literatures. This provides a soft lens to position the study rather than the harder approach of a specified theory or framework. In particular, the literature streams drawn on are from varied disciplines such as human geography, environmental psychology and marketing to examine destination loyalty and repeat visits, place attachment, and destination familiarity. Thus, the theoretical framework guiding this study was a loose scaffolding (Pearce, D., 2012) spanning across relevant literatures and granting "a partial foreknowledge of the phenomenon" under enquiry (Schwandt, 1993 cited in Pearce, D., 2012, p.12), thereby granting primacy to field research informants' meanings as conducive to qualitative research traditions (Cresswell, 2007).

2.1 Destination loyalty and repeat visits

Paraphrasing Oliver (1999, p.34) in line with the research context, tourist loyalty is conceived as "a deep commitment" to re-patronise a preferred tourist destination with consistency over time. Thus, it is bound with a temporal perspective that emphasises potentially lifelong visitation behaviour (Oppermann, 2000). Research examining the duration of the tourists' life cycle for international repeat tourists to Portugal pointed to a "long history of involvement" with "mature touristic relations" between repeat tourists and the destination (Correia et al, 2017, p.813). Tangentially, such prolonged place-tourist relationships are also conducive to success in the management of slow tourism (Han et al, 2019).

Fundamentally, loyalty and its associated repeat visits arise from more than consumer satisfaction (Oliver, 1999; Richard and Zhang, 2012). For example, "ultimate loyalty" is integrated with the consumer's self-identity and social identity, summarised as "immersed self-identity" (Oliver, 1999, p.38). Early research of senior tourists visiting the Mediterranean island of Mallorca (Ryan, 1995, p.210) noted "a very strong sense of identification with the island" amongst certain repeat tourists. Arguing for a composite of behavioural and attitudinal factors, consumer loyalty is viewed at the foundational level by Dick and Basu (1994) as the strength of the relationship between a person's relative attitude (or psychological predisposition in terms of preference and commitment) and their repeat patronage behaviour (in terms of purchase or usage). Recent loyalty research within the tourism field indicates the significance of attitudinal loyalty over behavioural loyalty (see, for example, Tasci, 2017). Moreover, Dick and Basu (1994) propose that for high involvement product categories (such as vacation destinations), there is a greater likelihood of customer loyalty and resistance to persuasion from competitors. Oliver (1999, p.37) equates such immunity to individual fortitude or the extent to which consumers fight off competitor overtures on the basis of existing allegiance. This is in apparent contradiction to the common assertions about the tourist's innate desire for novelty.

For Dick and Basu (1994, p.101), so-called loyalty led by repeat patronage but with weak relative attitude equates to "spurious loyalty". It is associated with the notion of inertia, with consumers open to the switching incentives of competitors or changes in situational circumstance. Research on international repeat tourists to Portugal (Correia et al, 2015) focused on visit recency, frequency, and spending behaviour, with an emphasis on repeat patronage without seeking to differentiate between the different types of loyalty. Findings indicated an avoidance of risk and an associated conservative attitude associated with older international repeat visitors. Market research by destination organisers appears biased towards the behavioural dimension of visit numbers and visit patterns to the detriment of relative attitude (e.g. VisitBritain, 2017). Recognising the difficulties of collecting longitudinal data on attitudes, Oppermann (1999, 2000) adopted a pragmatic behavioural approach via his destination loyalty typology, labelling tourists with multiple visits as either somewhat loyal, loyal or very loyal, according to their destination visit patterns. Similarly, Gitelson and Crompton (1984) classified repeat visitors into the behavioural types of infrequent, frequent and very frequent. Using a five-year timeframe, Jang and Feng (2007) applied the classification of continuous repeaters, deferred repeaters, and continuous switchers in an examination of revisit intentions amongst French tourists to Canada. They related their research to novelty seeking theory and the tourist quest for optimum levels of stimulation, summarising deferred repeaters (low revisit intentions over 12 months but with high repeat visit intentions over five years) as essentially novelty-seekers, and continuous repeaters (consistently high revisit intentions over time) as inherently novelty-avoiders.

In conceptual work, Gursoy et al (2014) identified eight core antecedents to destination loyalty creation, with previous visit argued as the most influential and place attachment and involvement

forming the co-second. Further appreciation of the complexities of destination loyalty are highlighted by Hong et al (2009) who discuss the common requirement for joint vacation decision making and how opposing views might influence the outcome when loyalties diverge. Ribeiro et al (2018) assess the role played by tourists' emotional solidarity with residents in destination loyalty. According to Almeida-Santana and Moreno-Gil (2018), tourists loyal to a given destination might display horizontal loyalty, or split loyalty to other destinations (i.e. multiple loyalty to products in the same category). This split loyalty behaviour with its associated usage sequencing patterns was also noted by Jang and Feng (2007) as a possible explanation for deferred repeaters. This multiple destination loyalty in tourism marketing draws comparison to the recognition of the possibility of multiple place attachment (Gustafson, 2013; Scannell and Gifford, 2013) in its respective literature stream.

2.2 Place attachment

Place attachment or sense of belonging (Ryan, 2010) has kinship to notions of loyalty and necessitates a psychological investment with place that develops over time (Su et al, 2011). At its core is the idea of the bonding of people to places (Low and Altman, 1992); it has been summarised more colloquially as "the sense of physically being and feeling 'in place' or 'at home'" (Yuksel et al, 2010, p.275). The multiplicity and diversity of place attachment definitions and conceptualisations are rooted in the variety of contributing disciplines (Manzo and Devine-Wright, 2013; Scannell and Gifford, 2010). For example, there is a rich and early tradition of contribution from human geography (Lewicka, 2011), with seminal work by Relph (1976) highlighting the requirement for an understanding of place in both the maintenance of existing places and in the formation of new. Similarly, Tuan's (1977) work emphasised the social and cultural construction needed to transform notional space into place, so that undifferentiated space becomes place as it is endowed with deeper acquaintance. As a discipline, environmental psychology also has strong claims as an early and key contributor to the knowledge-base of place and place attachment.

Directly tackling the "definitional diversity" (Scannell and Gifford, 2010, p.2) of place attachment, Scannell and Gifford synthesized the literature across the disciplines to offer a three-fold organising framework of person-process-place. They argued place attachment, essentially defined as "the bonding that occurs between individuals and their meaningful environments" (Scannell and Gifford, 2010, p.1), to be a multidimensional concept with person, psychological process, and place dimensions. The person dimension addresses who is attached and with what individually and collectively held meanings, finding place attachment to occur at both individual and group levels. The individual level hinges on place meaning created from in-place experiences and personal connections and the group level from symbolic meaning of place shared and practiced between members as a community.

The psychological process dimension was sub-structured into affective, cognitive and behavioural components. The affective component highlights the emotional connection inherent in person-place bonding and drives the wish to maintain closeness to place, or proximity-seeking behaviour (Scannell and Gifford, 2013), whilst the cognitive component addresses the memories, beliefs, meaning and knowledge that facilitate closeness to place. This cognitive component also incorporates the concept of place identity, whereby people draw cognitions about the physical environment to which they are attached into their self-definitions. For tourists, place bonding is a developmental process occurring over (short shots of) time, with emotional attachment likely to create a desire to visit more often (Hammitt et al, 2009) and establishing a virtuous circle of place attachment and visit experience.

The third dimension of the person-process-place framework pertains to the place itself, with its range of scale and sub-division of social place attachment (akin to Pearce's people-based familiar place) and physical place attachment (akin to Pearce's setting-based familiar place). Social place attachment involves the attraction to places that facilitate social relationships and group identity; thus attachment is directed towards people living in place rather than to aspects of the place itself and emphasising a socially based place bond. Conversely, physical place attachment focuses on the physical characteristics and resources of the environmental setting, be it primarily built or natural. It enfolds both attachment to specific place and to the possibility of attachment to class of place (such as mountains, historic cities or beach environments). Closely aligned is the concept of place dependence whereby attachment to place arises from the functionality of the physical resources in realising personal goals, activities, and self-development. Lewicka (2011) summarises literature evidence that physical place attachment may form faster than social place attachment. If this is the case, then tourists, with their relatively short durations of stay, may be more readily pre-disposed to form place attachment via the destination's natural and built assets and resources.

Scannell and Gifford (2010, p.5) argue that the tri-partite framework makes visible the many "threads" that tie people to significant places, creating unique "tapestries" of individual's attachment to place. The more sophisticated definition stemming from their literature synthesis (and as compared against the essential definition presented earlier) expressed place attachment as "a bond between an individual or group and a place that can vary in terms of spatial level, degree of specificity, and social or physical features of the place, and is manifested through affective, cognitive and behavioural psychological processes" (Scannell and Gifford, 2010, p.5).

Others also tackle the complexity of place, for example arguing that as a dynamic amalgam of tangible and intangible elements, place is individually experienced and understood, and done so differently at diverse times (Tilley, 2006). This co-creates "changing and competing narratives in and over time" in the ways that place is encountered (Warnaby and Medway, 2013, p.345). Mihaylov and Perkins (2013) allow for definitional flexibility, arguing place attachment as a higher order concept

absorbing place identity and place dependence or yet higher distilled in sense of place. In fact, they allow for a fluid conceptualisation of place attachment around place dependence, place identity, place bonding and social bonding. For example, place attachment conceived as place identity and place dependence (Gross and Brown, 2006, 2008; Williams et al, 1992), and as echoed for a Taiwanese study of hot springs destination (Su et al, 2011); or as place dependence, place attachment, and place identity (Tsai, 2012).

An inspection of theoretical similarities between the development of interpersonal attachment and place attachment (Morgan, 2010; Scannell and Gifford, 2013) points to overlaps between childhood processes of person-to-person attachment and that of place. Place can provide a safe haven or retreat, a secure base or anchor for onward exploration, and induce proximity-seeking behaviours (such as repeat visits) in comparable ways to human attachment figures; even separation distress has commonality (Scannell and Gifford, 2013). Morgan (2010) proposed a parallel pattern of arousalinteraction-pleasure as characterising childhood place experience with a consequential influence of childhood place experience on adult identity. As evident in interpersonal attachment, security of place is associated with feelings of wellbeing and nurturing. The restorative qualities of attached or favourite places (Ratcliffe and Korpela, 2016) are analogous to the soothing effect of human caregiving, with place acting as a regulator for management of emotional states (Morgan, 2010) and for self-reflection, problem-solving and stress-relief (Scannell and Gifford, 2010). Personal restoration is but one benefit of places to which one is attached. Absorbing restoration into the benefit of relaxation, Scannell and Gifford (2017) identify an additional 12 categories of benefit, namely memories, belonging, positive emotions, activity support (or goal support), comfort-security, personal growth, freedom (or autonomy), entertainment, connection to nature, practical benefits, privacy, and aesthetics. Interestingly, Scannell and Gifford (2017) argue that the benefit category of entertainment demonstrates that favourite places do not operate solely as safe havens but also as providers of novelty, activity, and excitement.

2.3 Destination familiarity

Environmental psychologists view the concept of familiarity as a cognitive component of place attachment (Fullilove, 1996), as destination familiarity implies the creation of schema whereby the details of the environmental setting are known and organised by an individual. As summarised by Scannell and Gifford, 2010 p.3), "a favourite place may be a kind of place schema of place-related knowledge and beliefs, which ultimately represent the special character of the place and one's personal connections to it".

The notion of familiarity, often in its colloquial form of possessing knowledge, has been partially studied as contributing to repeat tourism. For example, a Korean study of revisited destinations using survey research found destination familiarity to be a crucial factor for repeat tourists with over half

the respondents choosing a previously visited destination because it was "both familiar and comfortable" (Hong et al, 2009, p.288). Building upon Baloglu's (2001) triplet of familiarity types, Prentice (2004) conceives an inter-related septet of familiarity types as informational (sources of information used), experiential (extent of past experiences, including first time and repeat), proximate (perceived shared culture and related to nationality), self-described (an evolution of Baloglu's selfrated familiarity), educational (formal and informal and including literature, cinema and television), self-assured (feelings of security and safety), and expected (ability to create a homely welcome and anticipated cosiness). Prentice (2004) found the two forms of experiential familiarity and proximate familiarity to be persistently useful in explanation. Other researchers have made use of this work. For example, Tan (2017, p.234) labels previous destination visitation as a form of experiential familiarity whilst Liu et al's (2018) research on cultural distance implicitly aligns with proximate familiarity. Also drawing on proximate familiarity, Xu and Zhang (2016) in their study of the Chinese city of Hangzhou found cultural distance hampered the development of emotional attachment to place. Another theoretical contribution to familiar tourist behaviour rooted in empirical evidence (Clarke and Bowen, 2018) proposes a multi-level framework that combines tourist-place relationship through time and space, integration of familiar place with the resources, skills and competencies of the familiar tourist, and – at the more abstract level – the associated sense of belonging or place attachment.

Following Prentice's (2004) assertion that the analytic assessment of familiarity presents a new direction for tourism discourse, this research paper adheres to the onward argument of Pearce (2012) that a distinction can be made between the under-studied and conceptually different familiar tourists and the related and established research on repeat tourists. Not all repeat tourists are familiar tourists, for, as Schofield and Fallon (2012) observed, repeat tourists are not a homogeneous group. Some repeat tourists, as already observed, may lack psychological investment or bonding with place. The focus of existing research on repeat tourists follows Prentice's (2004) experiential form and is typically conducted at the macro-level using aggregate statistics and measurements of behavioural activity such as expenditure and time spent; attractions, accommodation, and transport used; and judgements on intentions to revisit, satisfaction, loyalty and value. In contrast, conceptualisation of familiar places and familiar tourists rotates around associations, activities, relationships and reflections within specific communities and familiar settings (Pearce, 2012).

It is this deeper and more holistic understanding embedded in the lived experiences of familiar tourists, and informed by the literature streams of destination loyalty and repeat visits, place attachment, and destination familiarity, that forms the key research gap that this research seeks to address. Specifically, the research paper focuses on the ways and means by which familiar places enter and evolve in the lives of individuals. To this end, and in line with Pearce's (2012) arguments, the working definition of familiar place wove around notions of 'personally relevant and oft visited locations for which the tourist has in-depth knowledge and attachment'.

3. Methodology

The design for this interpretative qualitative research was conceived in two phases: the preparatory phase and the main fieldwork phase. The preparatory phase used focus groups with familiar tourists in their current place of residence plus field visits to the two destinations of Gower and Mawddach (Wales, UK) to establish working relationships with tourism industry gatekeepers. The main fieldwork phase conducted over a seven month period used *in situ* interviews with familiar tourists, a self-completion written instrument with additional familiar tourists, and interviews with tourism providers (see Table 1). The fieldwork in Gower and Mawddach ran concurrently. Throughout the research, informants were treated as knowledgeable agents (Gioia et al, 2013 p.17), proficient at articulating their thoughts, intentions and behaviours.

The selection of the two field areas of Gower and Mawddach in Wales was made on the basis that as tourist destinations they were sufficiently similar culturally, historically and physically to provide depth but also sufficiently different to add nuance. For example, the two might be considered in the same class for possible place attachment (Scannell and Gifford, 2010) with regards to physical features, resources and assets (rural, gently green and mountainous, wind-blown, wild coastline and rivers). They are also similar insomuch that they are both peripheral areas and are subject to planning control from designation as an 'Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty' (Gower) and 'National Park' (Mawddach, within the Snowdonia National Park). They also share a heritage as tourist destinations with some comparatively recent economic stress caused by the decline in agriculture. They are different insomuch as they are located in South Wales (Gower) and Mid Wales (Mawddach); offer some subtle contrast in coast and inland features and style of small settlements; and rely on different tourist generating regions, namely London and South East England for Gower and the English Midlands for Mawddach.

For the preparatory phase, two focus groups were conducted in a British city with people who recognised themselves as familiar tourists for their own familiar places. The "partial foreknowledge" from the literature (Schwandt, 1993 cited in Pearce, D., 2012, p.12) and in particular the conceptual work of Pearce (2012), was used to prepare the focus group guide. Although the 13 focus group participants all lived in the same city, they represented six nationalities and introduced world cities (e.g. New York), towns (e.g. Braganca, Portugal), rural areas (e.g. Lake District, UK), and islands (e.g. Mallorca, Spain) as their familiar places (see Table 1). They discussed their frequency of visit and the durability of their relationship with their familiar place; thoughts, feelings and activities relating to their familiar place; meanings that their familiar place held for them; any negative aspects and anything they believed that their familiar place gained from them. Participants freely referenced novel destinations juxtaposed to their familiar place visits, evidence of their hybrid characteristics

(Boztug et al, 2015; Poon, 1993) in creating portfolios of trips serving different purposes and motivations.

In complement to verbal questions, the focus groups also used pro-forma sheets to capture participant characteristics and an embedded word-association task to stimulate discussion. The recorded transcripts of the two focus groups were analysed in tandem by the researchers leading to the joint construction of a mind map. This mind map, together with the preparatory field conversations with the tourism industry gatekeepers in Gower and Mawddach (see Table 1), helped inform the construction of the interview schedule for the familiar tourist interviews, provider interviews, and the structure of the written instrument used during the main fieldwork phase. These three instruments were all pretested and modified accordingly.

For the main fieldwork phase, there was replication of the research design (familiar tourist interviews, provider interviews and written instrument) across the two study areas of Gower and Mawddach. Interview-style conversations have been highlighted as excellent for "revealing the confusions and ambiguities involved in holiday-taking" (Ryan, 1995, p.207) and were deemed very apt for the research purpose. As indicated above, interview topics were informed by the focus groups as detailed above plus the limited foreknowledge of familiarity granted by the loose scaffolding of literature (Pearce, D., 2012) and of Pearce (2012) in particular. With flexibility in ordering according to the way the interview evolved, topics included length of place familiarity in temporal terms and the extent and depth of that familiarity; patterns of visits through time and occasions of visits, including planned and spontaneous visits; sub-locations of particular note within the familiar place and reasons for this; activities both habitual and new undertaken in the familiar place; memories triggered by familiar place visits whether of people or environmental setting; any positive or negative feelings when visiting the familiar place and when away from the familiar place; what the familiar place means to the familiar tourist, to who they are, and any changes through time; if and how visits to the familiar place differ from visits to other places; the existence of other familiar places (if any); perceived benefits to the familiar place from familiar tourist visits; what the familiar place should do to maintain familiar tourist visits; and final thoughts and reflections brought about by the interview.

Topic questions were supported by interviewer prompts. For example, the interview question of "what does Gower / Mawddach mean to you and who you are" was supported by the literature-based prompt of 'what was this place like when I was ...?' (Zimbardo and Boyd, 1999) and by the focus group analysis prompts of "who am I, when I am in Gower / Mawddach?" and the "big picture stuff". Similarly, when broaching the "shadow side" (Scannell and Gifford, 2017, p.261) of familiar place, the interview question of "do you feel negative when visiting Gower / Mawddach?" was supported by the literature-based prompts of sadness, anger, irritation, worry, or guilt (Richins, 1997), and by the focus group analysis prompt of "love-hate, guilt, and hassle". Collectively, these prompts acted as an

aide memoire for the interviewers. In reality the aide memoire was rarely referred to because the in situ interviewees invariably developed a free flow of details and ideas related to their familiar tourism and so independently covered the range of prepared questions and prompts.

In total across Gower and Mawddach, there were *in situ* field interviews with 108 familiar tourists who self-rated themselves as familiar tourists and were proficient in self-describing (Prentice, 2004) their place familiarity. Interviewers moved between popular and lesser known sites, recognising that observationally familiar tourists cannot be easily discerned from other tourists or indeed from local residents. Thus to select informants who self-identified as familiar tourists, the researchers approached the next adult approximately 10-30 minutes after the conclusion of a previous interview (to allow for the writing of field memos) and broached the possibility of a research interview. Where the person self-rated themselves as a familiar tourist for the area, typically using place terms such as 'love', 'special', 'favourite' and 'cherished', they were invited to engage in the research interview (the invitation also being supported by a participant information sheet).

Once identified, most familiar tourists were keen to take part in the study, mirroring their enthusiasm for the destination. As previously alluded to, the difficulty sometimes lay with finding them. At times that required particular sensitivity on the part of interviewers because lesser known sites were often sub-locations of peace and reflection for the potential informants who were in-tune with the functions and benefits of familiar places as understood in place attachment (Scannell and Gifford, 2017). To find sufficient numbers of hard-to-identify familiar tourists, the recorded field interviews were conducted using multiple trips to Gower and to Mawddach over two shoulder seasons (April-May and September-October) and one high season (June-August) and used a mix of weekends and weekdays. In addition, the interview sites encompassed both tourist-dense (e.g. busy beaches, resort promenades) and tourist-sparse sub-locations (e.g. deserted beaches, pedestrian bridges, small settlements, less known look-out spots) so that different sorts of familiar tourist might be found and invited to participate. These conversational interviews delivered rich insight on the lived experiences and relationships of familiar tourists with their familiar place. Such interviewing of familiar tourists in their naturalistic setting of their familiar place proved time-intensive, averaging about three interviews per day per researcher.

A total of 31 tourism providers in Gower and Mawddach were recruited to administer the self-completion written instrument to other (non-interviewed) familiar tourists who were visiting during the data collection period. Largely qualitative in nature, open questions were asked such as "What makes the Mawddach area a familiar, favourite or special place to you?", "What emotions or feelings, if any, do you personally associate with Gower as your familiar place?", and "Please describe these emotions or feelings for us". In all, 132 usable written instruments were returned. This alternative method of data collection, written by the familiar tourist in privacy and with generosity of

explanation, counter-balanced some of the disadvantages of interviews as verbal and socially-interactive devices (Holstein and Gubrium, 2016).

In all, 36 interviews with providers in Gower and Mawddach were held on provider premises or at nearby public spaces. These providers were spread across visitor attractions, events and activity organisations, accommodation of varied types, entertainment, retail outlets including arts and crafts, and local tourism associations (see Table 1). From an accumulation of years of front-line experience with tourists, the providers were mostly good conversationalists and gave accounts of familiar tourist behaviour illuminated with anecdotes. Some providers used their bookings diary as recall prompts and for accuracy of detail. The provider interviews offered a contrasting yet expert perspective to the direct verbal and written accounts of the familiar tourists themselves.

Thematic analysis across the fieldwork data sets using an iterative process was used to find and interpret repeated patterns of meaning (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006). The flexible recipe of Braun and Clarke (2006) was applied, following the six phases of familiarisation, initial code generation, theme search, theme review, defining and naming themes, and research write-up. The researchers adopted a reflexive dialogue throughout data collection and analysis, recognising their own respective roots as either 'inheriting' a familiar place (Mawddach) or 'converting' to a familiar place (Gower). Transcripts were read multiple times by the researchers for familiarisation, with initial code generation to organise the data into meaningful groups conducted both independently and through team meetings to cross-check and firm-up initial codes across the two field areas. These codes were generated for elements of the transcribed data on a line-by-line basis so that the inductive analysis was conducted bottom-up and remained data-driven (Boyatzis, 1998).

For the later three phases of theme search, review and finalisation, team meetings became more central with much use made of diagramming as a tool to organise the data into increasingly abstract units and to interrogate the themes for an over-arching conceptualisation rooted in the *in vivo*, emergent, and *a priori* concepts (Spencer et al, 2014). Walters (2016) argues that the diagrammatic representation of findings offers a valuable framework to structure the discussion and is a particular strength of thematic analysis. A final example of this process of diagrammatic representation is evidenced later in this paper in Figure 1, a typology of familiar place formation. For the final phase of write-up, the researchers tried to adhere to the argument of adequacy presented by Schutz (1973 cited in Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006); to what extent is the final conceptualisation recognised and understood by those in everyday life as a common-sense experience? In this paper, illustrative quotations re-connect the analytic narrative with the voice of the familiar tourist informant. This paper adopts the convention of a pseudonym for the informant, followed by the place (Gower or Mawddach), with the word 'provider' added where necessary. Adaptations around this convention are used for the focus groups and for the written instrument quotations.

4. Findings

At the micro level, and close to industry understanding of repeat behavioural loyalty and to academic understanding of proximity-seeking, the findings show that familiar tourists tend toward a high frequency of visit to their familiar place, sometimes extending to hundreds of visits. However, they display variety in annual patterns from regular structures with visits at set times of year to more irregular and even spontaneous patterns. These repeat visit patterns can change during an individual's life course, and can encompass gaps before recommencing visits. The longevity of familiar places in the lives of people, sometimes spanning decades, and the deep emotional connection between person and place, is captured by Informant 19 (Mawddach written instrument):

"I've been coming for about 27 years first with my kids and now with my grandkids. It is spiritual, beautiful, has everything I want and nothing I don't want. It's in my blood!"

Such demonstration of place love and of place identity running in the symbolic blood of self both stress the importance of familiar places to people. Such longevity may be episodic in terms of visit yet visit accumulation has equivalency in the recognised importance of duration in the formation and maintenance of place attachment (Lewicka, 2011). It also finds expression in practical help or assistance for place. For example, 'Ted' and 'Sue' (Mawddach) were members of, and volunteers for, the local railway preservation society. Thus, the findings move beyond consideration of repeat visit patterns to offer a deeper understanding of the ways that familiar places enter and intertwine in the lives of individuals.

There are three types of familiar place as construed by the acquisition and usage behaviour of the familiar tourist: converted, inherited and discovered. Figure 1 conceptualises the types of familiar place formation and the relationships between them. Mirroring the duality proposed by Pearce (2012) and bearing comparison to Scannell and Gifford's (2010) social and physical place attachment, the primary connection can be people-based with its VFR orientation, or setting-based with its landscape orientation, or, finally, a mixture of the two. Of note and as demonstrated in Figure 1, is the fluid nature of familiar place emergence, development and status through time.

The converted familiar place emerges from previous life situations and draws comparison to the web of places in people's lives (Seamon, 2013). It comprises previous places of residence, study, or livelihood, and previously visited places converted to familiar place status (see Figure 1). For the first three types, individuals who grow to love and know such places convert them from their original purpose (live, study, work) to familiar place status when the original purpose ceases and they move away. The bookings diary of 'Melanie' (Mawddach provider) identified a familiar tourist "who used

to work for the bakery when he was 13 and was thrilled to be sleeping where he used to work". 'Sally' (Mawddach provider) cited a familiar tourist who "was brought up here for a couple of years as a child. His father worked on the airfield". 'Lakya' (Focus Group) described how "we are from India and since coming to the UK and living here for the past ten years, visiting home has become a familiar place". As evidenced in the literature, childhood experiences in-place can be particularly potent in the process of forming place attachment (Morgan, 2010; Scannell and Gifford, 2013), subsequently opening up the possibility of familiar place visits in adulthood. Conversely, familiar places can shift status to a place of residency, study or livelihood, or another visit status type. 'Kathy' (Mawddach provider) explained

"I used to come here on holiday from being aged two and I always said when I got a bit older "I'll live there one day". My Mum was always "Ah, you'd hate it. You wouldn't go on the beach every day" and I would go "No, I'll live there one day". And I do. That's why I chose to live here because I grew up coming here on holiday".

Even if no change of residency ensues, it is clear that individuals debate with themselves and others whether to change or not. 'Liz' (Gower) reflected

"I often think "Oh, we'll retire down to Gower", but I mean we haven't. We have been retired a long time now and haven't ... but we still think, or at least *I* still think, "Shall we come and live here?" But it's pros and cons with places".

Accordingly, over the lifetime of an individual (or indeed across generations) a special place can transfer status with an accompanying proliferation of associations, meanings and recollections. It is important to recognise this fluidity and the reservoir of places (lived, studied, worked and visited) that any one person holds in their lifetime. As a visited place (Figure 1), familiar places sit alongside novel or new destinations, lapsed destinations, and repeat destinations holding no meaningful attachment, the last signifying Dick and Basu's (1994) spurious loyalty. Individuals visit new destinations that they have not previously experienced (the form of travel applauded by Western society), and each novel destination holds the possibility for later conversion to familiar place status. 'Toby' (Focus Group), a keen traveller, voiced his behaviour over time: "As we travel, as I travel, I kind of get new familiar places". 'Celine' (Focus Group) informed the group that "in July, I am going back to Angola and I suspect that I will go back many more times after that". Lapsed destinations include ex-familiar places now rejected or those familiar places currently in a gap phase. As illustrated by 'Eleanor' (Mawddach), "We haven't been to Tenby for a couple of years, so that sort of 'went' as a familiar place. I'm not saying it's gone forever". The final category of visited places consists of repeat visit destinations holding no meaningful attachment.

As suggested in the place attachment literature (Manzo and Devine-Wright, 2013) and in line with destination horizontal loyalty (Almeida-Santana and Moreno-Gil, 2018), an individual may have more than one familiar place at any point in time. To illustrate, 'Sonya' identified Mawddach in mid-Wales, Basel in Switzerland and Dedham in UK as her simultaneous familiar places. Familiar tourists may also seek to balance familiar place trips with visits to different destinations to ensure an assortment of needs are met. 'Eleanor' (Mawddach) outlined that "every year we try to go somewhere we haven't been to before". Informant 40 (Mawddach written instrument) listed "South West France - annual trips in summer. Thailand - annual trips in winter. Mawddach - shorter trips, intermediate" belying the implication (Decrop and Snelders, 2005) that those enjoying familiar tourism are by definition low in financial resources. Thus a spectrum of behaviour is exhibited between the more habitual familiar tourist returning solely to the same vacation destination as evidenced by 'Sam' (Focus Group) who stated "I don't really go anywhere interesting on holiday according to everybody else, I just go to the same place", and the more sophisticated mixing of familiar places with novel destinations to serve a bundle of needs. 'Diana' (Focus Group) asserted that "I mix it up a little bit but still get what I want every year". Familiar tourists, contrary to general opinion, can be experienced and well-travelled tourists with the financial resources to indulge their travel desires.

The inherited familiar place emerges from a process of inter-generational transfer of place. It comprises two sub-sets based on means of acquisition: an heirloom familiar place and a genealogical familiar place (see Figure 1). An heirloom familiar place is treasured by one generation and passed on to the next, in much the same way as physical heirlooms such as expensive watches, antiques, and deeply meaningful objects. As 'Dalene' (Mawddach provider) described, "it's almost a legacy". This handover of familiar place can rollout across successive generations, from grandparents to parents to children and is often associated with childhood holidays. 'Alan' (Gower) holidayed there with his parents as a child. He explained how he subsequently brought his own children who now themselves bring friends: "It's passed down, I suppose. The 'knowledge' has been passed down". In a different example, a young family illustrate the early stages of the inter-generational transfer process whereby parents or grandparents inculcate a love of place to the younger generation. As shared by the mother, 'Gemma' (Mawddach):

"We came initially because Mike [father] wanted to show Thomas [son] where he had gone on holiday as a child and we enjoyed coming so much that we just kept on coming back". [Researchers' italics]

This inheritance can also be achieved through the transfer of skills or interests at the familiar place. Informant 4 (Mawddach written instrument) wrote that "Tom is a fell-runner, and he is encouraging our grand-daughter and also our grandson in their running" when visiting Mawddach together. Such behaviour also makes use of functional attachment to place (Gross and Brown, 2006) or place

dependence (Scannell and Gifford, 2010) as the familiar place landscape provides the features and resources wherein the activity skills can be honed (in this illustration, hills, mountains, connecting tracks, vegetation and climate conducive to the activity of fell-running). Great-grandmother 'Kelly' (Mawddach provider) highlighted the example of a composite familiar place, being both people-based and setting-based.

"[My grandson will] bring his son to show him where he used to come as a child, where he used to go crab fishing and things like that. I mean he is not just coming because this is where his grandmother lives, he is coming because he wants to show his son where he used to come and do crab fishing. That's the important bit because he loves the area". [Researchers' italics]

The completion of the transfer process is referenced by an older couple 'Ted' and 'Sue' (Mawddach) as "now our children bring their children". Widening Oliver's (1999) ultimate loyalty and the immersed self-identity associated with it, such treatment echoes Belk's (1988) observations on possessions contributing to the extended self; Curasi's (1999, p.125) "cherished" possessions as enduring gifts to younger generations; and Epp and Price's (2008) reflections on the importance of intergenerational transfer of objects, possessions and practices in shaping both individual and family identity. As reflected by 'Seamus' (Focus Group):

"Who I am is a continuation because of my association with this place with my family and parents. My parents are dead, my family is dispersed. When I go back there I have the recollection of the family group altogether at various places and leading on from that, I've taken my daughter and my partner to the same place".

The sense of continuation of a familiar place heirloom-style transfer passes along the generations to the extent that 'Abigail' (Mawddach provider) observed that familiar tourists "are doing it now in generations. They're counting in generations rather than in the number of years". This is a perceptive adjunct to the opening findings regarding familiar place duration.

Conversely, a genealogical familiar place is a less direct form of inheritance, relying on subsequent generations researching and tracing family histories. For some genealogical familiar tourists, the sense of identity and meaning of place can be very strong, with an immediate recognition and attachment to place. It has some semblance to Prentice's (2004) proximate familiarity and shared cultural roots. For 'Bren' (Gower),

"I'd never been to South Wales before [but] my ancestors come from South Wales. It has opened my eyes ... and I love it here. My history, my grand-dad and my great grand-dad came from South Wales. When I came down here, I couldn't believe it. I felt I was Welsh!" [Researchers' italics]

As 'Dalene' (Mawddach provider) explained,

"a lot of people coming to research their family history and things have that sense of cynefin [Welsh concept for the place you are meant to be] more than anything, even though they may never have been here. It's a strange one to describe" [Researchers' italics].

A genealogical familiar tourist, 'Jim' (Mawddach), who had traced his Welsh roots to the 17th century, referred to a "natural affinity" with what became his familiar place.

Finally, a discovered familiar place emerges from an individual's desire to explore and experiment, to experience the new. It comprises two sub-sets: other-led and self-led by way of discovery (see Figure 1). Occurring in adult-life, the other-led familiar place arises when a person is introduced to the familiar places of significant others such as partners or close friends and relatives. The discovery is dependent on another person. For the uninitiated, it starts as a new place that is explored and understood under the guidance of the significant other for whom the place is special. As 'Susan' (Mawddach) declared, "He fell for the place almost as much as me". Over time, the destination develops into a familiar place for the introduced party, reinforced by the accumulation of memories. In contrast, the self-led familiar place is closer in form to a true discovery with overtones of possessiveness and individual identity, rather than family identity. The discovery is not dependent on another. As asserted by 'Jim' (Mawddach), "it is my personal thing". Developed by 'Diana' (Focus Group), her self-discovered familiar place represented

"a context that is [of] my own defining and experiences that are my own and it is not genealogical, it is an expression of me. But it is me, it is my own, I own it. It is more kind of a greedy experience". [Researchers' italics]

The self-led discovered familiar place speaks to Gustafson's (2001; 2013) identification of place attachment as 'routes', having meaning as a manifestation of an individual's personal trajectory and identity and epitomising personal development, achievement and choice over roots and continuity. The discovery of self-led familiar places may be particularly relevant in contemporary mobile societies with the resources to travel; as indicated in the literature, such individuals are capable of forming affective person-place bonding (Gustafson, 2013).

5. Discussion and implications

The behaviour of familiar tourists concerning their familiar place is typified by ultimate loyalty and immersed self-identity (Oliver, 1999) rather than the spurious loyalty of Dick and Basu (1994). It is typified by affective, cognitive and behavioural person-place bonding (Scannell and Gifford, 2010).

The relationship between familiar tourist and familiar place is not typically characterised by inertia but by active choice and strong place attachment. This is evident in the longevity of the relationship and in both the desire and practice of 'bequeathing' familiar places to younger generations. Whilst there may indeed be variety in the financial and other (operand and operant) resources of individual familiar tourists, the positive attitudinal component of loyalty – the commitment to place – is always exhibited alongside the visit (behavioural) component. It is important to emphasise that many familiar tourists do have the resources, expertise and skills to visit other and new places and often do so alongside their familiar place trips. One does not necessarily preclude the other.

This core of repeat tourists – familiar tourists – appear to relate to all types of destination, as evidenced in the focus group findings and through the informant interviews. They may well pass unnoticed by official destination organisers, for, as place experts themselves with the schema afforded by their knowledge of place, familiar tourists have little need of their services. Yet from a marketing practitioner perspective, they bring advantages.

Familiar tourists do not absorb the marketing resources of destination organisers or tourism providers as they require neither persuasion to visit nor orientation on arrival like other tourists. Moreover, their frequency of visit over the decades offers an attractive lifetime value to the destination and its providers. Familiar tourists activate their own social networks to visit and introduce new tourists from amongst their acquaintances and word of mouth advocacy. They are selective in doing so, choosing those they feel will have a natural affinity to their familiar place or class of place attachment.

Accordingly, they are more likely to introduce new tourists – whether their life partners or friends – who may evolve to become familiar tourists themselves (the 'other-led' of Figure 1). As an extension to this, familiar places are even inherited through the generations of a family as part of the family's ongoing identity and story. Familiar tourists adopt a range of visit patterns that include the shoulder and off-seasons as well as spontaneous visits. That makes them an attractive proposition, particularly when viewed alongside their propensity to visit more out-of-the-way and hidden micro-locations as opposed to the over-visited honey-pot areas.

In addition, and in tune with Oliver's (1999) notion of individual fortitude and Tsai's (2012) notion of passion, familiar tourists actively defend their familiar place when it is threatened. That is evident in the case of the seaside settlement of Fairbourne in Mawddach faced by a decision to remove its sea defences, or in the case of the coastal resort of Barmouth, Mawddach, attacked via social media as uninspiring and dull. Familiar tourists are instinctive allies for destinations seeking to recover from crises or build destination resilience and may be early to return and support destinations following the Covid-19 pandemic. Finally, familiar tourists typically blend, or try to blend, into the social and cultural milieu of the familiar place. For example, some familiar tourists who were not Welsh themselves strove to navigate the Welsh language or subtleties of the local culture in Gower and in

Mawddach. Their success was also dependent upon the extent of their existing cultural schema and ability to adapt and learn. Such behaviours may be more conducive to successful place-making in contemporary settings where so-called over-tourism has created local resident-tourist tensions. Indeed, familiar tourists may be intuitively suited to the notion of 'temporary citizens' that accompanies the thinking and practice of place-making (see, for example, Richards and Marques, 2018).

Although typically overlooked, the researchers believe that where conceivably possible the core of familiar tourists for any destination should be developed and sustained, with due attention paid to the different types. To this end, Table 2 presents five strategic and creative themes for marketing practitioners to consider in designing campaigns targeting familiar tourists and those tourists who might become familiar tourists. It complements the typology of familiar place formation shown in Figure 1 as it is rooted in the typology of converted, inherited (heirloom; genealogy), and discovered (other-led; self-led) familiar places, denoting the way in which familiar places enter people's lives. Destination marketing campaigns to build repeat tourism often focus on transforming first time tourists into repeat purchasers. Table 2 outlines alternative approaches to a wider set of targeted audiences. It acts as a smorgasbord of practical ideas tailored to the familiar place formation typology.

6. Conclusion

Following a review of the loyalty, repeat consumption, place attachment, and familiarity literature, this qualitative interpretative study uses evidence from two destinations to offer a typology of familiar place formation that highlights the potential longevity of familiar places and the ways that familiar places enter people's lives. The argument is made that such repeat tourists, with strong behavioural and affective commitment to place, merit research attention for the advantages they afford destinations and tourism providers alike. To this end, five strategic and creative themes are proposed, framed around the typology of familiar place formation and which offer more nuanced opportunities for better differentiated campaigns targeting the familiar and would-be familiar tourist.

Opportunities are envisaged for onward research stimulated by the typology of familiar place formation. For example, a longitudinal study of heirloom familiar places across the older and younger generations of a family might adopt an historical, storytelling or community-led perspective. A dedicated study of educational establishment alumni relationships with the place of their study or immigrant workers with their place of employment would also be informative. Likewise, in the aftermath of the Covid-19 pandemic, the role and use of the different types of familiar place by individuals and families as restorative destinations would be instructive, as would an examination of

the parts played (or otherwise) and behaviour exhibited by the converted, inherited (heirloom; genealogy), and discovered (other-led; self-led) familiar tourist for their respective familiar place regeneration. Finally, a comparative study of past and on-going marketing campaigns targeting repeat tourists structured around the typology of familiar place formation and associated recommended campaign themes might provide additional insights for improved campaign effectiveness.

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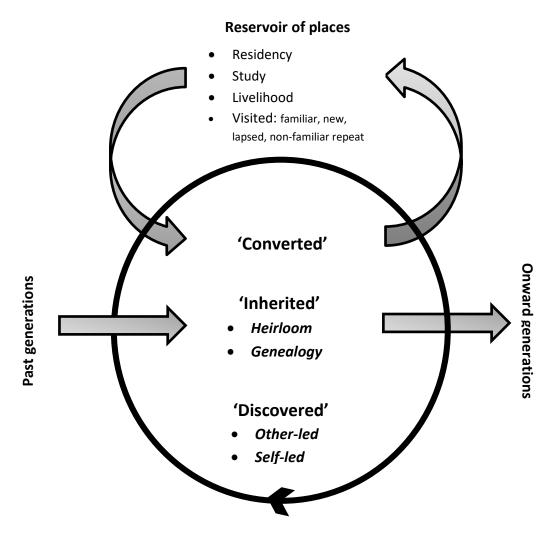
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Figure 1. A typology of familiar place formation



Key: Setting-based / People-based familiar places

Table 1 Research methods and informant profile

	Focus Group One	Focus Group Two	Preparatory Field Conversations					
reparatory Phase	Location: Oxford, UK	Location: Oxford, UK	Gower: Adventure activity organiser; Chairperson, local business association; Chair of local branch, Institute of Welsh Affairs; farmers with holiday caravan lets.					
	Duration: 1hr 20 mins	Duration: 1hr 32 mins						
	No. of informants: 8	No. of informants: 5						
	Informant demographics: 4 male, 4 female; aged	Informant demographics: 1 male, 4 female; aged	Mawddach:					
	31-75.	26-65	Retired bank manager specialising in tourism industry;					
	Informant nationalities: American, British, Irish, Germ	local tourism association committee member; tourist information centre staff						
je je	Familiar places discussed: Amsterdam; Anglesey; Ang							
P	Dublin; Gera; India; Jerash; Lake District; Lanzarote, C							
	Lurgen; Mallorca, Spain; Manchester, UK; New York;							
	Porthmadog, Wales; Potsdam; Salt Lake City; San Fran							
	Familiar Tourist Interviews	Familiar Tourist Written Instrument	Tourism Provider Interviews					
Phase	Gower:	Gower:	Gower:					
l g	No. of informants: 67	No. of informants: 69	No. of informants: 13					
	Informant demographics: 33 male, 34 female; aged	Informant demographics: 29 male, 40 female; aged	Informant livelihood: accommodation; outside pursuit					
	18-71+	18-71+	centre; campsite; surf shop; holiday village; restaurant;					
×	10 / 1	10 / 1	horse riding providers					
Main Fieldwork	Mawddach:	Mawddach:	Mawddach:					
	No. of informants: 41	No. of informants: 63	No. of informants: 23					
	Informant demographics: 24 male, 17 female; aged	Informant demographics: 32 male, 31 female; aged	Informant livelihood: accommodation; visitor					
Ла	18-71+	31-71+	attraction; art gallery; archivist (genealogy); mountain					
			running race; campsite; walking festival; theatre;					
			mountain biking; arts & crafts; caravan park providers.					

Table 2 Campaign themes for targeting familiar tourists.

	Converted	Inherited		Discovered	
		Heirloom	Genealogy	Other-led	Self-led
Campaign Themes	Primary connection: setting-based ('visit the place') or people-based ('visit the people') Target the alumni of any Universities, Colleges and Schools in the destination and who are currently resident in other places Target ex-workers in industry and professional sub-sectors associated with the destination currently resident in other places Target ex-residents currently living in other places (social media-led campaigns)	Inspiration: Patek Philippe long-running (since 1996) generation campaign: "You never actually own a Patek Philippe. You merely look after it for the next generation" Destination as an heirloom that transfers values and family story across the generations Introduce the next generation: functional attachment to place (learn skills dependent on landscape features e.g. fishing for crabs; fellrunning) and/or affective and symbolic attachment to place (learn interpretations dependent on constructed meanings of place)	Investigate the destination's history of emigration and the industry sectors, skills, and other factors (e.g. religious persecution; power struggles; food shortages) that drove it. Campaigns in key immigration countries and regions. Coincide with key dates or anniversaries Inspiration: Wales Tourist Board's hiraeth and homecoming campaign 2000 (Morgan et al, 2002)	Familiar tourists use familiar places to enact key markers in life e.g. marriage proposals, honeymoons. This mutually reinforces both the ritual and the familiar place in the life of the individual and also intertwines the destination in the life of the other(s). Campaign to encourage the enactment of key life events and calendrical events e.g. religious holidays, birthdays in the destination (familiar place) Campaigns to encourage word of mouth recommendation and accompanied introductory visits to the destination.	Some evidence (though not conclusive) that tourists create familiar places out of destinations that share similar characteristics to any existing familiar places that they have. More likely to be setting-based. Identify areas similar in character to the destination and design a 'similar area' campaign to encourage repeat tourists to these areas to trial visit the destination.