

Word-of-art: What is the impact of Vincent van Gogh's The Starry Night on the destination image of Saint-Rémy-de-Provence?

Tiago Borlido ^{1*}, Elisabeth Kastenholz ¹ and Eduardo Camilo ²

¹ Department of economics, management, industrial engineering and tourism, University of Aveiro, Aveiro, Portugal. Email: tiago.borlido@gmail.com; elisabethk@ua.pt

² Department of communication, philosophy and politics, University of Beira Interior, Covilhã, Portugal. Email: eduardocami@gmail.com

*Corresponding author

Abstract

This paper seeks to determine whether approximations can be found between tourists' destination image and van Gogh's The Starry Night which may suggest this artwork's influence on visitors' image of Saint-Rémy-de-Provence, where it was painted. A novel approach, comparing a semiotic analysis of the artwork with a content analysis of visitors' answers to a survey (N=205), is used to identify approximations and divergences between artwork and image. Results suggest the work's semiotic content has little influence on destination image, which rather mirrors a stereotyped image of Provence. Notwithstanding, van Gogh's figure is central to Saint-Rémy's image, and is mentioned by over half of the respondents. This leads to the conclusion that there is indeed an influence of art on destination image, despite this being more due to a superficial image of the artist and his work than to The Starry Night's semiotic content.

Keywords: destination image; word-of-art; destination marketing; image semiotics; art; destination branding; case study

Citation: Borlido, T., Kastenholz, E. and Camilo, E. (2024). Word-of-art: What is the impact of Vincent van Gogh's The Starry Night on the destination image of Saint-Rémy-de-Provence? *European Journal of Tourism Research*, 38, 3808. <https://doi.org/10.54055/ejtr.v38i.3437>.

Publication history:

Received: 31/08/2023; Revised: 20/02/2024, 29/04/2024; Accepted: 22/05/2024; Published online: 01/08/2024; Volume date: 01/10/2024

Coordinating editor: Martina G.Gallarza



© 2024 The Author(s)

This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International (CC BY 4.0). To view a copy of this license, visit <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>

1. Introduction

Art has been receiving growing attention as a motor of post-modern economic development. Considering that art, like brands, is representational and may add value to local businesses and regional economies, artists can play a crucial role in destination marketing and branding (Carballo & León, 2018; Plaza, Haarich, & Waldron, 2013). But even though logos, brand identities and branding campaigns make use of visual materials to create brand images, the role of art in destination marketing and branding remains largely unexplored (Acharya & Rahman, 2016; Mittilä & Lepistö, 2013; Schroeder, 2005). Equally unexplored is the role it may play, specifically, in destination image promotion, despite abundant empirical evidence proving the real impact of word-of-art in several contexts (Borlido & Kastenholtz, 2023).

Considering this construct's particular potential as predictor of behaviour before, during, and after the trip, and, particularly, of destination choice and consumer loyalty (Borlido & Kastenholtz, 2021; Dragin-Jensen & Kwiatkowski, 2019; Wong, Xu, Tan, & Wen, 2019), an art-based marketing strategy could, through its influence on image, prove instrumental in shaping tourist flows and behaviour, thus presenting an invaluable tool for destination management. Yet, although art has been identified as a relevant predictor of destination image as early as of Gartner's (1994) seminal article on image formation agents, research on art's influence on destination image is at a very incipient stage. Borlido and Kastenholtz's (2023) systematic literature review on this subject showed that certain artforms' influence on destination image has been the object of some academic interest (such as cinema, for example), but others, such as painting, sculpture, or the performing arts, have received little to no attention by researchers in destination image literature.

The present article addresses this gap, analysing the specific case of Saint-Rémy-de-Provence, the French town where Vincent van Gogh painted *The Starry Night*. This painting's extraordinary popularity and pervasiveness – it has been described as “one of van Gogh's most famous (...) works in the art history canon” (Zelazko, 2017) – and Saint-Rémy-de-Provence's strong association with van Gogh's figure – as shown by the municipality's tourism communication strategy or by the existence of two museums associated with the painter (Alpilles en Provence, 2022) – makes this an exceptional case through which this relationship can be analysed. Through a comparison of the painting's semiotic qualities (extracted through a semiotic analysis) and the attributes of tourists' destination image (as emerging from a content analysis of their survey answers'), its main objective is to identify approximations between tourists' destination image attributes and semiotic aspects of the painting, that are indicative of an influence of the artwork on tourists' destination image. This approach to destination image analysis is also novel by applying semiotic analysis to the image of a place-attached pop culture icon, and comparing results with visitor survey responses.

The paper is divided into seven sections, including this introduction discussing this study's relevance and originality, followed by a section dedicated to literature review and a third section that presents the case study. The fourth section describes the research design and the methodological techniques utilised, also presenting the sample profile. The fifth section presents the semiotic analysis of van Gogh's *The Starry Night*, which will be compared in section seven with the content analysis of tourists' survey responses presented in section six. Finally, main findings are discussed and pathways for future research proposed.

2. Literature review

2.1. Destination image

The concept of destination image, like many concepts in the social sciences and specifically in the field of tourism studies, still lacks consensual conceptualization (Cardoso, Dias, de Araújo, & Andrés Marques, 2019; Tasci, Gartner, & Cavusgil, 2007). A great variety of definitions coexist, and although

many may complement each other, many others may be contradictory, reflecting the concept's multi-dimensionality and complexity (Iordanova, 2015). This research piece adopts a view similar to that of Tasci et al.'s (2007) well-known conceptualization of the construct: they defined image as "an interactive system of thoughts, opinions, feelings, visualizations, and intentions toward a destination" (Tasci et al., 2007: 200).

Despite the elusiveness of the term, destination image is often considered one of the most relevant factors in explaining tourist behaviour before, during and after the visit, specifically as an important predictor of destination selection (Borlido & Kastenholtz, 2021; de Lima, Mainardes, & Rodrigues, 2020; Dragin-Jensen & Kwiatkowski, 2019). Besides its role as a predictor of pre-trip behaviour, it also determines the behaviour of tourists during the trip (for example, by shaping itineraries and activities sought, or by influencing levels of tourist expenditure) and is a predictor of post-trip behaviour, such as tourist loyalty or intention to recommend the destination (Borlido & Kastenholtz, 2021; de la Hoz-Correa & Muñoz-Leiva, 2019; Wong et al., 2019). It is thus of crucial importance for marketing strategy, as destination image projection, combined with suitable communication strategies, allows tourism stakeholders to strengthen their intended destination image and consequent competitiveness (Ageeva & Foroudi, 2019; Camprubí, 2009; Kim & Yoon, 2003).

Far from being a static mental construct, consumers' destination image has a dynamic nature and may be affected by several agents (Chen, 2019; Iordanova, 2015). Gartner (1994) classifies such agents into four major categories, with different combinations of these agents possibly producing different images of the same destination in different consumers' minds:

- Overt induced agents - organizations with a manifest interest in promoting positive images, such as destination management organizations (DMOs), travel agencies, tour operators;
- Covert induced agents - opinion leaders and influencers paid by DMOs which enhance the projected image's credibility, but also second-party endorsement through apparently unbiased reports published in the media;
- Autonomous agents – sources which are truly independent, often responsible for creating organic, stereotyped destination images, including art, popular culture, and news reports;
- Organic agents – where three subcategories can be distinguished: Pure (tourists themselves and their real-life experiences with the place); Solicited (word-of-mouth information requested from individuals with personal experience with the place); Unsolicited (unrequested word-of-mouth information given by individuals with experience with the place).

It is on an autonomous agent that this study places its focus: art – specifically, painting. What evidence may, then, be found of this artform's impact on destination image?

2.2. *Word-of-art*

The concept of "word-of-art" was first presented by Slak Valek (2018: 13), who only vaguely defines it as "promotion of a destination through artwork". Given the nebulousness of this definition and after a systematic literature review on the subject, Borlido and Kastenholtz (2023) thought it useful to develop a more concrete definition of word-of-art, considering its great relevance in the field of artistic tourism; and, thus, defined it as 'the semiotic qualities of a work of art which communicate characteristics of a product, service or place', concerning, in the tourism marketing literature, aspects of an artwork which generate mental associations between a destination and given attributes in a tourist's mind (Borlido & Kastenholtz, 2023: 25).

Such semiotic qualities have been found across a great variety of artforms. Although an individual work of art may do little more than strengthen or weaken previous perceptions, the joint effect of several

works can foster drastic changes in the image of a destination (Borlido & Kastenholz, 2023). Art can furthermore bring awareness to new destinations, by promoting tourists' familiarity with it (Borlido & Kastenholz, 2023; Iwashita, 2006, 2008). It may also help in creating new interest points in mature destinations, thus helping in moulding tourists' itineraries and behaviour, and be a useful tool for segmentation and managing demand (Borlido & Kastenholz, 2023; Kastenholz, 2004; Peters, Schuckert, Chon, & Schatzmann, 2011).

The aforementioned systematic literature review by Borlido and Kastenholz (2023) analysed the relationship between the seven classical artforms and destination image, and showed that only one – cinema – had been the object of considerable investigation in its relationship with destination image. Literature analysing the link between destination image and three other artforms – architecture, music and literature – was found to be in an incipient state, while research concerning the respective link to performing arts, painting and sculpture was virtually non-existent (Borlido & Kastenholz, 2023). For painting, the subject of this paper, only one paper was found to analyse it: an Andersen et al. (1997) piece that analysed Denmark's image among visitors to Danish art exhibitions in Scotland. However, these authors merely analysed whether or not there was an interest in visiting Denmark after viewing the mentioned exhibitions, and did not analyse whether the artwork had generated any changes in the visitors' destination image.

3. Case study

On May 8th 1889, at 36 years of age, the post-impressionist Dutch painter Vincent Willem van Gogh voluntarily enters Saint-Paul-de-Mausole Asylum in Saint-Rémy-de-Provence (France), which would be his home for the next year. Forced into this decision by a crippling cycle of mental health crises, of an increasingly long and incapacitating nature, Saint-Paul-de-Mausole provided him the stable and tranquil environment in which he would create one of his most celebrated works: *The Starry Night* (Naifeh & Smith, 2012).

The painting, and its connections to Saint-Rémy, would come to prominence long after his death. Unknown during his lifetime, the fame of van Gogh's work arrived soon after his death, converting him into one of most famous artists of the 20th century (Blumer, 2002). His work was largely promoted by Johanna van Gogh, widow of the painter's brother Theo, who in 1914 first publishes a complete edition of the letters exchanged between the brothers, accompanied by a biography which would aid in propagating the 'legend of van Gogh', the stereotype of the tormented and misunderstood genius, rejected by society. This image, frequently propagated through novels, film, and other artforms would go on to shape the way in which his work would come to be perceived, with art critics and psychology professionals seeing in it indications of its authors' mental disease (Nici, 2015). The painting itself would remain in semi obscurity until acquired by New York City's Museum of Modern Art in 1941, where it has been exposed ever since, and where it has become one of van Gogh's best known works (Thomson, 2008; Zelazko, 2017). Its extraordinary popularity and strong association with the Asylum where it was created (and, by extension, with the town to which that asylum belongs) make it an ideal case study for an analysis of the influence of art on destination image; so much so, in fact, that the painting has been used previously by Saint-Rémy's municipal administration in tourism campaigns and tourist information material, such as leaflets.

Saint-Rémy, then a town of under 6000 inhabitants, has since grown to reach 9893 inhabitants in 2017 (the last available data) (INSEE, 2021; Naifeh & Smith, 2012). Far from the agricultural hamlet it was during van Gogh's time, three quarters of employment in the municipality are nowadays in the tertiary sector, reflecting the economic shift towards tourism that took place over the second half of the 20th century (INSEE, 2021; Mioche & Dréano, 1999). In 2021, the tourism office of Saint-Rémy-de-Provence

registered a total of 47 260 visitors, compared to 74 214 registered in 2019, in pre-COVID-19 pandemic times. Over half of these (60% in 2019, 85% in 2021) are French visitors¹.

4. Research design

This research bases itself on a comparative analysis between a semiotic analysis of Vincent van Gogh's *The Starry Night* and a content analysis of visitor responses to three open-ended questions. The results of one analysis and the other will then be compared using a cross-table, which allows for the identification of approximations and divergences between one and the other. This process will be further detailed in this section.

4.1. Semiotic analysis

Firstly, a semiotic analysis of the artwork, based on Penn's (2000) and Joly and Martin's (2021) methodologies, was carried out. This approach starts from a functional and contextual analysis of the work, going on to then carrying out an inventory of denotative elements (Joly & Martin, 2021; Penn, 2000).

Denotative elements are the first order elements of a symbolic system; in other words, the literal interpretation of the material, the 'expressions' (Barthes, 1967, 1972; Penn, 2000). Among these, a distinction can be made between linguistic, figurative/iconic and plastic signs. The first correspond to signs in which a phoneme is associated with a concept, while the second are signs that utilize perceptive analogy and representational codes to produce an impression of similarity with reality. Finally, plastic signs relate to the purely plastic aspects of an image, such as colour, forms, composition or texture (Joly & Martin, 2021).

From here, analysis moved onto a focus on higher order elements, designated as *connotative elements*, which correspond to the symbolic meanings of the image, many of them of contextual value. From each of the denotative elements possible mental associations were identified, as well as possible relationships between elements. Such connotations may in their turn give rise to other connotations, thus presupposing a third order level. This third level can then be the object of further connotative analysis, and so on (Barthes, 1972; Penn, 2000). Such an analysis is, thus, never exhaustive and may never end; so the process was interrupted, as per Penn's (2000) recommendation, when all elements had been crossed with each other, thereby guaranteeing all relationships had been considered.

Results were presented using both a discursive approach and tables synthetizing the found interpretations, following Joly and Martin's (2021) example. These tables synthesized the found denotations and connotations in 'synthetic expressions'²: syntagms which sum up the content of that denotation or connotation.

4.2. Sample, survey design and data collection

The target population consisted of visitors to Saint-Rémy-de-Provence who are 15 years old or older. An approximate cluster sampling approach, based on space and time, helped find a workable sample. Thus, clusters were defined by geographical proximity (Altinay & Paraskevas, 2008; Kastenholz, 2002; Neuman, 2014) to a tourist attraction in the analysed territory (following the example of Kastenholz, 2002), where in certain time periods (week days, hours) the researcher would extract a sample of clusters, by (ideally) approaching all visitors identified at a particular time and location for participation in the study (Altinay & Paraskevas, 2008; Kastenholz, 2002; Neuman, 2014).

The image of Saint-Rémy-de-Provence held by tourists was assessed by means of including three open-ended questions, designed by Echtner and Ritchie (1993) in their seminal article on destination image

¹ Data supplied via e-mail by the team at the Intercommunal Alpilles Tourism Office in Saint-Rémy-de-Provence.

² Such a term is foreign to both Joly and Martin's (2021) and Penn's (2000) methodologies, and was created by the authors with the intention of better explaining the methodology to be used in the comparative analysis.

mensuration, in a larger self-administered questionnaire. This questionnaire guaranteed anonymity of all answers, besides stating the inexistence of correct or incorrect answers, declarations which aim to reduce common method bias (Kock, Berbekova, & Assaf, 2021). After a pre-test in September 2021 (N=31), ensuring the intelligibility and adequation of the questions, final data collection took place, from May to July 2022, on-site in Saint-Rémy-de-Provence, resulting in 205 valid survey responses.

4.3. Visitors' data analysis

For the analysis of visitors' responses, a coding-based *inductive* content analysis was applied, aided by the NVIVO software (V12). This analysis was structured according to Neuman's (2014) qualitative data analysis approach.

Firstly, 'open coding': a first analysis of the data with the objective of condensing it into preliminary, tentative analytical categories or codes (Kyngäs, 2020; Neuman, 2014). This process is followed by 'axial coding', more focused on the codes emerging from the previous stage than on the data itself: codes are organized and linked amongst themselves, leading to the identification of key codes and themes (Kyngäs, 2020; Neuman, 2014). In this process, conceptual maps were of crucial importance, reflecting their usefulness in the organization and construction of knowledge from qualitative data (Ligita, Nurjannah, Wicking, Harvey, & Francis, 2022; Novak, 2004). In this phase, instead of a tradition hierarchical structure to code organization (suggested as ideal by, for example, Kyngäs, 2020; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Novak, 2004), a more flexible structure was preferred, allowing for greater inter-association between codes, given the impossibility of maintaining a clear separation between the main themes emerging from the analysis.

The final stage, 'selective coding', selectively looks for cases in the coded data that may best illustrate them and permit meaningful comparisons (Neuman, 2014). This allowed for the consolidation of final themes and for the integration of the wider network of codes extracted from the analysis into conceptual clouds, as observable in figure 1. Part of this process was the decision to eliminate any codes appearing in less than 3% of responses, clarifying the analysis through elimination of minor themes in the overall sample. In the end, 43 codes were left for analysis. Literature in the area did not provide a standard value for this amputation of codes; and yet, the great quantity of codes to be analysed required the selection of a subset to aid comparison, as per Gleicher's (2018) recommendation. Analysis of the quantities of mentions for each of the codes led the authors to choose the 3% threshold as that below which codes began to lose relevance for the analysis.

Carrying out all this work with the aid of the NVIVO software, besides eliminating many of the manual tasks associated with inductive content analysis, allowed for a greater efficiency in the organising of data through this more systematic approach. NVIVO also provided the authors with a variety of tools that facilitated the exploration and visualization of data (Jackson & Bazeley, 2019).

The results from the semiotic analysis and the content analysis were then compared in a technique derived from Gleicher's (2018) methodology for the design of comparison strategies assisted by visual comparison instruments. Taking the codes from the content analysis and the synthetic expressions from the semiotic analysis as the objects of this comparative analysis, a cross-table was created in which approximations and divergences between semiotic qualities of the artwork and tourists' destination image elements were sought, as presented in table 1.

4.4. Sample profile

There was a slightly higher percentage of women (55,1%) in the sample, which was dominated by individuals with higher education (62,4%). The largest age group was the 60-74 age bracket (30,2%), followed by the 30-44 (26,8%) and 45-59 (26,3%) brackets. Expenditure-wise, over half of the sample spent less than 75€ per person per day. A majority of respondents had never visited the municipality before

their present visit. When visitors were asked about their place of origin, France was the most named country (49,8%), thus matching the tourism office data in which France was also the most named country (60% in 2019, 85% in 2021); there is still, however, a slight underrepresentation of French citizens in the sample, if one should take those values as reference.

Table 1. Sample profile.

Sample (n=205)			Sample (n=205)		
Variable			Variable		
Gender	Female	55,1%	Expenditure (per person, per day)	<25€	19,0%
	Male	43,9%		26-50€	20,5%
	NR	1,0%		51-75€	22,0%
Age group	15-29	11,7%		76-100€	6,3%
	30-44	26,8%		101-125	8,8%
	45-59	26,3%		126-150€	7,3%
	60-74	30,2%		>150€	11,2%
	75-89	4,4%		NR	4,9%
	>90	0,5%	Previous visits to Saint-Rémy	0	57,1%
Education	Higher (ISCED ³ 5-8)	62,4%		1	7,3%
	Secondary (ISCED 3-4)	25,9%		2-3	20,0%
	Lower than secondary (ISCED 0-2)	2,0%		4-5	5,4%
				>5	8,8%
	NR	9,8%		NR	14,6%

Table 2: Place of origin

Country	Sample (N=215)	
	N	%
France	106	49,8%
U.S.A.	31	14,6%
United Kingdom	17	8,0%
Germany	17	8,0%
Netherlands	11	5,2%
Belgium	8	3,8%
Other	23	10,7%
NR	2	0,9%

5. Semiotic analysis

5.1. Denotative analysis

The denotative elements that could be identified within the work may be divided in two categories: plastic signs and iconic signs (see explanation in section 2.3). Among the former, we could find the following:

- **Curved forms, use of spirals** – Particularly in the starry sky where spirals figure prominently.
- **Limited use of straight lines** – Exclusively used to shape the buildings that make up the village, straight lines stand in direct opposition to the generalized use of curved lines.
- **Chromatic predominance of blue tones** – Associated with the darkness conveyed by the painting.

³ “ISCED is the reference international classification for organising education programmes and related qualifications by levels and fields” (Eurostat, 2023).

- **Limited use of whites and yellows** – In direct opposition with the darkness that the blue tones convey, these tones are used to transmit an impression of light.
- **Perspective and framing** – Use of a wide horizontal framing, with a scene constructed at a distance from the observer. The perspective, at an upwards angle, places focus on the starry sky instead of on the earthly iconic signs.
- **Composite character of the scene** – Perfect example of what Pickvance (1986: 106) calls a “stylistic osmosis”, *The Starry Night* is a composite landscape, aggregating different elements of the Saint-Rémois landscape such as the Alpilles mountains – which appear in the painting as seen from the painter's room in Saint-Paul-de-Mausole – the town of Saint-Rémy itself or the cypresses – which may be based on previous drawings by the artist. Similarities between the church in the painting and those of his native Brabant have also been pointed out (Soth, 1986).

Although signs related to the support of the artwork (dimension, type of paint used, etc.) are usually considered, these signs were here not analysed, since the great fame of the painting has meant its reproduction in a wide variety of formats which often vastly differ from the original.

As for the iconic signs, the following motifs portrayed in the painting were identified:

- The village.
- The church.
- The light emerging from the houses.
- The mountain-range.
- The vegetation.
- The cypress.
- The night.
- The darkness.
- The night sky and celestial bodies.

5.2. Connotative analysis

An analysis of the signs in the artwork suggests these signs lend themselves to connotative interpretations that are somewhat contradictory: if on one hand, the original intentions of the author (as interpreted from his letters) are patent in the notions of transcendence, infinity and harmony evoked by *The Starry Night*, converting it into a very personal perspective on life and the universe, on the other, the cultural pervasiveness of the ‘van Gogh legend’ allows for the painting to be interpreted as symptomatic of its author's psychological perturbation, as commented in section 2.1. For the sake of clarity, these interpretations will be designated from now on as **interpretation A** (author's intention) and **interpretation B** (psychological perturbation), respectively. If the latter interpretation, in which van Gogh's work is described as anything from ‘feverish’ and ‘neurotic’ to ‘a storm of madness’ (Nici, 2015), is somewhat forced, its preponderance in the collective imaginary's conception of the painting requires its consideration in the analysis of possible associations to Saint-Rémy-de-Provence generated by the painting. To these two interpretations, a third one, related to the painting's artistic and aesthetic context, may be extracted from the analysis and will henceforth be referred to as **interpretation C**. The first of these interpretations (interpretation A) is summarized in table 3, with the respective synthetic expressions.

The presence of highlights in white and yellow confers a certain luminosity to the scene, which seems to free it from the oppressive atmosphere conveyed both by the predominance of bluish tones and by the darkness that is inherent to the night motif. This contrast between luminosity and darkness may thus give rise to associations with hope and overcoming. But these connotations are secondary to the central message conveyed by the painting according to this interpretation.

Table 3: *Synthesis of significations – interpretation A.*

Signifier	First-order connotations	Higher-order connotations.				
<u>The mountain range.</u>	Nature.	Rurality.	Quiet, peace.	Introspec- tion.	Transcend- ence, infinity.	Har- mony.
<u>The vegetation.</u>						
<u>The cypress.</u>						
<u>The village.</u>						
<u>The church.</u>	Rurality.	Quiet, peace.				
<u>The mountain range.</u>						
<u>The vegetation.</u>						
<u>The cypress.</u>						
<u>Curved forms, use of spirals.</u>	Movement.	Universal movement.				
<u>Perspective and framing.</u>	Vastness.	Transcendence, infinity.				
<u>The church.</u>	Christianity.					
<u>Limited use of straight lines.</u>	<i>In contrast to the movement evoked by the use of curved forms, the straight lines in the village and church evoke: Alienation from the movement.</i>		Alienation from the universal movement.			
<u>The village.</u>						
<u>The church.</u>						
<u>Limited use of whites and yellows.</u>	Luminosity.	<i>In contrast to darkness: Hope, overcoming.</i>				
<u>The night sky and celestial bodies.</u>						
<u>The darkness.</u>	<i>In contrast with luminosity: Hope, overcoming.</i>		-----			

The mountain range, together with the village, the church and the cypress, form a markedly rural landscape. This rurality is underscored by the presence of other vegetation in the scene, as well as by the idea of nature that seems to emerge from this green and mountainous landscape, punctuated by the monumental cypress. Both this idea of rurality and the nocturnal setting of the painting clearly evoke ideas of quiet and peace.

This quiet and peace can be related to the connotations arising from the plastic signs and from the night sky and celestial bodies. The use of curved forms and spirals evokes a movement and fluidity that encompasses all forms in the painting, imbued with a movement that seems to be transferred onto them by the celestial bodies. This movement permeating the sky transmits itself to the terrestrial forms, from the mountains to the vegetation, as if integrating them in a wider sphere and thus evoking a harmony with nature itself and with the deeper forces of the universe; even if this movement, as mentioned, seems to escape the village.

This harmony is of a type to inspire ideas of transcendence and infinity, to evoke a premonition on the existence of something vaster than individual conscience. Both the vastness evoked by the framing, in reducing what is terrestrial to insignificance when compared to the monumentality of the universe, and the aforementioned feeling of quiet and peace, reinforce this idea by evoking associations with harmony. The village under the starry sky emerges as an ideal place for introspection.

The church in the village center may provoke associations with Christianity, thus associating the aforementioned universal order with Christian theology. It is, however, noteworthy that it is precisely to construct these elements that van Gogh uses the only straight lines in the painting, as if signalling their alienation from the universal movement conveyed by the overabundant curves and spirals. Its reduced size in the vastness of the painting seems to reinforce an opposition to its general message: the church and village would then appear as a symbol of the miserliness of Christian belief in the wider order of things and its disharmony with the universal movement.

Letters by the painter seem to validate an interpretation along these lines as that which was originally intended for the work:

Certainly — imagination is a capacity that must be developed, and only that enables us to create a more exalting and consoling nature than what just a glance at reality (which we perceive changing, passing quickly like lightning) allows us to perceive.

A starry sky, for example, well — it's a thing that I'd like to try to do (...). (van Gogh, 2009)

If this interpretation is favoured by the painters' letters, it is not, as discussed, the sole interpretation that has been identified in this analysis. Interpretation B is summarized in Table 4, with the corresponding synthetic expressions.

Table 4: *Synthesis of significations – interpretation B.*

Signifier	First-order connotations.	Higher order connotations.		
Curved forms, use of spirals.	Movement.	Turbulence.	Perturbation.	Mental illness.
The mountain range.	View from Saint-Paul-de-Mausole.	Psychiatric hospital.	Mental illness.	
The night.	Gloominess.	Depression.		
The darkness.				
The darkness.	<i>Contrast with luminosity</i> : Hope, overcoming	<i>Implies</i> : Perturbation.		
Limited use of whites and yellows.	Luminosity.	<i>Contrast with darkness</i> : Hope, overcoming	<i>Implies</i> : Perturbation.	Mental illness.
The night sky and celestial bodies.				
Chromatic predominance of blue tones	Sadness, depression.	Mental illness.		

The same movement that the use of curved forms and spirals was said to connote on Interpretation A can, from another point of view, confer turbulence to the painting, which has been often interpreted as a manifestation of the author's interior perturbation (Nici, 2015) or mental illness. The predominance of blue tones, or the use of night and darkness as central motifs can also be associated with states of psychological gloominess, of depression.

Furthermore, the mountain range in the back of the scene is portrayed as it can still be seen today from the painters' former room in Saint-Paul-de-Mausole, thus creating a direct connection between the painting and the psychiatric hospital in which its creator lived and, consequently, between the painting and his mental illness.

Finally, the hope and overcoming, approached in the discussion of interpretation A, as implied in the contrast between darkness and luminosity, may suggest a pre-existing perturbation: there is no overcoming if there is nothing to overcome, nor hope without a desperate situation.

Interpretation C is related to formal aspects of the work, as observable in table 5. The overabundance of curved forms and the composite character of the scene are proof of the high stylization which is characteristic of post-impressionistic artistic movements: the reimagination and recreation of reality that is implicit in using a composite image makes van Gogh a precursor of abstraction; and on the other hand, by transforming images into symbols representing something beyond their literal interpretation, he may also be associated with symbolism.

Table 5: *Synthesis of significations – interpretation C.*

Signifier.	First-order connotations.	Higher-order connotations.	
Curved forms, use of spirals.	High stylization	Post-impressionism.	
		Abstractionism.	Post-impressionism.
Composite character of the scene.	Abstractionism.	Post-impressionism.	
	Symbolism.		

As this analysis considers primarily those semiotic aspects of the image that may transmit properties of the destination, an analysis of the signs possibly evoking a concrete geographic and sociocultural context – Saint-Rémy (even if that work does not, as mentioned, faithfully reproduce of that context). Table 6 presents a summary of the signs which denote or connote characteristics of Saint-Rémy.

In that sense, one may consider the idea of nature, mentioned as emerging from such iconic signs as the cypress, the vegetation and mountain range, as a touristic resource of the territory. More concretely, the mountain range evokes the view from Saint-Paul-de-Mausole and the Alpilles, which directly inspired the painting. The vegetation, on the other hand, may be connected with the territory's vast forest areas, specifically those of the Alpilles Regional Natural Park. The idea of rurality, which is connoted by these same elements and by the idea of nature, as well as by the village and the church, may likewise be recovered as tourist asset. To this idea one may add that of "picturesqueness", also evoked by these elements. The mentioned elements can furthermore be associated with aesthetically pleasing landscapes such as those portrayed in the painting. These connotations project an identity and atmosphere of the place, which imply a set of expectations of what may be found in that destination: an atmosphere of quiet, peace and calm, favourable to introspection.

The church pinnacle, in turn, may evoke associations to the Church of Saint-Martin, dominating the old town, and the town in the painting may also be associated with Saint-Rémy itself. The night depicted in the painting can be associated to the expectation of specific moments one may live at the destination; in other words, Saint-Rémy 'by night'.

If the associations between iconic signs and places in Saint-Rémy (such as those discussed in the previous paragraph) are compatible with a variety of distinct interpretations, ideas such as those of "nature" and "rurality" are undoubtedly closer to interpretation A of the painting, and in direct opposition to interpretation B.

But interpretation B may also be associated to existing attractions; the connection of the painting with its authors' mental illness also strengthens its connection to the place where it was painted and where he was receiving treatment: Saint-Paul-de-Mausole. This idea is reinforced by the angle from which the mountains are painted, namely from van Gogh's room window in Saint-Paul-de-Mausole.

Table 6: *Synthesis of significations – connections with Saint-Rémy.*

Signifier	First-order connotations	Higher-order connotations	
Curved forms, use of spirals.	Turbulence.	(The artists') interior perturbation.	Saint-Paul-de-Mausole Psychiatric Hospital.
The mountain range.	Nature.	Rurality.	Quiet, peace.
The vegetation.			
The cypress.			
The village.	Rurality.	Quiet, peace.	
The church.			
The mountain range.			
The vegetation.			
The cypress.			
The village.	Picturesqueness.		
The church.			
The lights emerging from the houses.			
The mountain range.			
The vegetation.			
The cypress.	Beautiful landscapes.	-----	
The village.			
The church.			
The lights emerging from the houses.			
The mountain range.			
The vegetation.	Church of Saint-Martin.		
The cypress.			
The village.			
The mountain range.			
The vegetation.			
The cypress.	The town of Saint-Rémy.		
The night.	Alpilles mountain range.		
	View from Saint-Paul-de-Mausole.		
	The forest in Saint-Rémy (specifically, in the Alpilles).		
	Existence of cypresses in Saint-Rémy.		
	Night in Saint-Rémy.		

6. Content analysis

Table 7 presents the 43 codes under analysis, as well as the absolute (N) and relative (%) number of respondents which mention that code. The full list of codes is shown in Appendix 1.

The great prominence of the 'van Gogh' code stands out in over half (52.7%) of the responses. It is followed by 'Glanum', 'Saint-Paul-de-Mausole' (both with 27.8%) and Provence (24.9%) as the most mentioned codes; of these, the Saint-Paul-de-Mausole code noteworthy for its connection to van Gogh – since, as mentioned, that monastery was his residence in Saint-Rémy-de-Provence. A more thematic approach to the codes under analysis may provide, however, a clearer picture of the image of Saint-Rémy as held by the sample. Five (often overlapping) main themes emerged from the content analysis, as can be seen on the concept map of figure 1. The following paragraphs shall undertake a more detailed analysis of these five themes, that are also shown in Table 8.

Table 7: List of codes under analysis, with absolute and relative frequencies.

Code	N	% (N=205)	Code	N	% (N=205)
Van Gogh	108	52.7%	Vineyards, wine, wine cellars	13	6.3%
Glanum	57	27.8%	Lavender	12	5.9%
Saint-Paul-de-Mausole	57	27.8%	Tradition, Provençal culture	12	5.9%
Provence	51	24.9%	Ambiance of wealth and opulence	11	5.4%
Quiet, peaceful	44	21.5%	Historical monuments	11	5.4%
Pleasant ambiance	40	19.5%	Bars, restaurants and terraces	10	4.9%
Relaxing, restful	40	19.5%	Beautiful landscapes	10	4.9%
Alpilles	39	19.0%	Vacations	10	4.9%
Sun and good weather	36	17.6%	Museums	10	4.9%
Cosy, friendly	32	15.6%	Nostradamus	9	4.4%
Roman legacy	27	13.2%	Van Gogh walk	9	4.4%
Village, rurality	22	10.7%	Trails	9	4.4%
Touristic	20	9.8%	Fields	8	3.9%
Good food / gastronomy	19	9.3%	Cicadas	8	3.9%
Historic centre	19	9.3%	Colourful	8	3.9%
Archaeological sites	19	9.3%	Commerce, shopping	8	3.9%
Art	18	8.8%	Dynamic, lively	8	3.9%
Olive trees	18	8.8%	Cheerful	7	3.4%
Les Antiques	16	7.8%	Church of Saint-Martin	7	3.4%
Nature areas	15	7.3%	Weekly market	7	3.4%
Beautiful	15	7.3%	Alpilles museum	7	3.4%
Places outside of the municipality	15	7.3%			

Note: Percentages represent the number of respondents that mentioned a given code divided by the total number of respondents.

Table 8: Absolute and relative frequencies for the five themes found in the content analysis.

	N	% (N=205)
Provence	190	92.7%
Van Gogh / Art	138	67.3%
Rurality	135	65.9%
Tangible cultural heritage	131	63.9%
Nature	91	44.4%

Note: Percentages represent the number of respondents that mentioned a given code divided by the total number of respondents.

The tangible cultural heritage theme is associated to ten codes, which jointly appear in 63.9% of responses. The most mentioned codes in this group are 'Glanum' and 'Saint-Paul-de-Mausole' (both with 27.8%). This group may be further subdivided into two subgroups, united by the code 'Historical monuments': one relating to tangible heritage of roman origin – 'Glanum', 'Les Antiques', 'Roman legacy' and 'Archaeological sites', – and one concerning tangible heritage from the medieval and modern eras – 'Saint-Paul-de-Mausole', 'Historic centre', 'Museums', 'Alpilles museum' and 'Church of Saint-Martin'. A group of six codes is evocative of the theme of Nature within the territory, being the least prominent of the mentioned five themes due to having the smallest number of codes and the smallest number of references out of the five themes; notwithstanding, with 44.4% of respondents, it appears in nearly half of the sample. Codes integrating this group include, apart from the 'Alpilles (19%)' mountain range, the

most mentioned code in this group, rather general characteristics of the natural environment (i.e. 'Sun and good weather') or generic categories (i.e. 'Nature areas', 'Trails').

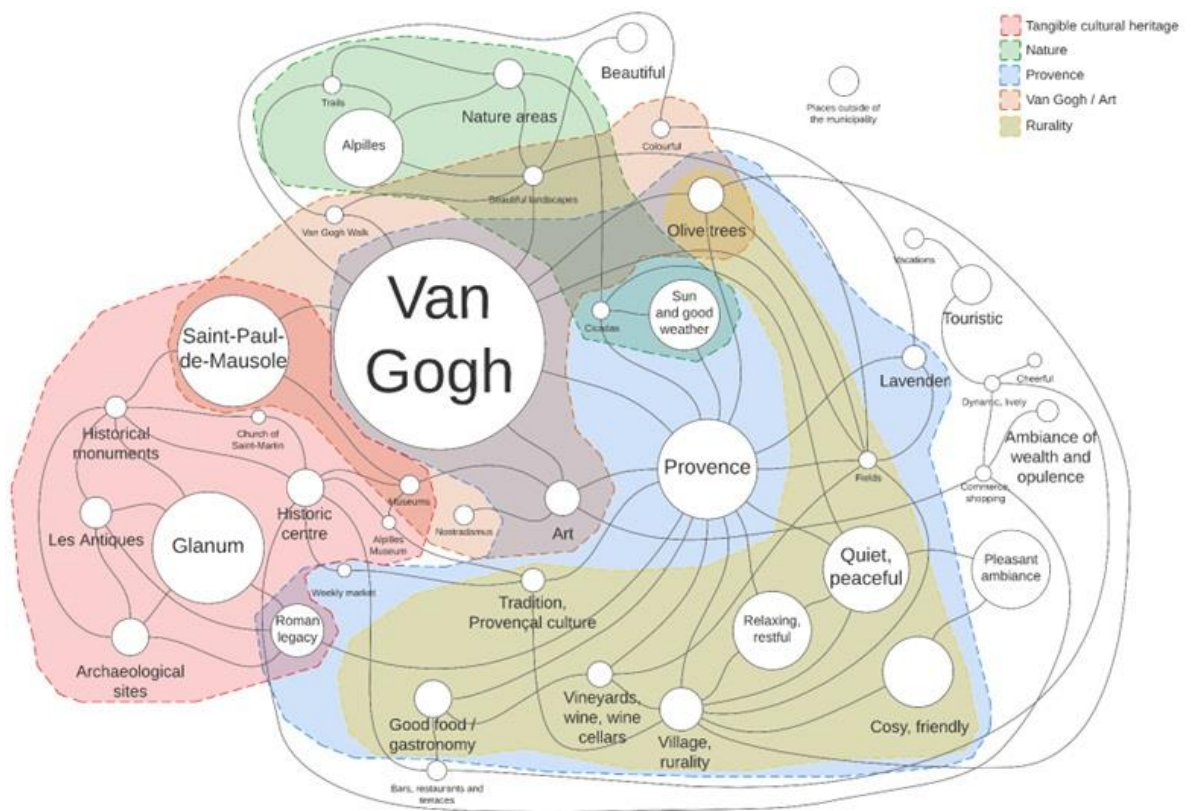


Figure 1. Concept map – tourists' perspectives on Saint-Rémy-de-Provence.

The most salient code in the analysis, 'van Gogh' (52.7%), is the most prominent out of a group of eight codes which thematically reflects the idea of art and of the painter himself. This theme as a whole is mentioned by 67.3% of responses. If, on the one hand, several of the codes concern aspects of van Gogh's work – the 'Beautiful landscapes' (one of his favourite motifs), the 'Olive trees' (focus of a series painted by him in Saint-Rémy), the 'Colourful' character of his style – and touristic attractions strongly tied to his figure – like 'Saint-Paul-de-Mausole' or the 'van Gogh Walk' – others are less concerned with the specific painter and relate more to art and culture in general (such as 'Art' or the poet and prophet 'Nostradamus').

With eight codes, mentioned by 65.9% of respondents, another group highlights rural aspects of Saint-Rémy's image, including some of the most mentioned codes, such as 'Quiet, peaceful' (21.5%), 'Cosy, friendly' (15.6%) or 'Relaxing, restful' (19.5%). Apart from codes that link the territory to intangible characteristics associated with an idea of rurality (such as those just mentioned) the group further integrates codes reflective of more tangible manifestations of that rurality (such as 'Fields' or 'Olive trees').

The 'Rurality' group can be seen as a subgroup, integrated in a wider group, of seventeen codes: that which congregates notions associated with the French region Provence, in which the homonymous code is mentioned by 24.9% of respondents. The overall group is mentioned in almost all (92.97%) surveys. Part of this group are a series of elements that have been associated with Provence in popular culture (in varied media, such as art, advertising, magazines or travel guides), both in France and elsewhere.

Identifying what makes up the idea of 'Provence' in the collective mind is, of course, not as straightforward as identifying what may be associated with 'Nature' or 'Rurality'. In this task, research was assisted by de la Bretèque's (1992) and Horowitz's (2016) work on the culturally projected idea of Provence. Both identify strong ties to rurality and tradition as central to the imagery of a Provence idealized as an agrarian landscape, famed for the fruits it bears, its wine, its olive oil, and strongly marked by Provençal tradition (de la Bretèque, 1992; Horowitz, 2016), aspects clearly observable in the mentioned associations to rurality held by tourists. The natural and agrarian aspects of the Provençal landscape are also the object of several codes that integrate this group. Besides those associated to rurality, one may add 'Sun and good weather', 'Cicadas' and 'Lavender', the latter standing out as a near-emblem of Provence (Horowitz, 2016). Another persistent association to Provence is its territory as a setting for artistic creation, whether by the hands of van Gogh or by those of Cézanne, Gauguin or Picasso (Horowitz, 2016). Such an association is reflected by codes like 'van Gogh' or 'Art'. Lastly, the code 'Roman legacy', which being one of the oldest associations to the Provençal land - that of Roman ruins and monuments - is among the first attractors of tourists to the south of France (Horowitz, 2016).

The great abundance of codes in this group, the significant overlapping with all other mentioned themes, thus being evoked by 92.7% of respondents, makes this theme the central theme in the image of Saint-Rémy held by tourists. However, the group associated with van Gogh and art is also notable in visitors' associations, being the second most mentioned group (67.3%), and centring around the 'van Gogh' code, the most mentioned in the sample. It thus plays a central role in the analysis, overlapping, like the Provence group, with all other themes.

7. Comparative analysis

As described in the research design section, the comparative analysis was carried out by crossing the synthetic expressions extracted from the semiotic analysis with the codes that emerged from the content analysis. The result is exposed in Tables 9 to 12. Since the inclusion of all codes and synthetic expressions would result in an excessively large tables, those codes and synthetic expressions in which no relationships of approximation or divergence could be found were omitted.

Starting with Interpretation A (the author's intention, Table 9), one can find significative approximations with tourists' image concerning ideas of quiet and peace, as well as images of rurality and nature. Divergences are, however, also notorious: codes

relative to the territory's liveliness and touristic character are at odds with the aforementioned ideas of peace. These divergences are explainable by the territory's evolution between the period of its creation in the 19th century and present times.

With Interpretation B (the author's mental perturbation, Table 10), divergences vastly outnumber the approximations, evident in the opposition between the gloomy and bleak aspects of this interpretation and several positive aspects of the tourist-held image. Since the divergences outweigh the approximations to such an extent, it seems legitimate to reject any chance of Interpretation B influencing tourists' image of the place.

Interpretation C (artistic and aesthetic context, Table 11) converges integrally with the 'Art' code. If it is certain that not all art is abstractionist, symbolist or post-impressionist and that, thus, one cannot say there is a complete correspondence between these ideas and the mentioned code, that deserves particular notice.

Table 9. *Interpretation A: Content analysis' codes vs. semiotic analysis' synthetic expressions.*

Interpretation A	<i>Quiet, peaceful</i>	<i>Relaxing, restful</i>	<i>Village, rurality</i>	<i>Touristic</i>	<i>Nature areas</i>	<i>Dynamic, lively</i>
Nature						
Rurality						
Quiet, peace						
Introspection						

Legend: Approximations.
 Divergences.

Table 10. *Interpretation B: Content analysis' codes vs. semiotic analysis' synthetic expressions.*

Interpretation B	<i>Saint-Paul-de-Mausole</i>	<i>Quiet, peaceful</i>	<i>Pleasant ambiance</i>	<i>Relaxing, restful</i>	<i>Colourful</i>	<i>Cheerful</i>
View from Saint-Paul-de-Mausole						
Gloominess						
Sadness, depression						
Turbulence						
Psychiatric hospital						
Depression						
Perturbation						

Legend: Approximations.
 Divergences.

Table 11. *Interpretation C: Content analysis' codes vs. semiotic analysis' synthetic expressions.*

Interpretation C	<i>Art</i>
Abstractionism	
Symbolism	
Post-impressionism	

Legend: Approximations.
 Divergences.

In the set of synthetic expressions (resulting from semiotic analysis) representing connections with Saint-Rémy (Table 12), a very notable number have approximations with the codes emerging from the content analysis, with a comparatively small number of divergences observable. Among the latter, the notable divergence between ideas of turbulence in the work and those of quiet, peace and relaxation in the tourist-held image stands out, as discussed when addressing Interpretation B; and, inversely, the opposition between ideas of quiet and peace in the painting and codes indicative of Saint-Rémy's dynamism became evident when addressing Interpretation A. Additionally, the divergence between the motif of night in the painting and the often-mentioned code 'Sun and good weather' is also noteworthy. Among the approximations, those discussed regarding the ideas of nature, rurality, quiet and peace in Interpretation A re-emerge. One can additionally observe approximations between elements of Saint-Rémy alluded to in the painting and corresponding codes from visitors' destination image – namely Saint-Paul-de-Mausole, the Alpilles, the historic centre or the Church of Saint-Martin – and between codes allusive to wide categories of attractions and corresponding synthetic expressions derived from semiotic analysis – as is the case of 'Historic monuments. Worthy of mention are, lastly, approximations existing between the code 'van Gogh' and the synthetic expression that associates his work to his inner perturbation.

Table 12: Connections to Saint-Rémy: Content analysis' codes vs. semiotic analysis' synthetic expressions.

Connections to Saint-Rémy	Van Gogh	Saint-Paul-de-Mausole	Quiet, peaceful	Relaxing, restful	Alpilles	Sun and good weather	Village, rural-ity	Touristic	Historic centre	Nature areas	Beautiful	Historic monuments	Beautiful landscapes	Dynamic, lively	Church of Saint-Martin
Turbulence															
Nature															
Rurality															
Beautiful landscapes															
Church of Saint-Martin															
The town of Saint-Rémy															
Alpilles mountain range.															
Night in Saint-Rémy															
(The artists') interior perturbation.															
Quiet, peace															
Saint-Paul-de-Mausole Psychiatric Hospital															

Legend:  Approximations.
 Divergences.

Moving on to an analysis of approximations on a thematical level, approximations between Interpretation A and the 'Rurality' theme are evident, despite the previously mentioned divergences. In the synthetic expressions representative of connections between the artistic work and Saint-Rémy, approximations can be principally found with the 'Tangible cultural heritage' and 'Nature' themes. In the 'Van Gogh / Art' theme, approximations ('Art', 'Van Gogh', 'Beautiful landscapes') are once again mixed with divergences ('Colourful'). The low relative frequency of this divergent code, when compared to the high relative frequency of a code like 'Van Gogh', may be indicative of a significative approximation between this theme and the painting, with the less important divergent code being neglectable.

Nevertheless, one must observe that the identified approximations are quite scarce in relation to the totality of observed codes (12 codes out of 43 codes analysed, i.e. 27.9%). Divergences, on the other hand, appear in eight of the analysed codes, that is, in 18.6% of all codes. This means that the identified thematic approximations were merely partial: despite the significant connections between the work and the tangible cultural heritage theme, for example, the most prominent codes in that group, concerning roman heritage present no approximation whatsoever with the painting's possible connotations. With the Provence theme, central in the collective image held by tourists, on the other hand, the lack of approximations is evident, with the notable exception of the rurality subgroup, as already discussed.

8. Discussion and conclusion

One can conclude from the present study that art undeniably influences visitors' image of Saint-Rémy, as evidenced by the existence of a group of codes that is thematically associated with art and with the figure of the painter of *The Starry Night*, whose corresponding code was mentioned by over half of respondents.

When it comes to the influence of the specific painting, the best arguments in favour of its impact on destination image are the approximations between Interpretation A (the author's intention) and the rurality theme and between Interpretation C (artistic and aesthetic context) and the 'Art' code – even if in this case, as discussed, the association is not to a particular artistic style, as is the case with Collioure and fauvism (Office de Tourisme de Collioure, 2023) for example – as well as the multiple attractions and characteristics evoked by the painting.

However, as already mentioned, divergences are equally significant, as particularly observable for Interpretation B (psychological perturbation). The scarcity of approximations with Interpretation B suggests the ruling out of any influence of it on tourists' image, leaving Saint-Rémy free from the negative associations that in other destinations have been formed through the influence of works of art – as is the case of the *Borat* films and Kazakhstan, or of Brazil and the film *City of God* (Loureiro & De Araújo, 2015; Nametova & Tolymbek, 2018). For Interpretation A divergences are equally evident (even if outweighed by approximations).

It is perhaps more significant that, for the vast majority of codes, divergences and approximations are simply not found. Features of image that cannot be associated to the painting can, as was mentioned, be found in practically all themes, but are particularly evident in the Provence group, which has no approximations whatsoever to the painting other than those connected to rurality.

It could be the case that the influence of the work's content on destination image is merely partial (only observable in Interpretations A and C), but explanation still lacks on why some of the most generic ideas of Interpretation A have made their way into the collective image held by tourists, while its central ideas (like the ideas of transcendence, universal movement, harmony) did not; and, moreover, on why central denotative elements of the painting, like the night or the cypresses, failed to show an influence on tourist's image of Saint-Rémy. As for Interpretation C, though it presents a complete convergence with the painting, it converges only with one code. If one were to deny the existence of a deeper influence of the painting's semiotic content on tourists' image of the place, could one, then, point out an alternative explanation for the existence of these codes, that offers a better explanation?

The proliferation of stereotypes on tourists' image may serve as an indication of such an alternative explanation: a large number of codes are tied to Provençal *clichés*. The presence of mentions to good food / gastronomy, wine, and olive trees, as well as a strong association to rurality, are indicative of such stereotypes. As mentioned, Provence's rurality, if "artificially maintained", in the words of Guyonnet (2003: 396), is a key element of Provençal identity, and has been greatly vehiculated through popular culture, both in France and outside of it (de la Bretèque, 1992; Horowitz, 2016). One great proponent of such images has been culinary books and TV shows, such as those of Julia Child, which have greatly contributed, in the English-speaking world, to the intertwinement of the region's image with gastronomy and regional products, such as wine or olive oil. Another Provençal stereotype is that of lavender and lavender fields, strongly divulged by the overabundance of perfumes and cosmetic products that use the plant as a source of aroma and as an anchor of brand image, on a global scale. The very association of Provence with art is, as was already discussed, an association transmitted by varied media throughout the years, as is the legacy of Ancient Rome in the territory (Horowitz, 2016).

It would, thus, be legitimate to attribute all these image elements not to the influence of *The Starry Night* but to the pervasiveness of an idealized image of Provence. The presence of the Provence theme in nearly all surveys and the overlapping between this theme and all other themes in the analysis further solidifies the validity of this hypothesis.

This is not to say the influence of van Gogh on the destination's image is being rejected. The great prominence of the 'Van Gogh' code, mentioned by over half of the surveyed, indicates the great relevance of the painter's figure in the collective image held by visitors. Other codes furthermore point, as mentioned, towards the influence of van Gogh's life work, where such elements are often present. It must be recognized that destination image has many facets to it and is determined also by a variety of other agents and factors (as discussed in the literature review). Yet, if empirical evidence is insufficient to affirm with certainty that these codes have a definite connection to Vincent van Gogh, but based on the evidence that does exist one can safely say that he holds some influence on the images of tourists. What is meant by Vincent van Gogh is, however, not the real man, but the stereotype that was built around him: a nametag associated with a turbulent life story, as well as certain specific aspects of his work (Nici, 2015). The scarcity of approximations to *The Starry Night*, perhaps his most famous work (Nici, 2015), in the images held by tourists, is itself proof of the superficiality of this stereotypical image, an image that is not as influenced by the content of his work as by his iconic status and his figure. Such superficiality and stereotypicality may be a reflection of a certain "touristic culture", built around the painter by tourism promotion campaigns and tourist information materials (such as the ones that the municipality of Saint-Rémy has employed in the past), that are in direct opposition to a deeper, artistical culture requiring a deeper knowledge of the artwork.

The essential conclusion from this research is, then, that although there is a very significant influence of van Gogh as an iconic figure in the tourist-held image of Saint-Rémy, particularly in adding a 'unique' element (Echtner & Ritchie, 1993) to the general destination image, that influence is based on a superficial knowledge of the painter and his work; and, furthermore, that the semiotic content of *The Starry Night* does not significantly shape it. Further research in other contexts is required to confirm that this is a general trend and not a specific case.

An important limitation of this work is its decision to analyse the impact of a sole painting on the image of Saint-Rémy, while results seem to indicate a joint influence of van Gogh's work and figure. Future research could then focus on other works created by van Gogh in Saint-Rémy-de-Provence, such as the previously mentioned *Olive trees* series, named after one of the most consistent motifs in his work (Jirat-Wasiutynski, 1993; Pickvance, 1986); and on the artist himself, rather than any of his individual works. Temporal limitations should also not be overlooked; the field work was carried out between May and July, exclusively in summer, and this might bias the results - being perhaps responsible for the underrepresentation of French tourists in the sample, when compared with the data provided by the tourism office for both 2019 and 2021. Future research should attempt to distribute survey collection throughout the entire year.

Another point for future exploration is the residents' image, a field that, despite its importance for tourism research and destination branding, is sometimes overlooked (Stylidis, 2020; Tournois & Djerić, 2019). It would thus also be relevant to examine whether the image they hold of the destination is also influenced by the artwork, possibly holding identity-providing value, possibly making it a territorial brand asset.

For tourism and hospitality research, this paper makes meaningful theoretical contributions both to the literature on destination image and to the literature on art tourism. It is the first to approach a significant gap in destination image research – the absence of research on the influence of painting on destination image (Borlido & Kastenholtz, 2023). This was furthermore done in a way that has never before been done in the literature that analyses the influence of art on destination image: by analysing which attributes of place image were shaped by the artwork, instead of simply evaluating the impact of a positive appreciation of the work on destination image (like Zhou et al., 2021 did with their paper on performing arts) or determining whether the work had any influence on tourist behaviour (like Peters et

al., 2011 and many other authors did when analysing cinematic works). Thus, this research sought to determine whether art could be used as a tool with which to mould destination image content, eliminating problematic attributes and introducing or reinforcing others that are more appealing or distinctive.

This is done by making use of an innovative methodology, which allows to measure this influence not through an analysis of tourist flows provoked by an artwork, as is common in literature analysing the influence of art on destination image (Borlido & Kastenholz, 2023) or by solely questioning visitors, but by combining a survey with semiotic analysis, permitting a detailed analysis of which image attributes are (or not) influenced by the elements of the artwork in question – thus allowing for a finer analysis of the potential relationship between the content of the artistic work and destination image.

Tourism practitioners, particularly DMO managers and marketers, may see in this paper further proof of the positive effects that art has on destination image and, by extension, its usefulness in destination marketing, specifically branding and positioning. Incorporating art into marketing campaigns and promoting residence programs for artists that serve as a way of fomenting the creation of destination-attached art may be useful forms of reshaping a destination's image, as well as an effective tool for reshaping tourist behaviour, when the latter is found to be undesirable (Borlido & Kastenholz, 2023; Slak Valek, 2018). Art could, thus, be useful for destinations with images that could be seen as problematic by their destination management, as is the case with several Spanish destinations associated with so-called *turismo de borrachera* (drunk tourism) (Ferrer, 2017; Serra-Cantalops & Ramon-Cardona, 2017). The potential of arts in residence programs such as the ones first proposed by Slak Valek (2018) when she put forward the concept of word-of-art is, then, reinforced by the authors of this paper.

For Saint-Rémy, specifically, it must also be recognized that, in a region fertile in natural and architectonic attractions but scarce in van Gogh associations (with the notorious exception of nearby Arles), this is not only one of the most prominent aspects of Saint-Rémy's image, but also one of its most distinctive and differentiating. Since it does not compete with the existing predominant image of an idealized Provence, but rather enhances it (art being, as discussed, an important aspect of an idealized image of Provence), a focus on Van Gogh as an image point does not risk alienating current tourism markets, but rather gives Saint-Rémy a stronger competitive advantage by helping in differentiating it from neighbouring Provençal destinations. Positioning-wise, Saint-Rémy's destination managers seem to have understood this and are not shy about making use of van Gogh's figure as a way of differentiating themselves from competing destinations such as its neighbour Les Baux-de-Provence. A way of further underscoring this connection would be promoting 'the original *Starry Night*' experience (i.e. night-time in Saint-Rémy), thus presenting its visitation as a means of maintaining a closer connection with the work and its author. This may help visitors obtain a more 'authentic' understanding of the painting. Promoting the destination at museums holding van Gogh's work, as well as van Gogh exhibitions worldwide, could be another way of further affirming it first and foremost as an art destination.

But destination managers' attention should also be drawn to the missed opportunities that the superficial knowledge of the painter and his work evinces. Van Gogh's figure is ripe for use in tourism products, given its potential for potent storytelling, and managers are encouraged to develop new tourism products that both take advantage of the popularity of the artwork and promote a deeper involvement with it, thus creating opportunities for fostering deeper destination loyalty and place attachment (as found in research analysing other artforms – see Borlido & Kastenholz, 2023). Examples may include the development of dark sky tourism products (Dalglish & Bjelajac, 2022) that harness the fame of the iconic sky from *The Starry Night*, such as guided tours of the night sky, or even activities that incorporate local products, such as wine and cheese tastings by night, or places relevant in van Gogh's life itinerary, such as night sky observation activities from his former residence at Saint-Paul-de-Mausole. The *Olive tree*

series, on the other hand, may serve as a basis for the development of 'oleotourism' (Hernández-Mogollón *et al.*, 2019) products that make use of olive oil, one of the municipality's most typical delicacies, and of the olive orchard landscapes. Such products may include olive oil tastings, as well as thematic guided visits to olive farms and olive oil mills, which relate van Gogh's work with those landscapes and products. In both cases, synergies may be sought with souvenir sellers in Saint-Remy, already fully stocked with van Gogh memorabilia.

Destination managers in Saint-Rémy are furthermore encouraged to continue investment in the promotion of other celebrated artists connected to the municipality (such as Nostradamus, Frédéric Mistral or Charles Gounod), of its art museums (namely, the Estrine Museum) and of its fervent artist community, in the hope that from it may rise one who, like van Gogh, may take the municipality's name across the four corners of the globe. Arts in residence programs such as the ones that Slak Valek (2018) proposed when she first created the concept of word-of-art would no doubt be of great help in achieving this goal.

Funding

This paper has been founded by the Foundation for Science and Technology, I.P. (FCT), an agency of the Portuguese Ministry of Science, Technology and Higher Education, under grant no. SFRH/BD/143438/2019. It further received support from the Research Unit on Governance, Competitiveness and Public Policies (UIDB/04058/2020) + (UIDP/04058/2020), funded by national funds through FCT.

Appendix 1. Full list of codes (and respective frequencies) extracted from the content analysis of tourists' answers.

Code	N	%	Code	N	%
Van Gogh	108	52,7%	Pedestrian streets	4	2,0%
Glanum	57	27,8%	Abundance of activities to partake in	3	1,5%
Saint-Paul-de-Mausole	57	27,8%	Summer ambiance	3	1,5%
Provence	51	24,9%	Authentic	3	1,5%
Quiet, peaceful	44	21,5%	Nostradamus' house	3	1,5%
Pleasant ambiance	40	19,5%	Festive	3	1,5%
Relaxing, restful	40	19,5%	Fountains	3	1,5%
Alpilles	39	19,0%	Luminous	3	1,5%
Sun and good weather	36	17,6%	Markets	3	1,5%
Cosy, friendly	32	15,6%	Rocher des Deux Trous	3	1,5%
Roman legacy	27	13,2%	Clothing	3	1,5%
Village, rurality	22	10,7%	Family-friendly	2	1,0%
Touristic	20	9,8%	Architecture	2	1,0%
Good food / gastronomy	19	9,3%	Attractive, captivating	2	1,0%
Historic centre	19	9,3%	Limestone	2	1,0%
Archaeological sites	19	9,3%	Châteaux	2	1,0%
Art	18	8,8%	Odours	2	1,0%
Olive trees	18	8,8%	Concerts and music festivals	2	1,0%
Les Antiques	16	7,8%	Fun	2	1,0%
Nature areas	15	7,3%	Stimulating to the senses	2	1,0%
Beautiful	15	7,3%	Excess of tourists	2	1,0%
Places outside of the municipality	15	7,3%	Flowers	2	1,0%
Vineyards, wine, wine cellars	13	6,3%	Crowds	2	1,0%
Lavender	12	5,9%	Walls	2	1,0%
Tradition, Provençal culture	12	5,9%	Estrine museum	2	1,0%
Ambiance of wealth and opulence	11	5,4%	Bicycle rides	2	1,0%
Historical monuments	11	5,4%	Plane trees	2	1,0%
Bars, restaurants and terraces	10	4,9%	Pretentious	2	1,0%
Beautiful landscapes	10	4,9%	Seasonal	2	1,0%
Vacations	10	4,9%	Bulls, bullfighting, bullring	2	1,0%
Museums	10	4,9%	Heavy traffic	2	1,0%
Nostradamus	9	4,4%	Boring	1	0,5%
Van Gogh walk	9	4,4%	Agriculture	1	0,5%
Trails	9	4,4%	High standard of living	1	0,5%
Fields	8	3,9%	Noisy	1	0,5%
Cicadas	8	3,9%	Good tourism office	1	0,5%
Colourful	8	3,9%	Expensive	1	0,5%
Commerce, shopping	8	3,9%	Carreto Ramado	1	0,5%
Dynamic, lively	8	3,9%	Cine-Palace	1	0,5%
Cheerful	7	3,4%	Classic	1	0,5%
Church of Saint-Martin	7	3,4%	Contemplative	1	0,5%
Weekly market	7	3,4%	Douceur de vivre	1	0,5%
Alpilles museum	7	3,4%	Aromatic herbs	1	0,5%
Chic, sophisticated	6	2,9%	Spiritual	1	0,5%
Culturally rich	6	2,9%	Style	1	0,5%

<i>French essence</i>	6	2,9%
<i>History</i>	6	2,9%
<i>Ancient</i>	5	2,4%
<i>Olives, olive oil</i>	5	2,4%
<i>Charm</i>	5	2,4%
<i>Cypresses</i>	5	2,4%
<i>Peïroou Lake</i>	5	2,4%
<i>Romantic</i>	5	2,4%
<i>Hot</i>	4	2,0%
<i>Typical houses</i>	4	2,0%
<i>Contrast between quiet and dynamism</i>	4	2,0%
<i>Art galleries</i>	4	2,0%
<i>Reduced dimension of the town</i>	4	2,0%
<i>Town squares</i>	4	2,0%

<i>Events</i>	1	0,5%
<i>Easily accessible</i>	1	0,5%
<i>Féria</i>	1	0,5%
<i>Fêtes votives</i>	1	0,5%
<i>Fruit</i>	1	0,5%
<i>Sunflowers</i>	1	0,5%
<i>Unwelcoming residents</i>	1	0,5%
<i>Hotels</i>	1	0,5%
<i>Hotel de Sade</i>	1	0,5%
<i>Impressionism</i>	1	0,5%
<i>Indifference</i>	1	0,5%
<i>Interesting</i>	1	0,5%
<i>Night</i>	1	0,5%
<i>Brides</i>	1	0,5%

Code	N	%
<i>Stone quarries</i>	1	0,5%
<i>Perfume</i>	1	0,5%
<i>Pine trees</i>	1	0,5%
<i>Picnics</i>	1	0,5%
<i>Pool</i>	1	0,5%
<i>Place Favier</i>	1	0,5%
<i>Plenitude</i>	1	0,5%
<i>Scarcity of crowds</i>	1	0,5%
<i>Young population</i>	1	0,5%
<i>Spring</i>	1	0,5%
<i>Regional products</i>	1	0,5%
<i>Royalty</i>	1	0,5%
<i>Reinvigorating</i>	1	0,5%
<i>Silk</i>	1	0,5%
<i>Transhumance</i>	1	0,5%
<i>Unique, different</i>	1	0,5%

References

- Acharya, A., & Rahman, Z. (2016). Place branding research: a thematic review and future research agenda. *International Review on Public and Nonprofit Marketing*, 13(3), 289–317. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12208-015-0150-7>
- Ageeva, E., & Foroudi, P. (2019). Tourists' destination image through regional tourism: From supply and demand sides perspectives. *Journal of Business Research*, 101, 334–348. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2019.04.034>
- Alpilles en Provence. (2022). Vincent van Gogh in Saint-Rémy-de-Provence. Retrieved January 29, 2024, from <https://www.alpillesenprovence.com/en/history-heritage/a-land-of-art-and-culture/vincent-van-gogh/>
- Altinay, L., & Paraskevas, A. (2008). *Planning Research in Hospitality and Tourism*. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2008.06.010>
- Andersen, V., Prentice, R., & Guerin, S. (1997). Imagery of Denmark among visitors to Danish fine arts exhibitions in Scotland. *Tourism Management*, 18(7), 453–464. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0261-5177\(97\)00054-X](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0261-5177(97)00054-X)

- Barthes, R. (1967). *Elements of semiology*. New York (NY, USA): Hill and Wang.
- Barthes, R. (1972). *Mythologies*. London (UK): Vintage.
- Blumer, D. (2002). The Illness of Vincent van Gogh. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 159(4), 519–526. <https://doi.org/10.1176/appi.ajp.159.4.519>
- Borlido, T., & Kastenholz, E. (2021). Destination image and on-site tourist behaviour: A systematic literature review. *Turismo & Desenvolvimento*, 36(1), 63–80. <https://doi.org/10.34624/rtd.vii36.8405>
- Borlido, T., & Kastenholz, E. (2023). Word-of-art: The relationship between destination image and art. *European Journal of Tourism Research*, 33. <https://doi.org/10.54055/ejtr.v33i.2422>
- Camprubí, R. (2009). *La formació de la imatge turística induïda: el paper de les xarxes relacionals*. Universitat de Girona.
- Carballo, R. R., & León, C. J. (2018). The influence of artistically recreated nature on the image of tourist destinations: Lanzarote's art, cultural and tourism visitor centres and their links to sustainable tourism marketing. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 26(2), 192–204. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2017.1338292>
- Cardoso, L., Dias, F., de Araújo, A. F., & Andrés Marques, M. I. (2019). A destination imagery processing model: Structural differences between dream and favourite destinations. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 74, 81–94. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2018.11.001>
- Chen, Z. (2019). A qualitative pilot study exploring tourists' pre- and post-trip perceptions on the destination image of Macau. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, 36(3), 330–344. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10548408.2018.1541777>
- Dalgleish, H., & Bjelajac, D. (2022). Dark Sky Tourism. In *Encyclopedia of Tourism Management and Marketing*. <https://doi.org/10.4337/9781800377486.dark.sky.tourism>
- de la Bretèque, F. (1992). Images of Provence. In R. Dyer & G. Vincendeau (Eds.), *Popular European Cinema*. <https://doi.org/10.4324/978020388624-5>
- de la Hoz-Correa, A., & Muñoz-Leiva, F. (2019). The role of information sources and image on the intention to visit a medical tourism destination: a cross-cultural analysis. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, 36(2), 204–219. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10548408.2018.1507865>
- de Lima, M. M., Mainardes, E. W., & Rodrigues, R. G. (2020). Tourist expectations and perception of service providers: a Brazilian perspective. *Service Business*, 14(1), 131–166. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11628-019-00406-4>
- Dragin-Jensen, C., & Kwiatkowski, G. (2019). Image interplay between events and destinations. *Growth and Change*, 50(1), 446–469. <https://doi.org/10.1111/grow.12272>
- Echtner, C. M., & Ritchie, J. R. B. (1993). The Measurement of Destination Image: An Empirical Assessment. *Journal of Travel Research*, 31(4), 3–13. <https://doi.org/10.1177/004728759303100402>
- Eurostat. (2023). International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED). Retrieved February 8, 2024, from [https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=International_Standard_Classification_of_Education_\(ISCED\)](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=International_Standard_Classification_of_Education_(ISCED))
- Gartner, W. C. (1994). Image formation process. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, 2(2–3), 191–216. https://doi.org/10.1300/J073v02n02_12
- Gleicher, M. (2018). Considerations for Visualizing Comparison. *IEEE Transactions on Visualization and Computer Graphics*, 24(1), 413–423. <https://doi.org/10.1109/TVCG.2017.2744199>
- Guyonnet, M.-H. (2003). Une Provence « éternelle » : les musées félibréens. *Ethnologie Française*, Vol. 33(3), 391–397. <https://doi.org/10.3917/ethn.033.0391>
- Hernández-Mogollón, J. M., Di-Clemente, E., Folgado-Fernández, J. A., & Campón-Cerro, A. M. (2019). Olive oil tourism: state of the art. *Tourism and Hospitality Management*, 25(1), 179–207. <https://doi.org/10.20867/thm.25.1.5>
- Horowitz, H. L. (2016). *A Taste for Provence*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- INSEE. (2021). Dossier complet - Commune de Saint-Rémy-de-Provence. Retrieved June 29, 2021, from <https://www.insee.fr/fr/statistiques/201101?geo=COM-13100>

- Jordanova, E. (2015). Unravelling the complexity of destination image formation: A conceptual framework. *European Journal of Tourism Research*, 11, 35–56. <https://doi.org/10.54055/ejtr.viii.193>
- Iwashita, C. (2006). Media representation of the UK as a destination for Japanese tourists: Popular culture and tourism. *Tourist Studies*, 6(1), 59–77. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468797606071477>
- Iwashita, C. (2008). Roles of Films and Television Dramas in International Tourism: The Case of Japanese Tourists to the UK. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, 24(2–3), 139–151. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10548400802092635>
- Jackson, K., & Bazeley, P. (2019). *Qualitative data analysis with NVIVO*. Los Angeles: SAGE.
- Jirat-Wasiutyński, V. (1993). Vincent van Gogh's Paintings of Olive Trees and Cypresses from St.-Rémy. *The Art Bulletin*, 75(4). <https://doi.org/10.1080/00043079.1993.10786564>
- Joly, M., & Martin, J. (2021). *Introduction à l'analyse de l'image* (4th ed.). Malakoff (France): Armand Colin.
- Kastenholz, E. (2002). *The role and marketing implications of destination images on tourist behavior: The case of northern Portugal* (University of Aveiro). Retrieved from <https://ria.ua.pt/bitstream/10773/1838/1/2005001493.pdf>
- Kastenholz, E. (2004). "Management of Demand" as a Tool in Sustainable Tourist Destination Development. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 12(5), 388–408. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669580408667246>
- Kim, S., & Yoon, Y. (2003). The Hierarchical Effects of Affective and Cognitive Components on Tourism Destination Image. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, 14(2), 1–22. <https://doi.org/10.1300/J073v14n02>
- Kock, F., Berbekova, A., & Assaf, A. G. (2021). Understanding and managing the threat of common method bias: Detection, prevention and control. *Tourism Management*, 86, 104330. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2021.104330>
- Kyngäs, H. (2020). Inductive Content Analysis. In *The Application of Content Analysis in Nursing Science Research* (pp. 13–21). https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-30199-6_2
- Ligita, T., Nurjannah, I., Wicking, K., Harvey, N., & Francis, K. (2022). From textual to visual: the use of concept mapping as an analytical tool in a grounded theory study. *Qualitative Research*, 22(1), 126–142. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794120965362>
- Loureiro, S. M. C., & De Araújo, A. B. (2015). Negative Film Plot and Tourists' Image and Intentions: The Case of City of God. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, 32(4), 352–365. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10548408.2014.896769>
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA (USA): SAGE Publications.
- Mioche, P., & Dréano, J.-M. (1999). De l'agro-industrie au tourisme du 20ème siècle. In Mip/Provence & Ville de Saint-Rémy-de-Provence (Eds.), *Saint-Rémy de Provence: Mutations économiques*. Cavaillon (France): Roger Rimbaud.
- Mittilä, T., & Lepistö, T. (2013). The role of artists in place branding: A case study. *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, 9(3), 143–153. <https://doi.org/10.1057/pb.2013.15>
- Naifeh, S., & Smith, G. W. (2012). *Van Gogh: The Life*. New York (NY, USA): Random House Trade Paperbacks.
- Nametova, G., & Tolymbek, A. (2018). Perceptions of Kazakhstan as a tourist destination. *European Research Studies Journal*, 21(4), 304–316. Retrieved from https://www.ersj.eu/dmdocuments/2018_XXI_4_24.pdf
- Neuman, W. L. (2014). *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* (7th ed.). <https://doi.org/10.2307/3211488>
- Nici, J. B. (2015). *Famous works of art - and how they got that way*. Lanham, MD (USA): Rowman & Littlefield.
- Novak, J. D. (2004). Concept Maps and How To Use Them. *INSIGHT*, 6(2), 15–16. <https://doi.org/10.1002/inst.20046215>

- Office de Tourisme de Collioure. (2023). Le fauvisme à Collioure. Retrieved April 20, 2023, from <https://www.collioure.com/decouvrir/les-incontournables/le-fauvisme>
- Penn, G. (2000). Semiotic analysis of still images. In M. W. Bauer & G. Gaskell (Eds.), *Qualitative researching with text, image and sound* (pp. 227–245). London (UK): SAGE Publications.
- Peters, M., Schuckert, M., Chon, K., & Schatzmann, C. (2011). Empire and Romance: Movie-Induced Tourism and the Case of the Sissi Movies. *Tourism Recreation Research*, 36(2), 169–180. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02508281.2011.11081317>
- Pickvance, R. (1986). *Van Gogh in Saint-Rémy and Auvers*. New York (NY, USA): The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Plaza, B., Haarich, S. N., & Waldron, C. M. (2013). Picasso's Guernica: The strength of an art brand in destination e-branding. *International Journal of Arts Management*, 15(3), 53–64.
- Schroeder, J. E. (2005). The artist and the brand. *European Journal of Marketing*, 39(11/12), 1291–1305. <https://doi.org/10.1108/03090560510623262>
- Slak Valek, N. (2018). Word-of-art: contribution of artists-in-residence to a creative tourism destination. *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14766825.2018.1467920>
- Soth, L. (1986). Van Gogh's Agony. *The Art Bulletin*, 68(2), 301–313. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00043079.1986.10788341>
- Stylidis, D. (2020). Residents' destination image: a perspective article. *Tourism Review*, 75(1), 228–231. <https://doi.org/10.1108/TR-05-2019-0191>
- Tasci, A. D. A., Gartner, W. C., & Cavusgil, S. T. (2007). Conceptualization and Operationalization of Destination Image. *Journal of Hospitality & Tourism Research*, 31(2), 194–223. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1096348006297290>
- Thomson, R. (2008). *Vincent Van Gogh: The Starry Night*. New York (NY, USA): The Museum of Modern Art.
- Tournois, L., & Djerić, G. (2019). Evaluating urban residents' attitudes towards tourism development in Belgrade (Serbia). *Current Issues in Tourism*, 22(14), 1670–1678. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13683500.2018.1465030>
- van Gogh, V. (2009). 596 - To Emile Bernard. Arles, on or about Thursday, 12 April 1888. Retrieved January 10, 2023, from Vincent van Gogh: The Letters website: <https://www.vangoghletters.org/vg/letters/let596/letter.html>
- Wong, I. A., Xu, Y. H., Tan, X. S., & Wen, H. (2019). The boundary condition of travel satisfaction and the mediating role of destination image: The case of event tourism. *Journal of Vacation Marketing*, 25(2), 207–224. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1356766718763691>
- Zelazko, A. (2017). The Starry Night. Retrieved March 26, 2020, from <https://www.britannica.com/topic/The-Starry-Night>
- Zhou, Y., Lei, S. I., & Yan, L. (2021). Linking tourists' performing arts experience and perceived destination image. *Tourism Recreation Research*, 46(1), 71–84. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02508281.2020.1785093>