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Jada W. Lindblom
Arizona State University

Christine Vogt
Arizona State University

Kathleen Andereck
Arizona State University

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Investigating the Relationship Between Tourism and Residents' Senses of Pride in an Emergent, Post-War Destination

Introduction and Literature Review

As tourists increasingly seek off-the-beaten-path destinations, places previously blighted by conflict may experience newfound (or re-found) opportunities via tourism. As visitors bring attention to a place's assets, residents may experience an increased sense of pride and appreciation for their surroundings. Developing a stronger sense of pride in place, community, and identity could be therapeutic following the destruction and trauma of previous conflict, and pride might help residents and destinations move past the stigmas that have felt emotionally burdensome and financially repressive. Yet, in places facing divisions between races, ethnicities, or other personal characteristics, pride may be connected to nationalism, racism, and other potentially problematic prejudices and/or political conflict (De Figueiredo & Elkins, 2003). In destinations that have experienced violence and trauma such as from war, emotionally complex sites may be marketed to tourists as "dark tourism" attractions. The past may be presented to visitors within a limited perspective and promoted as a consumer product, further complicating the sense of ownership and attachment residents have for those places (Lennon & Foley, 2000).

Pride is widely acknowledged for having both positive and negative manifestations, which is often analyzed in terms of authentic pride (linked with self-esteem) and hubristic pride (linked with narcissism or arrogance) (Tracy et al., 2009). Authentic pride is found to positively predict moral behavior, whereas hubristic pride can counteract it (Krettenauer & Casey, 2015). While pride is generally considered a self-conscious emotion determined by self-evaluation and self-reflection (Tangney, 2015), scholars have increasingly brought attention to its interpersonal and social aspects (van Osch et al., 2017). Interactions with others may lead to affective experiences which are critical for understanding collective pride (Sullivan, 2014). These notions have contributed to a theoretical segmentation which assesses pride as being either self-inflating (based on positive perceptions of oneself), or other-distancing or other-devaluing (based upon negative evaluations of others) (van Osch et al., 2017).

Pride has been a common concept of interest to tourism researchers but has rarely been the primary focus of research. Previous research has indicated that tourism can be a driving force to keep cultures alive and unique, such as through art, crafts, and folklore (Besculides et al., 2002; Chen, 2000; Kim et al., 2013). As tourists show interest and appreciation for a place and its culture(s), residents may experience greater community pride (King et al., 1993; Milman & Pizam, 1988), and residents may thus perceive tourism as helping to enhance community pride and awareness (Andereck & Nyaupane, 2011). Cultural learning, cultural exchange, and interaction between people from different cultures can enable increased emotional well-being (Kim et al., 2013). Residents' self-esteem has been found to correlate positively with perceived positive impacts of tourism development (Wang & Xu, 2015). In culturally contested spaces, tours and other community cultural representations may emphasize aspects of cultural pride, and tourism may serve to reinforce the pride felt by residents as they reassert their space's unique identity in light of social/political contexts (Santos & Buzinde, 2007).

The aim of this paper is to assess how tourism may enhance residents' senses of pride pertaining to their community and local sites, and to examine the nature of the pride in terms of authentic or hubristic characteristics. This research seeks evidence within the context of tourism of whether the experience of pride can be attributed mainly to characterizations of self-inflation, as has been asserted by van Osch et al. (2017), or other-distancing or other-devaluing. Toward these goals, this research considers residents' attitudes toward tourism and tourism development and as well as the amount of pride felt by residents' when construing mental scenarios designed to measure affective responses. Since tourism is a reflection of others' interests in a place (and in many cases, its people, culture, heritage, etc.), this research supposes that tourism is a social display of interest and esteem and will likely be associated with an increase in pride that is inherently social in its construction.

Study site

This research was conducted in the city of Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina, which experienced some of the worst physical destruction and human casualties during the Bosnian War, from 1992-1994. Mostar remains an ethno-religiously divided city, with Croats mainly residing in Western Mostar and Bosniaks mainly residing in Eastern Mostar (Bollens, 2007; Laketa, 2016). Tourism in Bosnia and Herzegovina has been promoted as a pathway toward reconciliation and recovery, but war memories and identity politics are deeply intertwined with regional heritage and tourism offerings (Causevic, 2010; Aussems, 2016). In the past year, Mostar has been prominently featured in travel articles from several esteemed publications (e.g., New York Times, 2019; National Geographic, 2019). This research additionally considers two tourist sites within Mostar, the centrally-located Old Bridge, which is the city's main tourist attraction, and Park Fortica, a newly developed adventure park in the eastern hills.

Methods

This research is based upon data obtained from a survey of 408 Mostar residents (Table 1) conducted in the Fall of 2019 using probabilistic cluster sampling intercept methods. The survey included several 1-7 Likert-type agreement scale items pertaining to residents' attitudes toward tourism and tourism development. Three variables were adapted from Andereck and Vogt (2000): "I am happy and proud to see tourists coming to see what my community has to offer" (Happy_proud), "tourism holds great promise for Mostar's future" (Future_promise), and "tourism development increases residents' quality of life in Mostar" (Improve_QOL). An additional variable, "there are many enjoyable or interesting activities and attractions for tourists in Mostar" (Enjoy_attractions) was added to represent perceptions of what Mostar may have to offer tourists. For this paper, demographic variables were delimited to those related to social dimensions: whether or not one works in tourism (i.e. "yes," "partially or indirectly," and "no"), frequency encountering tourists (five levels ranging from "every day, very frequently" to "very rarely or never"), neighborhood affiliation (West, East, or other, with the "other" category representing mainly outlying villages and suburbs still considered part of Mostar), and distance lived from the main tourism area (5 levels, ranging from "within 500 meters" to "3 km or more").

Separate 1-7 Likert-type scale items investigated residents' perceived affective responses to envisioning certain locations (the city of Mostar, the Old Bridge, and Park Fortica), conceived in general terms, and, next, within a more specific scenario in which brief descriptions prompted

participants to envision tourists visiting the locations. This multi-level structure was intended to provide a way of differentiating between pride that residents feel for a place versus pride that is more a result of the phenomena of tourism at those places. This paper specifically investigates the affective response of pride (*ponosan* in Bosnian/Serbo-Croatian), which was one of 16 affect items included in the questionnaire.

For the investigation of attitudinal items, mean and median values for the overall sample's attitude scores were calculated, as well as Spearman's ρ values to determine how much each attitude variable correlated with the primary variable of interest that pertains to pride. Kruskal-Wallis H tests with Dunn's post-hoc analyses were used to compare the distributions of scores between levels of the demographic variables for each of the attitudinal statements. Boxplots indicated that distributions of attitude scores were similar across groups, meeting assumptions of Kruskal-Wallis. To analyze the overall sample's pride scores between site/scenario levels, Wilcoxon signed-ranks tests were used to compare differences between locations as envisioned generally and the locations as envisioned with tourists. The demographic variable that was found to have significant differences in attitude scores was also investigated at the site level, using Kruskal-Wallis H tests to determine significant differences between groups' pride scores for each location scenario (general and with tourists).

Table 1. Descriptive statistics for the overall sample

Variable/Category	<i>n</i>	%
<u>Gender</u>		
Male	216	54
Female	183	46
<u>Age</u>		
18-24	173	42
25-34	88	21
35-44	51	13
45-54	27	7
55-64	27	7
65-74	28	7
75+	13	3
<u>Employment[†]</u>		
Work full-time	181	44
Part-time/temp./seasonal	68	17
Student	90	22
Unemployed	48	12
Retired	35	9
Caring for family at home	5	1
Other	7	2

Note. [†]For employment, participants were able to select more than one category, if applicable.

Findings

Overall, residents showed a very high level of agreement with the Happy_proud variable (mean = 6.17) as well as the other items, which all shared a median value of 7 (Table 2). Spearman's ρ

correlation coefficient values for the other resident attitude variables, as associated with Happy_proud, were all within the range considered to indicate moderate correlation (using Dancey & Reidy [2007] criteria). The *p*-values displayed in Table 2 reveal that the demographic variables of whether or not one works in tourism, how often one encounters tourists, and distance lived from the main tourist area were not found to have statistically significant differences between groups. The only variable that yielded significant differences was neighborhood affiliation, which showed significantly different pairings within each of the attitude items (Table 3). These differences were all between the East neighborhood and West or Other. Within the associations found to be significantly different, the East neighborhood's distributions of scores were consistently higher: greater than the Other group for Happy_proud, greater than the West and Other groups for Future_promise, greater than the West group for Enjoy_attractions, and greater than the Other group for Improve_QOL. The Other group, it's worth noting, is a relatively small group (*n* = 31).

Table 2. *p*-values of distribution differences between demographic variable groups, by resident attitude variable

Attitude variable	Overall sample <i>n</i>	Overall sample <i>M</i>	Overall sample <i>Mdn</i>	<i>r_s</i>	Work <i>p</i>	Encount. <i>p</i>	Neigh. <i>p</i>	Distance <i>p</i>
Happy_proud	399	6.17	7	1.000	0.706	0.138	0.009*	0.279
Future_promise	407	6.26	7	0.558**	0.211	0.097	0.002*	0.091
Enjoy_attractions	404	6.00	7	0.570**	0.495	0.539	0.012*	0.499
Improve_QOL	405	6.10	7	0.477**	0.229	0.053	0.006*	0.300

Note. *r_s* = Spearman's ρ correlation coefficient. Mean and median values are based on 1-7 Likert-type scale (1 = very strongly disagree; 7 = very strongly agree). Column labels: Work = work in tourism; Encount. = frequency encountering tourists; Neigh. = neighborhood affiliation; Distance = distance lived from the main tourist area. *Differences are significant at *p* < 0.05 (2-tailed). *p*-values have been adjusted by the Bonferroni correction for multiple measurements.

**Correlation is significant at *p* < 0.01 (2-tailed).

Table 3. Summary of significant pairwise differences in attitudes between neighborhood groups

Attitude variable	KWt	<i>p</i>	Group	<i>n</i>	<i>Mdn</i>	Group	<i>n</i>	<i>Mdn</i>	Adj. <i>p</i>
Happy_proud	$\chi^2(2) = 9.458$	0.009*	East	215	7	Other	33	6	0.036*
Future_promise	$\chi^2(2) = 12.839$	0.002*	East	220	7 [†]	West	147	7 [†]	0.007*
Future_promise	$\chi^2(2) = 12.839$	0.002*	East	220	7	Other	33	6	0.031*
Enjoy_attractions	$\chi^2(2) = 8.871$	0.012*	East	218	7	West	146	6	0.032*
Improve_QOL	$\chi^2(2) = 10.182$	0.006*	East	219	7	Other	34	6	0.007*

Note. KWt = Kruskal-Wallis H test statistic. Adjusted *p* reflects pairwise results of Dunn's post-hoc test, with Bonferroni correction.

[†]For the tied median scores, the East group had a mean of 6.45 and the West group had a mean of 6.07.

*significant at *p* < 0.05

For the site-level comparison, the overall sample’s pride scores were high overall (Table 4), similar to the results of the Happy_proud attitude item. Score means ranged from 5.47 (Park Fortica, general scenario) to 6.26 (Old Bridge, general scenario). The tourism scenario scores were higher for Mostar and Park Fortica but not the Old Bridge. All comparisons between scenarios, per location, were found to be statistically significant (Table 5). For the locational scenarios in terms of the neighborhood variable, median values ranged between 5 (“quite a bit proud”) to 7 (“extremely/completely proud”), and score means ranged from 4.90 (Other neighborhood, Park Fortica) to 6.46 (East neighborhood, Old Bridge). Several significant differences were found between neighborhood groups’ pride scores (Table 6), with the East scoring higher than the West for the Old Bridge (both general and tourists scenarios) and Park Fortica (general only), and with the East also scoring higher than the Other category for the Old Bridge (general only).

Table 4. Mean and median pride scores for the overall sample, by site/scenario.

Site/scenario	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>Mdn</i>
Mostar	389	5.72	6
MostarTourists	398	5.87	6
Bridge	399	6.26	7
BridgeTourists	397	6.01	7
Park	391	5.47	6
ParkTourists	393	5.74	6

Note. “Tourists” indicates the revised scenario of the site with tourists visiting. “Bridge” = Old Bridge, “Park” = Park Fortica. Mean and median scores are based on 1-7 Likert-type scale (1 = not at all proud; 7 = extremely/completely proud).

Table 5. Median differences in pride between sites (generally conceived) and sites as envisioned with tourists

Location Pair	<i>n</i>	pos/neg/ties	WSR	<i>z</i>	<i>p</i>
Mostar-MostarTourists	381	121/93/167	13,550	2.322	0.020* ⁺
Bridge-BridgeTourists	393	45/108/240	3,256	-5.024	0.000* ⁻
Park-ParkTourists	386	128/78/180	13,643	3.588	0.000* ⁺

Note. “Tourists” indicates the revised scenario of the site with tourists visiting. “Bridge” = Old Bridge, “Park” = Park Fortica. WSR = Wilcoxon signed-ranks test statistic. Significance level (*p*) is asymptotic (2-sided test). Pos/neg/ties represents median change (*tourists scenario* – *general site scenario*).

* significant at $p < 0.05$

⁻ Indicates lower score for the tourists scenario (if statistically significant)

⁺ Indicates higher score for the tourists scenario (if statistically significant)

Table 6. Pride scores between neighborhood groups, by site/scenario

Site/Scenario	West			East			Other			p
	M	n	Mdn	M	n	Mdn	M	n	Mdn	
Mostar	5.65	143	6	5.81	210	6	5.58	31	6	0.363
MostarTourists	5.80	144	6	6.01	214	6	5.64	33	6	0.210
Bridge	6.03	145	7	6.46	216	7	5.97	32	6	0.009*†
BridgeTourists	5.79	145	6	6.25	215	7	5.69	32	6	0.004*† ††
Park	5.12	145	6	5.81	212	6	4.90	31	5	0.000*† ††
ParkTourists	5.47	144	6	5.95	214	6	5.52	31	6	0.055

Note. “Tourists” indicates the revised scenario of the site with tourists visiting. “Bridge” = Old Bridge, “Park” = Park Fortica. Mean and median scores are based on 1-7 Likert scale (1 = not at all proud 7 = extremely/completely proud). Parentheses following *p*-value indicates which pairwise comparison was significantly different, using Dunn’s post-hoc test. *p*-value is asymptotic (2-sided), obtained from Kruskal-Wallis H test of differences between groups’ distributions.

†significant difference found between East and West, using Dunn’s post-hoc test with Bonferroni correction

††significant difference found between East and Other, using Dunn’s post-hoc test with Bonferroni correction

*significant at $p < 0.05$

Discussion and Conclusion

Overall, participants reported very positive attitudes and high levels of pride pertaining to tourism and tourist places. The findings for residents’ perceived pride pertaining to Mostar and to Park Fortica in comparing locations (generally) with the same locations with tourism seem to indicate that tourism can lead to enhanced feelings of pride associated with places. The Old Bridge did not follow this same pattern, yet this may be due to its unique status as an icon of the city and a place with a complex history tied to the city’s civil war. In a city with a complicated geopolitical background, it is not surprising that neighborhood affiliation would correspond with differences in pride and attitudinal factors. Both the Old Bridge and Park Fortica are located in areas generally considered to be the Eastern part of town, so it is not surprising that the Eastern residents tended to have higher pride scores, both within the attitudinal section and the site-based section. It is also important to note that the differences between groups, even when significant, were relatively minor. Most residents felt quite high levels of pride associated with all sites. So, while the effects of neighborhood identification may be present, they may not be as large as might be thought for a “divided” city with a substantial history of conflict.

It is also notable that the other social variables did not impact attitudinal scores. This suggests that being directly involved in tourism or interactive with tourists is not a requirement of perceiving benefits of tourism or receiving a greater sense of esteem (leading to pride) as a result of tourism. Knowledge, alone, of tourism occurring in a place may in itself be a powerful element that can increase feelings of pride and positive attitudes regarding the possibilities of tourism.

Three of the attitudinal items (Happy_proud, Future_promise, and Improve_QOL) pertain to what tourism may have to offer Mostar, while Enjoy_attractions represents what residents believe

Mostar already has to offer tourists. The similarly high response scores and correlations across these items suggest that there is already a strong foundation for community pride within residents, which when paired with the social dimension of tourism may grow into even greater pride. This supports van Osch et al.'s (2017) assertion that pride is a social as well as self-conscious emotion, and the experience of pride tends to be linked with self-inflation more than other-distancing or other-devaluation. This is further supported by the evidence that picturing tourists at a site can lead to higher perceived levels of pride pertaining to that site. In these instances, residents report increased pride under the condition of the presence of others (tourists) and what that presence might indicate. Tourists' attention to Mostar and its sites, via the act of visiting, is a representation of the perception that a place is worthy of others' time and money. If residents acknowledge this, it likely lifts their perceived pride, causing self-inflation. If residents value the judgments of tourists, it indicates some respect for tourists and their opinions. This contradicts the idea of pride as other-distancing or other-devaluing in terms of resident-visitor dynamics, although other-distancing and other-devaluing could still be present phenomena in terms of neighborhood rivalries. While it is possible that residents' evaluation of their pride may stem from thoughts such as, "tourists are coming here because other places are not as good" (i.e. other-devaluing pride), the findings that Mostarians recognize value in their existing attractions and feel relatively proud about all locations provide evidence of self-esteem and a greater basis for the self-inflation theory. This also supports Wang and Xu's (2015) suggestion that place identity theory can be an important factor in understanding resident attitudes toward tourism.

While most differences between groups and sites in this research were small, their presence still illuminates the highly contextual nature of destinations, in which tourism sites' histories and residents' associated memories could lead to varying perceptions and levels of support for tourism in those places. Since neither of the sites included in this research were explicitly "dark" (although there are notable aspects of each site that can be interpreted or remembered this way), residents' reactions may have been more positive overall than they might have been for sites dedicated solely to the difficulties of the past, such as war memorials or museums. This reiterates the political and ethical importance of attention to how dark tourism sites are framed for visitors, as expressed by Martini and Buda (2020), and how destination images are actively created within tourism development and promotion efforts, potentially serving as acts of remembrance or acts of memory replacement (Wise, 2011).

In regions hoping to overcome social conflict and economic depression, fostering authentic and non-hubristic pride could be highly beneficial for resident well-being and social unity. While pride can have notable positive and negative manifestations, it has been the focus of very little research within tourism scholarship. This paper hopes to contribute to a new foundation of knowledge about the relationships between tourism development and pride, so that tourism researchers and planners may more comprehensively understand tourism's vast impacts upon communities and be able to leverage them for the better. This research provides further evidence that tourism development and residents' senses of pride and identity are intricately related. These relationships may be deeply impactful upon residents' social and emotional well-being and thus merit continued attention, especially in destinations striving to overcome conflict. In future research, qualitative methods such as in-depth interviewing would be useful for further investigating how residents' affective

and emotional relationships with local places impact their attitudes toward tourism and whether tourism, broadly and at certain sites, influences resident perceptions of their own identity and culture.

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