

Collective pride in a divided city? Examining social impacts of tourism

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Introduction

Pride can manifest in positive and negative ways. It can be *authentic* (linked with self-esteem) or *hubristic* (linked with narcissism or arrogance) (Tracy et al., 2009). Authentic pride can positively predict moral behavior, whereas hubristic pride can counteract it (Krettenauer & Casey, 2015). Pride can be *self-inflating*, based on positive perceptions of oneself, or *other-distancing* or *other-devaluing*, based upon negative evaluations of others (van Osch et al., 2018). Affective responses to social interactions can be critical in understanding collective pride (Sullivan, 2014). In tourism destinations, residents' senses of community pride may increase as tourists show interest and appreciation for a place and its cultures (Andereck & Nyaupane, 2011; King et al., 1993). This notion is particularly important in places recovering from internal conflict, where tourism could help build unity or could emphasize differences.

This quantitative research inspired by experimental design employs construal level theory of psychological distance (i.e. CLT; Trope & Liberman, 2010) as a framework for understanding residents' senses of pride pertaining to tourism and touristic places in a post-war city still facing internal social divisions. CLT proposes that people traverse different types of egocentric, psychological distance when they think about locations, events, and others' perspectives. Psychological distance is associated with more abstract (high-level) thinking, and psychological proximity is associated with more concrete (low-level) thinking. Trope and Liberman (2010) suggest that CLT could have interesting applications within the study of affect.



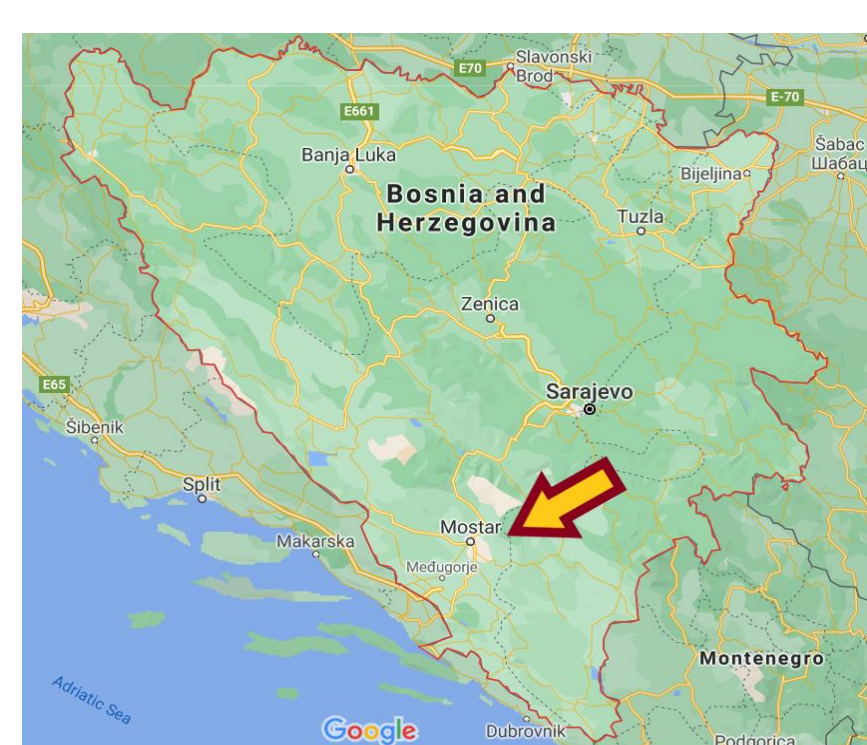
Research Questions:

1. Can tourism influence residents' affective perceptions of pride?
2. Is this pride associated with self-inflation, other-distancing or other-devaluing?
3. Do social and spatial psychological distance factors (e.g., neighborhood affiliation) influence perceived pride when comparing locations across two scenarios: the places envisioned generally, versus the same places envisioned with tourists visiting?

Study site



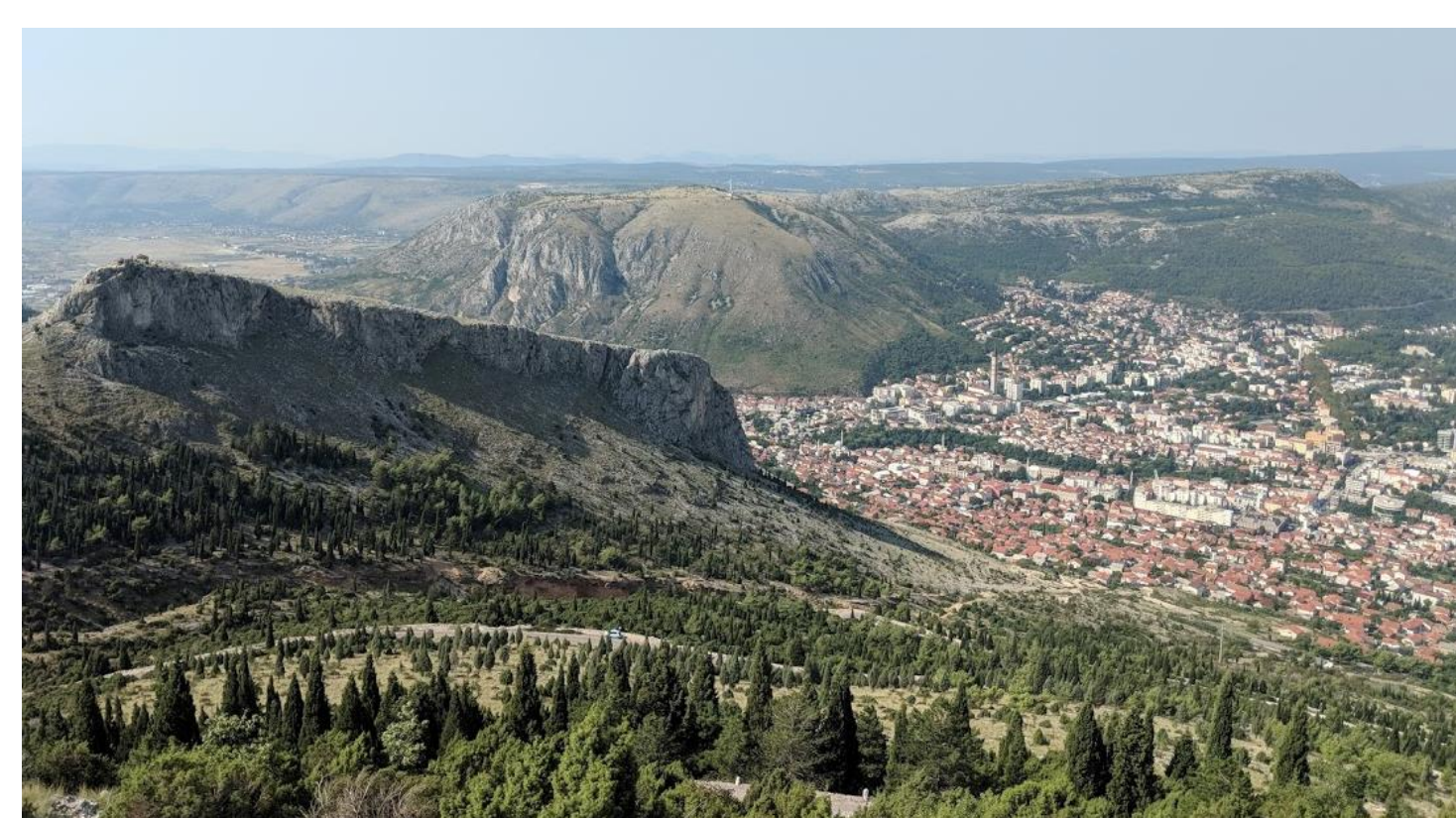
The city of Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina, experienced some of the worst physical destruction and human casualties during the Bosnian War, 1992-1994. It remains an ethno-religiously divided city between East and West sides (Laketa, 2016). Tourism has been promoted as a pathway toward reconciliation and recovery, but war memories and identity politics are deeply entwined with regional heritage and tourism offerings (Aussems, 2016).



Methods

Study design and measurement: To answer these research questions, a survey methodology was applied to study residents' attitudes and affective responses. The questionnaire included two sections employing 1-7 Likert-type scales: previously-tested items pertaining to resident attitudes toward tourism and a newly-developed instrument based upon CLT measuring affective responses to mental scenario prompts for three locations. The selected locations were **Mostar** (general city), the **Old Bridge** (famous, central historic site), and **Park Fortica** (new, eastside adventure park). In the first scenario (*high-level construal*), respondents were asked about their general, immediate response when envisioning the place. In the second scenario (*low-level construal*) respondents were prompted to envision the same place with tourists visiting, with more description of the location provided.

Sampling: The population was delimited to adult residents of Mostar and its suburbs. The questionnaire was distributed using probabilistic cluster sampling throughout the city via intercept method. Surveying was conducted in the local language with the assistance of translators. 408 valid surveys were collected.



Left: View of Mostar from Park Fortica; right: The Old Bridge

Analysis: First, to understand a baseline of resident perceptions of tourism, mean and median values were calculated for four items pertaining to attitudes toward tourism:

Happy_proud = "I am happy and proud to see tourists coming to see what my community has to offer"

Future_promise = "Tourism holds great promise for Mostar's future"

Improve_QOL = "Tourism development increases residents' quality of life in Mostar"

Enjoy_attractions = "There are many enjoyable or interesting activities and attractions for tourists in Mostar"

Spearman's ρ were calculated to determine how much each item correlated with *Happy_proud*. The data were found to be non-parametric. Kruskal-Wallis H tests with Dunn's post-hoc analyses were used to analyze whether factors pertaining to social and spatial distance categories influence responses.

Next, Wilcoxon signed-ranks tests were used to compare residents' self-reported levels of pride across the two mental scenario prompts for each location. Kruskal-Wallis H tests were then used to determine significant differences between neighborhood groups' pride scores for each location and construal level.

Results

Attitudinal items: All items scored high, with median scores of 7 (*M* range: 6.00 to 6.26; Table 1). The Spearman's ρ correlation coefficients indicated that all items had relatively strong correlation with *Happy_proud*. Of four population categories pertaining to social and/or spatial psychological distance (frequency encountering tourists, whether or not one works in tourism, home distance from central tourism area, and neighborhood affiliation), only neighborhood affiliation yielded significant differences. Respondents from the Eastern neighborhood tended to score attitudinal items more highly (Table 2).

Table 1. Attitudinal item scores (mean, median, correlation with *Happy_proud*, and *p*-value for neighborhood affiliation variable)

Attitude item	N	Overall sample M	Overall Mdn	r_s	Neighborhood P
Happy_proud	399	6.17	7	1.000	0.009*
Future_promise	407	6.26	7	0.558**	0.002*
Enjoy_attractions	404	6.00	7	0.570**	0.012*
Improve_QOL	405	6.10	7	0.477**	0.006*

Scale notes: 1 = "not at all"; 7 = "extremely"
*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 2. Summary of significant pairwise differences in attitudes between neighborhood groups

Attitude variable	KWt	<i>p</i>	Group 1	<i>n</i>	<i>Mdn</i>	Group 2	<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*

KWt = Kruskal-Wallis H test statistic. Adjusted *p* reflects pairwise results of Dunn's post-hoc test, with Bonferroni correction.
[†]Other = suburb neighborhoods not considered to be East nor West Mostar
[‡]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 $p < 0.05$

Construal level: The overall sample's pride scores were high overall (mean range: 6.00 to 6.26; Figure 1), indicating concurrent validity with the *Happy_proud* findings. The tourism scenario scores were higher for Mostar and Park Fortica, but not the Old Bridge. All differences between construal scenarios, per location, were statistically significant (Table 3).

Between neighborhoods, means ranged from 4.90 (Other neighborhoods, Park Fortica) to 6.46 (East neighborhood, Old Bridge) (Figure 2). Three differences between East and West neighborhoods were found to be significant: Old Bridge (general and with tourists) and Park Fortica (general). As with *Happy_proud*, the East tended to report higher pride scores.

Results (continued)

Figure 1. Mean pride score per scenario across locations (overall sample)

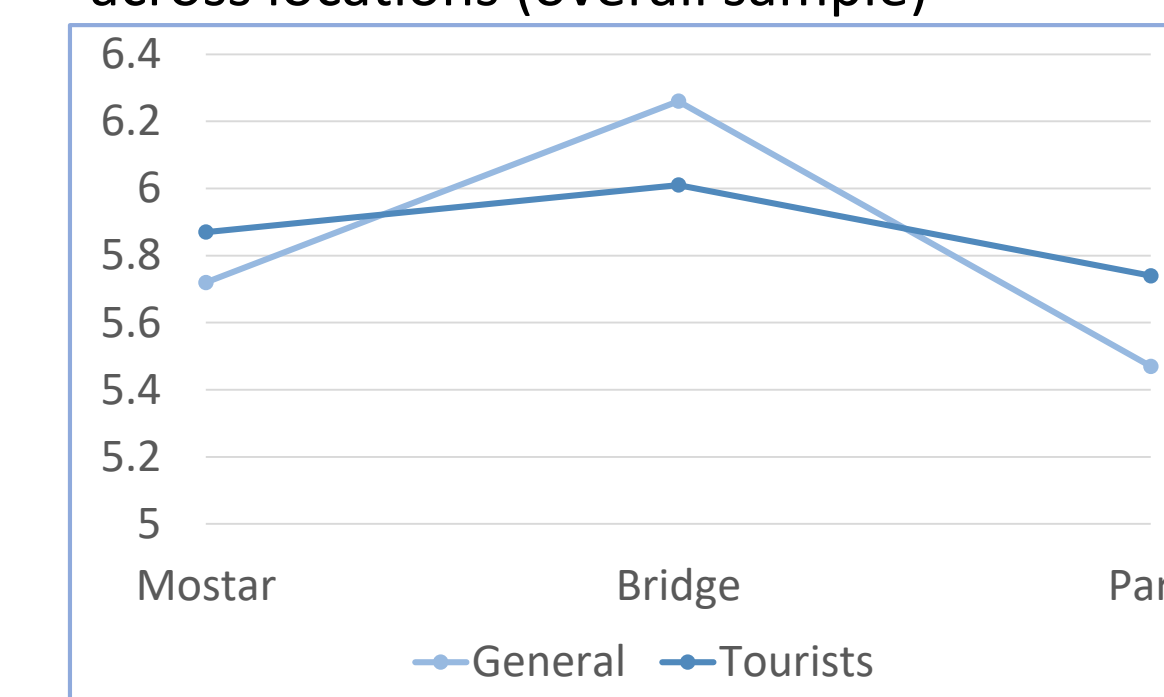
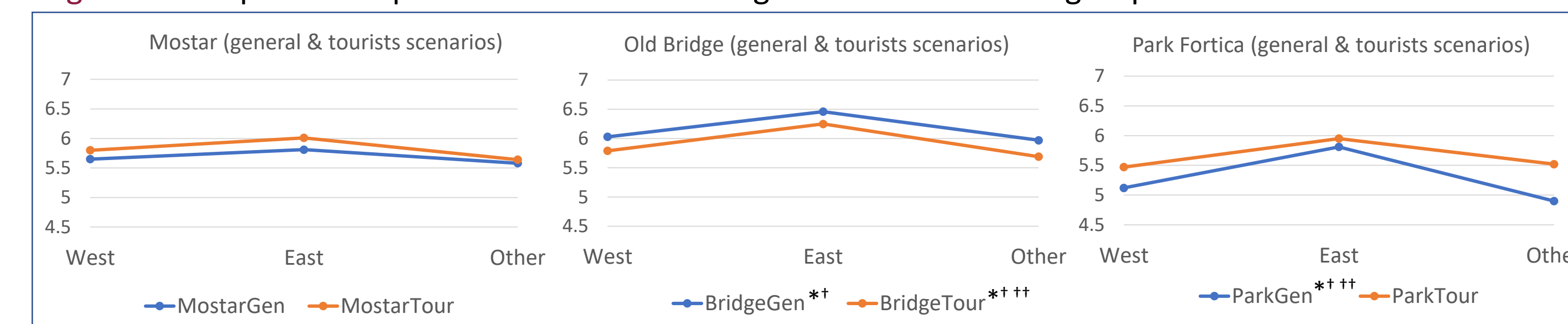


Table 3. Median differences in pride between sites generally conceived (high level) and as envisioned with tourists (low level)

Low - High	<i>n</i>	pos/neg/ties	WSR	<i>z</i>	<i>p</i>
MostarTour- MostarGen	381	121/93/167	13,550	2.322	0.020**
BridgeTour- BridgeGen	393	45/108/240	3,256	-5.024	0.000**
ParkTour- ParkGen	386	128/78/180	13,643	3.588	0.000**

Gen = general site scenario; Tour = 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 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)

Figure 2. Comparison of pride scores between neighborhood affiliation groups for each location and scenario



[†]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

Residents' responses indicate positive perceptions of tourism and a belief that the city has much to offer tourists. Findings suggest that tourism can enhance residents' feelings of pride associated with local places, highlighting the social properties of pride. The Old Bridge tourism scenario may not have yielded higher pride scores because tourists are already an expected element there. Not surprisingly, the East neighborhood reported higher levels of pride associated with tourist sites in their own part of the city. However, it is important to note that *all* neighborhood groups reported feeling relatively high levels of pride, including for sites outside of their own area.

These findings offer strong indication that pride, in this context, manifests predominantly in terms of self-inflation. This research offers important implications for the possibilities of tourism development to enhance positive psychological benefits and foster a sense of unity amongst a local population, even in places noted for internal conflict. Future research could consider using the CLT framework with qualitative or mixed methods approaches. This could help planners and developers gain a more in-depth understanding of residents' opinions and affective relationships with places, helping to establish a more ethical and sustainable tourism industry.



Key empirical results supporting research questions:

- Tourism can significantly influence residents' perceptions of pride associated with local sites
- Tourism development in post-conflict settings can contribute to "authentic," self-inflating pride within residents
- Residents' neighborhood affiliation can significantly influence reported levels of pride associated with local sites and tourism, yet this pride can still be widespread across a population, even in a city with known social-geographical divisions

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