Affective Impacts of Tourism

in a Post-War, Re-Emerging Destination

by

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ABSTRACT

Tourism is not always a lighthearted affair. Visitors are often attracted to places associated with dark and complex pasts, where communities host a wide range of lived experiences, memories and associations. While tourism has potential to facilitate progress and create opportunities, it may also emphasize a place's hardships or its controversial history. For tourism development to be ethical and sustainable, it is vital to understand its community impacts, including how it may influence residents' perceptions and wellbeing.

This research investigated residents' senses of affect and emotion within touristic spaces of Mostar, a re-emerging destination city in Bosnia and Herzegovina that experienced some of the worst physical destruction and human casualties during the Bosnian War of the 1990s. An interdisciplinary, multiple-methods approach employed qualitative and quantitative methods, including an intercept survey, resident interviews, participant observation, and autoethnography.

In Part 1, construal level theory of psychological distance was applied in quantitative, survey-based research to understand how tourism may impact residents' affective responses to local places. In Part 2, fourteen young adult residents were invited to experience their city as "tourists for a day," visiting attractions alongside the researcher and reflecting upon their experiences via a three-stage interview process. The resulting article specifically explores the concept of affective atmospheres, drawing connections to interdependence theory. Part 3 employed a creative and introspective autoethnographic approach incorporating journaling, poetry and photography to examine the researcher's own experiences and observations as a visiting researcher in a post-war city. This inquiry

was inspired by works from cultural geography engaging non-representational theory and affect theory.

These three discrete studies under a shared thematic umbrella allowed for an in-depth exploration of affect, emotion, and lived experiences within touristic spaces of a post-war, recovering city. Overall, findings suggest that residents perceive tourism as a generally positive force, fostering senses of pride and creating opportunities for the city to move on from the persistent social and economic repercussions of war. However, the social and affective impacts of war are deeply engrained within the fabric of the city, and tourism has the capacity to emphasize differences and discomforts amongst residents and visitors alike.

DEDICATION

This research is dedicated to the resident war survivors of Mostar, Bosnia and

Herzegovina, who have warmly welcomed me and many other visitors to their

remarkable, complex, and evolving city.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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<center>**INTRODUCTION TO THIS THREE-PART RESEARCH**</center>

<center>**Introduction**</center>

The past decade has marked the continual downturn of global peace, as impacts of terrorism and political instability have increased worldwide. Many nations have exhibited difficulty in overcoming recent tensions, conflicts, and crises (IEP, 2018). Economically, such discord comes at a great cost: it is estimated that countries with low peacefulness scores experience per capita growth that is three times lower than peaceful places (IEP, 2018). Amidst this world that is widely blighted by war, violence, and conflict, international tourism has continued to flourish[1]. International tourism arrivals grew by 7% worldwide in 2017 (UNWTO, 2018b), equating to an increase of 84 million more international tourist arrivals in 2017 than in 2016, for a total of 1,323 million international tourist arrivals in 2017 (UNWTO, 2017b). In 2018, international tourism arrivals continued to grow, with a 5% increase over 2017 (UNWTO, 2019). Outbound and inbound tourist segments have changed rapidly, with travel becoming increasingly accessible to many countries' middle classes (Epler Wood, 2017). This growth may be encouraging to emergent destinations that seek to attract the attention of off-the-beaten-path travelers who are discouraged by the "overtourism" (issues such as crowding, pollution, and a loss of natural or cultural assets) exhibited in many better-known destinations.

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[1] Excluding the impacts of COVID-19 on global travel in 2020.

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Following an era of conflict, tourism may offer means of economic recovery and resilience, but it is not necessarily a simple solution or straightforward path. Tourism is commonly viewed as means toward cultural preservation, peace, and security (UNWTO, 2018a). While it has the potential to create cultural empathy, it may also emphasize cultural difference, both for better and for worse (Boniface & Fowler, 1993). Tourism may be a driver toward greater community resilience, but it may also make a community more susceptible to new social, economic, and ecological issues, particularly if the change happens quickly and without much planning (Cheer & Lew, 2018). Tourism can be a powerful force of change as it attends to its own financial interests – it is "not just an aggregate of merely commercial activities; it is also an ideological framing of history, nature, and tradition; a framing that has the power to reshape culture and nature to its own needs" (MacCannell, 2002, p. 1). The nuances of a place, its people, and its history are deeply entwined but not always explicitly recognized in the formation of a place as a destination. The "reshaping" brought by tourism may bring welcomed change to post-conflict places, but tourism may also work to reinforce or give new life to the conflicts of the past as places are promoted for external consumption.

War, in particular, tends to be highly devastating to people as well as to a place's physical environment. Yet, war-related attractions comprise a major tourism category worldwide, associated with emotional, promotional, military and political forms of tourism development (Smith, 1998). While government offices and tourism businesses may embark on efforts to rebuild buildings and other infrastructure that were physically damaged during the war in order to better accommodate tourism, the psychological impacts of war may be longer-lasting and less easily mended.

The research intersections between conflict and travel have arisen in many forms within tourism scholarship. More common examples include the study of dark tourism, crisis management, economic rehabilitation, and identity and heritage restoration. Most of this research has focused on the visitor experience, economic potential of tourism, and place marketing, often overlooking the implications of tourism for residents in places in varying stages of recovery. The local affective and emotional contexts of a place's redevelopment and re-imaging may be neglected as tourism industry outcomes are prioritized. Not all residents share the same history with a place, nor will they necessarily engage with tourists or the tourism industry similarly. Factors such neighborhood affiliation, age, gender, ethnicity, education, employment, and income may influence how residents perceive tourists, tourism, and tourist sites.

In light of geographical differences and disparities in people's lived experiences, affect and emotion and the influences of psychological distance become important factors of residents' attitudes and perceptions of tourism. The collective purpose of this multi-part research was to explore the workings of affect and emotion that transpire, both overtly and covertly, within a post-war city's touristic spaces. In these dynamic spaces, residents, visitors, objects, and environmental elements intermix, carrying with them an array of histories and experiences. With specific interest in understanding the lived experiences of residents, this research sought to understand the primary overarching question: what roles does tourism play in influencing how local places can emotionally and affectively impact people in a setting known for conflict and divisions? In examining this question, this research inquired how the affective responses that transpire within touristic spaces are perceived, transmitted, and modulated. Through adopting diverse

theoretical frameworks and an interdisciplinary lens, four connected subquestions were considered: 1) Do tourism, tourist sites, and touristic experiences tend to inspire or provoke certain types of affective and emotional responses within residents? 2) What differences exist in how residents perceive and relate to the city, its tourist sites, and tourism more broadly, and what factors may contribute to these differences? 3) Who is more likely to: a] support tourism development; b] view tourism as beneficial to the city; and c] feel positively about tourism? 4) Does tourism have the ability to help facilitate healing and reunification following a period of conflict? These questions were addressed with an interdisciplinary engagement of theory.

Theory and Frameworks

Within this interdisciplinary approach, multiple theories and frameworks weave in and out of one another, reflecting how their respective unique contributions may collectively lead to deeper understandings. These theories and frameworks can be roughly divided into two categories representing the dominant foundations for this research: social psychology and cultural geography.

Social Psychological Theory

Tourism research pertaining to resident attitudes and perceptions has commonly arisen from the tradition of social psychological theories and methodologies. This framing guided the first article and influenced the second and third articles, to lesser degrees. Construal level theory and social exchange theory provided two key frameworks for this research.

Construal Level Theory

The quantitative component of this research primarily utilized construal level theory of psychological distance (CLT) (Trope and Liberman, 2010). This theory states that people traverse different types of egocentric, psychological distance (temporal, spatial, social, and hypothetical) when they think about locations, events, and other's perspectives. Psychological distance leads to more abstract (high-level) thinking, and psychological closeness leads to more concrete (low-level) thinking. Trope and Liberman (2010) specifically list affect as a theoretical extension of CLT that merits further attention. In this context, CLT was applied toward gaining a better understanding of the differences in how residents relate to and perceive their city and its tourist sites. This is intended to merge researchers' expanding interests in affect and emotion (evident within both cultural geography and tourism scholarship) with geography's traditional interests in physical proximity and social psychology's attention to psychological distance (which have each manifested in tourism research, as well).

Data collected in a resident survey were used to test whether CLT applied in this research context, revealing relationships between: a) types of affect and their valence and intensity, b) social and spatial distance, and c) construal level. The research sought to understand residents' perceived levels of different types of affect regarding specific and general touristic places, given a variety of social and spatial psychological distance indicators. It was understood that from a deductive standpoint, CLT would imply that residents who experience greater psychological distance would exhibit higher intensity of perceived affect for Mostar (and tourism in Mostar) than they would for specific, more distal tourist sites (or for tourism at these specific sites). This specific area of CLT

research had not been widely investigated, although Trope and Liberman (2010) express interest in future research examining whether some emotional experiences tend to be perceived more abstractly than others. They recall the research of Eyal and Fishbach (2008) who find that pride (a concept of interest to this research) diminishes less over time than happiness.

This research continued in this vein, investigating whether pride and certain other affective responses were stronger across the more distal participants within a more abstract construal level (i.e., considering Mostar, broadly) than pertaining to individual sites within the city. Considering common findings from resident research engaging social exchange theory, it was hypothesized that respondents exhibiting closer social psychological distance would display stronger positive affect. This would be particularly true for residents who work in the tourism industry when asked to envision tourists at the sites, in comparison to non-tourism industry residents. Yet, the confounding factors presented by Mostar being a memory-laden, subjectively understood, post-war place was predicted to complicate assumptions. With this in mind, this research adopted the approach of testing the concepts of construal level theory while assuming a more inductive position than is typical of psychological research.

Social Exchange Theory

Fusing psychological interests with economics, sociology, and anthropology, social exchange theory has provided a theoretical basis for a large body of tourism research pertaining to understanding resident attitudes and perceptions. In general terms, social exchange theory is concerned with the exchange of resources between parties (individuals or groups) in a setting of interaction. In the interaction, the "actor" (whether

the group as a unit or an individual) from either side has resources that they can offer the other. A commonly used definition of "resources" in this context is "any item, concrete or symbolic, which can become the object of exchange among people" (Foa & Foa, 1980, p. 78). The resource could be a service, an experience, a product, or currency, among other possibilities. The symmetry of the exchange is widely considered to be an essential part of understanding SET, for if an exchange is imbalanced, one side may feel dissatisfied or exploited (Ap, 1992; Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Sutton, 1967). Actors are inclined to participate in the exchange in order to satisfy needs, and if no need exists, there may be a lack of willingness for a potential actor to participate (Ap, 1992).

Reflecting the past lineage of resident attitudes and perceptions research, social exchange theory offers a recurrent theme of consideration in this research. The first article, based upon primary survey data, considers how insights garnered from utilizing construal level theory may converge or diverge from assumptions based upon social exchange theory. The second article, based upon the resident interviews, specifically considers interdependence theory, an offshoot of social exchange theory, and how it may connect with the concept of atmospheres amidst a city's touristic spaces. The article seeks to understand how intangible goods, such as distinct perceived atmospheres, may too be something exchangeable within resident-tourist relations, serving the interests and well-being of both parties.

Cultural Geography Theory

The qualitative components of this research focused largely on affect theory and were inspired in part by non-representational theory. Non-representational theory is not so much a theory in the traditional sense as it is an intellectual approach or "style" of

perceiving the world (Thrift, 2008). This approach views spaces as being alive and in

flux; always in the process of becoming, and it places great value in the examination of

everyday life. Non-representational theory posits that too much attention may be placed

on representation and instead proposes greater emphasis on relationality, encouraging

particular attention to affect (Thrift, 2008).

Non-representational theory offered helpful inspiration in developing a foundation

for this study as it encouraged me to consider the linkages and flows between entities,

events, and practices, and embrace more creative means of inquiry and expression. These

were important notions for studying the experiences and perceptions of residents and

tourists within touristic spaces, as many tourist sites had histories and contextual richness

that could be understood and experienced very differently by different people. In such a

context, it might have felt easy to lean heavily upon categories of representation to

explain these differences; yet, meaningful nuances of lived experiences may have been

lost in a purely representational approach.

The concept of *space* is a key construct within this research, particularly within its

geographical interests. With Mostar's ample natural and cultural resources attracting an

increasing number of visitors, it is essential to understand how people relate to and

connect to places—not in terms of strict boundaries, but rather as spaces filled with

subjective meanings and experiences (Tuan, 1977). Space, according to Massey (2005),

is a "product of interrelations" (p. 10) where multiple trajectories co-exist in a

"simultaneity of stories-so-far" (p. 24). In this research, Mostar's historical context and

re-emerging popularity as a tourism destination offers a complex intersection of people,

objects, and memories – setting a captivating stage to explore lived experiences in

touristic spaces. In both the qualitative and quantitative components of this research, the manipulation of proximity and exposure to touristic spaces were recurrent themes. In Mostar's touristic spaces, residents may be an object within others' views or imaginations, an audience on the periphery, or an embodied actor. Residents actively shape what tourism is in Mostar and are increasingly shaped *by* tourism.

While the quantitative section of this research inquired specifically about three *places* (the city of Mostar, broadly, and two tourist sites within the city), my attention was largely attuned to the significance of *space*. The streets, cafes, museums, parks and other attractions frequented by tourists were spaces where the stories and experiences of a diversity of people collided and intertwined. Non-representational theory provided inspiration to look beyond how places are represented in this divided city and shift greater attention to the intermixing of lived experiences and the emotional contexts that co-inhabit spaces, shaping while simultaneously being shaped by their environment. I considered this to be a particularly valuable approach within the intercultural spaces created by tourism, in which visitors and residents may each greatly influence each other's experiences, in both subtle and obvious ways. By attuning to affect and perceptions of touristic spaces, the theme of *atmospheres* emerged as a key construct providing insights to how people relate to post-war spaces in cultural flux and how they perceive the impacts of tourism.

The lively and dynamic conceptualization of space, attention to atmospheres, and guidance offered from non-representational scholarship helped guide both of the qualitative, inductive sections of this research. This foundation encouraged me to take greater pause when exploring the city, whether wandering solo or actively touring with

participants. I accepted an invitation to take time to absorb my surroundings in a way that my often-hurried tourist persona did not always allow. Oftentimes, in a newfound sense of analytical freedom, I found myself reaching for a notebook to write down memos that more resembled abstract poems than cogent observations, yet somehow seemed to express the moment as I was experiencing it better than concrete terms could. In an uncharacteristic move, I also encouraged myself to dig acutely into my discomforts, darker moods, and anxieties rather than dismiss them as being unhelpful in my research endeavors. This process – uncomfortable and embarrassing but also cathartic and enlivening – in turn became the basis of my autoethnographic third article.

Contributions of This Research

My interest in this research topic emerged largely from my recognition of the shortcomings of extant resident attitudes and perceptions research to deeply investigate the experiences of residents for the sake of residents themselves. While resident attitudes literature is vast, it infrequently considers how tourism might affect residents' emotions and perceptions of themselves, their own cultures, and their places. The majority of research that has considered these variables tends to do so in order to understand support for tourism development, still with a priority of understanding commercial or economic interests. It seems that such research maintains substantial neoliberal interests bound to the tourism industry. Past research addressing affectual and emotional considerations has articulated a gap in the literature concerning how tourism developments might impact tourists psychologically in ways beyond just their support for tourism. Buda (2015) notes that affect and emotion have been greatly overlooked by tourism scholars, despite the increasing attention from related fields such as cultural studies and geography.

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Furthermore, most tourism research that has investigated emotions and affect has done so from the angle of the tourist rather than the resident (e.g. Gountas & Gountas, 2004; Kim and Fesenmaier, 2015; and Vogt & Stewart, 1998).

However, in recent years a greater interest has emerged within tourism studies to pay attention to residents lived experiences and emotional or affective impacts of tourism. Non-representational theory was identified as a possible direction for exploring this territory (Xiao et al., 2013). Coincidingly, Pritchard, Morgan, and Ateljevic (2011) have encouraged researchers to utilize the concept of "hopeful tourism." This approach emboldens tourism researchers to not shy away from what may seem like paradigmatic boundaries or uncharted philosophical territories, but instead consider the values of interdisciplinary approaches and reflexivity. Some conceptual areas of particular interest within the hopeful tourism perspective include the notion of multiple worlds, emotion and embodiment, racial and ethnic minority considerations, social politics, peace and social justice, and tourism as co-transformation.

On a specific geographic level, this study aimed to build upon the Mostar-based research of Laketa (2016), who investigates affect and emotion of younger city residents from a feminist, geopolitical perspective. Laketa explores "how emotions and affect circulate through bodies and objects forming an 'affective economy' of the city" (p. 663) asserting that emotion and affect are critical components of understanding social restructuring and political dynamics. Laketa uses qualitative methods consisting of interviews with local high school students, participant observation, and a photography project. Findings illustrate the deeply multisensory ways in which residents perceive and relate to the city's places and spaces and the ways in which the city's social divisions

persevere into new generations. Tourism is never discussed in this research, yet the impetus to study tourism through a similar lens in this setting arises in Laketa's work. She states that "emotions and affect feed into, condition, and contradict the larger geopolitical processes in the country, from political and economic transition to polarizing and antagonistic relations between different ethnic/national groups" (p. 679). In studying the context of a local economy transitioning increasingly to a reliance on tourism (an inherently intercultural undertaking), Laketa's work provided further encouragement for my own study of the workings of emotion and affect within a post-war city.

Rationale for a Multiple-Methods Approach

I selected a multiple-methods approach for this research, aligning with the three-article dissertation format (see Table 1). I believe that multiple methods are appropriate for this interdisciplinary research that seeks to engage different theories toward understanding the roles of affect within resident populations in a post-conflict, emerging destination city. By incorporating interviews, personal reflection, and survey data, this research strived toward an understanding of broader themes and trends as well as the finer nuances of residents' lived experiences. The approach also allowed me to be most reflexive and contemplative of how my mixed roles as a researcher and visitor/tourist informed and influenced my experiences and perceptions. This three-part approach reflects a pragmatic research worldview similar to what is typical of mixed methods research, incorporating a variety of available approaches in order to address the research problem with greater freedom of choice (Creswell, 2014; Morgan, 2007). The pragmatic approach acknowledges the political, social, and historical contexts of research, but does not require commitment to one particular ontological or epistemological view (Creswell,

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2014). Data collection and analysis were executed simultaneously between the sections, as in convergent parallel mixed-methods design. However, each generated dataset was considered discrete. The qualitative and quantitative sections were prioritized roughly equally.

I identified four main purposes for conducting this research using multiple methods. First, the survey research aimed to provide more generalizable findings by seeking information from a large sample representative of the city's overall adult population. Meanwhile, the interviewing component provided means toward a deeper understanding of distinct but related research questions via an extended timeframe of in-depth conversation with a smaller group of participants. Second, this research aimed to utilize different types of theories (stemming from social psychology, anthropology, and cultural geography) to see how they may each offer tools and insights toward understanding a set of related research questions and to consider how they may intersect or diverge. Construal level theory is well suited for a survey-based approach, as it arises from the social psychological research tradition and considers psychological distance themes that are similar to what has been included in past resident attitudes survey research. The processes of investigating the theme of atmospheres for the interviewing/experiential component and engaging non-representational thought to help guide initial personal explorations in the autoethnography process embraced playful, experimental, and flexible approaches eschewing traditional, quantitative research design. In the qualitative sections, theory was engaged more inductively. While the three sections work in tandem to bring a greater depth of understanding, they were intended to stand alone as discrete analyses, as outcomes from multi-strategy research can be unpredictable

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(Bryman, 2006). Yet, given my background and training, this research as a whole arose from a lineage of interdisciplinary tourism scholarship focused on resident attitudes and perceptions, which often leans upon social exchange theory. This foundation is important to note. Third, while this is not a *mixed*-methods design, the findings from each section were still useful in triangulation and in cueing me, the researcher, to be attuned to such considerations as cultural influences and the presence of bias. Fourth, employing multiple methods helped to provide me, a doctoral student researcher, with an expanding and diversified research skillset, using the unique learning opportunity of dissertation research to its full potential.

Implications

It is important to develop a better understanding of resident feelings and perceptions for a variety of reasons, pertaining to local governance, resident quality of life, the ethics of tourism activity and development, and tourism industry success factors. Residents' emotions and perceptions of tourism and touristic places are essential components of whether they may support initiatives regarding tourism development, historic preservation, conservation, and urban planning. Tourism development, when executed with the community in mind, has the potential to offer new forms of livelihood and positive emotional outcomes. Yet, if residents' feelings and opinions are not taken into consideration, tourism may aggravate existing community issues or create new problems.

In Mostar, municipal governance has been historically problematic, as the city's ethnic divisions, also reflected within the government, have created widespread public opinion of an inefficient and ineffective government. These issues in Mostar have been

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said to mimic the governance issues faced by the Bosnia and Herzegovina government at the national level (Bollens, 2007). Thus, Mostar provides a microcosmic investigation into widespread issues currently faced by the country on a larger scale. By enhancing understandings of affect and emotion, research may provide insights to existing latent barriers that hinder progress. This is particularly salient in terms of understanding manifestations of nationalistic views or prejudices between populations. Within this complex, post-conflict setting, this research sought to inquire how residents may feel pride in one's city and its tourism attractions and explored whether there may be a more collective, place-based sense of pride than a type of pride based in ethnic identities and/or geopolitical divisions (as in nationalism). This research found indication that a broader, more inclusive, place-based type of pride can emerge even within a divided city, as outside attention (via tourism) highlights the aspects of a city deserving of celebration. This type of knowledge is highly valuable for local governance as it considers how to develop a more unified city.

In considering the role of tourism, specifically, in the (re-)development of a post-conflict city, several industry-based implications of this research emerge. Bosnia's governmental-based tourism promotion currently avoids topics and attractions related to the war which could be deemed political or divisive. However, many private companies and travelers still heavily promote this type of tourism. Researching the range of responses that local sites evoke for residents can help inform marketing and promotional strategies that are more mindful of the diverse range of local experiences and opinions. Along these lines, Eshuis et al. (2014) suggest that citizen's emotions – while rarely incorporated in place marketing efforts – may be able to make valuable contributions to

local governance processes and functioning. This could be essential in avoiding further conflicts, whether between factions of residents, between residents and tourism promotors (both governmental and independent), and between residents and visitors. Destination and attraction managers may benefit from greater awareness of the subjectivities that exist within touristic spaces, as the affects and emotions exhibited at such places may alter the perceived atmospheres of those settings, potentially making them desirable or undesirable to visit, or, for instance, deeming them more interesting or less interesting for visitors.

Finally, these types of understandings will be beneficial knowledge for tourism and hospitality business managers. The more these professionals are able to understand residents' feelings and perceptions related to tourism, the better prepared they will be to successfully hire, employ, and consider the well-being of residents working within the tourism sector. This may have impacts upon the customer service experience as well as employee retention and satisfaction.

Limitations and Delimitations

A primary limitation of this research was the language barrier between me and many residents, as I speak only very limited Bosnian/Serbo-Croatian. Throughout the phases of this research, I worked with several Mostar and U.S.-based translators to ameliorate this limitation. The survey was conducted exclusively in the local language, and a local translator accompanied me at all times during survey collection to aid with communication. The interviewing part of this research was limited to English speakers only, which did mean that many residents who otherwise would have been qualified and available for this research could not participate. English is widely taught in Mostar's

schools, so while the ability to speak English could be reflective of people who are already pre-dispositioned to feel favorably toward foreigners or tourism, I still found that many participants had only ever had limited interactions with tourists beforehand. I was clear to communicate with participants that if they did not know how to best express in English what they wished to say, they could take their time to think of words or say it in Bosnian and we could find the translation. Interviewing each participant three times helped to establish reliability, as I developed a greater understanding of their personalities and had opportunity to follow up and clarify points, if needed.

The resident populations of interest were delimited differently in the qualitative and quantitative portions of the research for both practical and theoretical reasons. For both the survey and the tours/interviews, I delimited my sampling to Mostar (or suburbs still considered part of the city's area) adult residents only, as it was important for participants to have a baseline level of familiarity with the city and identify it as their current residence. In the survey, it was theoretically important to capture residents who exhibited different levels of social and spatial proximity to tourism, so including some outlying suburbs was useful. The interview participants reflected a similar geographic representation. To narrow down the population and specifically consider how current resident perceptions may shape the future of the city, the interviews included only younger adult residents (loosely defined, using self-identification), whereas the survey sought to generate data describing the broader adult population, as age was considered a potential variable of interest.

Lastly, timing was also a limitation of this research, as I was only in Bosnia and Herzegovina for 10 weeks. This is a shorter amount of time than what is commonly

suggested for ethnographic approaches. As a delimitation for the autoethnographic research, this schedule was reflected in my aim to articulate the experience of being a visitor/researcher staying for a shorter term.

Literature and Background

Affect and Emotions

Across disciplines, definitions tend to merge and diverge between "emotions," "affect," "feelings," and other related terms. Toward understanding the latent or nebulous influences and manifestations of tourism upon residents from an interdisciplinary perspective, this research engages with *affect* as it is commonly understood in social psychology as well as in cultural geography.

In social psychology, *emotions* are considered inherently social in nature, based upon one's assessment of their environment, its content, and its happenings (Tangney & Fischer, 1995). *Affect* is often used interchangeably with *emotions* (and sometimes too with "feelings"), yet is more specifically understood as being pre-cognitive and tied to physiological responses, a function of both valence and arousal (Barrett, 2017). *Feelings*, by comparison, can be considered sensations that have been "checked against previous experiences and labelled" (Shouse, 2005, n.p.), with emotions representing a display or projection of this feeling. While *emotion, affect*, and *feeling* may be used in conflated ways, there are systems from psychology, such as the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS) (Watson et al., 1998), that work to mitigate some of the confusion. Most scholars within the psychological tradition agree that valence (positive/negative) is a key consideration of affect.

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Cultural geography scholarship uses "affect" in a way that can have some overlap with the psychological definition, but also takes on a different sort of meaning, which can be elusive and variable across scholars (Anderson, 2006; Lorimer, 2008). One common understanding is that it is highly *relational,* referring to the capacity of bodies, objects, and other presences that co-exist within a space to act upon one another (Anderson, 2006). Massumi (1995), who contributed some of the earlier strides in shaping this trajectory of thought, describes affect as being an "intensity" which is "prepersonal." Lorimer (2008, p. 552), summarizing geographical scholarship on affect, offers that "affects are: properties, competencies, modalities, energies, attunements, arrangements and intensities of differing texture, temporality, velocity and spatiality, that act on bodies, are produced through bodies and transmitted by bodies." Dewsbury (2009, p. 20) further describes affect as something felt that is "seemingly knowable despite not having objective tangibility." Buda (2015) offers that as one begins to better grasp the sensation of the affect, it moves closer to becoming a more developed "emotion." In light of confusion between terms and definitions, Dawney proposes that "affect offers a means of geographical analysis of *what is at work*: what resonates through bodies as a result of their historical imbrications of material relations, and of what these resonations can *tell us* about those relations" (p. 599; emphasis in original).

The "affective turn" in geography-based scholarship has inspired novel approaches toward understanding relations between people and places, garnering many fans but also some wary of its potential implications. Some scholars have raised concerns that the standard definitions and operationalizations of affect found in research may be Eurocentric, encourage the erasure of attention to power dynamics and differences,

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and/or assume a sort of universalism that may not actually apply (Mohammed & Sidaway, 2012; Tolia-Kelly, 2006). While attention to affect may yield beneficial insights about subjective and embodied experiences, a researcher should remain cognizant of its limitations.

In tourism scholarship, Buda (2015) offers one of the more notable contributions to the study of affect and emotions, specifically concerned with post-conflict and dark tourism. Buda pointedly expresses frustration that tourism scholars have largely overlooked affect, despite recent attention in other related fields such as cultural studies and geography. She states that this neglect has stemmed from the gendered politics of knowledge production and a commonly held sense that affect, emotions, and embodiment are "unscientific, pretentious, or evasive" topics (p. 21). Buda provides a compelling stance for tourism scholarship:

> The human world is constructed, lived, experienced, and performed through
> emotions; so too are travel and tourism. Affective and emotional encounters
> define touring people and places, as affect and emotion travel with and through
> bodies, in places and between objects. (2015, p. 22)

Buda recalls the work of Tucker (2009), who posits that tourism interactions can lead to emotional discomforts such as shame, which positions emotional and bodily dimensions as crucial considerations of the critical study of tourism.

Of the limited (yet promisingly growing) body of tourism research focusing on affect and emotions, most has been oriented toward understanding travelers' experiences and perceptions. Travelers' emotions can vary greatly across a trip depending on activities, places visited, and people encountered (Kim and Fesenmaier, 2015). Affective

dimensions of the travel experience are revealed to vary in perceived intensity over the duration of a trip, with individual travelers' thoughts and feelings generally exhibiting more variation over longer trips, likely because travelers have had more time to participate in a wider variety of experiences and also potentially have more interaction with local people (Vogt & Stewart, 1998). This research presents useful information for considering how day trip or tour bus visitors might relate to places differently than visitors staying multiple days in the same community. Prior research suggests that relations within touristic spaces are perceived and defined largely through emotional experiences. For instance, emotions are shown to significantly affect tourists' perceptions of service experiences even if the emotions did not result from the service experience itself (Gountas & Gountas, 2004).

In turning attention to resident experiences, the notions of pride and shame become particularly relevant. Some resident attitudes research has indicated that the affirmation of one's community and culture may be seen as a benefit of tourism for residents, although this benefit could be disrupted if the community experiences a loss of traditional industries (Lindberg & Johnson, 1997). 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). Andereck and Nyaupane (2011) find that residents may perceive tourism as helping to enhance community pride and awareness. In a culturally contested space of a neighborhood of Chicago, Santos and Buzinde (2007) find that tours and other community cultural representations often 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 the political context of

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gentrification. In considering tourism development in Harlem, New York, Hoffman (2003) suggests that tourism can offer community members new incentives for civic engagement, and community pride and collaboration connected to tourism development can help facilitate civic values. Several scholars have suggested 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). In a study of residents in communities in Virginia, Kim et al. (2013) finds that cultural learning, cultural exchange, and interaction between people from different cultures could help enable an increased sense of emotional well-being.

Atmospheres

Affect provides a platform for considering other related constructs that may bring fresh insights to understanding peoples' lived experiences in daily spaces. In attuning to affect, *atmosphere* becomes an important concept in evaluating and understanding how people perceive their city and its touristic spaces, although this too can seem a somewhat abstract term. In a broad sense, an atmosphere is understood as a surrounding influence that can be articulated through one's sensory perceptions of an environment. Amidst cultural geographers' interest in affect, Anderson (2009) describes atmospheres as "collective affects that are simultaneously indeterminate and determinate" (p. 78). Recalling the work of phenomenologist Dufrenne (1953), Anderson describes atmospheres as "perpetually forming and deforming, appearing and disappearing, as bodies enter into relation with one another. They are never finished, static or at rest" (p. 79).

While this ephemerality and malleability reveals abstractness and intangibility, atmospheres have been noted within tourism research to play important roles in tourism marketing, visitor experience, and other aspects of tourism viability, although this body of literature has been limited. From a postcolonial perspective, Echtner and Prasad (2003) consider how tourism marketing materials such as brochures work to convey certain types of atmospheres regarding places. They focus on so-called "third world" destinations and the patterns of representation that tend to emerge within marketing pieces, concluding that marketing-related discourse works to sustain myths of far-away places are "unchanged, unrestrained, and uncivilized" (p. 679). This article brings to light ways in which places' atmospheres exist within both experiential and mentally construed forms, and such perceptions may vary greatly between people, especially between residents and visitors. Tourism industry actors may attempt to commodify or stage a certain type of atmospheres before a visitor even has a chance to experience a place first-hand, potentially influencing how a place is later perceived once one is actually there.

Atmospheres are created through a specific blend of contributing factors. Social factors tend to stand out as particularly influential. Exploring the related term of *aura,* Szmigin et al. (2017) address the "dynamic, performative and communicative" co-created auras present at music festivals (p. 10), which they say create a sense of authenticity through engaging both the social and the spatial. A space and its atmosphere(s) may be perceived differently when one is in a group than when solo. In the tourism context, this notion evokes the concept of the "tourist gaze." Urry (2007) articulates different sub-types of the gaze which could influence perceptions of atmospheres. One is the "romantic gaze," based upon a "solitudinous, personal, semi-spiritual relationship with place" (p.

78). In contrast, the "collective gaze" is more about conviviality, in which the presence of others provide a sense of liveliness, and "the large numbers of people that are present indicate that this is the place to be" (p. 78).

Atmospheres also offer possible means of understanding how the sum of a space's collective affects may create a different response than individual affect. Massumi (2002), for instance, notes that the effect of an image upon someone is not necessarily linked to the content of that image. Someone might react with positive affect to a seemingly sad image, for example. Arousal level, personal significance, or other personal or environmental factors may work to elicit what seems to others like an incongruous response. In a post-war city in which residents have had to proceed with their lives despite environs that constantly display lasting destruction, it is of particular interest to explore the ways in which affects work both singularly/directly upon a body *and* collectively in their creation of atmospheres.

Non-Representational Theory and Applications to Tourism

Non-representational theory is a style of inquiry that has guided many scholars' interest in affect. In this research, it provided a source of inspiration and creativity in devising this multi-methods research, primarily in the qualitative sections. Non-representational theory emerged gradually from the work of several scholars, particularly geographers within the British tradition. Thrift (2008) is largely attributed with articulating certain tenets and characteristics. One focal consideration is the "onflow" of everyday life (p. 5), the acknowledgement of interrelations and what is experienced within moments of life as well as the transitions between experiences. Affect becomes a particularly important consideration given that consciousness, Thrift suggests, is too

limited on its own. Thus, non-representational approaches tend to be "anti-biographical" and "pre-individual" (p. 7). Thrift instead emphasizes "material schematism" which acknowledges the continuous encounters with and between things in spaces. This alternative positioning enables a focus on the *practices* that occur within such spaces. Thrift also hails the value of *things,* which he states "can have a potent afterlife" (p. 9) and can interact with human bodies in meaningful ways.

Non-representational theory acknowledges the messiness of thought and synthesis. Reflecting upon recent attention to the theme of *embodiment*, Thrift contends that "not everything is focused intensity" (p. 10); as people actually experience embodiment it can by clumsy, vulnerable, and inconvenient. As such, Thrift presents non-representational theory as intentionally open to experimentation and failure. Using a dance performance analogy, he expresses encouragement that there can be rigor in the "rehearsal." Continuing along this bodily theme, Thrift emphasizes the theory's focus on *affect* and *sensation*, reflecting influence from Spinoza, Freud, Tomkins, Ekman, and Massumi. Lastly, he stresses a notion of the freeing and empowering decentering of the self. Recalling Santner (2006), he calls for "a generalized ethic of out-of-jointness within which 'every familiar is ultimately strange'" and in which an individual even becomes a stranger to oneself, in turn opening oneself to opportunity for aliveness, neighborliness, and community (2008, p. 14). As described earlier by Vesely (2004), in this openness, non-representational theory offers an opportunity to explore the "poetics of the unthought" (p. 17), or the "latent world."

Scholars such as Anderson and Harrison (2010) note that the symbolisms and texts often revered by representational approaches of scholarship may be arbitrary or

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represent invented orders. While non-representational theory beckons researchers to look beyond biographical and individual representations of happenings and phenomena, many scholars clearly acknowledge that representation can still be an important consideration (Vannini, 2015), and some have found "more than representational" theory to be a more appropriate label, as used by Lorimer (2005).

Non-representational theory has not been explicitly engaged in a large amount of tourism-specific scholarship. However, there has been interest: Xiao et al. (2013, p. 373) expresses that nonrepresentational theory is "one of the most interesting and significant new philosophical directions" which tourism scholars might consider exploring – yet, this is only framed within the context of understanding what it means to be a *tourist*. Turning attention to residents, Prince (2017) interviews craftspeople within touristic spaces in Sweden, engaging with a non-representational style to focus on the concept of dwelling. Prince describes this tourism landscape as shaped by the skills of artists and craftspeople, both aesthetically and interactionally. Diekmann and Hannam (2012) seek insights from non-representational theories in their exploration of slum tours in India, concluding that the "more than representational" approach is indeed useful in understanding the "mediatized," geographical, and ethical contexts of the spaces (p. 1333). Crouch (2000) finds value in how non-representational theory conceptualizes space and encounters and suggests that it may be useful within the study of tourism and leisure. Non-representational theory, he posits, may be a way to emphasize space as no longer "only objective, contextual and metaphorical" (p. 64), enabling researchers to transcend views that may only represent the intentions of certain producers or promoters.

Construal Level Theory (CLT)

Turning attention to a psychological lens, the quantitative component of this research was designed to test how construal level theory of psychological distance (CLT) may apply to measurements of affect. This theory was proposed by psychologists Yaacov Trope and Nira Liberman, most notably elaborated in 2010. Construal level theory states that people traverse different types of psychological distance (temporal, spatial, social, and hypothetical) when they think about locations, events, and other's perspectives. This mental action is egocentric, i.e., the perceived distance extends from the individual who is doing the thinking. Psychological distance leads to more abstract (high-level) thinking, and psychological closeness leads to more concrete (low-level) thinking. Construal level theory has been used in a broad range of applications and has been particularly embraced by consumer research. As a relatively new theory, several studies have focused on establishing the functions, linkages, and limitations of the theory's constructs.

Trope and Liberman (2010) specifically list affect as a theoretical extension of CLT that merits further attention. They note that appraisal theories of emotion (such as Scherer et al., 2001) create some foundation for this type of examination. Furthermore, they state that researchers generally understand psychological distance as decreasing the intensity of felt emotions, yet that there is more to be understood in terms of construal level. Research including Williams and Bargh (2008) and Williams et al. (2013) have pursued this direction, seeking to further understand how CLT may also be applied in the study of affect. Williams et al. (2013) find that CLT can be usefully applied for affect, but there are theoretical extensions and modifications that may be important to integrate.

They emphasize the importance of considering affect valence, not just intensity, as a key dimension influenced by construal level.

While CLT has not yet been widely utilized by tourism researchers, theories of psychological distance have been common in tourism studies, as noted by Massara et al. (2013) in considering a wide breadth of heritage tourism research. In particular, studies on resident attitudes toward tourism development and impacts have commonly included constructs pertaining to spatial or social distance (e.g., distance lived from tourism businesses, regularity of interaction with tourists, etc.). Themes of geographical scaling (from local/specific/concrete to regional/broad/abstract) have also been of interest in resident research. For instance, the seminal environmental psychology work of Hidalgo and Hernandez (2001) investigates residents' sense of place attachment at house, neighborhood, and city spatial levels. These findings indicate that neighborhood attachment is weakest of the three, that the level of attachment varies by sex and by age, and social attachment (i.e., to people within the place) is stronger than physical attachment (i.e., to the physical structures of the place itself).

A limited number of tourism scholars to date have specifically employed CLT in their research. There has been a growing interest in this area in recent years, and most research has been oriented around the concept of planning for the future. This can be seen in terms of hotel promotion (Kim et al., 2016), pre-trip planning (Tan, 2018), climate change/weather and tourism businesses (Craig & Fend, 2018), and mental construal priming and self-determination in travel (Zhang et al., 2017). Nearly all of these studies have investigated tourists, not residents, which is also largely true of other studies investigating psychological distance from non-CLT frameworks.

The constructs of CLT can be utilized in many ways, so it is common for studies to test only partial components of the theory (i.e., some but not all forms of psychological distance), or find stronger support between some variables than others. Generally, researchers find support for CLT. For instance, Kim et al. (2016) find that vacationers who plan in the distant-future and to a far-away destination respond more strongly to abstract promotional messages, while those who plan for the near future and to a nearby destination respond more strongly to more concrete messages. Tan (2018) finds that trip planners exhibit a shift from high-level to lower-level construal features as temporal distance (the time before the trip starts) decreases. Zhang et al. (2017) find some support for CLT in the ways it may be applied to priming scenarios for planning trips that are deemed accessible by travelers. This particular research also indicates that when travelers perceive trip difficulty as being too high, abstract construals may actually exaggerate their perceptions of how their competence may affect their goal pursuits.

Despite CLT's incorporation of spatial and temporal constructs that make it a likely fit for geographical studies, it has not yet been investigated much within this discipline. This has been noted by Simanden (2016), who encourages geographers to consider this intersection in future research, explaining that distance has been a key construct of geographical studies and CLT perhaps could give new life to the integration of distance/proximity within newer lines of geographic thought. Simanden articulates that the concept of distance has been increasingly viewed as "a positivistic relic in the periphery of contemporary geographical debate" (p. 251) but when positioned within the exploration of subjective perceptions about place and space, a new richness emerges. In particular, Simanden points to CLT's inclusion of social distance, stating that this primes

the theory particularly well for human geographical approaches that are in line with Thrift's envisioning of non-representational theory, as CLT has the potential to cooperate nicely with the conceptualization of space as being socially constructed.

Post-Conflict Tourism, Dark Tourism, and Geopolitical Considerations

Recently, an increasing amount of literature has sought to understand emotional experiences at tourist sites related to war or conflict. Such research has more often focused on visitors' (rather than residents') experiences, perceptions and intentions. Since this research employed the strategy of inviting residents into the role of "tourists," this body of findings offers some useful context. Nawijn et al. (2018) explore Dutch nationals' perceptions of a *potential* visit to a Holocaust remembrance site in the Netherlands. The findings indicate that individuals who identified as being closer to the events of the Holocaust expect that their emotions will be felt more strongly, particularly if the emotions were positive (such as pride, love, affections, joy, excitement, and inspiration). Most of the respondents express that they would expect to experience negative emotions more strongly than positive emotions, specifically noting shock, sadness, and disgust. Interestingly, findings indicate that respondents who identify more with the "offenders" of the Holocaust expect to feel more negative emotions, and those who identify more with the victims expected a more positive emotional response overall. This is relevant background to consider for the context of Mostar, where people from each side who fought in the war could be seen as offenders or victims, and some individuals may in fact view themselves as both.

Visitors' emotional experiences may also influence whether they want to revisit again, an important consideration in post-conflict places that hope to use tourism as means of economic renewal. A study by Nawijn and Fricke (2015) considering visitors to a concentration camp memorial in Germany indicates that *shock* and *awe* are two of the emotional responses to visiting the site that appear most predictive of future intention to visit similar sites. The authors note that this is ethically problematic, as tourism promotion based around these responses may not be empathetic to those who have truly suffered from the associated history. Zhang et al. (2016) consider repeat visitation in the context of visitors to a memorial of the Nanjing Massacre. These findings indicate that four dimensions of intrapersonal constraints (culture, emotion, escape, and incuriousness) play an indirect mediating role on the intention to revisit. More directly, cognitive experiences were found to show significant, positive influences on the intention to revisit, emphasizing the importance of interpretation (such as educational signage and guided tours) and developed visitor services at memorials and dark tourism sites.

Tourism pertaining to post-war places is commonly framed as "dark tourism," defined as "the presentation and consumption (by visitors) of real or commodified death and disaster sites" (Foley & Lennon, 1996, p. 198). Interest in dark tourism has grown greatly since the early 1990s, but it is not a particularly new concept, even if the terminology is relatively newly coined. People have been interested in visiting sites of death and disaster for a long time, although previous scholarly works tended to focus on the visitation of battlefields and other war-related sites (Light, 2017). Lennon and Foley (2000) cite two key works in this turn toward the *dark*: Urry (1990), who considered the tourist "gaze" within the context of the Gestapo Museum in Berlin, and Rojek (1993),

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who, at the time, used the tongue-in-cheek term "fatal attractions." Lennon and Foley (2000) note how pilgrimages, considered by several scholars to be one of the earlier forms of tourism, often have important connections to death and violence.

There are many concerns regarding how places associated with death are presented to tourists. Dark tourism experiences vary widely in the degree to which content is presented as educational (Light, 2017). Dark tourism has the potential to be highly emotionally impactful, and visitors often arrive with this expectation (Nawijn et al., 2018). In considering a Holocaust memorial, Nawijn and Fricke (2015) find that negative emotions are most strongly associated with visiting the site, in stark contrast to the positive emotions associated with more typical, hedonistic travel and tourism (Mitas et al., 2012; Nawijn, 2011). Reflecting upon this, Nawijn and Fricke (2015) suggest that perhaps the emotional outcomes of visiting a site should be considered as a factor in determining whether a site or attraction does actually qualify as "dark tourism." Other scholars have expressed concern that tourists' exposure to "dark" sites may have a numbing affect, potentially normalizing the concepts of horror and suffering and even making them seem more acceptable, even if this is not the intention (Ashworth and Hartmann, 2005; Light, 2017; Robb, 2009). Another consideration is that practices of "dark leisure" – involving deviant, transgressive, or taboo behaviors (Light, 2017) – may occur within dark tourism spaces (although this is not always the case), creating potential management concerns and emotional impacts for host community members.

Scholars such as Dunkley (2015) have expressed concern that the commodification and management of dark tourism sites may take control away from local communities, who may wish to instead move on from the traumatic events of the

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past. Contemplating research more broadly, there have been calls within the field of study to decolonialize tourism research (Chambers & Buzinde, 2015; Hollinshead & Suleman, 2017). It becomes important to ask, then, whether dark tourism may have particularly colonialistic tendencies, as many of its key sites prioritize visitation from outsiders, the experience of the visitors, and the financial aspects of the associated business enterprises above the needs and desires of the local community. Dunkley (2015) considers how thanatourism sites may be contested spaces, citing Massey's (2005) appeal for the "politics of outwardlookingness" (Massey, 2005, p. 192; in Dunkley, 2015, p. 178). Dunkley suggests that thanatourism sites are "constantly evolving and extend into the everyday lives and relations of those who visit" (p. 178) and thus may have a powerful and possibly positive potential to shape society. Toward better inclusion of these considerations, Dunkley proposes that scholars structure research questions to consider the ramifications of how sites are interpreted.

While dark tourism may seem like the *modus operandi* for classifying post-war tourism, increasingly scholars have expressed issues with this label and its typical implementations. One alternative approach arising from Bosnia and Herzegovina is "phoenix tourism," proposed by Causevic and Lynch (2011). This idea is based around the concepts of social renewal, emancipation, catharsis, and empowerment in places that are transitioning from being considered "post-conflict" or "war-torn" to being appealing tourism destinations. In considering Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as a more global context, Causevic and Lynch argue that the typical "dark tourism" lens is too limiting and potentially misleading. To start, there are a multitude of ways in which visitors and residents could perceive or be affected by certain sites, based on variation of their own

histories and backgrounds. Furthermore, the tourism product and experience of visiting war sites commonly becomes tailored to tourists who do not have much familiarity with the site or its context, maintaining a sense that the site is "unreal," separated from its associated social contexts (Alneng, 2002; Causevic & Lynch, 2011). Alternatively, phoenix tourism describes a liminal phase experienced by blighted places in which tourism helps to allow the places (and importantly, the people of the places) to "rise from the ashes" via a process of a metaphorical "second burial." This allows residents an opportunity for growth and catharsis. The phoenix tourism approach also reiterates other scholars' calls for "dark tourism" research to better integrate political theory (Richter, 1983) and better theoretical incorporation of studies of violence (Keil, 2005).

Several scholars have addressed the social and emotive powers of visitors touring (specifically through walking) through cities with violent pasts in order to more deeply recognize history and be able to move on to a more cognizant and socially aware future (Kowalski-Wallace, 2006; Rice & Kardux, 2012). While this can be an essential benefit of tourism in places that could benefit from redress, it becomes complicated in places that are still ideologically split, in which the newfound "awareness" of visitors may not complement the beliefs of all residents. Furthermore, with guided tours, the matter of *"whose story is being told?"* can become quite contentious. Interestingly, Causevic and Lynch assert that tour guides in Bosnia and Herzegovina generally do not seek empathy from visitors while on tours. Instead, they view tours as an escape from the "everyday politicking" of their lives (p. 792) and seek long-desired personal and social catharsis from the enduring burden of a difficult past. Nevertheless, these authors note, the guides'

openness generally leads to empathy within participants, and in turn a powerful and meaningful experience.

In viewing post-conflict tourism through a lens of social and emotional catharsis rather than a purely economic view, greater attention may be brought to the much-needed "normalization of social relations" (Causevic & Lynch, 2011, p. 796). In turn, economic development can benefit as well. Tourism research from Novelli et al. (2012) considers similar themes in the context of Burundi, Africa. They note an inclination from community members to see trade and economic development as key in creating a more stable post-conflict society, but suggest that this could also be achieved through recognizing shared interests and sense of place with others formerly considered enemies, which would subsequently result in economic benefits via a more attractive tourism portfolio.

Viewing tourism in terms of geopolitics has been a topic of recent growing interest. Broadly defined, geopolitics is the study of the dynamic relationships between geography and a place's politics (Cohen, 2003). A geopolitical lens tends to be applied in the contexts of international relations and global politics. Tuathail (1996; also cited as Toal), a scholar of recent Balkan politics, warns that the geopolitical tradition is laden with the viewpoints of white, male intellectuals who tend to exhibit imperialist views. In response, Tuathail adapts a *critical* geopolitical position to address some of the issues of hegemony commonly associated with geopolitics. He also proposes the term *geo-power*, "the functioning of geographical knowledge not as an innocent body of knowledge and learning but as an ensemble of technologies of power concerned with the governmental production and management of territorial space" (p. 7).

While not a *tourism* scholar, Tuathail's perspectives provide many relevant considerations to tourism contexts, especially for places trying to find new identities on a global stage. Reflecting upon Said's (1993, p. 7) statement that "no one is completely free from the struggle over geography," Tuathail extends that "this struggle is also a conflict between competing images and imaginings, a contest of power and resistance that involves not only struggles to represent the materiality of physical geographic objects and boundaries but also the equally powerful and, in a different manner, the equally material force of discursive borders between an idealized Self and a demonized Other" (1996, p. 14-15). In post-conflict, touristic environments, the dichotomy of self-versus-other may be multiplicitous and may operate on scales ranging from neighborhood to global levels.

Noting the growing but still nascent body of work on tourism geopolitics, Mostafanezhad and Norum (2016) observe the applicability of Tuathail's critical geopolitics to tourism and make a call for other tourism scholars to consider tourism through this lens. As some recent examples of geopolitical engagement within the study of tourism, Ojeda (2013) uses a feminist perspective to study the seemingly banal yet politically laden spaces of security that have arisen in Columbia as a result of both war and tourism; Rowen (2016) takes an ethnographic approach to consider how tourism is used to project authority in China and how tourism is highly bound with the country's political, spatial, economic, and social order; and Dowler (2013) explores the interdependent relationship between hospitality and post-conflict recovery in Belfast, Northern Ireland. These applications, while diverse, all reflect places and governments that have sought to use tourism as means of political, social and economic recovery post

conflict. Tourism may be seen as force that is neutralizing and hopeful, but may depend upon scripting (or erasing) certain narratives.

Resident Attitudes and Perceptions

Since the 1980s, there has been a plethora of research investigating resident attitudes and perceptions toward tourism development and impacts. Sharpley (2014) counts 1,070 such articles, a large body of which has been summarized and categorized through in-depth reviews of literature (e.g., Deery et al., 2012; Harrill, 2004; Sharpley, 2013; Wall & Mathieson, 2006). Harrill (2004) divides such articles into five main characteristics*: socioeconomic factors, spatial factors, economic dependency, resident and community typologies,* and *measuring perceptions of residents' attitudes toward tourism development*. The relative majority of articles are classified under *economic dependency*. The main theoretical perspectives incorporated include social exchange theory, growth machine theory, and community attachment. Of these, community attachment tends to operate more so within the affective, emotional and subjective realms. Harrill (2004) notes that most community attachment-focused resident attitudes research has tended to re-use the same variables time and again without much question. For better and perhaps for worse, this has resulted in some clear patterns in the findings of the research investigating socioeconomic and community factors, which Harrill explains in historical context. Much of this body of research arose from the systemic model proposed by Park and Burgess of the Chicago School, which posits that attachment becomes stronger if more formal and informal ties to the community are present. An alternative theory that has been investigated is Toennies, Durkheim, Simmel, and Wirth's linear model, which proposes that attachment weakens as population and density

increase. Research has been found to support both the systemic and linear attachment models.

Community Attachment

Community attachment is a concept that commonly arises in resident research. It is generally defined as an individual's integration into a community, social participation, and the affective and emotional bonds that arise between a person and a community (Lee, 2013; McCool & Martin, 1994). Kyle et al. (2004) explain that it reflects all psychological domains – affective, cognitive, and conative. Nicholas et al. (2009) list affect, emotion, feeling, meaning, bonding, and value as key elements of community attachment (p. 395). Variables considered in community attachment research have included tourism attitudes, length of residence, level of tourism development, and feelings of community attachment (McCool & Martin, 1994); length of residence, age, and income (Williams et al., 1995); quality of life and satisfaction with the community as a place to live (Jurowski, 1998); length of residence and community involvement (Harrill & Potts, 2003), birthplace and heritage (Um & Crompton, 1987); and community traditions, personal meaning of the community, emotional attachment to the community, and importance of community's future to the individual (Lee, 2013). In considering how residents view place image of their home area, Stylidis et al. (2016) finds that typical place image measurement has emphasized attributes of the place in terms of it being a destination and have neglected to adequately incorporate community-focused attributes.

With some exceptions, the majority of community attachment research finds that residents who are more highly attached to their community tend to view tourism development more favorably (Harrill, 2004). There are certainly some specific,

community- or place-based features that could change this outcome, and it has also been found that residents may distinguish between social and economic benefits associated with tourism and environmental costs (Jurowski et al., 1997). Most resident attitudes research that incorporates community attachment as a factor or dimension use it as a predictor of support for tourism (for instance, in the structural equation model from Nicholas et al., 2009, which also shows the relationship as potentially mediated by perceptions of the specific site in question), rather than seeing how tourism in a community might alter a resident's sense of community attachment.

Quality of Life

Quality of life has been another common theme of research on resident attitudes and perceptions toward tourism. Breaking course from most other resident research, Andereck and Nyaupane (2011) enquired specially about residents' own perceptions of how their quality of life may have been impacted, rather than researchers assessing the domain via a set of chosen indicators. Andereck and Nyaupane note that tourism and quality of life research has tended to use more specific domains than other, broader residents' attitudes toward tourism research, allowing for a more detailed understanding of community members' perceptions.

In contrast, when aggregating findings from the broader resident attitudes research, findings may seem to be contradictory (or falsely concurring) based on the items used in scales and how composite factors have been labeled. The wide variety of community attachment indicators provides some illustration of how this might occur. Findings from Andereck and Nyaupane (2011) indicate that the amount of contact residents have with visitors tends to heighten their perceptions of the economic benefits

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of tourism. This is a useful finding to consider in the construal level theory context regarding social distance. Tourism was also found to be perceived more favorably by those who associated tourism with economic benefit, which echoes the findings of Andereck et al. (2005). Andereck and Vogt (2000) share similar overall findings, with residents viewing tourism as something that can be of benefit to community development and quality of life, but it is noted that this can vary from community to community. Kim et al. (2013) add that the stage of tourism development could affect perceptions of quality of life, as benefits may be realized later on or may fade away with time. Under the umbrella of quality of life, Kim et al. use spare time, leisure life, and cultural life as indicators of emotional well-being, and find a positive relationship between the perceived cultural impact of tourism and residents' sense of emotional well-being. Harrill (2004) notes a common tendency for researchers to view tourism in a negative light in which quality of life becomes diminished for residents, which could potentially lead to biased findings.

While there has been a plethora of tourism research investigating resident attitudes toward tourism and tourism impacts, very little research has sought to understand residents' attitudes toward their own culture, environment, or emotions in light of tourism. There is a limited but growing amount of research that considers more emotional or subjective considerations of residents' perceptions. Woosnam (2011) finds that shared behaviors, shared beliefs, and interactions between tourists and residents are all predictive of a sense of emotional solidarity between the two. Boley et al. (2014) use Weber's theory of rationality to explore feelings of empowerment within residents, but the focus is on understanding support for tourism rather than how tourism might change

empowerment. The findings indicate that empowerment has a direct and positive impact upon residents' support for tourism. Nawijn and Mitas (2012) seek to understand the relationships between resident attitudes to tourism and subjective well-being, focusing on residents in Mallorca. This research did not find a significant relationship between tourism impacts and the hedonic level of affect of subjective well-being.

Social Exchange Theory

Social exchange theory (SET) gradually emerged between the 1950s to 1970s from the work of several scholars in sociology and social psychology. While many scholars use SET as a testable social science theory, it has traditionally been considered more of a framework than a true theory. Emerson (1976), for instance, describes it as "a frame of reference within which many theories – some micro and some more macro – can speak to one another, whether in argument or in mutual support" (p. 336). Ap (1992) was one the earlier tourism scholars to take interest in SET and lay out groundwork as to how it might be usable and beneficial to the study of residents' perceptions of tourism.

An understanding of social exchange theory provides an important backdrop of resident attitudes and perceptions research, as many tourism researchers have utilized it in a variety of settings (e.g., Jurowski et al., 1997; Madrigal, 1993; McGehee & Andereck, 2004; Perdue et al., 1987). Andereck et al. (2005) note that it has been widely utilized both explicitly *and* implicitly and has thus influenced this area of research perhaps even more broadly than acknowledged. For instance, resident research from Allen et al. (1993) describe the implications of a lack of an adequate social exchange relation, although they do not officially engage with SET. Their findings suggest that residents seek "the economic benefits of tourism development and those individuals

advocating tourism development must recognize the situation in a community before establishing a strategy for development or even considering tourism as a viable alternative to economic development" (p. 32).

Sharpley (2014) suggests that SET has often been misconstrued or misapplied in tourism research, as it should refer to exchanges in which both parties are participating voluntarily and proactively, which may not always be the case in tourism destination communities. Andereck and Nyaupane (2011) note that while research has generally shown that people who benefit from tourism are more likely to be supportive of it, there is an important difference between receiving benefits and *perceiving* benefits. Andereck and Nyaupane find support for the *perception* of benefits as being a more powerful measure, as it acknowledges the importance of recognition. Other scholars, such as Nunkoo (2016), critique applications of social exchange theory as being too limited in the relational and personal constructs explored, perhaps overlooking important ethical issues of trust and power that arise in tourism interactions. As a theoretical umbrella spanning several disciplines, social exchange theory has inspired several related or off-shoot theories. Interdependence theory, pertaining to relationships of exchange in which both sides rely on the actions of one another in order to meet their own objectives, has been noted to be an under-explored yet potentially useful theory for the study of tourism and hospitality (Tang, 2014).

Geographical Context

Bosnian War History

The sieges and wars comprising the larger Yugoslav wars (1991-2001), engaging Bosnia and Herzegovina and other Balkan nations, were nested and overlapping affairs of

changing ideologies and broken allegiances. The "facts" of the war history remain

contested by many (particularly people of Bosnia and Herzegovina), so providing a non-

biased overview comes with challenges. However, some basic understandings of key

historical events lend a degree of clarity to the situation.

The era preceding the war was defined by the death of Josip Broz Tito, President

of Yugoslavia, in 1980. His momentous death marked a period of dissolution of

Yugoslavia, from the late 1980s into the early 1990s. Tito, a communist revolutionary

and controversial yet charismatic leader, had served as president since 1953. In the

decade following Tito's death, ethnic and nationalistic tensions grew within the region

(Jović, 2009). In 1987, troubles escalated between Serbia and Albania regarding the

Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, which was of mixed ethnicity. This episode

exhibited Serbian communist official Slobodan Milošević's sharp pivot away from some

previously anti-nationalistic tendencies (Lampe, 2000). Back in 1974, the Yugoslav

Constitution had given legal right to any people within Yugoslavia to hold referendum

toward independence, and amidst the disharmony of greater Yugoslavia this notion began

to gain interest and traction. The first to secede were Slovenia and then Croatia in 1991.

War ensued in Croatia between the Croat militants and the Serbian/Yugoslavian army,

and Slovenia faced a much less destructive ten-day war, as well.

The government of the central region of disintegrating Yugoslavia (more or less

the area that is now called Bosnia and Herzegovina) represented a mixed ethnic

composition, with the region's population about 43% Bosniaks (Bosnian Muslims), 33%

Bosnian Serbs, 17% Bosnian Croats, and about 7% other nationalities (ICTY, n.d.).

Amidst some sporadic violent episodes in 1991 (including in Mostar) and plentiful

resistance from Bosnian Serbs, Bosnia officially gained independence in 1992. However, this cause of independence was interrupted by the Bosnian Serbs and the JNA (i.e. the Yugoslav People's Army), largely influenced by Milošević's vision of creating a "Greater Serbia" (Udovicki & Ridgeway, 1997). Violence ensued in Sarajevo, Mostar, and many other cities and villages of Bosnia and Herzegovina, also engaging Croat forces. The Siege of Sarajevo lasted from 1992 to 1996, as the city faced besiegement initially from the JNA and then from the Serb secessionist Army of Republika Srpska.

In Mostar, the 1992 Bosnia and Herzegovina declaration of independence initially caused a period of war during the spring between the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (ARBiH) who were teamed with the Croatian Defense Council (HVO), fighting against the JNA. However, tides turned when it became broadly perceived that the Bosnian government prioritized Bosniak/Muslim interests, leading Bosniaks to fight against their former allies, the Croats (Shrader, 2003). This became known as the Croat-Bosniak War, lasting between 1993 to 1994. In 1994, the U.N. Security Council estimated that around 3,000 to 5,000 Croatian regular troops were participating in the fighting in Bosnia and Herzegovina and subsequently condemned Croatia's interference (Tanner, 2001). A ceasefire agreement was signed a month later, and Mostar was subsequently divided into two sections (a division that largely remains today), a Bosniak side and a Croat side (Mulaj, 2008). Meanwhile, war continued in other parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina. While the 1995 Dayton Peace Agreement marked the beginning of the end of the Bosnian War, the Siege of Sarajevo did not officially end until 1996.

Bosnia and Herzegovina experienced the worst destruction of all of the nations of former Yugoslavia during the war (ICTY, n.d.). Over half the population – about 2

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million people in total – fled their homes. It is estimated that more than 100,000 people were killed, and further violence included the widespread and systematic rape of women (ICTY, n.d.). Toal and Dahlman (2011) note, importantly, that the Bosnian war was responsible for introducing the term "ethnic cleansing" to an international audience – not a new concept, certainly, but a new and troubling etymological expression of genocide. This matter was brought to increased international attention in 1995 upon news that the so-called U.N. "safe zone" of Srebrenica had become host to the death of 8,000 Bosniaks, killed by the paramilitary Bosnian Serb Army led by Ratko Mladić (ICTY, n.d.). It is worth noting that to this day many Serbs within Bosnia still consider Mladić, Milošević, and other controversial leaders (including those such as Mladić who were found guilty of genocide and/or other war crimes by the International Criminal Tribunal) to be national heroes (based on personal observation, 2013, 2018 & 2019).

Overview of Contemporary Mostar

Currently home to around 106,000 people (according to 2013 census data), the southern city of Mostar is an increasingly popular tourist destination, offering a striking natural landscape and a unique cultural setting. The Neretva River transects the city, running its course under the iconic Stari Most (i.e. the "Old Bridge"), one of Bosnia and Herzegovina's only three UNESCO-inscribed World Heritage Sites. The city experienced an on-and-off siege between 1992 and 1994, which manifested largely as a civil war between Bosniak (Muslim) and Croat (Christian) residents. In addition to the severe number of human casualties, Mostar suffered some of the worst wartime devastation to buildings during the Bosnian War (Bollens, 2007). The famous bridge was destroyed by Croat forces in 1993 but rebuilt a decade later, marking the rebirth of tourism and new

economic possibilities in Mostar. Its aesthetic and symbolic appeal is often what draws tourists to visit Mostar and it features prominently in visitor travel blogs (Nelson, 2015).

After nearly 25 years, signs of the war are still blatantly evident in Mostar: graffiti and vandalized monuments remind passersby of the divisions that still exist within the city today, and reconstruction projects reveal their own complexities of cultural influences and conflict (Grodach, 2002). The lasting discord is exhibited in the current government of Bosnia and Herzegovina which is divided into three constituent nations, each representing a dominant religious affiliation: Croats (Catholic), Bosniaks (Muslim), and Serbs (Serbian Orthodox). Mostar's geography reflects this division of the populace, as each group occupies a separate district of the city. Nestled between mountains in a river valley, Mostar's natural boundaries accentuate its social and political delineations. It is essentially two cities existing under the same name, offering many duplicate features to serve its divided residents: two universities, two bus stations, two mountains with respective symbolistic emblems. Nearly all schools are still segregated. Only one school which sits along the ethnic boundary welcomes students from each group (Laketa, 2016), but still separates them when it comes time to learn the competing "facts" of local history (personal communication with residents, 2018).

In reflecting upon the war a decade after its end, Bollens (2007) comments that Mostar is a "missed opportunity to work out at the micro scale the key parameters of shared governance and territory needed for the effective functioning of Bosnia Herzegovina at the larger scale" (p. 213). Problematically, at both city and national levels, ethnic partitioning was used as a supposed peace-making strategy in the agreements to end the war. Now, means of moving away from divisions and anger to

move instead toward reconciliation are desperately needed. Bollens (2007) proposes that urbanism (defined as a "diverse and broad set of urban policy and governance attributes" that consider both the built and social landscapes of cities [p. 16]) and reconstruction are essential toward this progress, but Bollens also warns that Mostar will likely forever be a changed place following the devastations of the war and subsequent decades of hostility.

Today, the city is an increasingly popular tourism destination but still exhibits widespread physical and emotional signs of wartime devastation. While details of the war history are heavily contested by residents, many visitors are interested in learning about this past. Tour providers and other residents frequently share their stories of the war with curious tourists, but at the same time government tourism agencies work to de-politicize the tourism landscape, instead promoting nature-based tourism or outdoor recreation. In this controversial tourism landscape, touristic spaces within the city can be understood and experienced very differently between people. While there are many residents who are not directly engaged in tourism, an increasing number live their daily lives in places visited by tourists.

Some neighborhoods of Mostar still see very few international visitors, while others are experiencing a new preponderance of guest houses, rooms for rent, and cafes accommodating foreign languages. With many visitors traveling only by foot once arriving to Mostar by bus, travelers tend to cluster in certain parts of town. The main sections of the city frequented by international tourists coincide predominantly with the Bosniak side of Mostar, surrounding the Old Bridge (Stari Most), the focal point of tourism in the city. Thus, it is relatively easy as a visitor to receive a biased perspective of the war history. Additionally, regional tours and the development of outdoor recreation

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offerings have expanded tourism into areas of the city and its periphery that have particularly contested pasts. For instance, a particularly good tourist viewpoint of the city is atop Hum Hill, where a large cross was built into the mountain visible to most of the city's residents below. The cross stands adjacent to a still-active mine field and the former location of a key sniper post. On an opposing hillside looming above the eastern side of town, a large Bosnian national flag offers its own politicized symbolism, adjacent to another suspected minefield. These are just two examples of sites in Mostar in which tourists, local controversy and emotional and violent pasts may intermix.

With the war now over two decades in the past and with nearby Croatia's beaches and historic cities teeming with tourists, Mostar has become a common day trip from Dubrovnik or a stopover for travelers en route to Sarajevo. In recent years, tourism in the Herzegovina Neretva Canton (Mostar's governing district) has grown rapidly. In 2005, an estimated 70,883 tourists came to the region (including domestic tourists), whereas in 2014 this number had nearly doubled to 135,538 (Mirić et al., 2016). In recent years, the region has been estimated to host about 9,000 foreign tourists each month on average (Mirić et al., 2016), and this number has continued to grow rapidly, although precise current figures are not readily available. For many visitors, Mostar is a one-day or one-night stop only, in which tourists participate in whirlwind tours of the city and the attractions of its surrounding region. Fewer stay longer, but this seems to be changing as tourism offerings continue to expand and as travelers recognize how Mostar may offer a reprieve from the crowded and bustling nature of better-known destination cities in the Balkan region. It is this combination of effects that makes Mostar a timely and fascinating city for the study of tourism and human lived experience: while it is a

burgeoning tourism destination of strong international potential, it is also a city that

continues to illustrate how conflicts of the past may persevere into the future.

Tourism in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Bosnia and Herzegovina hold impressive and diverse natural beauty for a small

nation, with lush forests, craggy alpine peaks, meandering blue-green rivers, and even a

short section of Mediterranean coastline. Culturally, the region has long been considered

an important crossroads between the East and West, and the built environment reflects its

Ottoman, Austro-Hungarian, and Yugoslavian pasts, as well as its own independent

aesthetic. In light of this unique blend of characteristics, the tourism sector is rapidly

growing in Bosnia and Herzegovina and is often seen as a key pathway toward economic

resilience. However, the Bosnian War greatly affected many parts of the country and its

destruction is still evident.

As an important economic sector in the region both in the past and present,

tourism has been a driving force in Bosnia and Herzegovina's transition to a new, post-

war identity (Wise, 2011). Yet, establishing new touristic identities has come with a

range of challenges (Causevic & Lynch, 2011). A city's tourism appeal may need to be

re-envisioned given changes in the place's assets and resources. During the Yugoslavian

era, tourism in this region was based mainly on seaside attractions, nearly all of which

became part of Croatia[2]. Cultural and historical tourism, mainly in Sarajevo and Mostar,

have since become Bosnia and Herzegovina's key draws. The development of post-war

tourism offerings may foster remembrance as well as forgetting (or replacement of

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[2] The exception is Neum, Bosnia and Herzegovina's token seaside resort town, a blip of developed coastline that interrupts the otherwise seamless Croatian coast, much to the chagrin of travelers who must now endure multiple border crossings.

memories); in turn, some destinations' touristic representations may create impressions of having "moved on" from the war, while others present messages more engrained within the war history (Wise, 2011). Visitors can be interested in either sort of representation, and tourism in Bosnia and Herzegovina continues to grow rapidly. The country experienced a 77% increase in overnight inbound visitors between 2012 and 2017 (UNWTO, 2017). However, it still ranks low in the European region in terms of peacefulness (34th, i.e. the third lowest score) based on the indicator domains of ongoing conflict, safety and security, and militarization (IEP, 2020).

Guided tours of Sarajevo and Mostar often include or inevitably drift into the topic of war, even if they are not touted as war or history focused (Causevic & Lynch, 2011). Since signs of the war are still visible and prominent, tourists tend to be curious. As tourism in these cities draws upon subjects that are both removed from the war history and closely attached to it, a hybrid form of tourist practices emerges (Kassouha, 2019). Aussems (2016) notes that the "heritagization of war memories" (p. 240) can be problematically divisive in Bosnia and Herzegovina; meanwhile, external parties such as the European Union continue to call for reconciliation between groups. Like other nations of Central and Eastern Europe that have experienced war or conflict on home soil, the nations of former Yugoslavia have more recently been host to "sentimental tourism," in which emigrants who had fled war later return to revisit their past or reconnect with family (Baraniekci, 2001). Although sites such as monuments, memorials, and museums have the capacity to facilitate healing, Aussems finds that "sites of memory" in Bosnia and Herzegovina tend to be oriented more toward foreign visitors than Bosnians (or other regional identities) and often emphasize the concept of hardship and highlight notions of

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"self versus other." As such, sentiments of a hero-versus-victim dichotomy may be expressed, reinvigorating regional conflict and reestablishing the idea of the "enemy" between ethnic groups.

Aussem's Bosnia and Herzegovina-based study corroborates global concerns expressed by scholars such as Pratt and Liu (2016) and Timothy (2013) that the way tourist sites are presented, promoted and/or interpreted may create new or re-intensified animosities between rivals. In considering the politics of memory in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kostadinova (2015) argues that transnational involvement in war recovery and peace building has led to an imbalance in the types of sites that have been restored and promoted. What has emerged is a bias toward multicultural sites that seem to better express the notion of peaceful co-existence, in turn potentially omitting other important sites. Kostadinova cites the Old Bridge in Mostar as a key site that illustrates the international community's urge to highlight the supposedly non-controversial distant past rather than the obviously contentious recent history.

Reflecting an urge to emphasize Bosnia and Herzegovina's more distant history, Ottoman heritage and architecture are popular tourism features within several areas of the country, as are tourist markets/bazaars that reflect Turkish heritage. Coming from an urban planning perspective, Grodach (2002) notes that the Ottoman past can work in both positive and negative ways in the greater Mostar region, as Ottoman attractions and sites may serve as an example of how the region has for many centuries been culturally diverse, and has (at least during some eras) been a place where ethnically and religiously different people have been able to coexist. However, Grodach continues, Bosnian people who do not identify as much with the Ottoman past (such as rural residents, who may be

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also be perceived by others as "uncultured") may find themselves culturally alienated as attention is placed on the preservation and promotion of Ottoman places.

While the omission of the recent war in tourism products and narratives may be seen as a move of neutrality to avoid further conflict, omissions in themselves can be political statements. Kostadinova (2015) relays that in the country's effort to create a sense of neutrality and/or oneness is in itself a political act (even if, and perhaps particularly if, an outside "other" seems to be directing the effort). This point recalls the broader assertation from Meier et al. (2013), not specific to this region, that *absence*, not just *attention*, can very much reflect a political dimension. Attending to absences is important because the absences we note today may offer insights regarding "ongoing contestations of the right to be present or absent" (p. 426). An important question emerges for the context of Bosnia and Herzegovina: who gets to decide what is included or excluded? The nation's official tourism boards and offices are largely under the commands of government entities that attempt to be diverse and representative of their mixed constituents but have continually encountered problems in maintaining a successfully blended governance structure. In light of this, omissions and inclusions are inherently political, even if the intention of the final tourism products (the destination, its tourism offerings, and its promotional materials) are designed very intentionally to be apolitical. Scholars have emphasized how collective memory (and its counterpart, social amnesia) is shaped by those in power, either by institutions (Neal, 1998) or those who claim the heritage as their own (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). Thus, in a place of mixed and contentious heritage, differing and oftentimes conflicting memories may be juxtaposed with concerted efforts of imposed amnesia.

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In Bosnia and Herzegovina, it is not uncommon to hear someone say, "there is no such thing as objective here; everything is subjective." People remember and retell the past differently, particularly the atrocities of the war in which neighbors fought against neighbors. These renditions compete with one another in the public sphere (Moll, 2013), and without consensus on facts, tourist guides tell visitors the one history they *do* know: their "personal story," or their "personal truth" (personal communication with tour guides, 2018).

Promoting the natural landscape of Bosnia and Herzegovina is a main focus of national and regional tourism offices, as it seems like the least contentious of the country's tourism lures (personal communication with tourism officials and tour company guides, 2018). While Bosnia is comprised of spectacular natural scenery, there are also widespread areas of active land mines and a lack of tourism infrastructure that have kept outdoor recreation opportunities fairly limited for tourists. This is gradually changing. Very recently, progress has been made to enhance the region's outdoor adventure tourism offerings through the creation of the Via Dinarica hiking trail. This project, officially launched in 2018 with the release of an authoritative guidebook and English-language app, is the product of international and interregional collaboration between private companies, non-governmental organizations, governmental agencies, and largely made possible through financial support and guidance from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and United States Agency for International Development (USAID) (Clancy, 2018).

Additional insights to regional contexts can be gleaned by considering tourism research on the broader Balkan region, but this research still leaves considerable gaps.

Most of such research from the post-war era has focused on ways to advance destination marketing and manage touristic image reinvention following the period of war (see Arnaud, 2016; Naef, 2011; Pavličìć, 2016; Vitic and Ringer, 2008; Wise and Mulec, 2012). There has been a comparative dearth of research for the Balkan region that seeks to understand the experiences and perceptions of residents as their home places transition (back) into tourism economies. Similarly, there has been limited literature on the manifestation of pride and shame within tourism contexts. These themes arise briefly in Causevic and Lynch (2011): following interviews with resident tour guides and tourism elites (e.g. present and former tourism officials), the authors mention that a few participants noted that they felt less ashamed than they thought they might in speaking with the interviewer and reflecting upon tourism in Bosnia and its associated challenges. This was attributed to the interviewer being an "insider" who, too, had experienced the war as a young woman. This raises the question of how feelings such as pride and shame might manifest when a Bosnian "host" has a similar conversation with a tourist "guest," and a baseline of solidarity or of a shared lived experience does not exist.

Overview of Research Sections

In this research, I utilized a multi-methods approach comprised of three discrete parts conducted concurrently across ten weeks, from late August through October of 2019. The first research component (based upon the order in which they are presented here) was quantitative survey research grounded in social psychology and resident attitudes literature, which aimed to measure and identify types of affect in relationship to constructs of construal level theory. The second part was an experiential, interview-based qualitative component theoretically inspired by literature from cultural geography

pertaining to affect theory and the concept of atmospheres. This research utilized creative

and experiential methods arising from the phenomenological research tradition. The third

part, also qualitative, was a creative autoethnographical account of my experiences as a

researcher and tourist in Mostar, inspired in part by non-representational approaches.

Each of these sections were designed to correspond with its own article within the three-

article dissertation format. An outline of these three parts is presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Overview of Research Methods

	Part 1: Residents' attitudes and affect	Part 2: Residents in post-war touristic spaces	Part 3: The researcher as the subject
Research Type	Quantitative	Qualitative	Qualitative
Primary Research Question	What are the relationships between psychological distance, construal level and affect in terms of understanding residents' perceptions about tourism in a post-conflict city?	What are the affective and emotional experiences of Mostar residents within touristic spaces of the city?	What are the affective and emotional experiences of being a visitor-researcher studying and experiencing tourism in post-war Mostar?
Premise/ Purpose	Investigating residents' attitudes and perceptions of tourism and specific touristic places with attention to types of psychological distance, construal level, and types of affect/ emotion experienced	Understanding residents' perceptions and affective/emotional responses to local tourism and touristic experiences before, during, and after participation in tourist experiences	Tracking and articulating my emotional and affective experiences and observations over the 2 months of being in Mostar and conducting research; focused on relations between bodies, sites and objects in the city's touristic spaces
Perspective	Etic	Emic/Etic	Emic
Theory/ Framework	Construal level theory, social exchange theory	Affect theory, atmospheres, social exchange theory/interdependence theory	Non-representational theory, affect theory
Methodology	Survey research	Phenomenology with ethnography	Autoethnography
Data generation/ collection	Resident intercept survey	In-depth interviews (modified from Seidman, 1998); participant observation	Daily journal, field notes/memos, photography, object/artifact collection or observation
Sampling	Probabilistic cluster sampling of adult Mostar residents conducted via intercept methods at selected public locations throughout city; n = 408	Snowball sampling of young adult Mostar residents; n = 14	N/A
Analysis	Mann-Whitney U and Wilcoxon signed-rank tests	Moustakas' (1994) modification of the Van Kaam technique for phenomenological research (interview transcripts)	Self-reflective poetry writing, free writing, review of journal and notes, review of photographic albums
Final article style	Traditional research article format	Extended chapter analyzing five different settings, with prominent incorporation of direct quotes from participants	Poetry and personal narrative

Part 1: Resident Survey

The resident survey was designed to enable a greater understanding of how residents emotionally and affectively relate to tourist sites within Mostar, and how the intensity and valence of a range of types of affect/emotions might correspond with construal level theory of psychological distance. In this context, the types of distance in consideration will be social and spatial distance, and residents will be asked to mentally construe the city of Mostar broadly (i.e., on a more abstract level) and two specific sites within the city (on a more concrete level). The questionnaire incorporated affect items adapted from PANAS (Watson et al., 1988) as well as questions pertaining to resident attitudes and perceptions, adopted from prior resident research. Most questions were presented as Likert-type items. This research was conducted via a resident intercept survey with a total of 408 adult Mostar residents participating.

For the analyses included in this dissertation, two nonparametric statistical methods were used: Mann-Whitney U and Wilcoxon signed-rank tests. This research is considered an initial investigation of this dataset. Future statistical analyses could include multi-level modeling or other more advanced methods.

This research shows construal level theory to be a promising framework for tourism research applications. Some significant differences were found between psychological distance subgroups. Most of the mean and median scores from the Likert-type scales were similar between groups, which is in itself a meaningful finding in a post-war city noted for conflicts and social/geographic divisions. Overall, Mostar residents expressed very positive affective responses to tourism in their city. Tourist sites and

tourist visitation were associated with generally high levels of perceived satisfaction and pride.

Part 2: Resident Tours and Interviews

In this section of the research, I invited Mostar residents to join me as "tourist for a day," experiencing the sites and attractions of the city and its vicinity as a tourist would. This included a variety of itineraries, some more structured than others, each reflecting participants' own interests and curiosities and representing common Mostar tourist itineraries. While this was a unique and experimental research approach, it took inspiration from the roving focus group strategy utilized by Propst et al. (2008), in which researchers sought residents' perceptions of rural landscapes and character.

This research focused on young adult residents of Mostar, delimited for practical reasons to those who speak English proficiently. Young adults were of interest for a variety of reasons: 1) they were born before or during the period of war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (or during its immediate aftermath), so while memories may vary between this generation, the war history is likely personal and direct for many of them; 2) they have been key entrepreneurial generations who have had to be creative and adaptive as the nation recovers from the war and adjusts to different economic and industrial contexts; and 3) given their younger ages, their opinions and perspectives will be influential in business development, social dynamics, and policy well into the future.

This part of the research consisted of the following main steps:

1. Recruitment, screening, and compiling of basic participant information
2. Pre-tour meetings with questionnaire and first interview
3. Tour experiences with informal conversation

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4.   Semi-structured interviews/debriefing at end of the tour day

5.   Post-tour interviews about 1 week after tour

Snowball sampling was an important strategy in order to help establish and ensure a degree of trust and safety between myself and the participants. I conducted interviews using a strategy adapted from Seidman's (1998) three-stage phenomenological interviewing approach. One or two residents participated in the tour and interview experience at a time, resulting in a total of twelve unique tour experiences. Itineraries were co-created, reflecting participants' own interests and curiosities. For the analysis of data, transcribed interviews were coded using the guidelines adapted by Moustakas (1994) for phenomenological, interview-based research.

The resulting article considers how Mostar's affective atmospheres are shaped by the phenomena of tourism. These atmospheres are often complex, as they reflect a variety of positive and negative lived experiences, yet together they create the alluring appeal of Mostar. By stepping into the role of "tourists," the resident participants were able to consider the affective impacts of their city and of tourism from a variety of angles. Incorporating social exchange theory, this research questions how atmospheres are indicative of both the "give" and the "take" of resident/visitor relations. Generally, participants perceived tourism favorably and also expressed senses of pride and welcoming attitudes in the acknowledgement that they had something special to offer visitors, particularly in terms of social and atmospheric dimensions.

Part 3: Autoethnography

Within the framework of autoethnography, I utilized my own daily journal, field notes from participant observation, photography, and collected artifacts to reflect upon

my own experiences in Mostar, as a researcher and as a visitor in a post-war, emerging destination city. I viewed this autoethnographic section of my research in Mostar as a unique opportunity to flip the focus away from the resident (at least partly) to also consider the affective and emotional experiences of a longer-term visitor in a post-war setting. Autoethnography describes both a process and a product in which the analysis of personal experience is used to understand cultural experience. It views research as an act which is political, socially just, and socially aware (Ellis et al., 2011). A benefit of autoethnography is that it may be accessible to a broader range of readers than a traditional research article, which may thus enable greater or a different kind of impact (Ellis et al., 2011).

I was attracted to autoethnography as a way to intentionally play with the contended notion of "researcher-as-expert." I aimed to be honest, inquisitive and vulnerable in my approach, specifically exploring my discomforts and sensitivities in a way I had not ventured to do before, especially within the context of research. During my two-month stay in Mostar, I sought to experience Mostar both as a tourist and as a longer-term visitor, spending ample time in the city's key tourist areas as well as residential and business neighborhoods less commonly visited by outsiders. I intentionally split my time between two apartments: the first month, in the Eastern side of the city in a predominantly Muslim neighborhood, and the second month, in the Western part of the city, in a predominantly Catholic neighborhood.

My final article takes a creative approach, incorporating poetry as means of description as well as an analytical tool. In this article, I explore ways in which Mostar is at once vibrant and nourishing as well as unsettling. I examine how my own magnetism

to the city is inherently bound to its war history as well as its displays of strength, resilience, and beauty. The resulting article is predominantly inward-focused, a description of the experience of being a relatively new researcher and doctoral student stepping outside of her comfort zone to investigate uncharacteristically heavy topic areas.

Additional Notes

Translation

Since I was a foreign researcher with limited foreign language skills, translation was an essential part of the research planning and analysis processes. Prior to data collection, the survey instrument and consent form were translated to Bosnian and back-translated to English by a second translator (following university IRB protocol), upon which adjustments were made. An initial pilot test of five Mostar residents was used to further review the questionnaire. After data collection, the open-ended responses in the resident survey were translated using a parallel, iterative translation approach, guided by the recommendations of Douglas and Craig (2007). In each phase, at least two translators were used to avoid a singular "interpreter version" of the data (Filep, 2009; Temple & Edwards, 2002). The translators were asked to use a decentering approach (Peña, 2007; Sechrest et al., 1972) to prioritize equivalence in meaning over direct translation. While I aimed to be diligent in translation validity checking, I also acknowledge that there is no perfect strategy for translation and interpretation in research, as words are always imbued with differences from personal experience even within speakers of the same language (Temple & Young, 2004). To address this, I have sought to be transparent and descriptive in the reporting of methods and findings.

Researcher's Background and Preparation

This research topic, focusing on Bosnia and Herzegovina, has been of interest to me since the beginning of my doctoral education. As such, I have been able to devote attention to coursework and other activities throughout the duration of my program that have benefited this area of study. In addition to enrolling in multiple statistical methods and qualitative field work courses at ASU, I participated in workshops on content analysis and qualitative methods such as photo elicitation. I was able to study Serbo-Croatian language in the spring of 2017 through an independent study course with a native-speaking language professor. Field-based experience with qualitative and quantitative research as a research assistant for Arizona State University's Center for Sustainable Tourism also contributed to my evolving skillset. Prior to traveling to Bosnia and Herzegovina to conduct this research, I had visited the country twice in the past, having spent around seven weeks in the Balkan region.

My second visit, prior to my research trip, was a research reconnaissance trip during the summer of 2018, which proved very useful in making connections and devising a plan of work. I met with numerous tourism stakeholders in Mostar and Sarajevo, including government tourism officials, tourism researchers, and tourist guide company managers. I participated in several guided day trips and walking tours and met with local doctoral students who share interests in tourism and regional geography. Conversations with residents and tour operators revealed insights to the pervasive conflicts that still exist between ethnic populations in Mostar and illustrated the reluctance of any government-affiliated tourism agency to engage in dialogue about the most recent war. Other themes that emerged were the conflicting pulls felt by many

Bosnians to capitalize on tourism—specifically visitors' interest in the war—while also trying to move forward, both emotionally and politically, from the volatile events of the past. Tourism promotion agencies and certain tour companies are increasingly and very intentionally using nature and recreation-based tourism to de-politicize the tourism landscape of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Some residents, even those working in tourism, expressed some confusion as to why tourists would be attracted to their city, further illustrating the regional's liminal state of tourism development. Overall, this trip was essential in establishing my study's target population, research questions, and feasibility of my selected methodology. I was also introduced to the staff leadership of the Tourism Board of Herzegovina-Neretva Canton, with whom I developed a continuing and helpful relationship.

My motivations to study the affective and emotional impacts of tourism in a post-war setting are multifaceted. Mostar's story of a blighted place trying to re-establish itself in new, positive and peaceful directions is a fascinating and rich context for the study of tourism development. It has been my goal to approach this topic with care and empathy as well as a critical eye that deeply considers the well-being of residents, the opportunities and pressures of a burgeoning tourism sector, and the long-lasting socio-political fragilities that haunt cities and their people well after a war has officially ended. As a tourism researcher, I feel strongly that conversations pertaining to politics, violence, and strife should not be omitted from a field of study often associated with leisure, luxury, entertainment, and hedonism. If tourism is to be considered means toward international cooperation and cross-cultural understanding, it becomes particularly relevant to investigate the development of tourism in places whose histories do not reflect

only peace and amicability. With this is mind, my interest in this research topic comes

from a place of respect for those who have exhibited great resilience upon suffering

extreme atrocities and lasting hardships. I believe tourism can be a force for good, but

attention to research, planning, inclusivity, and ethics are essential for communities to

reap its benefits.

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CHAPTER 2

RESIDENTS' AFFECTIVE RELATIONS WITH TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

Abstract

Investigating the context of a post-war destination, this paper applies construal level theory of psychological distance (CLT), proposing it as a useful framework for tourism and community researchers and planners to examine how residents feel about opening their community to tourists. In responding to a call for greater attention to affect and emotion within tourism research (Buda et al., 2014), this paper compares how residents' reported feelings of satisfaction and pride pertaining to certain tourist sites vary across mental construal scenarios of varying degrees of abstraction. This framework offers innovative means to understand responses to tourism across geographic levels and between spatial and social distance groupings. Population subgroups in consideration include neighborhood affiliation, home distance from the central tourism area, frequency encountering tourists, and whether or not one works in tourism. Two scenarios are tested across three tourist sites, comparing affective responses to the sites envisioned generally to the same sites envisioned with tourists visiting, in order to pinpoint endogenous factors influencing differences in responses. This research suggests that CLT can be a valuable tool to help tourism planners understand the complexities of affective dimensions that may be present in a destination community and identify root causes of support or resistance for tourism development and projects.

Keywords: construal level theory of psychological distance, post-conflict, tourism planning, tourist attractions, affect, emotion, satisfaction, pride, Bosnia and Herzegovina

Introduction

The topic of resident perceptions of tourism has been of key area of inquiry for tourism researchers who are concerned with how tourism development may impact communities, both positively and negatively (Sharpley, 2014). Residents' responses can vary depending upon the location, type of tourism, or characteristics of residents. In recent years, international tourism has continued to grow worldwide (UNWTO, 2019)[3], yet the past decade has also shown a decrease in global peacefulness, as many nations experience war, conflict and terrorism (IEP, 2019). As more tourists seek unique and "off-the-beaten-path" destinations, tourism development increasingly occurs in places with complex social and political histories. Places that were previously blighted by violence and conflict may experience newfound (or re-found) economic opportunities via tourism. As visitors bring attention to a place's assets, residents may experience an increased sense of satisfaction and pride pertaining to their surroundings. The implications of this are important, as the development of a stronger sense of appreciation for one's community and identity may help residents progress through past traumas and overcome stigmas that have felt emotionally burdensome and financially repressive. Yet, in places where there are still-active divisions between groups based on race, ethnicity, or other personal characteristics, pride can be connected to nationalism, racism, and other potentially problematic prejudices and/or political conflict (De Figueiredo & Elkins, 2003).

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[3] Prior to the impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Differences in levels of satisfaction and support for tourism may be particularly pronounced in post-war or post-conflict regions afflicted with lasting social divisions or strong resident emotions such as shame, regret, and grief. In recent decades, tourists have shown growing interest in "dark tourism" pertaining to sites of death, disaster and atrocities, leading to the creation of tourism products associated with emotionally layered places (Lennon & Foley, 2000). An important consideration of whether residents support tourism development is whether they feel positively about tourist visitation at the main sites that tourists seek to visit. If residents have negative associations with such places, they may be less likely to feel positively about tourism occurring in those places. Feelings about tourism at a site may be a (partial) reflection of personal mental associations with the *site* itself (such as past events occurring there, or group identity/ "ownership" of the site), rather than solely the phenomena of *tourism* occurring there. Alternatively, people may express negative reactions to tourism at a specific site that are more derivative of their negative feelings about tourism, broadly, than about the site itself. By examining perceptions at different scopes and construals, the actual roots of residents' feelings may become illuminated.

As a framework for exploring these sources of reactions, this research employs construal level theory of psychological distance (Trope & Liberman, 2010). This approach builds upon past resident perceptions research while presenting an innovative, affect-based methodology inspired by experimental designs commonly used in psychology. Construal level theory proposes that people traverse different types of egocentric, psychological distance (temporal, spatial, social, and hypothetical) when they think about locations, events, and others' perspectives. Psychological distance is

associated with more abstract (high-level) thinking, and psychological closeness is associated with more concrete (low-level) thinking. Trope and Liberman (2010) suggest that CLT could have interesting applications within the study of affect.

Considerations of psychological distance, in broader theoretical terms, have been common in tourism research (Massara & Severino, 2013) and tourism scholars have recently begun to apply construal level theory (see Craig & Fend, 2018; Kim, et al., 2016; Line, Hanks & Zhang, 2016; Tan, 2018; Zhang et al., 2017). In this body of research, the theoretical framework provides means to evaluate behavioral and attitudinal tendencies in relation to psychological factors that may otherwise remain latent. Only a limited number of such studies have utilized CLT to understand perceptions of touristic places, but there is indication that the theory can be very useful in understanding how people relate to places. Construal level theory has been proposed within geographical studies as a fresh way for geographers to conceptualize distance (Simandan, 2016). Destination image research from Chung and Chen (2018) suggests that the general stereotypes tourists hold about a country play a more prominent role in predicting intentions to visit a long-haul destination than their perceptions of specific destinations' images. While prior tourism studies have shown the theory's utility toward understanding tourists'/ consumers' perceptions, there remains an open invitation within tourism scholarship to apply this theory in studying *residents* and further consider its practical applications in tourism planning and development processes.

Using the multi-level structure of construal level theory, this research compares residents' affective responses to general (i.e. destination city) *and* specific touristic places

(i.e. sites/attractions) in conjunction with their responses to tourists visiting those places, while observing differences between spatial and social distance groupings. This paper focuses specifically on two affective variables, *satisfaction* and *pride*. Satisfaction is examined to provide a broad and intentionally simplified overview of how residents perceive tourist environments and visitation at certain sites. Pride is investigated as a construct of specific interest in a post-conflict setting that is prone to social divisions yet is garnering greater international attention from tourists. While distinct constructs, pride and satisfaction are often related to one another and have been commonly evaluated in tandem, particularly in studies of workplace satisfaction (e.g., Arnett, Laverie & McLane, 2002; Gunter & Furnham, 1996; Helm, 2013). Each are relevant to understanding the challenges and opportunities of a tourism, an industry that is service dependent as well as often culturally focused. Satisfaction and pride may be particularly important to consider in a destination still striving to overcome a difficult past. While tourism may have the power to incubate a sense of unity through building collective pride, it may also emphasize differences between subpopulations or highlight troublesome aspects of a place's history.

Utilizing data from a re-emerging, post-war destination city, this research hypothesizes that psychological distance factors are associated with differences in residents' perceived levels of satisfaction, when comparing: 1) how they envision their city (broadly conceived) versus specific sites within the city; and 2) how they envision these places in a general sense versus a specific context of tourist visitation. As the first tourism research to apply construal level theory in a study of residents' affective responses, this paper aims to investigate the utility of this framework in community

research contexts and provide a foundation for future research interested in resident perceptions.

This research adopts a transformational worldview (Mertens, 2008) of hopeful encouragement for tourism research methodologies that incorporate an inclusive range of residents' views and sentiments and strive toward positive community relations, as further articulated by Pritchard, Morgan, and Ateljevic (2011). Within this framing, this paper seeks to inspire creative, transdisciplinary ways of tackling some of tourism scholarship's older problems. Tourism research is here positioned as means to re-examine potentially detrimental assumptions about resident populations and help enable tourism that encourages community well-being and pathways toward emotional and economic prosperity.

Literature Review

Resident Perceptions and Satisfaction

Research on resident attitudes and perceptions has been prolific since the 1980s and has commonly employed social exchange theory to help explain favorable or unfavorable perceptions (Vargas-Sanchez et al., 2011; Sharpley, 2014). Social exchange theory considers the voluntary and beneficial exchange of resources between actors. If the exchange is imbalanced, one side may feel dissatisfied or exploited (Ap, 1992; Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Sutton, 1967), and if residents feel that the exchange is not satisfying their actual needs, they may be less likely to participate in tourism planning, development, and operation (Ap, 1992). Most tourism research applying social exchange theory has found that residents who perceive that they are benefitting from tourism are more likely to be supportive of it (Andereck & Nyaupane, 2011). Tourism development

agencies and promoters have long been invested in understanding how to gain support from residents who are not directly involved with the industry (Perdue et al., 1990) and to engage residents in destination branding processes (Jeuring & Haartsen, 2017).

Past tourism research has drawn connections between attitudes toward tourism and satisfaction pertaining to dimensions of everyday life. Such perceptions of tourism have been found to be linked to material and non-material life satisfaction, which contribute to residents' quality of life, and then in turn their support for further tourism development (Woo, et al., 2015); residents' perceptions of impacts from tourism may be predicated partly on their satisfaction with neighborhood conditions (Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2010); community satisfaction is closely related with negative and positive perceptions of tourism development (Ko & Stewart, 2002); and community attachment (including community satisfaction as a measure) has been found to directly affect support for tourism development (Gursoy & Rutherford, 2004).

Affect and Emotion in Tourism Research

Definitions of *affect* vary by discipline and purpose (Ekkekakis, 2013). In applied psychology it is commonly understood to encompass emotions and moods (Barsade & Gibson, 2007; Linnenbrink, 2006). As is employed in this study, affect can be conceptualized as "pre-cognitive," occurring quickly upon stimulus without as much cognitive encoding (Zajonc, 1980). This is a useful distinction for planners to keep in mind when assessing resident perceptions, as thinking and feeling may *each* comprise necessary components of social thinking and rationality (Forgas, 2001). Affect is everywhere – it underlies decisions, motivation, and political behavior, and thus is essential to understand if people are to coexist harmoniously and work together

effectively (Barsade & Gibson, 2007). Psychologist Silvan Tomkins made influential contributions to the study of affect via the development of his affect theory (1962), consisting of nine discrete types of affect each with associated physiological manifestations. The affective items of Tomkins' affect theory share some semblance to items included in the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS) later developed by Watson, Clark, and Tellegen (1988). PANAS has commonly been applied and modified within psychological studies to assess the extent to which different affective responses arise within individuals exposed to certain scenarios and treatments.

Increasingly, tourism researchers have expressed the necessity of understanding affective dimensions (D'hauteserre, 2015). Emotional and bodily dimensions are crucial for the scholarly pursuit of more in-depth understandings of tourism encounters, and affect may provide an avenue toward bringing greater ethical awareness to the wellbeing of residents in tourism (Buda, 2015; Tucker, 2009). Recent research has investigated emotions and stress (Jordan et al., 2019), place attachment and emotional solidarity (Woosnam et al., 2018), and emotional evaluations of places (Stylidis, 2018) to more comprehensively assess community impacts. In dark tourism contexts (e.g. post-war settings), it is suggested that affect, emotions, feelings and senses have been relatively overlooked in past research, despite their relevance (Buda, 2015).

In a destination community, residents are involved with tourism to varying degrees and have dedicated different amounts of attention to tourism. By incorporating items like "satisfaction" in terms of *affect* rather than *cognition*, a baseline of the underlying sentiments that exist within a community's diverse population may be established. In consumer research, it is suggested that mood may play a significant role in

impacting satisfaction judgments because respondents will resort to a basic "how-do-I-feel-about-it?" heuristic to determine their response if they are not sure about the source of their feelings (Bickart & Schwarz, 2001). Thus, the construct of satisfaction may serve as a broad indicator of positive affect (as weighed against negative affect) because it can encapsulate a range of other contributory responses, reflecting those that are most salient to the individual.

The assessment of a construct such as satisfaction that is based more upon affect than analytical thinking may be more useful for understanding the manners in which everyday interactions between residents and tourists occur. As a simple but meaningful example, a resident who feels instantaneous affect-based satisfaction (or happiness, excitement, pride, etc.) from tourism may be more likely to smile or say hello to a visitor than a resident who only feels satisfied on a more analytical level (e.g., only feeling satisfied after thinking about how hotel room taxes help pay for local infrastructure improvements). If deeper, prolonged cognition is required, the moment of opportunity for friendliness might be lost, or the interaction may seem more calculated than genuine. What may just seem like a passing "mood" may actually have large impacts on a community and its viability as a sustainable destination: regarding destination choice, visitors commonly seek "fun" and "comfortable" atmospheres when choosing a destination (Kim & Perdue, 2011), will likely feel safer if they feel a sense of emotional solidarity with their hosts (Woosnam et al., 2015), will feel a higher degree of satisfaction if they have a higher intensity social relationship with their hosts (Pizam et al., 2000), and are more likely to be loyal re-visitors if they feel welcomed (Ribeiro et al., 2017). Residents' attitudes toward tourism effect residents, too: a decrease in residents'

friendliness may be linked to a decrease in community enjoyment and impact how residents view tourism development overall (Ross, 1992), and residents' responses to metastereotypes about them (such as friendliness or helpfulness) may in turn influence pro-social behaviors within the community (Tung, 2019). A destination that markets its residents as singularly "friendly" may be harmfully overlooking certain voices, contested identities, or power structures (Pearce, 2005).

Tourism attractions may be perceived very differently by residents than by tourists, particularly in destinations with histories of conflict. For instance, tourist experiences taken lightheartedly by visitors may have far darker connotations for residents, providing reminders of past difficulties they may wish to avoid or move on from (Lennon & Foley, 2000). Conversely, in post-war and/or post-trauma environments, involvement in tourism might have positive psychological benefits for residents, such as catharsis (Buda, 2015; Causevic & Lynch, 2011). While tourism can contribute to community resilience, if local change from tourism happens quickly or without much planning, a community may become susceptible to new social or economic issues (Cheer & Lew, 2018). Tourism may result in increased feelings of stress within residents, which can vary depending on personality and social factors (Jordan et al., 2015). The cross-cultural interactions resulting from tourism have the potential to build empathy between people but may also emphasize cultural differences in ways that may not be beneficial to a community's well-being (Boniface & Fowler, 1993). Neighborhoods, sites, and styles of architecture may be used by residents as extensions of their identity to be expressed to tourists, which may build community pride and create means for social change, but may also highlight divisions between coexisting identities (Santos & Buzinde, 2007).

Destinations may leverage tourism narratives to produce certain affective outcomes, such as expressions of loss or hope (Tucker & Shelton, 2018).

Pride

Pride is widely acknowledged for having both positive and negative manifestations, which are 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., 2018). 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., 2018).

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 constructs of *satisfaction* and *pride* have often been considered in tandem, particularly in psychological studies pertaining to workplace satisfaction. This is a relevant context to consider for this study's site, Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina, as tourism is a dominant industry that is rapidly growing and employs many of the city's residents. Understanding how tourist sites and tourist visitation creates senses of satisfaction and pride within residents may then provide meaningful insights about whether residents' professions and livelihoods are linked to these feelings, as well. A work environment that fosters feelings of satisfaction and pride may lead to a higher level of guest service (Arnett et al., 2002), a critical consideration for the success of a destination city's hospitality and service sectors. Workplace "climate" (a combination of objective and subjective factors which are largely psychologically-based) has been found to significantly predict employees' senses of satisfaction and pride more than biographical characteristics such as age, gender, and salary (Gunter & Furnham, 1996). Workers' senses of pride and satisfaction are key considerations of whether they will want to stay in a job, in part by mediating the effects of how a workplace's external reputation impacts the workers' intentions to continue their tenure (Helm, 2013). Overall,

there is substantial evidence that higher satisfaction and pride are both *products of* positively perceived environments as well as *productive of* more positive environments.

Study Site

To investigate how CLT may be applied toward understanding resident perceptions of tourism between subpopulations, this paper uses primary data collected in the city of Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina. With a population of about 113,000 people, Mostar is a (re)emerging destination known for its famous historic bridge (Stari Most, i.e. the "Old Bridge"), attractive landscape, and Ottoman history. Between 1992 and 1994, the city experienced some of the worst physical destruction and human casualties during the Bosnian War, following the fall of Yugoslavia. The war resulted in a geographically, ethno-religiously divided city, which remains largely to this day (Bollens, 2007; Laketa, 2016). Tourism in Bosnia and Herzegovina has also been viewed as a pathway toward reconciliation and recovery, but war memories and identity politics remain highly intertwined with regional heritage and associated tourism offerings (Aussems, 2016; Causevic, 2010). Many international visitors are very interested in the war history and related historic sites. Natural area and outdoor recreation-based tourism are being heavily promoted and gaining attention from visitors, yet development barriers, such as areas of suspected landmines, may never fully be resolved (Nieves, 2018). In recent years, Mostar has been prominently featured in travel articles from several esteemed publications (e.g., New York Times, 2019; National Geographic, 2019). In addition to considering Mostar as a destination city, broadly, this research investigates 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 (Figure 1). These sites were

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intentionally selected for their relevance to local tourism and their associations with local

history and culture, and because they are located in different parts of the city and

represent different stages of tourism development.

Figure 1

Map of Mostar and Sites
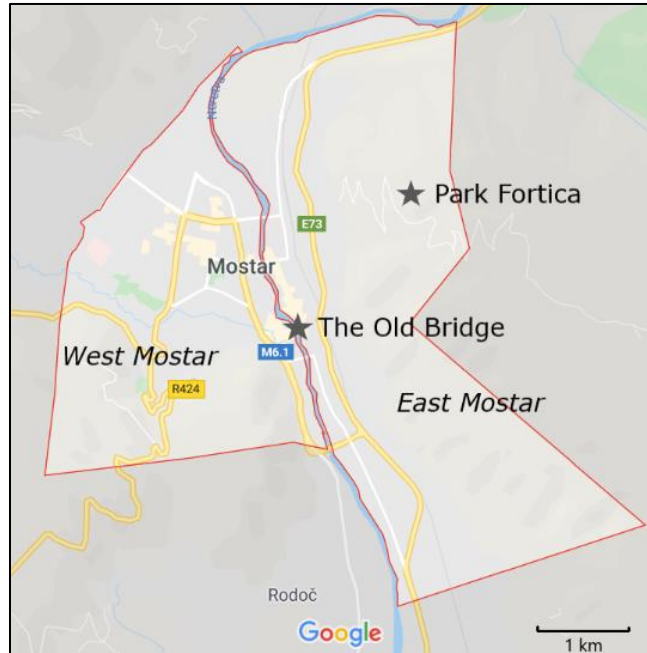
Note. While the Neretva River creates a rough approximation between East and West Mostar's
neighborhood boundary, by most historic definitions the division lies slightly west of the river.

Methods

The design of this research was based upon a survey specifically designed to test

the framework of construal level theory within the study of affect. The instrument

combined questions and items common in resident-focused tourism research while also

borrowing inspiration from experimental design methods common in social psychology

research. The instrument was intended to mentally evoke certain locations and scenarios

through deliberate levels of description. To understand how residents' perceptions might

change between given scenarios, nonparametric methods including Mann-Whitney U and Wilcoxon signed-rank tests were used to provide a detailed, initial presentation of the data.

Study Design

While CLT could be useful in a variety of destination settings, its potential to aid in identifying areas of discontent amongst residents makes it particularly valuable in places overcoming conflict. For this initial investigation of how CLT may illuminate differences in perceptions across resident groups, it is sensible from a deductive standpoint to use data from a city with documented social and spatial differences amongst its population. Primary data were generated from a survey of Mostar residents conducted in Fall 2019.

The questionnaire consisted of six mental prompt scenarios pertaining to three locations (the city, a historic site, and a mountain park), in which progressively detailed information was presented, proceeding from scenarios intended to conjure higher-level (more broad and abstract) construals to lower-level (more detailed and concretely defined) construals. For each scenario, respondents were asked to rate their responses to a series of affect items adapted from the well-established Positive and Negative Affect Schedule ("PANAS"; Watson et al., 1988), which is typically Likert scaled. Here, each item was measured as unipolar, 7-point, Likert-type items (1 = "not at all"; 7 = "completely/extremely"). For each mental scenario, participants were presented with a list of 14 to 15 affective response items (one item, *surprised*, was only included for the mental scenarios with tourists, as was theoretically fitting). Most items (*inspired, proud, strong, nervous, upset, ashamed*) were derived from the constructs included in the

PANAS classification system, supplemented as deemed relevant for this specific research inquiry with items from Tomkins' (1962) affect theory (*joy, interest/excitement, surprise, anger,* and *distress* – here adapted as "sad/mournful/depressed"), which shares some overlap or similarities to constructs in PANAS. Additional items also common within psychological literature, including *unconcerned/calm, disinterested/bored, hopeless/despaired,* and *powerless/weak/disenfranchised*, were added to provide opposing valence or supplemental neutrality to the other items. Lastly, *satisfaction,* related to Tomkins' description of the item of "enjoyment" (as a positive reaction to success), was added to align this research with other tourism-based scholarship pertaining to resident attitudes and perceptions (e.g. Cottrell et al., 2013; Lin et al., 2017). This paper more deeply investigates the affective responses of *satisfied/content/pleased* (*zadovoljan* in Bosnian/Serbo-Croatian) and *proud* (*ponosan* in Bosnian/Serbo-Croatian), two of fifteen affect items included in the questionnaire.

In the survey, participants were first asked to think of Mostar, without any additional information provided, and respond to a set of questions pertaining to their affective responses upon mentally construing that place. Following typical administration procedures of PANAS, participants were asked to respond based on their immediate, initial reaction (rather than by applying a prolonged, cognitive reasoning approach). Next, they were asked to think about Mostar with tourists visiting and respond to similar questions. After that, they were asked to think about two tourist sites selected to represent the specific site level: the centrally-located and very well-known Old Bridge and the more eastern and less well-known Park Fortica. These sites were selected for their relevance to tourism in modern-day Mostar as well as their geopolitical and potentially

affective significance (see Table 1). To establish a basic baseline of knowledge pertaining

to each site, participants were provided two photos illustrating the landscape and

featuring a moderate, roughly "typical" level of tourism visitation, but no description

(Figures 2 & 3). Once again, participants were asked to answer the set of questions. At

the final stage, participants were provided with an additional brief and unbiased

description of the site similar to what a tourist might find in a guidebook (Table 1) and

were told to specifically envision tourists visiting the site. The number of tourists was not

verbally specified in any of the descriptions, which was an intentional choice so that the

participants' minds could refer to the mental images that they most naturally,

immediately conjured for each site. Participants were asked a final time to answer

questions about their feelings in response to the revised, tourism-based scenario at both

sites. This multi-level questionnaire structure was intended to provide a way of

differentiating between satisfaction and pride that residents feel pertaining to a place

versus satisfaction and pride that is more a result of the phenomena of *tourism* at those

places.

The questionnaire also included several fully labeled 1 to 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.

Figure 2

Photos Provided in Survey Instrument for the Old Bridge (Specific Site 1)

Figure 3

Photos Provided in Survey Instrument for Park Fortica (Specific Site 2)

Table 1

Scenario Locations and Descriptions

Location	Background	Description used in survey instrument (translated)
Mostar (general)	The fifth largest city in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which experienced some of the worst damage and casualties during the Bosnian War. Today, the population consists primarily of two ethnic groups, Croats (mainly residing in West Mostar) and Bosniaks (mainly residing in East Mostar). Tourism in Mostar has grown rapidly in the last decade. Most tourist offerings are clustered around the Old Bridge.	(intentionally not provided; all participants already familiar)
The Old Bridge (*Stari Most*) (Specific site # 1; historic development, centrally located)	This iconic, historic bridge is the city's top attraction. It has historically linked the East and West parts of the city, but sits in a primarily Bosniak neighborhood and is commonly more associated with this identity due to its Ottoman heritage. The bridge was destroyed by Croat paramilitary forces in 1993 and was rebuilt by 2004. It is a UNESCO World Heritage site.	"Stari Most is featured in several tourist guidebooks and attracts many visitors to Mostar. It serves as a central point for tourism activity in the city."
Park Fortica (Specific site #2; contemporary development, Eastern location)	This newly developed nature and adventure park is located in the city's eastern hills, not far from areas of suspected land mines. A large Bosnian national flag stands by the viewpoint, along with the words "BIH VOLIMO TE" ("Bosnia and Herzegovina, we love you") written in stone, visible to the city below. Many residents in Mostar do not consider the new Bosnian national identity to be their own and have expressed distaste for these additions.	"This natural area on the northeast side of Mostar has recently been developed with a zipline as well as hiking and mountain biking trails. The hill and its flag of Bosnia and Herzegovina are also visible from town below."

The survey instrument was translated from English to Bosnian by a native speaker/writer and then back-translated to English by a second translator to check for accuracy and validity. Five Mostar residents participated in a pilot test of the questionnaire, after which minor adjustments were made. A probabilistic cluster sampling approach was employed using a predetermined list of locations representing different

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neighborhoods of the city (not the specific sites included in the questionnaire). Intercept locations were selected based on criteria that they were popular public gathering places attracting a wide range of ages and genders (e.g., parks, plazas, shopping malls, transit stations). At the given time for that location, all residents present at that site were invited to participate, with the assistance of local translators. About 40% of those approached agreed to complete the survey. In total, 408 valid questionnaires were collected.

Data Analysis

The survey included demographic items and questions pertaining to psychological distance factors. This paper is delimited to four variables pertaining to social and spatial psychological distance. These reflect factors common in resident research applying social exchange theory as well as factors relevant to the city's specific social context: neighborhood affiliation (spatial and social distance), distance lived from the Old Bridge (spatial), frequency encountering tourists (social), and employment related to tourism (social). Neighborhood affiliation is considered both social as well as spatial because the East part of the city, where most tourism is based, is home to mostly Bosniak (Muslim) residents, whereas the West section is mainly Croat (Catholic) residents (Bollens, 2007; Laketa, 2016). To present a more simplified view of the data using the framework of construal level theory, the independent variables were recoded to be binary: in the home neighborhood category, cases identifying as "other" (8% of overall sample) were excluded to include only those identifying with the Western (36%) and Eastern (54%) parts of the city (with 2% declined to answer); for home distance from the Old Bridge, respondents were segmented into a category of 1 km or less distance away (46%) and more than 1 km away (54%); frequency encountering tourists was divided into daily

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(53%) or less than daily (47%); and working in tourism was divided into yes (including partially; 26%) and no (74%).

To provide an initial overview of affect item scores across sites and scenarios, median and mean scores were calculated for the overall sample. For the analysis of psychological distance subgroups, distributions of standardized residuals exhibited higher than acceptable skewness and kurtosis levels to be considered normal, so nonparametric tests were used: Mann-Whitney U test, which has been found to have advantages in terms of statistical power when analyzing Likert-type data with skewed or peaked distributions (de Winter & Dodou, 2010) and which has been used in similar resident perceptions research (e.g., Hammad, Ahmad & Papastathopoulos, 2016; Wang & Pfister, 2008); and the Wilcoxon signed-rank test, a nonparametric alternative to the paired sample t-test that is commonly used with ordinal data (Sheskin, 2011). Mann-Whitney U tests were used to compare differences between proximal and distal groups of the psychological distance variables for each site/scenario. Then, Wilcoxon signed-rank tests were used to determine whether there were significant differences across satisfaction scores pertaining to the high and low construal levels/scenarios *within* the proximal and distal groups, examining what direction the scores changed if participants did report different scores under the different scenarios. High and low construal relationships were tested in two types of pairs: (1) for the same site, between the general scenario and more specific (tourists) scenario; and (2) between the broader geographic level (Mostar) and the defined sites level (Old Bridge and Park Fortica). The change values (pos/neg/ties) were calculated in terms of *low-level construal* minus *high-level construal* scores (positive scores = number of cases with

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higher scores at the lower level; negative scores = number of cases with a higher score at the higher level).

Tied ranks can present complications in Mann-Whitney U and Wilcoxon signed-rank tests if there are likely to be many repeated values, as is expected with Likert-type data (Gibbons & Chakraborti, 2011). The reported z values and asymptotic significance values have been corrected for ties by assigning mean rank values to tied cases. Ties are less of a concern for this study, theoretically, as the intention is to learn about the direction and degree of change for those who *do* express a change under the tourism scenario. For all calculations, a 95% confidence level was used to derive the asymptotic (2-sided) p-values. Significance is noted both in terms of the original alpha value (0.05), as well as the Bonferroni corrected values to adjust for multiple comparisons (4 comparisons between groups and 9 within groups).

For the investigation of attitudinal items pertaining to tourism and pride, 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 pertaining 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

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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).

Results

Descriptive statistics pertaining to basic demographic variables are presented in Table 2. The sample represents a relatively balanced mix of men and women and a broad distribution of ages, although over half of the respondents were under the age of 35. More respondents lived in Eastern Mostar than Western Mostar, but both parts of the city are well-represented, with some also coming from some of the other outlying neighborhoods and villages of the greater city. Less than half of the respondents were employed full-time and almost a quarter were currently students.

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics for the Overall Resident Sample

Variable/Category	*n*	%
Gender		
Male	216	54
Female	183	46
Age		
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
Neighborhood affiliation		
Western Mostar	147	37
Eastern Mostar	220	55
Other (suburb, village, etc.)	34	8
Employment[†]		
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

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

The following tables (Tables 3 through 5) display descriptive statistics for the overall sample (*n* = 408) regarding affect items for Mostar, the Old Bridge, and Park Fortica, respectively. Generally, respondents reported higher scores for positive affect items (i.e. *satisfied, proud, happy, hopeful,* and *strong*), lower scores for more negative affect items (i.e. *disinterested, worried, powerless, angry, sad, ashamed,* and *hopeless*), and medium scores for the more neutral item (*unconcerned*). *Interested/excited* scored

more moderately than the other positive items. *Surprised,* which can have negative or positive valence, was introduced as an affect item only within the tourism scenario and scored generally high. Median scores varied between the general and tourism scenarios, although most mean scores were relatively similar between the two scenarios. Considering all three sites*, satisfied, proud* and *happy* received the highest scores overall amongst the fifteen affect items. For both *satisfied* and *proud,* the two main affect items in focus for these analyses, there was no change in median score for the overall population between the two scenarios. Median scores were highest for the Old Bridge (7, compared to 6 for Mostar and Fortica). Mean satisfaction and pride scores decreased slightly for the Old Bridge site under the tourists scenario but increased slightly with tourists for the Park Fortica site.

Table 3

Residents' Reported Affective Responses When Mentally Envisioning the City of Mostar (Generally and with Tourists)

Affect item	As generally perceived by residents				As envisioned with tourists			
	n	*Mdn*	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*Mdn*	*M*	*SD*
Satisfied/content/pleased [a]	398	6	5.88	1.38	398	6	5.71	1.41
Proud [a]	389	6	5.72	1.48	398	6	5.87	1.34
Happy/joyful	393	6	5.80	1.35	398	6	5.73	1.41
Hopeful/inspired	394	5	5.21	1.59	402	6	5.53	1.48
Strong/empowered	391	5	4.99	1.67	393	5	5.27	1.60
Interested/excited	396	5	4.61	1.61	392	5	4.75	1.77
Surprised [b]	-	-	-	-	404	6	5.33	1.61
Unconcerned/calm	394	4	3.79	1.83	398	4	3.98	2.07
Disinterested/bored	396	3	2.84	1.68	396	2	2.52	1.66
Worried/anxious/nervous	395	2	2.66	1.81	392	1	2.05	1.50
Powerless/weak/disenfranchised	393	2	2.63	1.95	397	1	2.06	1.64
Angry/bothered	399	3	2.95	1.90	400	1	2.06	1.61
Sad/mournful/depressed	392	2	2.56	1.73	396	1	1.73	1.32
Ashamed	393	2	2.39	1.67	400	1	1.82	1.41
Hopeless/despaired	386	1	2.17	1.63	394	1	1.69	1.29

Note. The Likert-type response scale (1 to 7) was presented with the following guidelines: 1 = not at all; 2 = slightly; 3 = somewhat; 4 = moderately; 5 = quite a bit; 6 = very much; 7 = extremely/totally. The affect items and measurement descriptions were translated to Bosnian and back-translated to English.

[a] Denotes the two primary items in consideration for these analyses.

[b] "Surprised" was only included for the tourists scenario.

Table 4

Reported Affective Responses When Envisioning the Old Bridge (Generally and with Tourists)

Affect item	As generally perceived by residents				As envisioned with tourists			
	n	*Mdn*	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*Mdn*	*M*	*SD*
Satisfied/content/pleased [a]	400	7	6.20	1.26	396	7	5.98	1.34
Proud [a]	399	7	6.26	1.17	397	7	6.01	1.36
Happy/joyful	399	7	6.19	1.25	399	7	6.00	1.32
Hopeful/inspired	401	6	5.94	1.38	397	6	5.70	1.51
Strong/empowered	398	6	5.85	1.49	390	6	5.53	1.66
Interested/excited	401	5	4.93	1.88	395	5	4.82	1.92
Surprised [b]	-	-	-	-	398	6	5.78	1.55
Unconcerned/calm	399	4	3.78	2.20	397	4	3.66	2.18
Disinterested/bored	397	2	2.37	1.68	396	1	2.32	1.69
Worried/anxious/nervous	397	1	1.90	1.47	398	1	1.96	1.48
Powerless/weak/disenfranchised	396	1	1.91	1.58	398	1	1.93	1.55
Angry/bothered	402	1	2.03	1.58	400	1	1.99	1.62
Sad/mournful/depressed	402	1	1.86	1.44	397	1	1.74	1.32
Ashamed	398	1	1.74	1.45	398	1	1.73	1.38
Hopeless/despaired	399	1	1.71	1.44	397	1	1.73	1.47

Note. The Likert-type response scale (1 to 7) was presented with the following guidelines: 1 = not at all; 2 = slightly; 3 = somewhat; 4 = moderately; 5 = quite a bit; 6 = very much; 7 = extremely/totally. The affect items and measurement descriptions were translated to Bosnian and back-translated to English.

[a] Denotes the two primary items in consideration for these analyses.

[b] "Surprised" was only included for the tourists scenario.

Table 5

Reported Affective Responses When Envisioning Park Fortica (Generally and with Tourists)

Affect item	As generally perceived by residents				As envisioned with tourists			
	n	*Mdn*	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*Mdn*	*M*	*SD*
Satisfied/content/pleased [a]	398	6	5.53	1.66	393	6	5.70	1.53
Proud [a]	391	6	5.47	1.65	393	6	5.74	1.46
Happy/joyful	393	6	5.52	1.60	396	6	5.71	1.48
Hopeful/inspired	394	6	5.47	1.67	391	6	5.53	1.59
Strong/empowered	391	6	5.29	1.73	388	6	5.30	1.73
Interested/excited	386	5	4.51	1.94	391	5	4.67	1.86
Surprised [b]	-	-	-	-	399	6	5.62	1.65
Unconcerned/calm	390	4	3.71	2.11	393	4	3.78	2.15
Disinterested/bored	384	1	2.45	1.78	390	2	2.49	1.77
Worried/anxious/nervous	388	1	1.97	1.48	392	1	1.99	1.61
Powerless/weak/disenfranchised	390	1	2.00	1.63	392	1	2.01	1.64
Angry/bothered	393	1	2.03	1.58	396	1	2.06	1.72
Sad/mournful/depressed	392	1	1.84	1.48	391	1	1.86	1.49
Ashamed	390	1	1.82	1.51	394	1	1.81	1.49
Hopeless/despaired	391	1	1.81	1.49	390	1	1.79	1.47

Note. The Likert-type response scale (1 to 7) was presented with the following guidelines: 1 = not at all; 2 = slightly; 3 = somewhat; 4 = moderately; 5 = quite a bit; 6 = very much; 7 = extremely/totally. The affect items and measurement descriptions were translated to Bosnian and back-translated to English.

[a] The "surprised" affect item was only included for the tourist scenario.

Satisfaction

Mean and median scores indicated a generally high level of reported satisfaction amongst residents when thinking about Mostar, Mostar tourist sites, and tourism at those locations (Tables 7 and 8). In the between-groups comparison (Table 8), median scores ranged from 6 ("very much") to 7 ("extremely/totally"), although mean scores were typically slightly lower, some becoming closer to 5 ("quite a bit"). The range of mean

scores was 5.33 (Park Fortica, general scenario, West neighborhood) to 6.46 (Old Bridge, general scenario, East neighborhood). Differences between both the mean and median scores within groups for each type of psychological distance tested and between groups per site/scenario were never greater than 1. Indicative of concurrent validity, the generally high satisfaction scores for the tourist-based scenarios reflect a similarly high mean score from a separate question on the survey, which asked "overall, how supportive are you of tourism development in Mostar," resulting in a mean of 6.14 ("very supportive"; $n = 406$).

Table 6

Degree of Satisfaction Across Three Sites and Two Scenarios (Overall Sample Mean and Median; Excerpted from Tables 3, 4 & 5)

Site/scenario	n	M	Mdn
MostarGen	398	5.88	6
MostarTour	398	5.71	6
BridgeGen	400	6.20	7
BridgeTour	396	5.98	7
ForticaGen	398	5.53	6
ForticaTour	393	5.70	6

Note. "Gen" indicates the general scenario, i.e. the site on its own (no tourists specified). "Tour" indicates the revised scenario (i.e. the site with tourists visiting). Scores are based on 1-7 Likert-type items (1 = not at all satisfied, 7 = extremely/completely satisfied. Missing values were deleted pairwise.

The Mann-Whitney U tests revealed several significant differences between groups (Table 7), although many of the mean/median differences were minimal and not found to be significant. Of the four psychological distance factors, neighborhood affiliation was found to yield the most significant differences, with the East part of the city expressing a higher amount of satisfaction than the West for all three locations in the

general scenario. While the Mann-Whitney U statistic is based upon median ranks, several median values were tied between groups, so the means provide a more detailed view of central tendency. Between neighborhood groups, the mean difference was greater at the specific site level (Bridge general M difference $= 0.47$, $Mdn = 7$ [both groups]; $U = 18,421$, $z = 3.199$, $p < 0.001$; Fortica general M difference $= 0.48$) than the city level (M difference $= 0.32$, West $Mdn = 6$, East $Mdn = 7$, $U = 17,726$, $z = 2.576$, $p < 0.01$). People who lived closer to the Old Bridge expressed a significantly higher amount of satisfaction when thinking about Mostar than those who lived farther away (M difference $= 0.42$, $U = 15,993$, $z = -2.865$, $p < 0.004$). However, when envisioning the bridge with tourists, the scores between groups were almost identical (M difference $= 0.02$). The other scores between these two groups were also very similar. People who encounter tourists daily reported significantly higher satisfaction envisioning the Old Bridge, both in the general scenario (M difference $= 0.28$, $U = 16,010$, $z = -3.415$, $p < 0.001$) and with tourists (M difference $= 0.47$, $U = 15,380$, $z = -3.775$, $p < 0.000$). Working in tourism was not found to yield any significant differences in any of the sites/scenarios.

Table 7

Satisfaction Scores by Site/Scenario for Four Endogenous Factors

a. Neighborhood affiliation (West or East)

Site/scenario	West n	West M	West Mdn	East n	East M	East Mdn	Mann-Whit. U	z	p
MostarGen	142	5.78	6*	217	6.1	7*	17726	2.576	0.010*
MostarTour	144	5.71	6	214	5.83	6	15377	-0.034	0.973
BridgeGen	146	5.99	7**	215	6.46	7**	18421	3.199	0.001**
BridgeTour	147	5.80	6	213	6.18	7	17288	1.832	0.067
ParkGen	145	5.33	6*	216	5.81	6*	17673	2.175	0.030*
ParkTour	143	5.48	6	212	5.92	6	16861	1.9	0.057

b. Distance lived from Old Bridge (1 km or less, more than 1 km)

Site/scenario	≤1 km n	≤1 km M	≤1 km Mdn	>1 km n	>1 km M	>1 km Mdn	Mann-Whit. U	z	p
MostarGen	181	6.12	7**	210	5.70	6**	15993	-2.865	0.004**
MostarTour	179	5.73	6	212	5.75	6	19139	0.156	0.876
BridgeGen	181	6.26	7	211	6.19	7	18950	-0.147	0.883
BridgeTour	181	6.02	7	211	6.00	7	19066	-0.028	0.978
ParkGen	179	5.58	6	214	5.54	6	19276	0.115	0.908
ParkTour	178	5.64	6	210	5.77	6	19482	0.758	0.448

c. Frequency encountering tourists (daily or less than daily)

Site/scenario	Daily n	Daily M	Daily Mdn	<Daily n	<Daily M	<Daily Mdn	Mann-Whit. U	z	p
MostarGen	208	5.98	6	186	5.80	6	17700	-1.543	0.123
MostarTour	208	5.77	6	185	5.70	6	18857	-0.356	0.722
BridgeGen	210	6.36	7**	185	6.08	7**	16010	-3.415	0.001**
BridgeTour	210	6.21	7**	184	5.74	6**	15380	-3.775	0.000**
ParkGen	212	5.67	6	183	5.42	6	17743	-1.528	0.127
ParkTour	207	5.84	6	182	5.57	6	16804	-1.936	0.053

d. Work in tourism (yes [including partially] or no)

Site/scenario	Yes n	Yes M	Yes Mdn	No n	No M	No Mdn	Mann-Whit. U	z	p
MostarGen	99	5.88	6	291	5.89	6	14948	0.594	0.552
MostarTour	100	5.84	6	289	5.69	6	13538	-0.985	0.325
BridgeGen	102	6.29	7	289	6.20	7	13853	-1.025	0.306
BridgeTour	100	6.14	7	291	5.93	6	13481	-1.184	0.236
ParkGen	102	5.36	6	289	5.61	6	16034	1.378	0.168
ParkTour	98	5.67	6	288	5.73	6	14387	0.304	0.761

Note. "Gen" indicates the general scenario, i.e. the site on its own (no tourists specified). "Tour" indicates revised scenario (tourists visiting). Mean and median scores are based on 1-7 Likert-type items (1 = not at all satisfied, 7 = extremely/completely satisfied). Significance level (p) is asymptotic (2-sided).

* significant at $p < 0.05$

** significant at $p < 0.0125$ (Bonferroni correction)

In the overall sample (Table 8), the difference between envisioning tourists at the Mostar (higher construal) level and at the Old Bridge (lower construal) level were found to be statistically significant using the Wilcoxon signed-rank method ($n = 389$, $z = 4.219$, $p < 0.000$), with the Old Bridge scenario showing higher reported satisfaction scores (M difference $= 0.30$, MostarTour $Mdn = 6$, BridgeTour $Mdn = 7$). When segmented into the social and spatial distance categories (Table 9), this pattern was true for Eastern residents, both of the home distance categories, people who encounter tourism daily, and both employment categories. For both Mostar and the Old Bridge, imposing the tourist scenario upon each location generally resulted in a somewhat lower satisfaction score than for the location generally, as Table 7 shows. In comparing responses from Mostar (general) to the responses for the Mostar tourism scenario, satisfaction scores were significantly lower with the tourism scenario for Eastern residents, people who live closer to the bridge, people who encounter tourists at least daily, and people who do not work in tourism. The reported satisfaction scores for Park Fortica, however, were generally higher when the participants envisioned tourists there. Yet, Wilcoxon signed-rank results only showed this difference to be significant within the 97 people who work in tourism (if using the original p-value only; $z = 2.466$, $p < 0.014$).

Table 8

Overall Sample Comparison of Satisfaction Scores Between Low and High Construal

Scenarios

Site/scenario construal pair	*n*	pos/neg/ties	WSR	*z*	*p*
MostarTour⁻ - MostarGen	390	94/131/165	10167	-2.672	0.008*⁻
BridgeTour - BridgeGen	389	49/109/231	3718	-4.606	0.000**⁻
ParkTour - ParkGen	386	103/75/208	9612	2.463	0.014*⁺
BridgeTour - MostarTour	389	132/75/182	14291	4.219	0.000**⁺
ParkTour - MostarTour	387	112/106/169	12181	0.271	0.787

Note. "Gen" indicates the general site scenario (high-level construal; no tourists specified). "Tour" indicates the revised scenario (low-level construal; tourists visiting). WSR = Wilcoxon signed-rank statistic. Significance level (p) is 2-sided. Pos/neg/ties represents difference in median satisfaction score (low level construal – high level construal)

* significant at $p < 0.05$

** significant at $p < 0.005$ (Bonferroni correction)

⁻ Indicates significantly lower satisfaction score for lower construal level

⁺ Indicates significantly higher satisfaction score for lower construal level

Table 9

Within Groups Comparison of Satisfaction Scores Between Low and High Construal Scenarios

Scenario pairing	n	pos/neg/ties	WSR	z	p	n	pos/neg/ties	WSR	z	p
Neighborhood affiliation			West					East		
MostarTour-MostarGen	140	39/40/61	1421	-0.8	0.424	212	43/77/92	2475	-3.112	0.002**-
BridgeTour-BridgeGen	146	24/37/85	660	-2.129	0.033*-	209	18/60/131	740	-4.126	0.000**-
ParkTour-ParkGen	141	35/26/80	1121	1.311	0.190	209	55/45/109	2891	1.288	0.198
BridgeTour-MostarTour	144	42/33/69	1610	1.003	0.316	209	77/33/99	4463	4.351	0.000**+
ParkTour-MostarTour	141	32/44/65	1101	-1.908	0.560	208	65/49/94	3883	1.771	0.077
Distance lived from Old Bridge			≤1 km					>1 km		
MostarTour-MostarGen	178	37/67/74	1569	-3.814	0.000**-	206	57/62/87	3613	0.117	0.907
BridgeTour-BridgeGen	178	24/54/100	945	-3.078	0.002**-	207	24/54/129	880	-3.398	0.001**-
ParkTour-ParkGen	174	46/37/91	1936	0.897	0.370	208	54/38/116	2698	2.249	0.024*+
BridgeTour-MostarTour	177	63/34/80	3198	3.034	0.002**+	208	68/39/101	3803	2.946	0.003**+
ParkTour-MostarTour	174	50/50/74	2428	-0.343	0.731	208	59/55/94	3427	0.434	0.664
Frequency encountering tourists			Daily					Less than daily		
MostarTour-MostarGen	203	46/74/83	2662	-2.596	0.009*-	183	24/55/80	2452	-0.767	0.443
BridgeTour-BridgeGen	205	23/48/134	880	-2.338	0.019*-	182	25/61/96	944	-4.181	0.000**-
ParkTour-ParkGen	204	53/36/115	2440	240.265	0.069	179	48/39/92	2206	1.3	0.194
BridgeTour-MostarTour	206	76/24/106	3898	4.837	0.000**+	181	55/50/76	3016	0.778	0.436
ParkTour-MostarTour	204	64/50/90	3712	1.257	0.209	179	45/55/79	2171	-1.252	0.211
Work in tourism			Yes (at least partially)					No		
MostarTour-MostarGen	98	28/33/37	866	-0.585	0.559	284	64/95/125	4854	-2.665	0.008*-
BridgeTour-BridgeGen	99	14/23/62	263	-1.38	0.167	285	33/85/167	1820	-4.709	0.000**-
ParkTour-ParkGen	97	33/19/45	955	2.466	0.014*+	282	67/55/160	4187	1.152	0.249
BridgeTour-MostarTour	98	29/9/60	528	2.327	0.020*+	286	102/64/120	9014	3.481	0.000**+
ParkTour-MostarTour	97	22/26/49	516	-0.76	0.447	283	87/78/118	7255	0.68	0.496

(Continued from Table 9 on previous page)

Note. "Gen" indicates the general site scenario (no tourists specified). "Tour" indicates the revised scenario (tourists visiting). WSR = Wilcoxon signed-ranks statistic. Significance level (*p)* is asymptotic (2-sided). Pos/neg/ties represents median change (*low level construal – high level construal*).

* significant at p < 0.05

** significant at p < 0.005 (Bonferroni correction)

⁻ Indicates significantly lower score for lower construal level

⁺ Indicates significantly higher score for lower construal level

Pride

In reviewing the results from the supplemental attitudinal questionnaire items, residents overall showed a very high level of agreement with the Happy_proud variable (mean = 6.17) as well as the other variables, 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 10 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 11). 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 size (*n* = 31).

Table 10

p-values of Distribution Differences Between Demographic Variable Groups, by Resident

Attitude Variable

Attitude variable	Overall sample n	Overall sample M	Overall sample Mdn	r_s	Work p	Encount. p	Neigh. p	Distance p
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, 2 = strongly disagree, 3 = somewhat disagree, 4 = neither agree nor disagree, 5 = somewhat agree, 6 = strongly agree, 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. Missing values were deleted pairwise.

*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 11

Summary of Significant Pairwise Differences in Attitudes Between Neighborhood Groups

Attitude variable	KWt	p	Group	n	Mdn	Group	n	Mdn	Adj. p
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_attract.	$\chi^2(2) = 8.871$	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 12), 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 13). 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 14), 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 12

Mean and Median Pride Scores for the Overall Sample, by Site/Scenario*

Site/scenario	*n*	*M*	*Mdn*
MostarGen	389	5.72	6
MostarTour	398	5.87	6
BridgeGen	399	6.26	7
BridgeTour	397	6.01	7
ParkGen	391	5.47	6
ParkTour	393	5.74	6

Note. "Tour" indicates the revised scenario of the site with tourists visiting (low-level construal); "Gen" indicates the general scenario (high-level construal). "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). Missing values were deleted pairwise.

*Statistics in table excerpted from Tables 3, 4 & 5.

Table 13

Median Differences in Pride Between Sites (Generally Conceived) and Sites as

Envisioned with Tourists

Location Pair	n	pos/neg/ties	WSR	z	p
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*+

Note. "Tour" indicates the revised scenario of the site with tourists visiting (low-level construal); "Gen" indicates the general scenario (high-level construal). "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 14

Pride Scores Between Neighborhood Groups, by Site/Scenario

	West			East			Other			
Site/Scenario	M	n	Mdn	M	n	Mdn	M	n	Mdn	p
MostarGen	5.65	143	6	5.81	210	6	5.58	31	6	0.363
MostarTour	5.80	144	6	6.01	214	6	5.64	33	6	0.210
BridgeGen	6.03	145	7	6.46	216	7	5.97	32	6	0.009*†
BridgeTour	5.79	145	6	6.25	215	7	5.69	32	6	0.004*† ††
ParkGen	5.12	145	6	5.81	212	6	4.90	31	5	0.000*† ††
ParkTour	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 (low-level construal); "Gen" indicates the general scenario (high-level construal). "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). 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

Acknowledging and Understanding Underlying Affective Presences

This paper is intended as a starting point for investigating the utility of construal level theory within tourism planning and community research. While two self-reported items ("satisfaction" and "pride") do not alone provide a detailed explanation of resident perceptions, as applied within the structure of CLT they provide a useful initial overview of community social and spatial interactions and dynamics, and offer direction for further investigation. Here, examinations of *satisfaction* and *pride* help to illustrate how CLT may provide researchers with guidance in dissecting the social and spatial (and potentially the temporal and hypothetical) factors that may influence residents' opinions and feelings. By employing mental construal prompts with carefully structured questions and controlled amounts of detail, research may be designed to extract resident data that are more directed toward affective dimensions than many typical resident research approaches. This may allow for a deeper understanding of resident attitudes and perceptions within a destination community.

Overall, Mostar findings supports the hypothesis that differences exist between population subgroups within the framework of CLT. For practical implications, the differences were mostly minor, suggesting that even in a city known for conflict, residents may actually share similar perceptions and have more in common than might be assumed. Residents reported a generally high level of satisfaction when picturing their city and two of its tourist sites, and the influences of neighborhood affiliation, distance lived from the tourism center, frequency encountering tourists, and employment in the tourism industry were mostly minor in terms of how groups perceived tourist sites and

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tourist visitation. This research reinforces the importance of understanding local context in research and in tourism planning and development efforts. A place's social and political background may influence how people perceive and relate to famous landmarks, attractions, and other types of tourist sites, as well as to tourism more broadly, but these influences may also be less than anticipated.

The overall similarities between groups, general positivity expressed by the scores, and mostly small effect sizes may in themselves be important results, especially in this context of a so-called "divided city." The relative similarity between the social variables' groups' perceptions illustrate commonalities within a population that is often defined by its differences. In the specific context of Mostar, Carabelli, Djurasovic, and Summa (2019) suggest that "cracks" may be emerging in the city's geopolitical divisions. Attention to these uniting forces may help to represent the city in a more hopeful light and open new paths toward positive affective outcomes, such as solidarity and dignity amongst residents. The findings in this paper, however limited, suggest that tourism may be a force which can help unite residents, as the findings illuminate a shared positivity toward tourism (likely indicating a shared goal of economic development) and collective pride and appreciation for the city's attractions. These findings also contribute evidence of how community research may productively challenge assumptions of local differences or grievances that may be untrue or outdated.

Satisfaction

By testing the same item across theoretically-driven sites and scenarios, these results offer a tentative assessment of patterns and trends that may exist within Mostar, indicative of how CLT-based results may take form if the framework is applied in

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research with more in-depth instrumentation. In the context of a post-war city looking to find new economic and social opportunities, it is not surprising that residents would generally feel positively about tourism. This aligns with previous findings related to social exchange theory, which indicate that residents tend to view tourism more favorably if they perceive they will personally benefit from it. Tourism literature has suggested that when residents are dissatisfied with their community's economic situation, they may view tourism development more favorably (i.e. residents may perceive the "pros" to outweigh the "cons") (Allen, Hafer, Long, & Perdue, 1993; Vargas-Sánchez et al., 2011). In Mostar, these points may be especially salient given the city's proportionately large population of university-age students who hope to envision a different future for themselves than what their parents' generation experienced.

However, this study also produced some results different from what social exchange theory would suggest, as people who work in tourism were not found to have significantly higher levels of satisfaction than those who did not work in tourism. One explanation for this could be that satisfaction is a distinct construct from support; in other words, one might support an industry from an analytical, more cognitive perspective when they know that they or their community are benefitting from it, but their feelings may be mixed when evaluating this from a reactive, affective perspective. For instance, someone who works in tourism may be grateful for their job but still feel a sense of displeasure when asked to think of tourists (especially in their leisure), because it reminds them of work. This may be a valuable point for researchers designing surveys in terms of instrument validity and discerning the main purpose of the research. Both the analytical and the "gut reaction" type of responses could be very useful in understanding what

assets or obstacles may exist in a community, but their results may be rather different. Demographic variables such as age and gender may also influence affective perceptions, but testing these factors was not the objective of this paper.

The higher satisfaction score for Old Bridge tourism compared to Mostar or Park Fortica tourism could be a product of a variety of potentially complex local factors which would require further investigation (via resident interviews, focus groups, advanced literature review, etc.). For instance, further hypothesizing could explore whether these statistical differences originate from the bridge's status as an icon of the city and a historic tourist attraction. Residents may consider tourists to be part of the typical landscape there, which could also explain why the scores for the Bridge (general) and the Bridge with tourists, while significantly different, does not exhibit a very large effect size (*M* difference for the overall sample = 0.22).

The Old Bridge's status as a longtime icon of the city and its only UNESCO World Heritage site may influence residents' senses of satisfaction when envisioning tourists visiting. Park Fortica, on the other hand, is a newer attraction less familiar to some residents. The increase in reported satisfaction under the tourism scenario for Park Fortica could be a result of residents feeling positively about the region's new tourism offerings and development potential, even if the specific site doesn't elicit as much positive recognition.

Pride

Overall, participants reported very positive attitudes and high levels of pride pertaining to tourism and tourist places, similar to the *satisfaction* item. 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 survey sections. 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 regularly 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.

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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 (2018) 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.

While positive-valence affective items all scored relatively high across the survey for all sites and scenarios, there was one notable difference between *satisfaction* and *pride* in comparing high and low construal scenarios. Residents did not report feeling increased satisfaction when thinking about Mostar with tourists than in the general scenario, yet the addition of tourists did result in higher reported levels of pride. Again, the differences in mean scores were minor. Thus, it is an important takeaway that even in a city well-known for its devastating war history, residents may already feel a high amount of pride in their city that is not dependent upon external reinforcement. While additional research would be needed to confirm the reasons behind this, this sense of re-existing pride may come from internal factors such as senses of strength and resilience from surviving past trauma, as well as factors pertaining to the city's cultural heritage and historical importance.

Methodological Notes and Future Research Considerations

Reflecting upon the findings of this research, future research could aim to uncover more of the nuances and reasons for differences between groups' scores. Despite limitations, using a Likert-type scale is a common practice in resident research, as it allows a variety of items and levels to be tested efficiently across a relatively large sample size, appropriate for an initial or preliminary investigation. To gain greater in-depth knowledge, the framework provided by construal level theory would be well-suited for sequential explanatory mixed-methods research design. While binary coding of the independent variables is helpful for presenting a simplified view of possible relationships as aligned with CLT, it is possible that retaining more levels with the variables would reveal more significant relationships and provide more detailed information about

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interesting nuances that may exist. In this research, differences between groups and scenarios may have been more pronounced if the tourism scenario asked specifically about a high level of visitor crowding. However, if a researcher is to adopt this type of adjustment, they would need to also consider the role of hypothetical psychological distance, i.e. the perceived likelihood of an event happening, as crowding might be more easily construed for some settings than others. It is worth noting that previous research pertaining to rural regions in different stages of tourism development has found that the amount of tourist visitation may not greatly affect residents' attitudes toward tourism development (Látková & Vogt, 2012).

The Mann-Whitney U test and Wilcoxon signed-ranks test, although operable for Likert-type data with non-normal distributions, present some statistical shortcomings. Due to ceiling effects with this measurement, the proportion of people who reported feeling less satisfied in the more specific (tourism-based) scenario may be somewhat inflated. Their responses are captured within the Wilcoxon method, whereas respondents who felt more satisfied but initially reported a 7 out of 7 could not go higher (reflecting the limitations of scaled measurement in terms of individual subjectivity) and are thus reported as ties. For this reason, the mean scores remain valuable indicators to consider (even though the nonparametric methods are based upon median score calculations), as the Mann-Whitney U and Wilcoxon signed-ranks tests provide useful assessments of significance but do not provide a comprehensive analysis of the data. Likert (and Likert-type) scales are also prone to subjective, cultural factors that can affect how individuals rate items (Heine, Lehman, Peng & Greenholtz, 2002; Tobi & Kampen, 2013), which is especially important to consider in international research in which there may be response

style differences that are difficult to anticipate (Harzing, Reike & Pudelko, 2013). Additionally, subjective scoring differences may be greater between people from different cultural groups from the same country than from different countries (Heine et al., 2002). In this research, since the East and the West neighborhoods scored more similarly on some items than others, the results suggest that the items that were found to be significantly different likely represent an actual difference in perception rather than just differences in scoring subjectivity between these neighborhoods' respective cultural populations. Nevertheless, these are important considerations for tourism planning contexts, which often occur in the confluence of cultures. It is also important to note that survey respondents may answer questions differently when the survey is being conducted by external/foreign researchers and the nationality of the researchers may be positively or negatively perceived by respondents. While respondents may feel enabled to answer more honestly, an opposite effect could also result. For instance, respondents may wish to represent their city or country in a more positive light to a foreign audience.

Scaling and quantitative measurement complications highlight the ways in which CLT, when used as a research framework, may be more easily adopted in qualitative research, such as with interviews or focus groups, to capture more in-depth information. If applied to survey research, researchers should consider how multi-level modeling approaches may be employed. Future research could also consider adding more or different types of sites to represent levels of construal, such as a county or region, or specific neighborhood within a city, reflecting the tradition of place attachment research such as Hidalgo and Hernandez (2001). This framework could be used to understand satisfaction with (or support for) different types of sites or developments, such as modern

or historic, urban-focused or outdoor-based, or other typical tourism development options (see Andereck & Vogt, 2000). In situations in which residents show an impulse to unconditionally reject a development proposal, CLT could help developers and planners uncover whether residents are actually against the proposed project in its entirety *or* because of more specific latent characteristics. Construal level theory may help unearth root causes of concern or dissatisfaction, opening necessary channels toward amendments or compromise.

Conclusion

This paper enlists a relatively new and increasingly adopted psychological theory to be applied as a research framework in practical contexts aimed at understanding resident perceptions. This initial investigation suggests that social and spatial psychological distance variables can provide useful delineations for understanding differences in residents' affective responses across place-based construal scenarios. In these results, residents who live in the same side of the city as the two tourist sites in question tended to express more satisfaction for those sites than people from the other part of the city. This could be attributed to both social or spatial psychological distance, based on the known social-geopolitical context of the particular city. For the busy and centrally-located bridge site, envisioning tourists there consistently led to a slight decrease in reported satisfaction scores. Yet, for the newly-established park that is farther away from the city center, envisioning tourists consistently led to a slight *increase* in satisfaction.

The added presence of tourism in the scenarios significantly increased residents' sense of pride pertaining to both Mostar and Park Fortica, but not the Old Bridge. While

the Old Bridge has been a tourism destination for many generations, Park Fortica is still in earlier stages of tourism development. Overall, findings provide evidence that tourism can be linked to enhanced senses of pride amongst residents, although the effect may be less detectable or more difficult to measure for places that have long been associated with tourism, as this may be part of the place's commonly perceived identity.

Many of these differences between scores pertaining to perceived satisfaction and pride were minor and not found to be statistically significant. This, in itself, may be an important finding for a setting known for conflict and differences between sub-populations. In such 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 early investigation suggests CLT to be a promising tool for tourism planners and developers who are invested in the well-being of host communities. While closer psychological proximity did not always lead to stronger perceived levels of affect within this population, the CLT framework provided useful means of examining the influences of different psychological distance factors amongst the population. Resident perceptions research has traditionally investigated tourism proximity factors, such as residents' ZIP codes and regularity of interaction with tourists. CLT enrichens these interests by

providing a context-specific framework for understanding the meaningful nuances of psychological distance and how they may impact perspectives.

Affective considerations such as satisfaction and pride will likely impact residents' enthusiasm for participation in the tourism economy, whether as workers seeking opportunities in that sector, as citizens becoming involved in planning and governance, or more generally as hosts to visitors/outsiders via their willingness and ability to show visitors a genuine sense of welcome and hospitality. Attention to affect reveals ways in which residents' wellbeing is inherently linked to the potential prospects of the industry within a destination community. Thus, residents' perceptions of places, conceptualized at different levels, may provide invaluable, community-embedded information for tourism planners. With expanded knowledge of affective/emotional dimensions, planners may be able to better engage residents and stakeholders in creating a local tourism industry that empowers residents and inspires positive feelings toward tourism, and perhaps toward their own culture(s) as well. In post-conflict settings, if tourist sites and developments generate broadly positive psychological associations, then they may serve as powerful elements of a foundation to build shared community pride and senses of healing and hopefulness.

Suggestions for Future Applications

Tourism planners may find CLT particularly useful by testing low-level construal scenarios that describe in detail specific proposed development plans. In incrementally increasing the amount of detail provided to research participants, planners may be able to identify the point in which residents start to find plans troublesome. This could be useful, for instance, in determining whether concerns about proposed development stem from

"not in my backyard" attitudes, concerns about tourism sprawl, matters of aesthetic dislike, or maybe fears about introducing a large number of seemingly different people to a region that has traditionally been more homogenous. By segregating distinct psychological distance factors, it may also be easier to identify other undesirable attributes of the development that are *not* related to psychological distance factors. If used as a planning and stakeholder engagement tool, latent issues may be identified earlier on and thus potentially avoided. This strategy could work well in a charette or focus group, or through a widely distributed survey. Construal level theory, whether explicitly tested or used as a guiding framework, also lends itself well to mixed-methods research. In an explanatory sequential design, interview data could help enrich findings and provide deeper context.

By examining tourism on a by-site and by-city (and/or region) basis, planners and developers may gain a better baseline understanding of a destination's social makeup and be able to detect where support is strongest and more unified and where opinions may diverge or conflict. This approach may also highlight faulty assumptions about resident perceptions and provide more detailed understandings of local phenomena. Construal level theory provides a framework for evaluating personal perceptions at different scales, essentially offering a "nesting egg" approach of understanding the layered relations between people and places, objects, or events. This allows themes from traditional resident research approaches and theory to be explored in more depth, while also allowing flexibility for creativity and broader exploration and expression of tourism's values and possibilities.

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CHAPTER 3

COLLECTIVE FORCES: ATMOSPHERIC ATTUNEMENTS IN A POST-WAR CITY

Abstract

In this paper, I aim to illustrate how attention to affective atmospheres can provide a meaningful pathway for understanding attitudes held by residents toward tourism in their community and the affective dynamics between a destination community and a growing tourism sector. This research builds upon a well-established history of resident attitudes and perceptions research while utilizing a creative, experiential approach, yielding new insights to build upon discussions of social exchange theory and community/destination identity. In actively co-touring a city's touristic spaces, I explore the multi-layered ways in which young adult residents may experience a place as an everyday home as well as an attraction constituting something special. Attunement to the affective atmospheres of a city's touristic spaces brings attention to the relations of interdependence that exist between tourism and residents, particularly in an evolving, post-conflict destination context. By shifting attention to affect and emotion, a complex array of lived sensations and perceptions are revealed, addressing ways in which tourism may create opportunities for residents, impact their well-being, and either reinforce or abate a city's social divisions and conflicts. From this investigation, I contend that affective atmospheres may simultaneously be highly indicative of residents' underlying impressions of tourism and also constitute an (oftentimes) abstract yet valuable commodity within the commercial framing of the destination.

Key words: resident attitudes, social exchange theory, interdependence, affect, emotions, dark tourism, place image, Bosnia and Herzegovina

Introduction

Tourism is an immensely impactful force upon cities and their residents, with a reach that is broad, deep, and multifaceted. In destination communities, tourism does not occur in an isolated bubble (Crouch, 2018). An influx of visitors can re-form the look and feel of neighborhoods and introduce new perspectives, behaviors, mentalities, and priorities. As a societal force, tourism holds the power to shape both culture and nature (MacCannell, 1992). As the economic influence of a tourism sector grows, the very identity and reputation of a place may be reframed, either through intentional (re)branding strategies or though gradual shifts in image, reputation, preconceived notions, or stigmas as more people from around the world come to visit. These changes may be obvious, through tangible signs such as building construction and attraction development, or they may be subtle and seemingly less defined. In positively or negatively perceived ways, tourism may contribute to pronounced changes in the temperament or character of a place, detected through its "mood," "energy," or feeling of uniqueness.

These are particularly important considerations in places with histories of violence, destruction, or other forms of blight, where tourism may offer promising means of economic recovery as well as reputational recalibration. In post-conflict regions still working through the emotional and physical aftermath of war, tourism may offer people an invitation to view and experience places in new terms. This may not just be true for visitors but residents as well, as tourism may introduce senses of hope, pride,

empowerment, and enjoyment via the development of economic opportunities as well as new spaces for social engagement, appreciation of cultural and natural assets, and recreation and leisure. In post-conflict regions, residents may have very complex relationships with their home city due to personal memories and histories of trauma, lasting social and political divisions, and landscapes and cityscapes that still bear the marks of destruction. The sustainability and ethics of tourism development in such places is dependent upon an understanding of residents' affective relationships with touristic spaces.

From my positioning as a tourism-focused social scientist, in this paper I turn partial attention to cultural geography to inquire what an attunement to the affective atmospheres of a destination city can offer tourism scholars' understandings of residents' quality of life, attitudes toward tourism, and perceptions of their city. These are topics that have been widely investigated within tourism research, but mainly within more exclusive frameworks of sociology and social psychology. Accompanying an increasing interest in *affect,* tourism research has shown growing interest in *atmospheres,* although with some flexibility in the use of the term. This atmospheric "turn" is advocated as means of conceptualizing space in more sensorially holistic terms, accounting for both idealistic and materialistic worldviews (Volgger & Pfister, 2020). There is a valuable opportunity to explore what insights to resident attitudes and perceptions an attunement to a city's affective atmospheres may offer. Toward this end, I engage social exchange theory, with particular attention to interdependence theory, as a subset, to build a more holistic understanding of the dynamics that shape residents' relations with tourism, as

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revealed in atmospheric clues and manifestations that arise throughout the city's touristic spaces.

Social exchange theory (SET) has been a common framework for analyzing resident support for tourism, yet lesser utilized in qualitative research. Despite SET's widely-acknowledged utility in facilitating understanding of the relations between tourism actors and community members, investigations employing the theory have generally overlooked the more subjective, elusive, and affective dimensions of residents' relations with tourism and neglected to consider how such dimensions may contribute to the composition of exchange. While emerging from different disciplines, contemporary understandings of affect (and affective atmospheres) within cultural geography share common ground with interdependence theory (arising from sociological and social psychological roots) in their interests in the power of inter-body relations and interaction to shape the very nature of the bodies and the spaces in which they reside. This power *to affect* or shape one another may be reciprocal or it may be imbalanced, which is where social exchange theory, broadly, tends to focus attention. In this context, affective atmospheric attunement helps to illuminate the multidimensional ways in which social exchange may occur, impacting affective shifts or stagnancies amongst people who hope to forge a more positive future for their city.

Mostar, a city in southern Bosnia and Herzegovina, provides a rich canvas for studying the interactions between tourism and affective atmospheres. In the last decade, Mostar has experienced a substantial re-emergence of its tourism industry following a devastating and destructive multi-year period war in the early 1990s. Yet, residents in Mostar live with constant reminders, both physical and emotional, of the war's persistent

impacts. With an interest in gaining an in-depth understanding of residents' relations with tourism amidst this complex environment, in this research I utilize a novel approach of inviting Mostar residents to "play tourist" with me for a day, visiting sites and attractions in similar manners tourists would. In attuning to the atmospheres of Mostar's touristic spaces, I have sought to understand ways in which social exchange may occur for residents, not only as observers of tourism or recipients of its related financial benefits, but as potential participants of the opportunities and possibilities that emerge in a city as tourism expands. Through a three-stage interview approach, I have aimed to gain knowledge of residents' affective relations with their city and how tourism may impact these relationships. In this endeavor, I adopt a transformative worldview influenced by the co-productive methodologies of participatory action research. In touring Mostar, five settings emerged as key environments that express the city's natural, built, socio-cultural, and historical components and work collectively to define Mostar's identity to residents as well as tourists. These settings include the city's urban streets, its plentitude of cafes, the eponymous historic bridge *Stari Most*, sites of remembrance (such as museums and memorials), and scenic natural areas. In dedicating our attention to these environments, the participants and I examine the collective affective factors and resonances that work to define their city's spaces, allowing us to more deeply understand the interdependences between tourism, the character of a city, and the well-being of its people.

Literature Review

The literature that inspires and informs this research is notably inter- and transdisciplinary. This paper builds upon past literature pertaining to resident perceptions of tourism, with particular attention to social exchange theory and interdependence

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theory, while establishing a central focus on the concept of affective atmospheres. Dark

tourism literature provides further foundation for this study of tourism in a post-war city.

Interdependence and Social Exchange Theory

The interest within tourism research to better understand factors of resident

attitudes and perceptions in destination communities has encompassed a substantial body

of work in recent decades (Deery et al. 2012; Harrill 2004; Sharpley 2013; and Wall &

Mathieson 2006). Harrill (2004) suggests that such literature can generally be segmented

into the themes of socioeconomic factors, spatial factors, economic dependency, resident

and community typologies, and measurements of perceptions of residents' attitudes

toward tourism development. Social exchange theory (SET) has been one of the most

common theories (or family of theories) stemming from social psychology to be applied

in tourism and hospitality research contexts (Tang, 2014), first investigated within

tourism contexts by Ap (1992).

Social exchange theory emerged into different branches developed by a variety of

midcentury scholars spanning economics, behavioral psychology, anthropology and

sociology. Kelley and Thibaut (1978; following Thibaut & Kelley, 1959), inspired in part

by Homans (1950), provided one of the more major avenues for the development of SET,

which has been utilized across many disciplines (Van Lange & Balliet, 2015). This

branch of the theory pertains primarily to the interactions between two groups,

integrating concepts of power and interdependence. Broadly, social exchange theory

states that individuals use cost-benefit analyses to determine possible outcomes of

interaction with others. The "exchange" can be economic or social, the goods may be

material or non-material, and the relationship may be professional, based upon friendship,

or a more momentary interaction. Generally, a relationship that yields the most benefits and the fewest costs is more likely to be maintained (Graham, 2014).

Spawning a variation of social exchange theory that takes inspiration from game theory matrices, Kelley and Thibaut (1978) developed *interdependence theory*, which asserts that interpersonal relationships are defined by the degrees upon which each side is dependent upon one another. This is determined by assessing interpersonal interactions as a function of the given situation (including each party's interests, power dynamics, etc.) plus the characteristics of each of the parties involved, addressing their needs, thoughts, motives, and behaviors. In interdependent relations, a change on one side of the interaction effects a change in the other, as it shapes the nature and identity of the relationship. Each side may have different goals and their desired outcomes may change, but the parties each have the ability to adapt and adjust accordingly.

Kelley et al. (2003) expanded upon the earlier (1978) theory development to propose a taxonomy of six dimensions that define the situation being analyzed: degree of dependence, mutuality of dependence, basis of dependence, covariation of interest (i.e. the correspondence of outcomes), temporal structure, and information availability. The degree of dependence can be assessed by analyzing the given situation in terms of three types of control: *actor control* (originally referred to as *"reflexive control,"* in Kelley & Thibaut, 1978), which is one's direct control over their own outcomes; *partner control* (or *"fate control"),* the ability of one to affect another's outcomes (which in its highest/pure form would be *absolute control*); and *joint control* (or *"behavior control"*), the control of each side combined, a reflection of the notion that if one side changes their behavior, the other side will as well. Importantly, the outcomes of the relationship may be

concrete or more abstract/symbolic (Van Lange & Rusbult, 2012). Each actor weighs the

different possible actions and outcomes against one another in attempts to maximize their

rewards (which Kelley and Thibaut [1978] often describe in terms of "gratification") and

minimize costs. Rewards and costs are categorized as *emotional, social, instrumental*, or

opportunity. *Outcome transformation* can also occur, in which one side takes into account

the outcomes that would result for the other side, for their benefit or punishment. These

non-individualistic approaches include cooperation, equality, altruism, and aggression. In

its attention to how behavioral choices of one individual (or group, as an extension) affect

the well-being of the other, interdependence theory illuminates ways in which affective

elements of the interaction, including facial expressions, body movements, and verbal

comments – which might be interpreted as "seemingly meaningless" – may actually serve

as a basis of change by sparking attention and emotion (Van Lange & Vuolevi, 2010, p.

462).

Kelley and Thibaut's attention to power dynamics and intergroup dependence

within SET has been particularly well-suited to understanding resident relations with

tourism. Numerous tourism scholars have applied a framework of SET rooted in these

theorizations to understand resident attitudes toward tourism in their communities and

levels of support for tourism development. Such tourism research has rarely applied

interdependence theory, specifically, although as Andereck et al. (2005) point out,

tourism scholarship has often engaged principles of SET implicitly, when not explicitly.

Tang (2014) suggests that interdependence theory, while largely overlooked despite the

field's broad interests in SET, may be a worthwhile area of inquiry in tourism and

hospitality management contexts.

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Generally, SET-based tourism studies have explored whether residents who are more economically dependent upon tourism and engaged within the industry (and who feel fulfilled in these ways) tend to have more positive attitudes and perceptions about tourism and its impacts. This body of research tends to focus on resident perceptions and attitudes toward tourism development and its *direct* community impacts (issues such as crowding, pollution, affordability, etc.), along with economic costs and benefits. Findings from such studies typically align with the theory, at least to some degree, addressing a wide range of ways an exchange between resident and tourist may be actualized and perceived: for instance, Getz (1994) find that residents were more often dissatisfied with tourism if they did not reap the benefits they had hoped; Huh and Vogt (2008) find that residents who perceive tourism as being a more dominant local industry tend to be more supportive of tourism; Látková and Vogt (2012) find that residents' attitudes toward tourism may change along with the life cycle of the destination; and findings from Andereck et al. (2005) suggest that residents who are made more aware of tourism and its potential benefits (through broader-based educational and engagement opportunities) may likely show higher levels of support. Focusing on sustainable tourism development, Choi and Murray (2010) suggest that full community participation, long-term planning, and environmental sustainability are all important components of residents' support for tourism.

There is a noticeable lack of research, by comparison, that considers residents' attitudes and perceptions of *indirect* impacts or of variables other than tourism itself, such as impacts upon the residents' own culture, identity, and emotional well-being. Some common themes that begin to address resident-tourism relations through more subjective

and emotional terms include quality of life (e.g. Andereck & Jurowski, 2006; Cecil et al., 2008; Yu et al., 2011), emotional solidarity (e.g. Woosnam, 2011; Moghavvemi et al., 2017; Ribeiro et al., 2017; Woosnam et al. 2015), and community attachment (e.g., Chen & Chen, 2010; Lee, 2013; McCool & Martin, 1994). Recently, Jordan, Spencer and Prayag (2019) called for greater attention to variables such as emotions and stress that may result in communities facing high levels of tourism. The past omission of these concepts may be a reflection of the historic yet still pervasive forces within tourism scholarship to orient research toward business-related concerns that will be of interest to commercial practitioners (Hollinshead et al., 2009). Deery, Jago and Fredline (2012) suggest that utilization of ethnographical and phenomenological approaches could help the field of study avoid redundancy in what often seems like a highly saturated topic area.

Scholars have recognized both the strengths and limitations of social exchange theory to help develop knowledge of residents' attitudes and perceptions. Most tourism research applying social exchange theory has used quantitative approaches consisting of resident surveys, which often contain similar scales. Although this allows for research findings to build upon one another, it may mean that other important considerations are being overlooked. Ward and Berno (2011), in reflecting how SET has been criticized in resident research for "lacking theoretical sophistication" (p. 1556), find that its framework is useful, but does not address the full range of factors and dynamics involved in explaining resident attitudes. To mitigate this, they suggest the use of more integrated approaches. Nunkoo (2016; also see Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2012; Nunkoo & So, 2016) suggests that resident attitudes research using SET have largely ignored the core concepts

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of *power* and *trust,* which are key in understanding dynamics of exchange, especially in terms of residents' perceptions of government interests in tourism development.

From a broader position of sociology, Lawler and Thye (1999) dissect why emotional factors have been so commonly neglected in applications of SET, attributing this to the "metatheoretical conceptions at the core of exchange theory, in particular, behavioral and rational choice assumptions about actors" (p. 218). Yet, given how "passion and reason are intertwined" (p. 238), they assert that it is highly valuable to make space for emotions within analyses of exchange. Lawler (2001) follows by proposing an "affect theory of social exchange," which aims to broaden the parameters of exchange beyond factors or outcomes which are purely cognitive. The sociological, affective side of exchange has been increasingly explored within resident research, such as in Woosnam's (2011) application of Durkheim's theory of emotional solidarity, which has inspired a continuing trajectory of such research. Joo et al. (2018) note that resident emotional solidarity research has revealed variation across cultures in terms of the influence of emotional solidarity upon resident attitudes of tourism and perceptions of interaction with tourists. This suggests the importance of attention given to the nuances of emotional experience that may exist across differing cultural and historical contexts of touristic places and their populations. This point is consistent with findings from resident quality of life research, indicating that minority ethnic and racial groups may have different experiences and perceptions pertaining to tourism within their community (Andereck et al. 2007). These are particularly important findings for the contexts of regions with diverse populations and for places in nascent stages of tourism development that are striving to overcome previous political and social conflicts.

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Atmospheres

In recent years, geographers have shown an increased attention to *affect*, accompanying a trend of interest toward non-representational theory (largely but not exclusively attributed to Thrift, 2008). "Affect" is not a straight-forward term; within some disciplines, it is used interchangeably with "emotions" or "feelings," yet it has taken on a more expansive meaning within the study of geography. Tomkins' (1962) development of affect theory, defined by nine primary affects (such as joy, interest, and shame, divided into positive, neutral, and negative categories) each with associated physiological representations, established a precedent for theoretical interest, including toward directions more philosophical than just psychological or biological. Massumi (1995; 2002), notably, advanced Tomkins' notion that affect consists of *intensities*, while also inspiring new conceptualizations of affect to emerge within geographic thought. In this trajectory, Cadman (2009, p. 1) defines affect as "the pre-personal capacity for bodies to be affected (by other bodies) and, in turn, affect (other bodies)." In this definition, the "capacity for affecting and being affected subsequently defines what a body is and what it can do" (p. 1). In this sense of possibilities and capabilities, Dawney (2011) summates that "affect offers a means of geographical analysis of *what is at work*: what resonates through bodies as a result of their historical imbrications of material relations, and of what these resonations can *tell us* about those relations" (p. 599; emphasis in original).

Setting the stage to understand the role of *affect* in *atmospheres*, Edensor (2012) proposes that "decentering the individual human subject, conceptions of affect usefully prompt consideration about how different configurations of objects, technologies, and

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(human and nonhuman) bodies come together to form different capacities and experiences of relationality." While much debate has been given to the differences between *affect* and *emotion* in geographic thought, Edensor (2012, p. 1105) agrees with Bondi and Davidson (2011) that dwelling on such distinctions does not always help in advancing thought and argues that atmospheres "exemplify this blurring." Distinguishing the cognitive from the pre-cognitive becomes difficult, particularly in regard to perceptions of place, as perceptions are inherently tied to an individual's "reflective, historical, and anticipatory engagements" with that place (p. 1105).

   Atmospheres is a term that is at once familiar and elusive; broadly referred to in a casual sense, yet largely overlooked in deeper contexts until recent years (Böhme, 2013). Edensor (2012, reflecting Böhme, [2002]) describes atmospheres as a mental or emotive "tone" imbued within a particular environment, which, when powerful, may draw people in and be experienced personally through *mood.* Anderson's (2009) interest in *affective atmospheres* has inspired many scholars interested in affect and emotion to consider how affects collectively manifest in spaces to express a certain sort of "world." Building upon Seigworth (2003) and Anderson and Wylie (2009), Anderson (2009) offers a definition of atmospheres as being "collective affects that are simultaneously indeterminate and determinate…a class of experience that occur *before* and *alongside* the formation of subjectivity, *across* human and non-human materialities, and *in-between* subject/object distinctions" (p. 78). They can be considered the "shared ground from which subjective states and their attendant feelings and emotions emerge" (p. 78). In considering residents' relationships with place, Duff (2010) writes that affect, habit, and meaning together create "thick" places that "enhance one's sense of meaning and belonging, forging a

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series of affective and experiential connections in place" (p. 882) which in turn support the particular formation of affective atmospheres through their collective intensity. With particular interest in atmospheric attunements to "everyday" spaces, Stewart (2011, p. 452) envisions atmospheres as "worldings" consisting of "pool[ed] up" intensities. She offers the following further definition:

> An atmosphere is not an inert context but a force field in which people find themselves. It is not an effect of other forces but a lived affect – a capacity to affect and to be affected that pushes a present into a composition, an expressivity, the sense of potentiality and event. It is an attunement of the senses, of labors, and imaginaries to potential ways of living in or living through things. A living through that shows up in the generative precarity of ordinary sensibilities of not knowing what compels, not being able to sit still, being exhausted, being left behind or being ahead of the curve, being in love with some form or life that comes along, being ready for something – anything – to happen, or orienting yourself to the sole goal of making sure that nothing (more) will happen.

Atmospheres may reflect a place as it seems in the moment, or echo the past, or suggest a possible future. They are shaped by both self and other, through affective capacities. In attuning to atmospheres, these categories need not be segregated, as it is their blend that leaves a distinct impression. Along this line of collectivism, Shaw (2014) argues the utility of viewing affective atmospheres as "placed assemblage" (p. 87), a gathering of "objects, agents, affects and discourses" (p. 88) that together work to define a time and place.

Increasingly in recent years, tourism scholars have taken greater interest in atmospheres from both affective and aesthetic angles. This increased interest in atmospheres in tourism scholarship corresponds with the field's recent interest in affect, more broadly. Volgger and Pfister (2020, p. 2) suggest that this direction offers a "corrective re-turn to a more holistically conceived living space which is perceived with all senses and sits at the interface between matter and idea to rebalance idealistic and materialistic worldviews." Recalling Sobecka (2018), this atmospheric turn in tourism scholarship (that of which is more grounded in geographic thought) may be valuable in assisting a "refocus on the ubiquitous but invisible substrate penetrating all things" (p. 2) – a substrate which is largely inaccessible, despite being everywhere, without the application of a more atmospherically attuned lens. From a more commercial perspective, attention to atmospheres is a logical scholastic turn at this point in time for tourism studies, as it accompanies contemporary desires for more-sustainable tourism and notions of "embeddedness" when visiting a place – further reflections of how the socio-cultural and the economic are inseparable within the realm of tourism (Volgger & Pfister, 2020). These senses of holisticness and inseparability are also expressed in Tzanelli's (2019, p. 4) tourism-based definition of *atmospheres*, as "the ways place is constructed in multi-sensory ways and experienced by those who inhabit/visit it" which thus includes "natural, material, phenomenal, and cultural dimensions." According to Tzanelli, the atmospheres of touristic spaces are influenced in no small part by the actions and behaviors of people within the localities, such as whether or not they are welcoming and hospitable.

The term a*tmosphere* has been used in tourism destination and attraction research to describe the collective physical elements that work to categorize a place, or to label

moods or feelings that a place may evoke (for instance, "peaceful/tranquil," "appropriate to rest" or "relaxing," as in the Spain-focused destination research from Martin & Rodriguez del Bosque [2007]). In an urban design study grounded in aesthetic conceptualizations of atmospheres (stemming from works of Böhme [1993, 2016]), Stefansdottir (2018) identifies nine primary atmospheric themes of urban non-work spaces in two Norwegian cities: vibrant, unpleasant, consumerism, lack of atmosphere, peaceful and quiet, historic, memorable, local, and social. Interestingly, "vibrant" and "unpleasant" were found to be positively and/or negatively associated. This is indication that atmospheric characteristics may be difficult to define as well as measure. For instance, scholars have noted that *place vibrancy* is a reoccurring construct of importance in urban planning and tourism development contexts, but the challenges in consistently defining or measuring vibrancy have created difficulties towards its incorporation in research (Nicodemus, 2013; Delconte, 2017).

With such descriptors, atmospheres have been of interest to tourism marketers, designers, and planners tasked with creating pleasurable and positively perceived touristic environments and experiences. Loureiro, Stylos and Bellou (2020) find that a destinations' atmospheric cues, as sensed by visitors in terms of both positive and negative affect, can influence their intention to participate in positive word of mouth about the destination. Most other tourism related research to date has focused on investigating how atmospheres are manipulated to produce better consumer outcomes, with particular attention to delimited spaces of travel and leisure, such as theme parks, restaurants, and modes of transit. While an atmosphere is a complex factor for a business to define or control, the atmosphere of restaurants, for instance, is noted to be a key

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consideration in customer satisfaction, influenced by variables including lighting, décor, colors, cleanliness, odors, music, noise level, and temperature (Sulek & Hensley, 2004). These variables all may be intentionally expressed in specific ways by restaurant management to "create an expectation of the dining experience even before the customer is served" (p. 236). Restaurant music may greatly impact diners' moods and perceptions of the atmosphere and may even be associated with higher spending tendencies (Wilson, 2003).

In one of the earlier tourism-focused studies addressing atmospheric themes, Kao, Huang and Wu (2008) suggest that theme parks often depend upon theatrical qualities to create appealing visitor experiences, positioning atmospheric considerations (such as whether a park setting is adequately immersive or whether it may, in sum, be perceived as "charming") as crucial in eliciting certain favorable emotional responses. While theme parks have been called "placeless" by some scholars, their ability to foster associations of sociality and personal/familial attachments, especially amongst local residents and "regulars," highlights how affective dimensions may compound within touristic spaces, shaping place identity and adding considerable meaningfulness for participants (McCarthy, 2019).

In the confined spaces of tourism transportation, such as airplanes, the intentional creation of certain atmospheres has helped to distinguish commercial providers. This is achieved through lighting, design, and staff presentation and personality, amongst other considerations aimed to create moods of comfort and hospitality (Lin, 2015). This commercial interest in affective atmospheres of the travel experience echoes the continued interest of geographers in the affective poignancy of spaces of transit, such as

pertaining to atmospheres of public transit rail cars (Bissell, 2010) or the affective experiences of transit system passengers (Adey, Bissell, McCormack, & Merriman, 2012).

In destination branding research, place-based affective conceptualizations of destinations have been recognized as being highly influential yet not consistently incorporated in determining how visitors develop overall place images (Royo-Vela, 2009). Hosany, Ekinci, and Uysal (2006) suggest that destination image is comprised of three primary factors: affective, physical atmosphere, and accessibility. The place image's affective and emotional components interplay with visitors' (or potential visitors') perceptions of the destination's personality, which may be an important consideration for destination marketers in developing their "brand" and identity. There is evidence that the affective dimensions of travelers' perceptions of destination images are most likely to influence their future loyalty to that destination (Hernández-Lobato, Solis-Radilla, Moliner-Tena, & Sánchez-García, 2006). Beerli and Martín (2004) suggest that tourists' affective assessments of destination images are influenced by their travel motivations as well as their experience of traveling as part of a vacation experience.

There are varying degrees in which manipulation and preconceptions may impact experiences and perceptions of atmospheres. While airplane and restaurant design, for instance, may reveal ways in which atmospheres may be scripted and prescribed, in other touristic spaces they may reveal aspects of a place's identity or background that have not been premeditated or intentionally constructed. This is due largely to how atmospheres are co-constructed and always subject to change. Edensor and Sumartojo (2015, p. 252) explain the implications of this co-construction:

It is also essential to take account of the social, historical, cultural and political contexts in which atmospheres emerge and dissipate, and the attunement of some to become absorbed within them. This attunement foregrounds the key roles of subjects in co-producing atmospheres in various ways: designers depend upon their acceptance of the feel of an atmosphere, but can never be sure whether a crowd or group will charge the atmosphere with unwanted or unexpected tones or play the roles envisaged.

Solomon (2011) describes how atmospheres may illuminate issues of power and the availability of resources pertaining to the host society. Investigating medical tourism in India, he illustrates how singular objects such as televisions may impose themselves into spaces (in this case, a recovery room for medical tourists) in such a way that they become key presences in co-constructing an affective atmosphere. This example is a reminder that the influences that shape and define atmospheres within touristic experiences may not always be initially obvious or predictable. Furthermore, the inherently human element of atmospheric perception creates an infinite range of subjectivities and feedback cycles. There is an ongoing process at work of affective co-creation between environment and inhabitant. As described by Stefansdottir (2018, p. 322), an environment's atmosphere "is co-responsible for the way we feel about ourselves in that environment because the elements of the environment produce an impression on a person's feeling about it."

While atmospheres may seem elusive, visitors may still hold strong expectations of what an atmosphere may (or should) feel like for them. This may impact their choices

of destinations, activities, attractions, restaurants, and other touristic options. Edensor (2010) notes how tourists drawn to far-north destinations to observe the aurora borealis natural phenomena typically experience (and seek to experience) something that is more-than-visual, marked by a commonly silent appreciation of what is being seen and an impactful array of personal affective outcomes, which collectively create its own affective atmosphere in that moment for participants. By means of being-there-in-person, part of the touristic draw of the aurora is this holistic sensual experience, expected but still somewhat uncertain, not just the predicted visual spectacle. This description reads familiar to accounts of visiting war and genocide memorials, where there is an expectation of a highly affective atmosphere conducive of reflection and contemplation. Visitors can feel disjointed and disappointed when the actual atmosphere they encounter does not align with their expectation or the dominant narrative pertaining to the place, such as when aspects of modernization infiltrate an otherwise historically focused physical environment (Pastor & Kent, 2020). Repeat visitors, especially, may anticipate a certain affective atmosphere when they return to a site or an event (Edensor, 2012).

Preconceived notions and past experiences are fundamentally intertwined with perceptions of atmospheres: in an earlier investigation of city residents' perceptions of urban atmospheres, Milgram (1970) writes that atmospheric descriptions such as "vibrant" or "frenetic" only make sense if there are available comparison points. On a similar note, Böhme (2016) recognizes the human experience of atmospheres as arising from sets consisting of values, norms, and expectations. Along these considerations, tourism introduces important perceptual inputs to evaluations of atmospheres, as

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comparisons (between places, cultures, societies, etc.) inherently accompany the cross-cultural relationships and interactions presented by the phenomena of tourism.

There has been only a limited body of work that explicitly investigates how tourism may influence residents' perceptions of atmospheres. Most of this extant research has pertained to the study of large events, such as festivals or sporting events. Such events may help build "celebratory" atmospheres which may positively contribute to residents' subjective well-being (Schlegel, Pfitzner, & Koenigstorfer, 2017) or foster a general positive perception of the host city atmosphere, which may be linked with a sense of urban regeneration (Ohmann, Jones, & Wilkes, 2006). Of course, not all social impacts of such events may be positive or without repercussions. In research based upon the Olympic Games, Closs Stephens (2015) suggests that sentiments of nationalism operate via affective atmospheres. These sensations build upon certain bodies and objects, propelled by range of factors including event marketing narratives, music, and corporate sponsorships. Independently, these factors may be benign or unremarkable, but as an assemblage may create nationalistic tones. Perhaps problematically, Closs Stephens notes, the collective nature of affective atmospheres leaves no one entity responsible. Atmospheres can be nebulous, in flux, and fleeting, but can also be persistent and seemingly unavoidable to those who enter their spaces.

Findings such as these further emphasize the importance of studying atmospheres at the community/resident level, particularly in post-conflict settings, although only limited tourism-based investigations have merged these areas of interest so far. While consumer-focused research has addressed a diverse array of atmospheric considerations pertaining to tourism, less research has addressed the relationship between tourism,

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atmospheres, and residents' perceptions, attitudes or wellbeing. Furthermore, very little research has considered the affective qualities and impacts of residents touring (or participating in "tourist"-type activities) in their own city. There is a precedent for questioning how local residents may perceive destinations' and attractions' atmospheres differently than other visitors, or how touristic encounters and interactions may impact perceptions. In places striving to overcome conflict, these considerations become particularly relevant toward understanding whether or not residents will view tourism development in their community favorably.

Affective Spaces of 'Dark Tourism'

Post-war and post-conflict places are commonly studied and visited within a lens or label of "dark tourism," which refers to the "presentation and consumption (by visitors) of real or commodified death and disaster sites" (Foley & Lennon, 1996). Scholars and tourists alike have contributed in making dark tourism a highly popular topic in recent decades, and regrettably, there is no shortage of sites worldwide to fit under the umbrella of this term. Lennon and Foley (2000, p. 3) emphasize that dark tourism should be understood "as both a product of the circumstances of the late modern world and a significant influence upon these circumstances." Dark tourism attractions may result from past events, but they also work to shape the present and the future of destination communities.

Places of dark tourism may generate a broad range of emotional responses amongst visitors, both positive (such as pride, hope and gratitude) and negative (such as shame, fear, and contempt) (Nawijn et al., 2016). The emotions or responses visitors have to dark tourism sites may lead to different outcomes depending upon the visitors'

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backgrounds. In a study of tourists to the memorial museum of the Nanjing Massacre, Zheng et al. (2020) find that negative emotional experiences may offer some opportunities to broaden-and-build one's thoughts and awareness, but are not as directly linked to thoughts of meaningfulness for one's life as positive experiences are, nor do they have a significant positive effect on the development of spiritual meaning. Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) emphasize that visitors may easily feel alienated when visiting heritage sites pertaining to death and atrocity, and thus attention to ethics and emotional sensitivity is crucial in navigating how these sites should be publicly presented. In their quests for "authenticity," tourists may seek more experiential, tactile experiences at/with sites of death and disaster, which can turn emotionally laden places into products, a commercial positioning of the "world-as-theme-park" (Lisle, 2004). Lennon and Foley (2000) note that tourist experiences that are perceived lightheartedly by visitors may have far darker and more lasting connotations for residents, providing reminders of past difficulties that they may wish to avoid or hope to move on from. Mostafanezhad and Norum (2016) have encouraged a greater awareness of geopolitical dimensions within tourism scholarship, which is particularly relevant to "dark" destinations where the initial sources of conflict or trauma may still exist in some present-day form.

Although dark tourism is premised upon concepts such as death, destruction, and suffering, some scholars have noted that this topic of study could do more to examine its political or embodied nuances. Stone (2011) encourages greater post-disciplinary efforts and more inclusive research approaches of studying dark tourism, expressing that the subject seems to have been too theoretically limited despite its popularity. While there

have been some research efforts to investigate emotional aspects of dark tourism, some scholars have noted a relative shortcoming of research that critically analyzes the affective and emotional outcomes or repercussions of this type of tourism, upon residents and visitors alike. Recalling the work of Tucker (2009), who reflected upon the discomforts of emotions (particularly shame) that can result from tourism interactions, Buda (2015) asserts that emotional and bodily dimensions are crucial in the scholarly pursuit of more in-depth understandings of tourism encounters, yet have been largely overlooked by tourism scholars. On a hopeful note, Buda suggests that attention to emotion may bring positive benefits such as catharsis. This is a notion which has been explored within the context of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Causevic and Lynch (2011), who suggest that tour guides may experience emotional benefits when given the opportunity to confront and share their difficult histories with visitors. They propose the concept of "phoenix" tourism – the idea that tourism may play a role in helping a place and its people progress in times of post-conflict transition. Phoenix tourism is in one sense a response to the perhaps overly-limiting label of "dark tourism," as places and experiences may be understood and felt differently depending upon peoples' own backgrounds. While dark tourism tends to have negative connotations, tourists are often driven to such experiences out of curiosity and interest in direct encounters, rather than solely a fascination with death (Martini & Buda, 2020).

Research Location

This research focuses on the city of Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina. I conducted this research in the Fall of 2019 at the tail end of a busy tourist season. This was my third trip visiting Bosnia and Herzegovina, my first visit being six years prior as a curious

backpacker with no personal ties to the region. Mostar's swift transition toward an increasingly tourism-dependent economy make it, I believe, an ideal place to study the affective impacts of tourism upon residents in a post-war destination. Beyond economics, there is something special about Mostar that feels hard to describe, and I know from conversations with other travelers and from reading various travel guides and blogs that I am not the only one to feel this way. It's something historical, natural, social, and cultural, all at once.

Nowadays, Mostar is abuzz with tourism despite its evident traumatic past. In the peak season from early summer through mid-autumn, tourists are a defining element of the city's central areas. In the daytime, lines of tourists inspect market stalls and huddle by the edge of the Old Bridge to eye the depths of the deep blue-green Neretva River below. Residents expertly stride through busy sidewalks, but some routes are best avoided between 10 am and 5 pm. In contrast, the absence of tourism leaves a strong mark. By nightfall most of the city's curious visitors are swallowed back into their tour buses, to continue on course to the culture of the capital or the sunbaths of the coast. In wintertime, shops and restaurants shutter their doors, hostels go empty. The high population of university students helps keep the city alive, but activity moves indoors. Pomegranate trees and grapevines lose their leaves, and every so often snow might fall upon the tiled rooftops. In this city that has become increasingly economically dependent upon tourism, there is a sense of hibernation in the air, a momentary lull marked by rebuilding anticipation. Mostar has long been a destination for visitors, at least as a quick but memorable stop, as the famous Ottoman-era footbridge, *Stari Most,* (a UNESCO World Heritage site) has invited visitors to ascend its slippery stones against a backdrop

soundtrack of coppertooling from nearby craft shops in the Old City alleys. Yet, this seasonal crescendo of tourism has taken many years to recreate, following the lasting devastation of the Bosnian War from 1992-1994 that destroyed the bridge as well as many lives, homes, and opportunities.

Mostar is still in a very transitional phase. Only a few hours' drive from the tourism hot spot of Dubrovnik, Croatia, tourists who come here will still find many ruins of buildings and a plethora of politically and ethnically charged graffiti. Mostar suffered some of the worst physical destruction and human casualties of the Bosnian War (Bollens, 2007), part of a larger series of violent conflicts in the Balkan region. Nevertheless, or perhaps somewhat because of it, Mostar is rapidly becoming re-established as an internationally known destination. Following the war, reconstruction efforts have engaged both international and local organizations and actors, creating complex spaces of reinterpreted and contested identities and place images (Grodach, 2002). The city remains largely geographically divided between religious/ethnic groups, with the Bosniak (Muslim) population primarily residing in East Mostar, the Croat (Catholic) population in West Mostar, and a now-smaller population of Serbian Orthodox residents intermixed, primarily in the Eastern section. Each population lives with many painful memories of the war, and the social and affective consequences of this can still be very divisive. Laketa (2016) investigates the roles of affect within Mostar's pervasive and persistent geopolitical divisions by engaging theory from Ahmed (2004). In this framing, emotions are considered as culturally dependent practices (rather than psychological states) and may become attached to certain bodies, objects, and words, reinforcing social structures. Laketa (p. 663) proposes that "emotions and affect circulate through bodies

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and objects forming an 'affective economy' of the city." Her interviews with young Mostar residents illustrate the multisensory and sometimes subtle ways in which social divisions permeate the city. Laketa proposes that the underlying workings of affect and emotion persistently reinvigorate boundaries and social segregation within the city's urban landscape. This research does not address how the influx of tourism may influence the city's affective economy, yet it provides impetus for an investigation of how touristic encounters may emphasize or dampen the affective capabilities of the city's public or shared spaces.

Within this context of persistent divisions, tourism development in Bosnia and Herzegovina has been viewed as means of transformation: a way to help redefine a place and contribute positive attributes to a place's reputation (Wise, 2011) and possible help to facilitate reconciliation (Causevic, 2010; Aussems, 2016). However, tourists' fascinations and imaginations of the region are often attributions of news and media coverage of the war as well as films and books that paint a "romantic" and "orientalist" image of the region, which work to perpetuate the creation of tourism attractions embedded within the traumas of the past (Naef, 2012). Individual destinations within the Balkan region have struggled to overcome negative perceptions widely and persistently attributed to the broader region (Brezovec, Brezovec, & Jančič, 2004), such as a common international perception of "exotic harshness and backwardness" (Papakostas & Pasamitros, 2015, p. 11). In attempts to develop a revitalized and less controversial tourism image that is removed from past conflict, many regions of former Yugoslavia (including Bosnia and Herzegovina) have emphasized "green" branding, focusing on ecological features and outdoor activities (Vitic & Ringer, 2008).

Methods

Overview of Methodology

My research plan was guided by a variety of complementary methodologies for field-based research. I aimed to create an active and hopeful research approach based around the idea of co-transformative learning (as encouraged by Pritchard et al., 2011), which served as a methodology as well as a purpose. Participatory action research (PAR) provides a guiding framework attuned to democratic processes, experiential learning, and experimentation (Chevalier & Buckles, 2013). Participatory action research proposes action-based inquiry that is committed to ethics of caring and serving the needs of people (Ritterbusch, 2012). In these endeavors, it merges with the attentions of the transformative worldview (Mertens, 2008), which broadly serves as the operational paradigm of this research. I aimed to engage Mostar residents in a way that creates potential for personally meaningful and transformative experiences while also contributing to tourism knowledge and understanding. In PAR, participants are co-researchers, serving as important contributors and collaborators to the planning and development of the research. While my research plan was initially devised separately from my participants, each participant determined the nature of their tour experience, and as a result each experience differed greatly from the next, and each was expressive of the individual's interests, preferences, and needs. Instead of just asking residents their feelings about places, activities, and interactions, I invited them to experience them along with me, in this process of co-creation.

While the tour experiences and multi-stage interviews were structured with the intention of opening pathways for nuanced interaction and in-depth conversation, this

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research also aims to create an opportunity to open up "touristic" experiences to residents who may have meaningful experiences and receive benefits unique from what an international tourist could. As is encouraged in PAR, this research prioritizes the *journey*, not just the destination (Chevalier & Buckles, 2013), here in both the literal and figurative sense. My approach was also influenced by approaches of non-representational theory, as I have aimed to use explorative and creative means of inquiry to attune to affective dimensions of relations between people, places, objects, and events, as has been encouraged by scholars such as Thrift (2008).

Toward these goals, this research uses a "roving" method of qualitative inquiry, inspired by the roving focus group methods developed by Propst et al. (2008). In inviting participants to experience actual tourist itineraries, these chosen methods also incorporate aspects of the field trip approach of community-based tourism planning described by Moscardo (2008), in which residents are invited to experience regional offerings such as tours, restaurants, and hotels in order to provide more in-depth and accurate reactions and feedback. The act of touring cities, especially by walking, has been noted by scholars as a particularly effective way to tap into social and emotional aspects of *being* in places with violent and conflicted pasts, in order to create more socially-aware futures (Kowalski-Wallace, 2006; Rice & Kardux, 2012). Spending a prolonged amount of time with each participant potentially allows for a deeper investigation of affect and emotions, reflecting past findings suggesting that travelers' affective responses may vary more greatly over longer periods of time (Vogt & Stewart, 1998).

The individualized and in-depth interaction allowed by this approach also creates an ideal scenario for using a multi-stage interviewing process adapted from Seidman's

(1998) three-stage phenomenological interviewing approach for semi-structured interviews. In Seidman's framework, the first interview is based around a focused life history, in which the interviewer learns about the participant's back story to gain context for the research. The second interview focuses on details of the participant's experience with the phenomena being explored, and the third interview enquires about the participant's reflection of the experience. This strategy is intended to provide essential structure to the in-depth, open-ended style of interviewing, with each stage providing "a foundation of detail that helps illuminate the next" (Seidman, 1998, p. 13). In this study, I interviewed each participant before the tour experience (either in advance of the tour day or directly before, depending on schedules and the nature of the tour), at the end of the tour experience (on the same day), and about one week later. Each interview was digitally recorded and then transcribed.

The inclusion of a pre-tour interview was important to help the participant(s) and I establish rapport, allowing us to later tour together in a way that was more comfortable and open. The three-interview format was a critical methodological component of establishing validity in the data, as I was able to get to know the participants and their backgrounds in greater depth, allowing me to seek clarification of comments that seemed inconsistent or needed elaboration. The follow-up interview was also critical in investigating how the experiences resonated with the participants over time. I was curious about what moments, encounters or interactions would stand out to them most, and what new or expanded thoughts might emerge after the tour but not immediately enough to be included in the second (post-tour) interview.

Sampling

I delimited my population to younger adult residents of Mostar (which I loosely defined as 18 to 40+/-), with the requirement that they had lived in Mostar for at least two years. Mostar is home to multiple universities, so there is a relatively large population of young adults, many of whom are interested in tourism-related employment. I was further interested in the younger adult population because they have reason to be invested in the future of Mostar, with careers ahead of them, and will become the next generations of leaders in the city. Younger adults in Mostar all grew up in the aftermath of war and its geopolitical implications. The volatility of this positioning has been emphasized by Laketa (2019, p. 169) who argues that high school students in Mostar are "key geopolitical agents that enact and contest urban division" due to the city's segregated schools and landscape of divisions, a point reiterated by Gusic (2020). Mostar's younger adults comprise a mix of people who did and did not experience the war first-hand, which creates an interesting dichotomy. From a practical standpoint for this research, younger adults tend to have higher overall fluency in English and may be more able-bodied, and thus willing to take part in an active tourism experience (although this was not a requirement of the research, as an accessible variety of activities were available). Conversational English proficiency, however, was a necessary requirement, reflecting my own primary language and the understanding that English is the most common language of tourism offerings in Mostar, enabling participants to more closely experience the city in the way a tourist would. By delimiting the sample to proficient English speakers, we reduced much of our need for translation assistance and avoided associated reliability concerns.

I used snowball sampling to recruit participants, which I considered an important strategy in order to help establish and ensure a degree of trust and safety between myself and the participants. I distributed an informational flier and website link to my local contacts in Mostar, including café and shop employees and university faculty. Participants were invited to participate with a friend if they were more comfortable doing so, as long as it was someone with whom they felt they could be open and honest. Participants were each compensated 30 BAM (approximately $18) after the completion of the third interview, and all additional tour expenses including entry and activity fees and meals were also covered for the participants. I aimed to recruit a number of participants similar to the size of a focus group and manageable for this in-depth, active, and participatory research approach, while also minding Seidman's (1998) two criteria for interview-based research: saturation of information and representativeness or range within the sampling frame (e.g., participants from different parts of the city, a range of ages, a mix of men and women). Twenty people initially contacted me or agreed to participate, and of these 14 were able to complete the tour and interview process, for a total of 12 unique tours. Two tours included two participants each (two sisters and two close friends). Nine participants were female and five were male, with a mean age of 27 (range: 18 to 42). The characteristics of the participants are detailed in Table 1.

Table 1

Overview of Participants and Tours (continued on next page)

Name*	Gender	Age	Home neighborhood	Occupation[†]	Participant elected tour itinerary
Mirjana	Female	18	West Mostar	Student	(Toured with Lucija) Coffee by the Old Bridge, walk through the Old City, Biscevic (Turkish) House museum, Museum of War and Genocide Victims, creekside late lunch in the Old City
Lucija	Female	18	West Mostar	Student	(Toured with Mirjana) Coffee by the Old Bridge, walk through the Old City, Biscevic (Turkish) House museum, Museum of War and Genocide Victims, creekside late lunch in the Old City
Amin	Male	19	East Mostar	Athlete	Drive to Park Fortica, guided zipline tour in the mountains, sunset coffee break with views of city
Karlo	Male	19	West Mostar	Student	Coffee by the Old Bridge, Bosnaseum (Bosnian heritage museum), Old Bridge Museum, lunch in the Old City
Vedad	Male	20	East Mostar	Student	Coffee by the hammam in the Old City, walk up eastern hillside to see Holy Trinity Serbian Orthodox Cathedral (under construction) and Old Orthodox Church, continue hiking up the hill to Serb graveyard and city viewpoint, finish walking tour by Muslim graveyard in East Mostar
Esma	Female	20	Southeastern suburb/ village	Student	Walk around Old City, coffee by Old Bridge, walk through Dum neighborhood in West Mostar, climb the Peace Tower at the Franciscan Church and Monastery, lunch by Kriva Ćuprija bridge in Old City
Ivana	Female	24	West Mostar	Student/tour guide	Coffee by the Old Bridge, Hercegovina Museum, Karađoz Beg Mosque, Koski Mehmed Pasha Mosque and minaret, drinks at a café-bar with view of river
Eva	Female	28	West Mostar	Salesperson	(Toured with Dragica) Coffee in West Mostar, taxi to Blagaj, visit Blagaj Tekija house museum, walking on trails by spring, dinner by river

Katarina	Female	33	Western suburb/ village	Teacher	Scenic drive to Goranci village in western hills, lunch at traditional restaurant, walking on nature trails in forested park
Dragica	Female	35	West Mostar	Accountant	(Toured with Eva) Coffee in West Mostar, taxi to Blagaj, Blagaj Tekija building museum, walking on trails by spring, dinner by river
Aldin	Male	35	Central Mostar	Teacher	Coffee in the Old City, walking tour loop around river and main tourist areas, visit Karađoz Beg Mosque and minaret, lunch in the Old City
Alma	Female	35	East Mostar	Office worker	Driving tour with kids to Međugorje (nearby town and Catholic pilgrimage destination), Herceg Ethno Village, late lunch in Čitluk
Tarik	Male	36	East Mostar	Hospitality	Park Fortica viewpoint, scenic drive into eastern hills and rural villages, late lunch in Podvelež village
Lana	Female	42	Central Mostar	International business	Hamam Museum, Old Bridge Museum, Muslibegović House tour, Museum of War and Genocide Victims, walk across city, drinks at riverside café

*All names have been changed.

[†] Several of these occupations were part-time only (as is common in Mostar, with a noted shortage of full-time/permanent work opportunities).

Tour Experiences and Interviews

I co-developed the tour itineraries with the participants to reflect their interests and curiosities, focusing on creating new experiences and opportunities in order to better emulate an actual tourist experience and create engaging and unique experiences. The half or full-day itineraries included history museums, historic buildings, hiking and nature walks, ziplining, city walking tours, religious sites, and restaurants, among other local attractions. Some tours required more advanced planning (such as guided ziplining), while others were improvised as we went along. Table 1 outlines descriptions of each

participant and their tour experience. In the two interviews with two participants, I

ensured that each participant was given ample opportunity to speak and express their

reactions and opinions, similar to a focus group approach. In each of these pairings, the

participants knew each other very well and already had close relationships. I did not

detect reason to believe that their co-participation impacted their responses beyond how

co-experience might impact tourism experiences, more broadly. (This research is only

designed to investigate *shared* touristic experiences, not solo outings.) Each of the three

interviews per participant were digitally recorded. Notable aspects of conversations that

occurred outside of the interview times were captured via memo writing and daily

journaling. Due to scheduling constraints, four of the final (follow-up) interviews were

conducted remotely, by video chat or email.

Data Analysis Procedures

For the interview data, I transcribed the recordings and then analyzed the data

using MAXQDA software. I used Moustakas' (1994) modification of the Van Kaam

technique, involving the following steps for identifying themes, reducing data, and

compiling descriptions: 1) horizonalization, 2) reduction, 3) clustering, 4) validation, 5)

individual textural description, 6) textural-structural description, and 7) composite

description. While analyzing the data, I used the technique of constant comparison

(Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1998) to identify overarching themes and

concepts between participants and between stages of the interviews. Throughout the

coding process, memoing helped me process and organize thoughts and findings

(Charmaz, 2006). In addition to seeking shared themes between participants and

exemplary quotes, I was attentive to negative cases (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Some

quotes, as they are presented here, have been minorly edited for clarity or to protect participants' identities.

While I had been interested in the concepts of *affect* and *atmospheres* throughout my research process, these tour experiences and interviews were not directed solely toward these themes or this "lens." Upon analysis of my data, I found that atmospheres emerged as a continual theme of significance across or tour experiences, meriting more in-depth attention. Revisiting the coded data, I reviewed the transcripts for themes and excerpts that I felt pertained more closely to the concept of atmospheres, and from this subset of data then considered how the emergent themes and representative comments from participants reflected back to the framework of social exchange theory, specifically interdependence theory.

To explore what different atmospheres within one city may reveal, I focus this paper on five physical settings which were central to our tour experiences as well as integral to the touristic identity of Mostar, more broadly. These settings emerged as recurrent, meaningful spaces in our interviews and conversations, reflecting our tour itineraries as well as notable aspects of everyday life in Mostar. These include: city streets; cafes; the eponymous Old Bridge (*Stari Most*); places of remembrance (such as museums, monuments, and graveyards); and parks and other outdoor, natural areas. While my analysis of data focuses on comments from the resident research participants, as a co-participant of this research methodology, I also include some of my own observations, reactions, and reflections, which I have transparently noted.

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<center>**Findings**</center>

City Streets

Mostar's streets are lined with buildings of strikingly diverse architectural elements and textures – stern yet artful modern angles in concrete and glass, delicate pastel hues flaking off Austro-Hungarian plaster, and sturdy Ottoman walls lasting centuries in rough-cut stone. Only rarely will one encounter a McDonalds or Zara or other examples of globalized shopfront. Influenced by topography, ethnicity, and historicity, each neighborhood has its own distinct feel, leaving a sense of much to be discovered around every corner. *"Just walking in Mostar and all the senses and smells will give you give you something new, something worth visiting,"* Aldin told me, with much admiration for his home city.

Walking the streets of Mostar, the war often feels more recent than 25 years in the past. One does not need to search far to see a building still scattered with bullet holes, or barely left standing at all, its crumbling stone and concrete now becoming reclaimed by nature, even in what would seem to be prime real estate. These scenes exist recurrently across Mostar, although perhaps fewer now than a decade ago, still in a close perimeter to the Old City. Throughout the city's varied streets, graffiti shows up opportunistically, often associated with one side or the other's respective football (soccer) team. Increasingly, the city's street art has displayed more creative range, with murals conjuring hope, pride, and unity adding brightness to scarred walls. While the city has several densely developed urban areas, it tends to maintain a relaxed feel, as was conveyed by numerous participants. Providing an example of the *"relaxing type of life"*

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in Mostar, Tarik told me that it's *"only in Mostar that you can find people walking in their swimming suits and there is no sea!"*

In speaking with participants, one of the most common sentiments I heard was a wish for visitors to spend more time exploring the city beyond its historic core area to be able to see Mostar as a more multi-faceted and "modern" place. Yet, greater exploration also implies that visitors will be exposed to more of the city's remnants of wartime destruction. For many residents, these sites created highly affective atmospheres amidst the city's urban streets, sparking mixed emotions regarding whether or how such places should be shared with visitors. Broadly, the participants acknowledged that international tourists tended to be very interested in seeing and photographing Mostar's war aftermath. To some of these Mostar residents, particularly those who had personally survived through the war there, the city's ruined buildings created uncomfortable atmospheres defined by a sense of a haunting from the past, which they were subjected to continually in their daily lives. These spaces triggered feelings of sadness, regret, and shame amidst a city that otherwise inspired sensations of love and appreciation. For Amin, one of the younger residents I interviewed, these sites brought up feelings of disappointment and missed opportunity. He implored city officials to *"just use that unused potential, to take care of things, not just to let them fall apart."* He explained to me, *"that's the thing that I don't like: when you see something, and it's so beautiful, and its well-built, and you let it fall and rot. That, you know, kind of hits in the heart."* He was enthusiastic about his city and wanted to be proud of it, but many urban spaces did not allow him to feel this way.

Yet, to some other participants, the ruins were unremarkable, everyday sites around which they had grown up. Esma, for instance, told me that the ruins didn't really

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make her feel anything in particularly as they were just "normal" sights to her. However, she noted that she had begun to pay more attention to these places as she saw tourists photographing them. Ivana, who has worked as a tourist guide in other cities, described to me how Mostar's Old City, while rustic and historic in appearance, is mostly rebuilt and polished for its appearance to tourists. Interestingly, she lamented to me frustrations that more visitors didn't explore other areas of the city to see *more* of the visual destruction remaining from the war. She wanted tourists to experience a realistic presentation of Mostar that shows what the city has been through and is *still* working its way through. If visitors explored beyond the usual tourist areas to the places that aren't so "polished," it would show them that, actually, not everything is "*fine*" in Mostar. In my interviews with Ivana and others, it became evident that Mostar's status – as not yet fully recovered from the war – is an essential part of Mostarian people's story. This point tells of people's strength and resilience, as well as of setbacks and ongoing frustrations. It's not a comfortable story, but it's a necessary one, and the atmospheres of the city's streets help this story to unfold.

Aldin and I discussed this topic in depth, as we had spent our time together in an unscripted walking tour of the central neighborhoods of the city. He had lived through the war as an adolescent from a mixed-ethnicity household and he spoke openly with me about his experiences throughout the day. I asked him how he felt seeing tourists stopping to photograph ruined buildings along Mostar's streets. His response was blunt:

> *That we are stupid. And a little bit embarrassed, honestly. Because it's*
> *embarrassing twenty-five years after the war that ruins are still here. It*

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tells a lot. It tells a lot about ourselves, our leaders, our viewing of the

future, our viewing of peace. It tells a lot.

Offering my perspective as an outsider, I told him about my first experiences as a visitor

to Mostar and how powerful and moving it had felt to be in the presence of these places.

He responded:

Yeah, but... okay. I'm okay with [tourists] taking photos so that... I would

take them too, probably, not probably – 100%! But it's not a problem, <u>one</u>

building. It's a problem, <u>several</u> buildings. Those buildings are places of

dirtiness, places of illness. They must be cleaned for our health first, and

then to think about other things. If you want tourists to take pictures of it,

okay, take one with the fence around it. Make it a monument. That's okay.

But rebuild others. You probably saw that bank [building]? A classy bank,

along the riverbank here. One boy died maybe one year ago. He fell from

the top. He was like seven years old. How the fuck can he climb on that

building? He shouldn't have been there.

These ruined buildings were not just spaces of dirtiness and death in the past, but in the

present day, as well. I observed Aldin's feeling of embarrassment transfer into anger and

sadness in the acknowledgement that this type of neglect has real consequences for future

generations of residents. His comments revealed ways in which Mostar's cityscape can

evoke multi-layered and evolving responses. This was further evident when I asked him

if the places we had been to on our tour conjured certain memories for him. He replied:

Well, I always make some sort of comparison, whether, for example, when

I'm watching some movie on TV and when I'm looking at streets, in, for

example, New York, Paris, doesn't matter... I always think, 'how is it for those people not seeing their town completely destroyed?' They always had, like, <u>one picture</u> in their life. Good, non-destructed buildings. But, like, here, for example: I saw this building before the war, during the war, after the war, and now, when it was rebuilt. It brings me four different feelings. It brings me sadness <u>and</u> joy.

Amidst the complex blend of affects created by these urban environments – a blurring of the past, present, and future – there was no real consensus across participants regarding what should happen to the city's ruins. Yet, everyone seemed to be in agreement that *something* needed to happen to them – removed or rebuilt, or turned into something more intentional, educational, and safe, for residents and visitors alike. As they were, the ruins created uncomfortable spaces of in-betweenness and unsettledness, almost as if they existed on some different plane of time and space than the rest of the city. Standing there untouched, these ruins seemed to be inherited items that no one really wanted to claim; tied to all residents' identities, yet nevertheless unwanted. They collectively expressed an atmosphere of neglect permeating the city.

In several of our tours, it became evident how an international tourist (such as myself) might interpret these aspects of Mostar's cityscape differently than a resident. Toward the end of my tour day with Vedad, he and I sat on a park bench facing a row of buildings on the East side of Mostar just outside of the Old City. He expressed how he hoped my research might contribute to greater tourist interest in Mostar, leading to more investment so that buildings like the one before us wouldn't have trees growing off the

tops of their roofs. I laughed a little and told him, half-jokingly, that I kind of liked the look of the trees – quaint, yet exotic – something many tourists would love to photograph. Hovering above us, highlighted in the setting sun, the little fig trees on the slate roof were an affective visual element for each of us, although they led us to different emotions and aesthetic evaluations. We lightheartedly debated this for a moment. "*For you, you're just gonna go through here and you're gonna see a tree. And then I'm gonna maybe be here for 50 years or so. I'm gonna see the tree grow and then destroy the roof!*" he told me. Indeed, this neighborhood was a *home*, not just a postcard or an Instagram image. I had the impression that this type of analysis was common between Vedad and his urban environment. While he was used to what he was seeing, there was a mildly nagging, irritant quality to these places and objects that showed signs of neglect. Having positioned himself in the mindset of a tourist for the last several hours, he was able to reconsider the rooftop tree through a different lens, but nevertheless, the realities of being a long-term resident remained the strongest influences in his evaluation of the setting.

Despite the inner quietude I often felt amidst the provocative atmospheres of Mostar's streets, to my American standards these atmospheres also tended to feel loud, alive, and sometimes boisterous. People would shout to communicate with neighbors or holler greetings as they spotted friends across the street, trying to catch each other's attention over a tight wall of sound from diesel engines. This liveliness often stood in stark contrast to the monotone greyness of communist-era concrete and the frequency of structures still marred by war damage or lack of upkeep. Sensory inputs – especially between sounds and sights – didn't always seem to align here, I observed. The affective discord seems to be elemental to the creation of the city's unique affective atmosphere.

Sociability and human interaction, in particular, are underlining features of Mostar's atmospheres, which can seem surprising for a post-war city in which residents fought violently against one another for a prolonged period of time. Aldin and I dissected some of this disjointedness and reflected upon Mostar's unique social feel, questioning how this might be translated by visitors who experience it. He surmised:

> *We have an amazing sense of humor. We've got quite, quite hard people to process, but there's always something…something that that takes you back to Mostar. We [residents] don't even know what it is. It is probably…why, <u>energy</u>. And that's it. Energy cannot be explained, it can only be felt, right?*

Lana, too, had offered me some explanation of Mostar's special energy, from her personal experiences as someone whose teen years were spent during the war:

> *When you've been through something so difficult, especially like my generation and stuff, you <u>want</u> to live. You really appreciate living, and you want – everything is, you know, 'let's live for today!' Pretty much, people here live for today. I've noticed that. Like that there isn't a lot of planning involved, it's 'go with the flow.' [laughs] It's a very spontaneous mentality. In some ways, it could be annoying, but in some ways it's so laid-back and relaxed. Many people that come from these extremely organized and structured places would really appreciate something like this.*

These assessments of Mostar's social atmosphere were similar to things I had heard from other participants, too, and *tourism* often entered these assessments. Broadly, the participants expressed sentiments that tourism contributes noticeably to the city's energy. Mostar's positive cultural and social inclinations (a strong sense of humor, a relaxed way of life, etc.) seemed to provide a skeleton upon which this energy builds. Participants commonly relayed to me ways in which they believed tourism added vibrancy and interest to Mostar's atmospheres. Tarik, a life-long Mostar resident in his thirties, described his multisensory reactions observing tourists in Mostar's streets, touching on both affective and cognitive dimensions:

> *I have an apartment in a neighborhood very close to the Old City. I like to see at night, like, when it's summer and it's hot, I like to see people just, you know, like ants moving across. Like, with all sorts of different languages. You know, you can hear Arabic; you can feel, you can hear English; you can feel, you can hear German; you can feel, you can hear Belgian, Swedish, Norwegian, you know? There's so many different people from all over the world. And I feel…I feel <u>proud</u> in the moment because, you know, I never went to Saudi Arabia. And I don't have either a wish to leave or to go there, for example, or to some other countries. But <u>they</u> find it suitable and desirable to come to <u>my</u> country and – not to my country, but to <u>my city</u>. And to stay in the neighborhood where I have my apartment. And it makes you feel like you are <u>there</u>, you are on the map, and you are important.*

The multiculturality of tourism could be *felt* as well as heard and seen in the city's streets. While *"ants"* may not always be a complimentary term, this analogy seems to communicate the intensity of energy from movement, perceptible even to a bystander. Tarik elaborated that despite the long, uncomfortable journeys tourists had to endure to reach Mostar, *"they always have 'the smile' on their face."* This attention made him feel good. I heard similar comments from Aldin, who told me that he felt *"amazing"* when he'd walk around Mostar's streets and encounter so much multiculturality.

Generally, I sensed that a feeling of positivity seems to transfer between tourists and residents as they coexist in Mostar's public spaces. Amin described to me a sense of embodied positivity that he had felt when traversing along some of the city's busier tourist streets that day:

> *You feel <u>success</u> inside, because, you know, you feel that your city has made it, you know? To the point where, like, a very large group of people want to visit it! And, like, I saw earlier, I couldn't even pass through the Old Town because of how filled [with tourists] it was and I was like, 'Wow! It hasn't ever been this filled!' I was like… <u>I</u> was like feeling <u>filled</u> inside.*

Even amidst prohibitive crowding, the pride he felt from being in a local space crowded with foreigners counteracted potential frustration. My conversations often relayed a perceived ambience of positivity created by tourists via their attention to the city's features and their co-creation of bustling neighborhoods. This sense of positivity was commonly described to me as if weighed against the city's persistent negative factors: physical destruction from the war, social divisions, political frustrations, a poor

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international reputation following the war, or lack of economic opportunities. Frequently, participants described a generalized sensation that the presence of tourists indicated progress and positivity for a city with a lingering dark past:

> *I'm hopeful because as I said, sometimes I get depressed feeling in the air [when walking around Mostar] and when I see a lot of people it suspends that feeling. It feels nice that there are people who like to come here and visit and just <u>enjoy</u>.* (Eva)

> *Well, when you see a lot of people smiling, walking, having a good time, that's a good vibe, right? You should be happy – right? – instead.* (Aldin)

> *Tourists over here are literally getting us into a better position. And, so, there's no way in the world that anyone would be rude to you [as a visitor] because tourists are making this city feel better. A lot better. And, you know, they're making it <u>what it is</u>.* (Amin)

Nevertheless, there were clues that this positivity depends upon a delicate balancing act, as reflected by Dragica, an accounting professional in her thirties:

> *I'm always glad to see them because it's nice when people are coming. Everything is more interesting. But it's not as crowded as Dubrovnik. I wouldn't like that.*

Dragica's enthusiasm for casually encountering tourists was connected to her personal goals and interests, too:

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For me, for example, [encountering tourists] is excellent. I learned

English for so many years. It's not the same when you speak with locals in

English and when you speak with an original speaker… Because I'm

learning, I like to speak the language just to see how it works, and it's

something that amuses me. So, when I see tourists on the street, and when

they are asking where to go, it's excellent for me. It's a nice feeling to

speak with someone who is an original speaker.

Several other participants also expressed to me that they enjoyed interacting with tourists

as means of foreign language advancement (for some, it was a reason to participate in this

research), which would be helpful for them both professionally and socially. Lana, who

has traveled and worked abroad extensively, spoke passionately about how the cross-

cultural encounters created by tourism contribute positively to the feel of the city and the

associated sense of opportunities:

I love [seeing tourists] because it makes me feel that even though it's a

very small city, you come here and you see the <u>world</u>. I love it. I <u>love</u> it.

I'm very cosmopolitan. I like seeing and meeting different people from

different places. So, you come to this small city and you can literally pick

people from the whole globe…At least, like, from late March until the end

of October, when we've got tourists.

I asked Lana if the city felt very different after October without so many tourists.

She responded emphatically that it was *"a complete difference"* – many shops and

restaurants close or shift their hours to earlier closing time, and without the same influx

of different cultures, the cosmopolitan feel largely dissipates. Thus, Mostarians have continual opportunities to evaluate how tourism impacts the city's affective atmospheres, as the off-peak season provides a dramatic comparison of what the omission of tourists feels like. This change is accompanied shifts in weather, both seen and felt, as vegetation turns brown and famously strong winds sweep through the city's streets, notoriously stirring up dust and litter. Overall, seasonality seemed closely entwined with residents' perceptions of the city's atmospheres, and while some expressed that winters in Mostar still could be fun and enjoyable (largely thanks to a sizable university student presence), others described the city as somewhat *"depressing"* and much less pleasant, at least until the first spring blossoms emerged. In Tarik's perception, the difference between seasons was profound:

> *I really enjoy living here, but there are two sides of Mostar: Mostar during the winter and Mostar during the summer. So, that's the biggest difference that one can imagine. I don't think that you can imagine it until you come during the winter. Winter is just too slow, you know, and we get used to living fast during the summer – things are happening like 'bom-bom-bom,' everything is going on, 'now let's do this!' – and then during the winter basically you can walk through the street and just, like, with closed eyes start saying "hi" to people because you know where they are, you know, like, everybody's on their spots, and you don't have to look. And it's boring.*

Across these themes pertaining to Mostar's urban atmosphere, the connective tissue seemed to be the notion of *transition*. Mostar's urban atmospheres often suggest an air of change – between seasons, between the structural damage of the past and the development of the present, between generations, between neighborhoods, between shifts in international reputations. A shared sense emerged that it is in the city's streets – when walking and absorbing its sights, sounds, and smells – that the city's history exposes itself most blatantly and earnestly, that the present-day energy is most pronounced and perceptible, and that the possibilities of what could come in the future are hinted or suggested. This creates an often-chaotic amalgamation of affects from joyous to depressed to heart-wrenched, and in doing so, offers a fuller expression of Mostar's personality and identity. In these depictions of a transitioning city, tourism is often a key actor, both in the ways it has nudged the city toward change or the ways in which it has seized the opportunities created by change.

Cafes

A discussion of Mostar's urban streetscapes would be incomplete without specific consideration of the city's cafes. These serve an integral role in understanding Mostar's affective atmospheres. "Coffee culture" is deeply embedded within Mostar's society, across religions, cultures, and neighborhoods. Busy cafes line sidewalks, parks, and shopping malls entryways. While they all tend to feature similar little tables and chairs directionally suited for street-side peoplewatching, there's no one typical style of coffee shop in Mostar. Some are outdoors underneath a canopy of leaves, others are in small, enclosed, modern spaces. My first meetings with participants were almost always at cafes, and our tours days often began and ended by enjoying little cups of espresso next

to a tourist site or scenic viewpoint. This was normal for the participants – some of them told me that they rarely would go to do anything with friends before first meeting for coffee. Cafes in Mostar are places to sit alone and watch passersby, perhaps with a pack of cigarettes and a slice of cake, or meet with friends or family members to relax for an hour or two and enjoy fresh air, whether at 10 am or 10 pm. Some of the research participants were residents who I had met at coffeeshops upon sparking casual conversation. A few participants – of different ages and neighborhoods – told me that getting coffee with friends was their most favorite pastime. Mirjana explained to me that she and her friends mainly sought activities that were "*chill*", because *"people here really love just sitting in cafe the <u>whole </u>day, and taking everything really slow, and just relaxing."*

In a city known for differences, nearly everyone in Mostar seems to agree upon the importance of coffee. Yet, even coffee can reveal some of the many subtle ways in which differences arise in Mostar between the city's East and West sides, as Karlo described to me:

> *I mean we both drink coffee differently [laughs]. [Coffee is] <u>a thing</u> here*
> *in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Bosnians like to drink a cup of coffee for three*
> *or four hours. And to enjoy it. But, for example, Croatians on other hand:*
> *'hey, want to drink coffee?' And then they'll go, 'let's go have fun*
> *somewhere, let's go party!' – that kind of thing.*

Whether the café is a jumping off point for other activities or a full activity in and of itself, participants described a shared perception of *warmth* and *human connection* in the café atmosphere. Since taking coffee breaks is such an engrained part of Mostarian

culture, the café becomes almost like an extension of one's own home; a communal

living room. Many residents have their same few cafés that they like to frequent at certain

times of day, and when they arrive familiar faces greet them. People will check in with

one another about work, family, and sports. In a conversation with Tarik, I asked him,

broadly, what his favorite things were about Mostar. He responded:

> *People. I believe people are something that makes Mostar, you know?*
> *This Mostarian…this feeling of, like, you come inside the cafe, you don't*
> *have to make a big deal of it; when you come in the morning, everybody*
> *knows everyone. And they know the <u>moods</u>. Mostar is very famous for*
> *mood swings, because we have so much…such severe weather changes*
> *and everything. And it's very normal that one day you come and greet*
> *everybody, and tomorrow, you just come in, don't say a word, and nobody*
> *is even, like, paying attention. And I like the way that we know how to be,*
> *even in the more stressful situations. We know how to sit down and say,*
> *'eh, it's gonna be okay,' even though it's <u>not</u> gonna be okay. But it's gonna*
> *be okay, what can you do?…Like no matter what, you know, even if you*
> *kill yourself it's not going to change the outcome of the situation. So, why*
> *not have a beer in the middle of the day? Yeah, just to release your*
> *tension. This kind of thing.*

In Tarik's description, cafés create an atmosphere notable for their pronounced shifts but

also for their underlying reliability. Patrons can count on the café to be comforting and

offer a sense of normality, whether through a lively sociability, or a respectful calm. The

café provides the space that the patron needs on that day. This may mean that different moods are simultaneously being regulated within the space by different actors, creating a flurry of collective affects. But still, somehow, it comes across as predictable and easy.

In my conversations with participants, I often detected an apparent norm of seemingly conflicting affective dualities and multiplicities. Such a duality makes the notion of *welcome* all the more pronounced in Mostar. Aldin described Mostarians' well-known and widespread hospitality to me as a "trick" that was *"hidden up [their] sleeve,"* as many visitors might not expect a welcoming atmosphere in a post-war place known for conflict. Karlo touched on this point, as well:

> *Well, Bosnia and Herzegovina's people had a hard past. But that never*
>
> *influenced their way of treating foreigners. If you were to visit any place,*
>
> *whether a small village or a bigger metropolis, locals would try to make*
>
> *your stay here better. Anywhere you go. And if you randomly go to some*
>
> *village in Bosnia and Herzegovina and go knock on the doors there for*
>
> *something, they will have you for a coffee or something and talk to you.*
>
> *The people are born with this understanding.*

Vedad also expressed this perception, noting that the concept of hospitality runs deep within the culture. In his summary, *"the people make the place, right? So then the place, the whole Mostar, you know, is hospitable."* These comments were reminiscent of remarks from Tarik, articulating connections between Mostar's tourism appeal and the attitudes and lifestyles of residents:

> *Mostar residents, we are a strange bunch, you know? Like, very unique in*
>
> *terms of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We were always a place where people*

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liked to come, not only for the beautiful landscapes, but for our <u>approach</u>,

our humanistic approach, and a point of view of people that we actually

<u>live</u> here.

Amin also expressed to me how this Mostarian mentality transferred to tourists, describing residents' "approach" to tourists as *"just feel relaxed, feel like you're home, just do you."* Across interviews, Mostar's uniquely relaxed lifestyle and personable social culture became highly common themes and participants illustrated how these aspects of Mostar life are underpinned largely by the social and leisure spaces created by cafés. In this sense, Mostar's cafés are a cultural institution upholding greater social values and senses of a city's collective identity. Despite conflicts of the past and the ways they still manifest into the present, Mostar's unique social culture has an ability to create an overriding, pleasing atmosphere that is truly unique to the setting. Mirjana, a student considering attending university abroad, explained to me that drinking coffee was her favorite thing to do in her free time, and she knew she would miss the café culture if she were to move away. This coffee habit was indicative of something larger, which she elaborated:

> *I think my favorite thing about Mostar is the people and the way that*
>
> *they're really their own culture, and like, I don't know…it's different from*
>
> *the rest of the cities in the country, or the whole country. Like, it's <u>very</u>*
>
> *different. And I think that if I ever leave, I would gladly come back to visit*
>
> *because I think I would miss the atmosphere of the city.*

Visitors to Mostar tend to embrace the city's special appreciation for coffee. Pausing for coffee allows busy tourists to rest their legs and many take delight in the city's more affordable prices. Eva laughed telling me how quickly visitors seem to adapt to Mostarian culture, particularly the Chinese tourists: *"they become Mostar people in a quick minute – they start to drink coffee all day, and smoke and stuff."* Dragica described Mostar's coffee culture as providing *"a nice flavor"* of Mostar's heritage and identity that was well suited to be shared with visitors. She explained to me why cafés play an important role in the visitor appeal of Mostar's ambience:

I think that people here are not like people in other parts of the world. Here, they are so friendly, and so approachable, and so down to earth; maybe also humorous. And we also have all these nature sites, but I think the main thing is those comfortable environments that people can offer to other people. When you sit in a café you can very quickly start to talk to someone… it's just something that is very cozy; such a nice feeling. And I think that in these days, in this world where technology is everywhere, there are all those countries who are developed that don't have that. And we can promote that, these kinds of people, to the world. Because today, there is so little that is, I don't know, <u>human</u>, that we can play on that card…Here, definitely, its different. All those people who went to Germany who I know, they all say the same thing: they have everything – money and everything – but they don't have those warm— the warmness in people. They are alone, in some kind of way.

The Old Bridge

The famous Old Bridge (*Stari Most*) is inseparable from the image of Mostar. A visitor has seen the Old Bridge many times before they've actually visited it. Ivana succinctly described this phenomenon to me:

> *I mean, it's on everything... every magnet and souvenir from Mostar is Old Bridge. And the world, when they see something about Bosnia and Herzegovina, they will see Old Bridge on everything. So, it's like the main story for the tourists, because of war, and it was destroyed, rebuilt. And I think that that's the main thing that brings tourists here.*

As a result, when a visitor stands before the 79-foot Stari Most for the first time, admiring its UNESCO-listed, dramatically-curved stonework and the strikingly blue-green Neretva River swirling below, framed by thirsty fig trees and bridge-view cafes, it feels both familiar and surreal. Many of our tours and interviews began by the bridge. One of my favorite meetings spots is a café built into the side of the steep riverbank with a diagonal view of the bridge, ideal for watching divers crowdfund euros and marks until they reach an acceptable threshold to show off their traditional skills. In my observations, no one is immune to the charms of the bridge. Both East and West Mostar residents felt some sense of pride and even awe in its presence, although I sensed that the adulation was strongest within those who grew up in the adjacent eastern neighborhoods. The bridge is the icon of a city *"that looks like a dream!,"* in the words of Lana.

The bridge evoked many strong affective responses amongst participants. Eva remarked that *"it has an old soul kind of feeling when you go there."* For Amin, who spends time by the bridge on a very regular basis, its affective power never depletes:

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"when you get under the Old Bridge, like, you can see, every time, it gets <u>stunning</u>, even more and more. You get so starstruck because it's one of the greatest builds ever. I'm like, <u>wow</u>, every single time that I see it." For Tarik, the bridge seemed like a seamless fit into the city's landscape: *"it's just <u>supposed</u> to be there. It's like, it's <u>done</u>. And it's perfect."*

Aldin shared with me that he felt tourism has helped more residents in Mostar feel proud of the city's heritage and attractions, and this was particularly evident through residents' interest and affection for the Old Bridge. Previously, in his observations, the city's Muslim residents were the main group to feel pride in the Old Bridge (which, through its Ottoman heritage, is generally more associated with the Muslim population), but now Croat residents were speaking proudly of it as well and also claiming it as their own. While the war had engrained divisions within the city's residents, positive outside attention from tourism seemed to be helping unite the city's people and neighborhoods once again through creating means for a common, shared identity.

Despite the Old Bridge's "perfection" and broadened appeal, the site is still host to a history of divisions and war-time destruction. As a result, participants' affective associations with the bridge were not all positive. In a different conversation with Tarik, our dialogue about the bridge's fame as a prided tourist attraction and breathtaking sight quickly shifted gears when he reverted to a personal recollection of the bridge just after its wartime destruction, when a rickety temporary bridge was put in its place. He recalled to me how challenging and dangerous it was for him and others to have to cross it. His historical adrenaline seemed to seep into the foreground as he envisioned the bridge at that time, even within our (seemingly) benign contemporary conversational context. In other conversations, more latent associations with the bridge emerged. Mirjana and

Lucija each grew up in the West side of the city within families who strongly discouraged them from spending time in the eastern neighborhoods. In a conversation not focused on the bridge, I had asked them how it would make them feel if tourists were to ask about their experiences growing up in the aftermath of the war:

> Mirjana*: It wouldn't make me feel any type of way because my generation was not in the war. But I think that older people could get offended by that question, because it's very...*

> Lucija: *It's very emotional...*

> Mirjana: *Yeah, it's very traumatizing for them, and you can feel it in the city, wherever you go.*

> Jada: *In what ways do you think you can feel it?*

> Mirjana: *Well, the city is divided* [Mirjana and Lucija both laugh, with a sense of melancholy]. *I think that's the main point, and they actually think of the Old Bridge as the divider and not the thing that connects two sides. And I think 70% of the people from one side don't really like the people from other side, and there aren't many differences, but it's just the way it is.*

> Lucija: *It's a stigma.*

This bridge's history of entanglement with the city's social divisions is not isolated to residents' memories and persistent stigmas, but also manifested through a variety of sights and objects in the city. For a fee, nearby museums and exhibits show tourists video footage of the bridge's fall in 1993 upon attack from Croat forces. Souvenir shops flanking the bridge sell postcards using intense fonts aimed toward sensationalizing images of bridge's remains – centerless, post-shelling. Below the bridge, diving spectators can now sit on the gargantuan stones left behind from its collapse.

While these various artifacts evoke images of tragedy, they also speak, contrastingly, of hope and resilience. Standing on the bridge, watching tourists with ice cream cones tenuously navigate the slippery, steep footpath, there seems to be an undeniable acknowledgement that *the bridge is back,* and perhaps, by extension, *Mostar*, too. Perhaps the strongest signifiers of this rebirth are the large events for which the bridge serves as a centerpiece. Notably, for the past several years, the bridge has become host to a multi-day competition within the Red Bull Cliff Diving World Series circuit. I timed my stay in Mostar to coincide with this event and commonly discussed it with participants later. Concurring with my own observations, participants expressed that the event is highly popular with residents as well as tourists and helps generate an exciting, lively ambience in the city. There was a common sense that the event brings out the best in Mostar, despite the oppressive summer heat and crowds, and helps to show Mostar to the world in a positive light. Some participants relayed to me that the Red Bull event has been able to build upon the city's longtime tradition of diving but turn it into something more exciting, interesting, crowd-pleasing, and inspirational. Since diving from the bridge is so rooted in the city's own heritage, the event can build a stronger basis to

generate local enthusiasm and pride, while also bringing the large-scale excitement of an international event.

For Amin, a young athlete, the appeal of the event extends well beyond its capabilities as a high-level, international athletic competition; instead, it's about how the setting and the people combine to create an impressive energy. He explained to me that when visitors come to the event, they are afforded with an opportunity to observe the "actions" of the river and ample time to explore other elements of the bridge's surroundings. In recognizing the potent affective atmosphere of the event, he found himself at a loss of words:

> *[The event] is just something that you have to <u>feel</u>. Like, you cannot describe it with words, but there's something that like, you need to feel inside. Like, you feel <u>fulfilled</u>. Once you're there, knowing that there's so many people who've come here to watch – and then you come to the realization: so many <u>tourists</u>! – There's a lot of things that I cannot come to words for in my mind. It's just something you've got to go and see and feel…Like, the only thing that I can describe is, is <u>amazing</u>. That is the only thing that I could say about it, is 'amazing.'*

Amin was not alone in his enthusiasm for the event. Lana described a similarly positive scene and noticeable change in atmosphere:

> *I like seeing our city being presented in the world. I mean, Red Bull has brought to this city so much publicity. Red Bull diving – in it we see the city transform into a cosmopolitan sort of place. It's <u>dangerous,</u> and*

there's the music fest throughout the Old City… So of course, everyone

likes these effects of it.

While the bridge serves as an impressive icon on the international stage, it also became clear in my conversations with participants that there is a flip side to having a singular icon of a city. While the participants all described personal admiration and respect for the Old Bridge, several of the participants who lived on the West side of the city expressed some regret or mild frustration that more visitors didn't veer farther away from the central, older part of the city. Vedad regretted that the only so-called *"interesting thing"* in Mostar is the Old Bridge, and yet so many other places have fascinating backstories, especially the buildings that were destroyed during the war, which *"can also tell a story."* As the token stop in Mostar for many tourists, these residents felt that visitors often missed a more complete picture of what Mostar is today. In my conversations with residents, I began to see the Old City and its Old Bridge as almost a mirage of a place existing mainly within a touristic realm. Visitors may become so immersed in its singularity that Mostar's real array of environments and atmospheres never emerge. The atmosphere experienced at the Old Bridge was most certainly not the atmosphere of the whole city, in the residents' perceptions, and this had problematic implications. I recalled my own first visit to Mostar: even though I had stayed a couple of nights and spent many hours strolling the city, I didn't venture far enough west to know the extent to which the city expands into different neighborhoods, each featuring very different architectural styles and ambiences. During my prolonged stay in Mostar while conducting this research, several areas in West Mostar became my favorite places to

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walk, jog, and visit shops and cafes, and I rarely saw tourists, even on days when the Old

Bridge was barely passable with crowds.

While happenings like the Cliff Diving World Series tends to attract a younger

crowd to the bridge, in Lucija's opinion, when visitors come to Mostar and only explore

the Old Bridge and Old City (as we did together on our day tour), they are essentially

doing just that – only experiencing the *old* Mostar. Visitors would only see *"like, how it*

was during the war and maybe a little bit before it." She continued: *"I think it hasn't*

changed much, but some sides [of the city], like the Western part, are a lot more modern

now, and it is positive in some sort of way. Even the younger generations have places to

visit that will be actually fun for them." Amongst the participants, Lucija was not alone in

expressing a fondness for modernization. Many responses indicated that younger

generations may recognize historic places such as the Old Bridge as beautiful and

important, but they may not perceive them as *fun, exciting,* or *inspiring*, at least outside

of events such as the Cliff Diving World Series. To many younger residents, the Old

Bridge seems first and foremost a tourist attraction, even if it is a place of pride and

heritage. For many (but not all) of my participants on the younger end of the spectrum,

the atmosphere of the Old Bridge and surrounding Old City lacked a youthful or

progressive energy; for both better and for worse, it felt lodged firmly within the past.

The Old City's ability to transport a visitor *"into some old times"* (as described by

Ivana), might deliver a visitor (whether a tourist or local) to the 16th Century Ottoman

era, but it might also take them to the middle of the recent war, to 1993. The Old Bridge,

while presenting a fairy-tale-like image of Mostar and an impressive architectural feat,

also bears a history deeply entwined with the war and the city's social divisions, as

articulated in nearby museums and shown on postcards and souvenir books. For many

residents, the aesthetically superlative dream-like setting of the Old Bridge maintains its

charm and affective power, even if it was a very familiar "everyday" site, but memories

of the war very easily infiltrate this visual fairy tale. Importantly, neither of these

atmospheric dichotomies – *war* nor *fairy tale* – adequately express modern-day Mostar.

Places of Remembrance

In several of the tours, we visited history and cultural museums, graveyards,

religious sites, and monuments. Mostar offers a plethora of attractions oriented around

history and remembrance, some more on the typical tourist path than others. Many, if not

most, are affiliated with a certain religion or ethnic identity. In our tours, participants

often used this research-based experience as a justification or impetus to visit places they

had been curious about but didn't entirely feel encouraged or welcomed to go to before.

By "playing tourist," any site that a tourist might visit was suddenly a realistic possibility.

For Ivana, this meant going into a mosque for the first time. For Lucija and Mirjana, it

entailed checking out a somewhat controversial war and genocide museum on the east

side of the city. For Vedad, it meant visiting the old Serb Orthodox monastery and feeling

more comfortable asking questions of the Serb caretaker. In general, "playing tourist"

was an invitation to step outside of normal routines and even normal identities.

The atmospheres we experienced on these tours were generally positively

perceived. We were usually met with welcome, but also experienced some moments of

tension and discomfort, mostly due to the city's religious/ethnic divisions and war

history. Vedad described overall *"good feelings"* from visiting historical sites during our

tour, and even associated places that could be construed as dark – two cemeteries,

including one with his grandfather's grave – with feelings of positivity and calm. *"The whole background story of those churches and the Old City just makes me think of what people were doing there and makes you, you know… it feels like it had a certain* <u>position</u> *in history that was important, and has, like, a* <u>spirit</u>*,"* he told me. However, our day had presented some uncomfortable moments, too, such as when the older caretaker at the Serb Orthodox historic site was very curious to know Vedad's name (which would reflect his Muslim background), although he did not care to ask what my name was. My companion intentionally mumbled his name so he could not so easily be ethnically identified. *"It was an awkward moment,"* he told me, but it wasn't too surprising for him, as he's had similar experiences before, including at other tourist sites, and is used to downplaying his ethnic identity in social relations. In reflecting upon this setting later on, his visual, aesthetic appreciation for the site seemed at odds with his interpersonal, emotional experience there.

In hopes of avoiding such "awkward moments," participants commonly expressed to me that Mostar residents generally prefer not to discuss or revisit the topic of war. Yet, this aspect of the city's history is a recurrent element of many of the museums and tourist attractions in Mostar. The approaches and messages of these sites that we visited varied greatly, and respectively, participants' reactions seemed to reflect the attractions' presumed intentions, style, and tone, as well as the participants' own backgrounds. Two of what I perceived to be the most emotionally triggering tours included visits to the Museum of War and Genocide Victims, a relatively new exhibit space on one of the city's main pedestrian streets. I had been there the previous year and found it to be provocative and fascinating yet also biased in favor of Bosniak (Muslim) residents.

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Lana, whose family has Serbian heritage, had just returned from working abroad when we met up for our tour day. She showed much enthusiasm for exploring her beloved home city of Mostar. Without a defined itinerary, we ended up popping into a variety of history and heritage museums as the urge struck us. At one such stop, a historical house museum on the east side, Lana was surprised by what a positive, informative, and welcoming environment it had been. Our next stop, in striking contrast, was the Museum of War and Genocide Victims, which she described to me as *"divisive"* and *"shocking."*

She wasn't given much of a chance to warm up to this museum: soon after the entrance, large mugshots of war criminals greeted us, presented clearly (in each of our interpretations) as individuals who should be despised and shamed. One of the men was Lana's childhood neighbor, a family friend. I watched her meet the wall in a frozen stance of horror and disbelief. *"He used to come over for dinner,"* she told me. As we moved on, she tried to shake this off, presenting a visible effort to escape the display's aggressive tone, but her mind and body were clearly disturbed by this confrontation. Afterward, in our conversations, she was pragmatic about it – she knew that in Mostar, a war hero to one was a criminal to another – but this had been too personal for her to shrug off. She told me the main issue that she found problematic about the museum was that it lacked *"connection –* _human_ *connection."* She later explained this in more detail:

> *It was missing a soul. It was missing any personal touch. It was missing*
>
> *anything that you as a regular human being could relate to. Because*
>
> *certainly _we_ could not relate to war criminals that were on a display.*

This comment, to me, was both insightful and revealing: it illustrated a disparity between being *knowable* and being *relatable*. She actually *knew* one of the war criminals, but she could not *relate* to this depiction, a narrative focused on blame and divisions, rather than on healing, resilience, or forgiveness. Seeing her friend on the museum's wall had felt surreal, not real and relatable. It created an uncomfortable space for her in part because it didn't mesh with her own narrative of her lived experience. In a city she loved and felt she knew so well, this space felt out of synch. *"It's pretty unbelievable;"* she told me, laughing with a heaviness of regret: *"it's somebody that you know, and then they turn around and they're convicted in The Hague."*

Thinking about the bigger picture of tourism development in Mostar, Lana believed that narratives should instead focus on *"a positive message,"* one that tells the visitor *"we have survived; we have been through something very, very, very difficult and we have come on the other side."* This museum was not completely devoid of this message, we both noted. In one corner, there was a media viewing room where one could watch a reel of archived news footage from the war era. Creating a conspicuous change of atmosphere, the room's black-painted walls had been covered in a free-form fashion with a rainbow assortment of neon sticky notes and drawings. Stacks of notepads sat on a side table so visitors could plaster their own note to the wall if they felt moved to do so. Overwhelmingly, these messages spoke of love, peace, and unity, in a multitude of languages and handwritings. That room struck such a different chord for us both affectively and we reflected back upon it with appreciation, but without much ability to connect it to our experiences in the rest of the museum. It seemed an isolated orb of light and life within an otherwise pitch-black space. If positioned as the final room of the

museum, it might have offered a positive narrative arc to the museum visitor experience, but instead it was buried within the rest of the museum's displays, making the visitor backtrack through a seemingly monotone realm of death and criminality upon exit.

When Lana and I met a week later, she told me that the experience of visiting this museum had nagged at her over the past week. She had constantly been reminded of the experience, as she frequently walked on that same street. Her face in disgust, she described to me the *"disturbing"* potency of the place: *"this is imprinted in my memory. Everything by association, it is imprinted."* Lana was not one to keep quiet with her dislike: *"I talk about that museum,"* she told me. Her word of mouth would do no favors for the museum if it cared to reach and welcome more diverse audiences in Mostar, but we could only assume that this must not be its intention (unless, of course, they were embracing the marketing principle that "there is no such thing as bad publicity.")

The next time I visited this museum was with Mirjana and Lucija, each only half the age of Lana. They had spent very little time in East Mostar, as it was not a place their families or friends generally visited, but they were very curious to get to know this part of the city better and considered the tour with me to be their opportunity to do so with lessened controversy. Earlier, Mirjana told us that she didn't think she wanted to go to that museum, stating he concern that *"I don't know how it's gonna, like, affect me, or leave an impact."* Yet, curiosity won them both over when we later walked by its entryway advertisements. Unlike my interactive visit with Lana, the three of us walked around the exhibits quietly and individually. The other museum visitors were similarly taciturn. Eventually, we signaled to each other when we were ready to leave. Re-emerging into the daylight of the sidewalk, tears filled their eyes and mine couldn't help

but follow suit. We continued down the street in silence for a block or so. The silence felt heavy, impenetrable, and necessary. Given Lana's response to the museum and my own perceptions of what I felt was often an aggressive and one-sided approach of museum interpretation, I was curious yet heedful of what their responses might be. To my surprise, they explained to me that they really appreciated the museum:

Lucija: *I thought I knew most things about Mostar, but when I went there, I actually wasn't aware of how hard it was for people who lived at that time, who participated in war. Um, so I <u>loved</u> that because it educated me more and it brought me closer, I think, to those people.*

Mirjana: *Yeah, I would say the same. It was my favorite part, the museum was, the favorite part [of our tour day]. And, like we've both heard a lot of stories about the war from our parents, grandparents, and a lot of different people. But when you really see the pictures, and the videos, and the remains of people and their stuff, it's very, like, <u>real</u> and very present.*

Their responses revealed both empathy and maturity, but in ways only possible from the position of people who had not experienced the events of the war first-hand. Unlike Lana's experience, for Lucija and Mirjana the museum had created something seemingly relatable. For them, visiting the museum was an immersion into an affective atmosphere that triggered them to think about their own lives, within a temporal and global perspective:

Mirjana: *[The museum] was kind of... it wasn't very <u>negative</u> for me, it was just... I had a very bad, like, feeling in my chest. It was like, I don't know, it's just the atmosphere of the whole museum. You just feel, like, the presence of those people. I don't know. It was just like...um, it was kind of scary because our parents are the generation that was...they were in the war and they were as old as we are now. So that was, like, if I imagined myself being in the war, it would be <u>now</u>. I'm 18 years old. So...*

Lucija: *...and that's the most scary to me...*

Mirjana: *Yes, scary because the... like, the most important years of their, like, growing up, from 14 to 18, it was, like, <u>very bad</u>.*

They later elaborated:

Lucija: *Today, the most stress that we have is about college and when you look at that time, they were just trying to <u>live</u>, to find food and water, and I couldn't imagine how would I feel if I was there...*

Mirjana: *And it's very scary because in other parts of the world, like Syria, this is still happening like right now, today...*

This connection to global events was chilling to me, as well, and a reminder of how affective atmospheres may be linked through broad-reaching networks harbored

somewhere in our minds to include places and happenings far away. Later, when I was

talking with Aldin, he told me of a similar realization:

>*I was talking with my wife maybe two nights ago about how we are*
>
>*watching news from Syria, and from Ukraine, or wherever the war goes*
>
>*on, and somehow I totally, totally removed my war memories, like we*
>
>*haven't been through a similar thing 20 years ago. Really. Yet it's a*
>
>*similar thing! It's a really odd feeling.*

Whether desired or not, in this local context of "memory removal," these

museums can potentially be a very *effective* and *affective* way of bringing a sense of life

and realism to the city's history. In visiting a variety of museums with participants, I

observed ways in which educational atmospheres, even if oriented more toward tourists,

could provide residents with relatable and engaging topic matter. Museums offered

participants opportunities for discovering which of their family's traditions reflected

more broadly-shared heritage, for lightheartedly laughing at their own culture's quirks,

and for learning about neighbors' religions and cultures in a deeper way. Ivana suggested

that such museums also provide a needed local service, in a sense, by telling the story of

the city that many residents don't wish to relive or don't want to try to explain in all of its

complexities and uncertainties. To her, museums might not just be the best way but *"the*

only way" for tourists to learn about the city's history. Alma, similarly, expressed that

these museums served a vital role despite their *"stressful scenes"* because

"people must know how it was then, and how it is now. So, somehow, they can walk in my

shoes. Like, let's say, at least for 15 minutes." The immersive qualities of museums,

transmitted in great part by their affective atmospheres, might be able to contextualize the city's confounding past.

Some of the museums we toured became surprisingly pleasant spaces for participants. After a tour with Karlo (whose heritage is Croatian) that included a Bosnian heritage museum with an exhibit about the Old Bridge's history, he described feeling proud of how Mostarians were able to overcome their religious and cultural differences to rebuild something, perhaps even better than it had been before. He was impressed by the lack of bias in the museum's presentations, telling me, *"I thought it would be more like, 'they are the aggressors; they did it out of hate' and stuff, but it felt really understanding in the way they did it. They portrayed everyone as a victim."* This, perhaps, was the "humanistic approach" of museum interpretation that Lana had hoped to experience. The social dimensions of visiting these attractions also influenced our overall perceptions and moods. On several occasions, we noted that although many of the museums or exhibits contained dark or depressing media and visuals, the friendliness of the staff or their ability to be helpful or accommodating helped transform the overall atmosphere of the space.

In another instance, we noted the affective poignance of the absence of human presence. In my tour with Ivana, the Old Bridge's wartime history was again featured at another regional history museum. It was Ivana's first time exploring many of the tourist attractions of the Muslim part of the city, as her father, a Catholic, had previously forbidden her from spending time in that neighborhood. After watching a video of the destruction of the bridge during the war, she made the following observations:

Ivana: *There were no people in it. I was afraid that they will show people.*

I'm happy that they didn't. Because <u>we all know</u> *what happened there. My*

father was in the war, so I know the stories. But... just to see the bridge

break down is enough.

Jada: *Right. Yeah. How did that make you feel to watch that?*

Ivana: *That was disturbing! That was disturbing because of all of the*

history, and like I told you, because the...it's like <u>our</u> *[Croat] people, I*

think? <u>Our people</u> [somewhat uncertain] *threw down the bridge? I don't*

know for sure, because I don't like to speak about war. It's a

subject…when you…everybody gets angry and yelling, and I don't know.

So, I will avoid that. Because I have Muslim friends. I have Serbian

friends. So, we stay out of it because we were all born after war.

I agreed with Ivana that just the footage of the bridge, alone, being repeatedly

shelled until it made its final crumbling plunge deep into the Neretva River, was in itself

deeply affective and sobering. For her, the focus on the object itself was a more palatable

way to approach the events of the past. For me, even though as I watched it I was aware

of *who* was firing the shells, the video's decentering of the events of the war away from

human victims and onto an object, the bridge, felt like it was shifting away from

imposing blame and shame to instead present a more stripped-down affective experience

that was narratively more open-ended for the viewer. It created a museum atmosphere of contemplation more than an atmosphere of hate, frustration, or anger.

Interestingly, this was the first time Ivana had seen video footage of the bridge's destruction, even though she had lived in Mostar for six years. At this point, I had already watched several videos at various museums and exhibits depicting the bridge's 1993 demise, some which also included violent and disturbing images of fighting, injured civilians, and corpses. As one of several moments with participants in which I realized how differently Mostar's culture and history is presented to visitors than to residents, I was reminded that without local participation in "tourist"-type activities, visitors and residents continue to experience atmospheres of the city in very different ways, or experience different atmospheres altogether. In reflecting upon the full spectrum of museums and exhibits in Mostar, it was evident that their narratives and styles could aptly work to unite people *or* incite continued animosities and divisions, sometimes in ways that might not be detectable by foreigners.

In creating educational spaces that aim to appeal to visitors as well as residents, museums and other attractions may provide local people with opportunities to be exposed to different points of view and different perspectives than they have personally held about what happened in the past and what Mostar could be, going forward. Residents may not always agree with these alternative perspectives, but museums can at least create spaces in which residents may begin to hear and consider what these other views entail. There seems to be a growing opportunity for this in Mostar, as younger generations who grew up after the war mature. Accordingly, to Katarina there's a feeling in Mostar within younger residents *that it's time for something new, some changes, and a better time.*"

For Aldin, tourism might be a key component in this change, as it held the potential to help residents consider different perspectives or embrace more peaceful positions:

> *Maybe we would be more aggressive, more mentally unsatisfied, or maybe we would be more 'in the box' if we were here only with ourselves. But approaching and being visited by a lot of people from different countries, it has to open your views, right? That's a good way of mind-changing, in a good way, right?*

In my post-tour conversation with Alma, she reflected that by experiencing places more in the way that tourists do, she might be able to change her own relationships with the city's complex environments. She wanted to *"give them a chance"* – to allow herself to see and feel places as something new, removed from her own personal history with the war. While she expressed interest in participating in the process re-discovery and re-building her relationship with her home city, she also suspected that such changes may not come easily.

Parks and Natural Areas

While Mostar is known for its architecture and heritage, the beauty of the city's natural environment is intrinsic to its appeal as a destination. While the Old Bridge might represent the city in guidebooks and postcards, it would not be such a quintessential image without the misty Neretva River below, or the craggy hillside peaks that create a dimensional backdrop and complete the bridge's fairy tale imagery. Around Mostar, nature-based tourism opportunities are increasingly being developed and garnering greater attention, with waterfall swimming holes and wooded picnic spots becoming

more common destinations for residents and tourists alike. Two parks – one in the hills on the east side of the city and one in a mountain village to the west – have recently developed better trails and recreational opportunities. While interviewing participants, I found that many residents still had not visited these sites but were very intrigued to see what they might have to offer. Oftentimes, they had heard some positive hype from friends or family. I detected a trend of west-side residents showing more familiarity with west-side parks and attractions and east-side residents showing more familiarity with eastern places, extending to outlying sites in the city's respective hills. Nevertheless, residents spoke fondly of Mostar's natural environment in a collective manner – the greenness, the fresh air, and the undisturbed beauty.

On four of my tours (with five participants), we drove to outlying villages in the surrounding hills or along the radiating river valleys, aiming to explore parks and other natural settings. In the more urban tours, nature still was an important presence, whether by enjoying regional views from a church tower or mosque minaret or having coffee or lunch alongside the river. Recurrently, a physical and geographical change of perspective seemed to be highly affective for participants. Participants commonly shared how much they enjoyed seeing bird's-eye views of Mostar. As I continually toured and conversed with more participants, I gained greater perspective as to why this might be, and how it might be a reflection of Mostar's position as a divided, post-conflict city still in stages of recovery. For Esma, enjoying a view of the city allowed her to see all of the diverse things her region actually had to offer, which she didn't notice if she was just walking in the streets. After spending some time at the scenic lookout at Fortica nature park, Tarik explained to me why he enjoyed the view there so much:

Whenever you go above the city and you have an option to see your city

down in the valley, and all together with no, you know, with no signs of

any bad past or whatever, it makes you feel nice and proud that, okay, this

is my city.

He elaborated:

It just looks so much nicer from up there…You don't see all the cigarette

butts and the certain things that we are not really taking care of, you

know?

In this context, the natural setting facilitated our reflection upon the built environment from which we had come. Within this vista, the city's natural and built atmospheres seemed to intermix into a new, affective combination. In general, the affective power of nature seemed to arise from a reflection of its contrast to Mostar's urban environments. Participants often told me that they felt lucky to have "a little of everything" in Mostar – a vibrant urban life as well as the peacefulness of nature, all in close proximity. In our hot autumn days, visiting a mountain village or river grotto offered a sense of rejuvenation, and while it felt like a way to "escape," it still felt like *Mostar* – just a cleaner, fresher facet of the city's identity.

For Dragica, Mostar's natural areas made her recognize the specialness of Mostar and its region, in turn expanding her sense of hope for the city's post-war recovery. In her opinion, *"tourists in ten years will go to that country that has clean air and many green areas. It won't be important to go somewhere that is only some buildings. What people will seek is* cleanness*."* In this framing, natural areas symbolize economic opportunity as

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well as a setting for personal health and enjoyment. There was a more psychological aspect of this for Dragica, as well: *"When people see so many nice places, they will not think about war,"* she asserted, referring to both residents and foreigners. Nature parks could help attract tourists to Mostar and might also be a positive affective setting to help residents move on from their painful pasts.

Even in the relatively short time frame of our tours, I witnessed how this mental transformation might occur. Reflecting on our short hike in the hills to the west of the city, Vedad described the sunshine and greenery we encountered as putting him in *"a state of bliss."* For Alma, escaping the city for a day to go on a scenic auto tour of surrounding towns with her two young children offered her a chance to relax and change up her usual routines. She described her feelings throughout the day as varying from *"excited"* to *"calm"* and *"languid."* For Amin, even after an admittedly anxious and adrenaline-filled afternoon high above a canyon jettisoning down extensive ziplines, he paradoxically described the alpine setting as perfect for "chilling out." *"You can also have a lot of good energy because it's not a lot of noise up here and everything is, like, beautiful. The view itself makes you feel calmer,"* he explained. Karlo noted that the ways in which greenery were interspersed in the central city and allowed to "develop naturally" created a positive energy: *"you can feel it in the atmosphere, like it's calming, so to say. It felt homely."*

For the tour with Eva and Dragica, both office professionals, we met in the late afternoon to have coffee and eventually dinner while exploring Blagaj Tekija, a 600-year-old, spring-side Dervish monastery in the outskirts of Mostar. The timing of this trip highlighted how a pleasing natural environment can override the day's previous stresses

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and anxieties. After a busy workday, they expressed much appreciation for exploring the location's natural cave and spring amidst the relaxing glow of the setting sun. They both commented adoringly about the visual scenery, the sounds of the river, and the pleasant breeze. For Eva, *"the environment, the stones, the river, and the trees"* together created *"a special effect"* which *"filled [her] day"* and left her feeling energized. She told us that the overall feeling of the place was *"really unexplainable."* We each took photos to try to capture some of the monastery and river's special essence in the firesome blend of sunset colors. *"It just seems like magic,"* Eva recounted, to each of our agreement. It was Eva's first time visiting this riverhead spring, despite it being a popular tourist spot just south of Mostar. Going forward, she told us, it was not a place she planned to take for granted:

> *People around here don't have that much money or anything. But to have*
> *something like this, it cannot be bought. You have to have somewhere to*
> *go and enjoy the atmosphere, the view, and peace, and relax. People who*
> *live in other countries don't have this. They had to pay to go on vacation.*
> *But we don't have to; we have it every day. That's something a lot of*
> *people, including me, didn't know how to appreciate.*

Complementing the beauty and peacefulness of natural settings, human interaction often remained a key positive characteristic of Mostar's natural environments. Vedad, for instance, told me that one of the things he and his friends enjoyed most about living in Mostar were the opportunities to socialize while enjoying nature. This provided means for them to *"cope with the political situation and everything."* He said that they often would choose to meet up by the

Neretva River in the Old City because the area has a *"certain spirit"* which felt *"uniting"*: *"you'll feel safe from dangers, you'll feel, I don't know…somehow, calm."* During our tour day, he and I often stopped to have impromptu conversation amidst parks and other natural areas. These settings felt welcoming and neutral, offering us a level of comfort to get to know each other and talk about any topic freely.

In most of the tours, the welcoming and relaxed nature of Mostar people seemed to extend into the parks we visited, often exhibited by staff or gatekeepers. For instance, on the day tour with Alma and her children, we had planned to visit a campground on the outskirts of the city that operates a riverside cafe, park and playground. Unfortunately, it had just closed for the season, but the owner came out of his home and invited us to come back with a picnic to enjoy the riverside on our own, free of charge. Ultimately, we decided to continue on our little road trip, but his hospitality nevertheless stood out to us in our memories at the end of the day as well as a week later. The short interaction was a positive force in creating what we perceived to be a welcoming and serene atmosphere, working to override our initial feelings of disappointment upon arrival there.

While parks and natural areas evoked largely positive and calm reactions from participants, there were moments in which the city's past crept into our seemingly serene environs. For the tour with Tarik, we decided on a low-key excursion up into the hills to enjoy nature and explore a small village neither of us had visited before. I had initially suggested an outdoor adventure-type activity for us, like river rafting or ziplining, but he declined, telling me:

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I've had too many encounters with death in my life…Like, if the cat has nine lives, I don't know how many lives people have, because when you go to war, you risk your life so many times in your life, and life is so many times on the edge, so you don't really want to push it, you know?

Driving up to the village along bumpy roads, we sang along with the radio, windows down, taking advantage of the cooler mountain breeze. But our relaxed mood conflicted with our scenery at one point as we glanced over to one of the open hillsides beside us. In an equable tone, Tarik told me that this area used to be a full-grown forest. As the war had gone on, Mostar residents, in desperation, had to embark farther up into the hills by foot to find firewood. Eventually, all the trees had been chopped and rolled down into the valley. After the war, as a school project, Tarik and his classmates did a tree planting project there, but only a small area ever became replanted after all these years. Without this back story, I had simply thought this land was a chaparral ecosystem – just a few native shrubs amidst a sea of grasses and wildflowers. My apartment in Mostar had a view of these same hills and I didn't look at them the same way again.

When we met a week later, Tarik reflected to me how much he had enjoyed our fun and relaxing outing and appreciated the scenery and mountain air. Yet, I could see that for him, as a local, the notion of "escaping" through leisure may come with limits. This tour experience and others illustrated ways in which social components were ever-present in how participants assessed the images and

atmospheres of places, even in natural settings. Whether through memory triggers or social interaction, natural settings became an complex mixture of human and other/"natural" presences. The color of the sky, the sound of the leaves, and the plumpness of the pomegranates were all atmospheric factors that intermingled with peoples' appearances, words, gestures, and thoughts to create the affective experience of "visiting nature." In Mostar's post-war context, parks and natural areas may offer a reprieve from the moods, stresses, or frustrations of the city, but they are not immune to them or entirely removed from them.

Reflections from Touring Mostar

Participants broadly agreed that Mostar's tourism appeal was a reflection of its widely varying assets, reflecting a collection of diverse atmospheres. While the war history creates spaces of heaviness and darkness, these spaces are balanced by ample opportunities for fun, relaxation, and enjoyment. While a few participants believed that the war history was one of the primary reasons that tourists were interested in visiting Mostar, more often participants saw Mostar as a well-rounded destination, with a little bit of something for everyone:

> *[Mostar] is like a playground, you can go around and go to some places*
> *and find, like, different people, interesting places, all different stories. Just*
> *that's it: it's kind of practical for tourists to come here because it has a lot*
> *of stuff in a little place. That's my image, you know? Like, Mostar: with*
> *the Old Bridge, the stands [the Old City's bazaar shops], and then*
> *everything else behind it, the hills… there's graveyards, monuments…*
> (Vedad)

Katarina, on the other hand, told me that she didn't really understand why tourists would want to come to Mostar. In her puzzlement, she was curious to hear my perceptions, hoping to understand how the sum of Mostar, as a destination, seemed to be so much greater than its parts. She said that she felt proud when she'd see tourists in Mostar, because it meant *"someone is trying to find something new here,"* a reflection of her sentiment that *"we who live here, we think that Mostar is too simple."* She listened intently as I told her what aspects of Mostar had kept me coming back again and again. As we talked, she eventually acknowledged to me that the city was *"special, in some way,"* even if she didn't fully understand it herself. In spending time touring together, this acknowledgement seemed to increase within her, as she made noticeable efforts to see her city as something worthy of outside attention.

This mental shift from viewing Mostar as a resident versus as a "tourist" was noticeable in other participants, as well. Esma reflected to me how "playing tourist" led to different sensations for her:

> *If you're not just crossing the street and going like we do in your daily routine, then you feel Mostar in a different way. Especially if you're going through some, like, some touristic monuments and things that we were doing. I can go to a coffee shop in a mall that, like, totally doesn't have any meaning for me. That's just coffee. But when you go, like, to the Old Bridge or the Old Town, you feel the fresh air, you see the river… That gets a different meaning.*

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In Esma's description, by intentionally touring her city she had opened herself to a broader range of affective possibilities and the result seemed to feel enlivening. This tendency, evident in other participants as well, emerged as an important aspect of this research, particularly when visiting museums and other historic or memorial sites. The participants frequently reflected that playing the role of tourist allowed them to relate to the city's monuments, buildings, and natural features differently. Those who did not report such a feeling tended to be those who already worked in tourism-related positions and expressed that this was not such a new mental exercise for them, as they had already had to envision their city through more of a tourism lens.

The total effect of Mostar's diverse cultures, complex history, and varied offerings is that the city has a special affective quality that is hard to pinpoint; not easily described by a visitor or by a resident. Nearly every participant tried to find words to define what this was, describing the city as having *"a special spirit," "energy"* that could be felt but not seen, a *"romantic scent in the air,"* or having a *"magic and special"* quality that is inexplainable. These might be surprising descriptors for a post-war city, if one was not familiar with Mostar. These descriptions both seem to be at odds with its war-time history, but also a product of it. It seemed that in the friction between dualities, energy, "magic" and senses of intrigue begin to form. For Amin, the city's appealing atmosphere was directly connected to the disintegration of the city's notorious divisions, as he told me that his *"favorite thing about Mostar is its atmosphere. You can't actually feel that much tension between the different ethnicities because they all loop together for us. [It's been a] long time, so it's generally relaxing."*

The perspectives of residents seemed to waver between a sense that the city has progressed socially and that it is stuck in the past. For Esma, with the background of an Economics student, she expressed that Mostar was still a work in progress, a place with tourism potential that still wasn't fully defined. She felt it was important for visitors to know that Mostar is *"still building and rebuilding – not just the monuments, we are doing our culture."* For some of the participants, the city's *lack* of progress since the war seemed to contribute to its foreign intrigue. In Eva's perspective, Mostar is a difficult place for foreigners to really understand:

> *I think the Cold War is still happening here. And many foreign people think it's interesting, because for a country that has so much potential, we are still… it's not that we aren't going anywhere, it's we are going <u>behind</u>, we are 'below the zero' right now. For the local residents [the war] is still kind of fresh, even though it's been twenty-five-plus years. But it's hard to explain…People [tourists] get this country wrong. It's too complicated to explain to someone who hasn't lived here. And it's still kind of <u>fresh</u>. But you can, even as a tourist, you can sense it in the air, that there are kind of tensions between people and it's still not over. But I think that they [tourists] find it interesting to see those places to <u>try</u> to understand the politics and what has happened here.*

Within this complex setting, the residents conveyed that affective considerations were highly important for Mostar to express to foreigners. Visitors needed to spend time in Mostar to begin to truly understand and appreciate the city. Throughout my interviews

and conversations, participants broadly seemed to view tourism as means of improving not only the reputation of Bosnia and Herzegovina but also the vitality of the city. Aldin, for instance, felt that the "magic" of Mostar would speak for itself if tourists would give it a chance:

> The general image of us in the world is...<u>awful</u>. That's my opinion, and I think it's true [that most foreigners think that way]. Everyone who sees Bosnia on the news, probably the first images are, like, war or grenades, smoke, destroyed buildings, and things like that. But the true image is completely opposite. And you – <u>you</u> saw it!

Dragica relayed a similar perspective:

> I'm always glad to see tourists because that is the way, that is a <u>sign</u> that we are making progress…. Mostar is not any more an association with war only, and to shooting, and so on. Its association is to 'visit places and enjoy!' It's important to show people that they can visit us and that they are safe here.

Residents hoped that visitors' actual experiences – through taking sufficient time to explore the city and enjoy true Mostarian pleasures such as cafes – would lead to meaningful affective outcomes, powerful enough to overwrite preconceived notions about Bosnia and Herzegovina only based upon 25-year-old news footage. Such wartime media images are highly affective, as the city's museums and postcard vendors well know. Yet, after touring a broad range of Mostar's sites and scenes, the participants and I seemed to find consensus that mere images cannot compare to the affective capabilities

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of experiencing Mostar's unique atmospheres first-hand. Aldin described Mostar's special affective abilities, expressing an underlying level of mystery:

> *Mostar has an amazing <u>picture</u>, but what Mostar is is not the material things, it's more like <u>spirit</u>. Mostar is really a spirit. We have, I don't know, a really authentic and, I don't know, special <u>spirit</u>. If you make a comparison in Bosnia with some other cities, we are quite, quite specific. Even our mentality. Is it because of the sun, or because of the geographical position? Is it because of the of the sea, which is quite near? I'm not quite sure.*

Later, he made his own pitch for visitors, appealing to the city's affective aspects:

> *I really want people just to come here. I do not call for people to come here to see buildings blah blah blah. No, just come. And you will see whatever you like; you will <u>find something</u>, definitely. You'll find at least a good piece of joy and serenity, at least for an hour. I can guarantee that. You will forget about anything. Mostar just takes you, and that's it.*

While Mostar may be known and represented by fantastical images such as the Old Bridge, blue-green winding rivers, and quaint, centuries-old shopfronts, residents broadly expressed that the real, underlying appeal of Mostar was something less tangible. In our tours, taking time and initiative to explore Mostar more deeply allowed for this complex city's spirit to be revealed and unfurl into new possibilities. This, in turn, was what the participants expressed that they wished for visitors: an experience in the city that was immersive, unrushed, observant, and open.

<center>**Discussion**</center>

Perceptions of Mostar's Atmosphere(s)

Mostar seems to be broadly understood by residents as a place of prominent opposing affective forces, positive and negative, manifesting through both physical and social means. Comments such as Eva's statement that she often sensed "a depressed feeling in the air" express a commonly shared sentiment that Mostar residents often feel a lack of hope (financial, socio-cultural, or political) or are prone to complaining or feeling frustrated with their city. Yet, the participants unanimously brought up Mostar's appealing social culture – a culture greatly reflective of a more relaxed way of life that appreciates genuine human connection. Mostar is a small enough city that it's likely that residents commonly run into people they know when they visit usual spots, but it's also large enough to present new opportunities to explore. Meeting up with friends for coffee is a part of daily life, regardless of religion/ethnicity, and many of the participants (mostly non-Muslim) mentioned the city's fun nightlife as a strength of the city.

These social considerations often overlapped with the participants' assessments of Mostar's less tangible and more atmospheric aspects. Unprompted, even before we began our tours, participants frequently described their city in affective and atmospheric terms. For many, the city held a sense of wonder and enchantment. Broadly, they seemed to agree that there was "something special" about Mostar, even if they couldn't quite put a name to this specialness. A few participants noted that Mostar's atmosphere was unique even within Bosnia and Herzegovina. The city's atmospheres seemed both vague and powerful, in line, to varying degrees, with Böhme's (2013, p. 2-3) articulation that atmospheres "come upon us from we know not where, as something nebulous, which in

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the 18th century might have been called a *je ne sais quoi,* they are experienced as something numinous - and therefore irrational." Tourism, however, helps to dispose of some of this sense of irrationality, because the appeal of cities, as destinations, are often reflective of a special "feel" of a place – that *je ne sais quoi* quality. When focusing on atmospheres, it becomes more reasonable to understand how place can be post-war, or post-disaster, and still be an attractive destination, as there is perhaps more at work than initially meets the eye. The lack of tangibility provides a reminder that tourism may bring to communities things that are not easily measured or immediately detectable, and likewise, communities may offer visitors something similarly elusive. From this perspective, an analysis of "exchange' needs to encompass a very broad range of "goods," some which may be more affective and abstract than physical and concrete.

Given how much these abstract, intangible, and atmospheric elements came to mind for the residents even before our tour, I had been curious to see if and how they might manifest during or after our tour experience. Being outside in nature, especially when enjoying nice weather, was a common theme that participants reflected impacted their mood during the outing and their memories of the experiences later on. For the tours that were more nature based, participants shared that the environments we visited were relaxing, reinvigorating, calming, and refreshing. In the more urban tours, participants commonly reported a sense of deepness and rootedness churning up within them amidst their environs. These sensations were not always pinpointable. For some, it seemed tied to a sense of being more connected to the city's heritage – *their* heritage, or perhaps broadening their definition of what "their heritage" or "their city" was. Participants' affective responses sometimes surprised them, as they felt more welcomed or "at home"

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than they thought they would. Across types of settings, participants often reflected feelings of pride or acknowledgements that they wished to get to know their city better and not take it for granted.

While physical features of Mostar (such as buildings, museum objects, trees, and rivers) proved to be evocative features of Mostar's cityscapes and landscapes, the themes that continually arose as defining features of Mostar's atmospheres were social dimensions. Participants commonly spoke of "warmth," "hospitality," "humor," and "human connection" as key elements that make Mostar (and specific settings within Mostar) special. These factors illustrate ways in which both affect and practice, through "everyday" means, play key roles in the production of place (Duff, 2010). With these cultural, atmospheric strengths, Mostar in many ways is primed for tourism. As evidence of this, the social lifestyle centered around cafes and bars has created a favorable feedback loop between tourism and local life that is highly entwined with the concept of atmospheres. Visitors can enjoy the warm and sociable atmospheres while also contributing to this liveliness and energy, and perhaps allowing a greater number and variety of such businesses to exist. With Mostar's social aspects in mind, many of the participants asserted how important it is (or should be) for visitors to allow themselves enough time to explore different parts of Mostar and get to know people who live there, in order to have a real understanding of what Mostar (or Bosnia and Herzegovina, more broadly) is actually like today. Importantly, participants seemed keen to share these special, social atmospheres of Mostar with others. Even though the city, aesthetically, created some feelings of regret or embarrassment amongst residents, they felt ready to share their city in both its perfections and imperfections. I sensed that this openness was

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due to a combination of factors guided by their cultural tradition of showing hospitality to visitors as well as a recognition of the identity-shifting opportunity to be known by outsiders for something other than war and violence.

Knowing that many current visitors to Mostar only stayed an hour or two or only visited the Old Bridge was disappointing and frustrating for the participants. They felt they had much more to offer and were not always being afforded the opportunity. For several of the participants, this included a desire to share the city's more negative aspects. What often struck me in my interactions with residents is how eager they seemed to share their city and its history with me or other tourists even if it was clearly uncomfortable to do so. Broadly, I saw that residents viewed interaction with tourists as an opportunity to change international mindsets about their city and country and advance a new type of narrative. This narrative was still honest and transparent – Mostar was *a work in progress* – but there was still much to feel good about to shift sentiments more toward the positive. Interaction with visitors was seen as an opportunity for residents to claim control of their city's narrative. Consistent with findings from Santos and Buzinde (2007), these narratives did not tend to shy away from reflections of struggle, as this part of the collective history – a story of perseverance and resilience – provided a sense of community pride and uniqueness.

In trying to reconcile the sometimes conflicting sentiments of residents – for instance, pertaining to whether or not tourists should visit and photograph ruined buildings or ask residents about their wartime experiences – I began to see affective atmospheres as an increasingly critical concept for understanding how residents would like visitors to perceive their city. This is partly about *affective equilibrium*. If visitors

have too much fun – just admiring the bridge, eating ice cream, and going ziplining, they are missing the full picture of Mostar in a way that may seem disrespectful to the residents who have survived war and persevered through so many hardships in order to reach this better place today. But if visitors only dwell on the city's negative past, they are essentially freezing the possibilities of the city to progress or exist within its full, multi-dimensional being. The general sentiment seemed to be that visitors should be exposed to spaces of darkness that tell of the actual, recent past, but they should also know what lightness the city holds: its warmth and welcoming attitudes, it's "magical" spirit, and its relaxed pace of life that provides people with a chance to slow down and enjoy their surroundings and the company of others. These facets collectively illustrate the full package of what Mostar is today, and also suggest how much the city is changing as the war slips farther into the past.

Atmospheric Impacts of Tourism

The interviews revealed that whether or not a resident is intentionally touring their city and visiting tourist sites and attractions, tourism is a highly affective presence in Mostar, particularly in neighborhoods around the centrally located Old Bridge. On a broad, macro-level, participants expressed a perception that tourism greatly influences the overall *energy* of Mostar. Several participants noted how the multiculturality brought by tourism transformed the city into a more vibrant, exciting, or interesting atmosphere. In my initial interviews with participants before we even began our touring process, the powerful affective qualities of seeing or even knowing of tourists' presence in Mostar arose as recurrent themes. For most participants, the sensations they associated with tourism were positive, connected with senses of hope and pride for the city's economic

future and global reputation. There was a common perception that tourism might help erase some of the embarrassment or shame that the country has experienced on the global stage, allowing Bosnia and Herzegovina to be known for something other than its war history. However, the war remains a strong affective presence in Mostar, for residents and visitors alike. As such, it became evident to me that tourism is commonly viewed as an *agent* of change as well as an *indicator* of change.

The general positive perceptions of tourism in Mostar helped to form a foundation, I believe, for more positive affective experiences for residents when immersed in touristic spaces. While residents of Mostar are well-known for their intra-city divisions, they commonly express pleasure and pride in their welcoming demeanor toward visitors. This hospitable reputation helped to create largely positive attitudes when we spent time amongst tourists and when visiting tourist attractions. Participants often reflected how much the demeanor of the host or staff at a site influenced their perception of the overall experience, both for the better or for the worse. These relations and interactions were often powerful and memorable affective components of the experience that the residents reflected upon in the follow-up interview a week later, which seemed to contribute substantially to their broader perceptions of Mostar's touristic atmospheres. I found evidence that there is a reciprocal relationship between support for tourism (or appreciation or acceptance of tourists) and atmospheric perceptions, although potent factors such as one's personal background and history also contributed to such affective perceptions.

In touring the city at the very end of Mostar's typical tourist season (October), our itineraries and observations hinted at the dramatic atmospheric transition looming close

by. Participants commonly described to me how different the city was without tourists. Yet, as a primary industry in Mostar, the phenomenon of tourism is continually felt by residents, whether through the financial adjustments residents have to make due to decreased income in the winter, or in their ongoing brainstorming about how to improve business next season, or just in the ways they feel the noticeable absence of bodies in the streets, shops and restaurants in particular neighborhoods.

Encounters with the Lingering Past

While tourism seemed to be a strong affective presence in helping the city move on from its war history, the war remains an important part of Mostar's identity and international intrigue, and is engrained within the experience of touring the city – sometimes subtle or covert, other times clearly publicized and even commodified. Whether intentional or just inevitable, the war became a recurrent element of our tours, in some cases seemingly omnipresent, and in other cases a recurring theme that we would from time to time circle back to as objects, sites and memories evoked this history or called us to its present manifestations. In the interviews and in our experiences co-touring, several main themes emerged reflecting residents' discomforts and tensions pertaining to the war in touristic spaces: residents' mixed feelings about talking about the war, ways in which the war (and related people and objects) are depicted in the city's museums and attractions, and residents' affective and emotional responses to objects and sites such as the Old Bridge or ruined buildings. In both the presence and absence of war, it often seemed to be a palpable undercurrent of the affective atmosphere. The war impacted our choices of destinations and activities: for several of the participants, this research opened an opportunity to cross usual boundaries within the city, to explore sites

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in different neighborhoods or sites pertaining to different cultures or religious affiliations;

in other cases, the war made certain itineraries or activities less attractive. These

backgrounds supplemented an air of excitement or contributed to feelings of uneasiness.

The city's ruins continually arose in conservations with participants, who

expressed mixed feelings of unhappiness, regret, shame, embarrassment, and indifference

in the presence of these places. To some, they had become part of Mostar's normal

landscape. To others, they were a painful haunting from the past. Thinking back upon my

own first visit to Mostar six years ago, walking amidst the city's many war-damaged

structures which lay interspersed throughout the city was a highly affective and impactful

experience for me. I had never before visited a place – and still have not to this day – that

visually appeared so recently impacted by war. Still today, many of these ruins continue

to capture the interest and imagination of tourists, even those who are not explicitly

interested in "dark" tourism.

In my discussions with participants about ruins, whether or not they had been

alive and in Mostar during the war (and old enough to remember it) seemed to greatly

affect their reactions to sites and relics of the war's destruction. While everyone seemed

to agree that the ruins should be fixed into something better (which could include

interpretive sites or monuments), for the older participants these places felt far more

personal and conjured up feelings that were more negative or complicated to process.

Envisioning a version of Mostar without ruins would certainly evoke different

atmospheres and energies, but this absence would likely be felt in different ways.

Marschall (2015, p. 334) argues that the destruction and erasure of places stemming from

war may not actually lead people to forget their significance, but instead foster "a

commitment to remembrance," especially when these places are being intentionally toured/revisited. Mostar currently contains many spaces of destruction, as well as spaces of erasure where modern buildings have dutifully replaced fallen or damaged structures. For residents, this physical erasure may still foster active remembrance, yet for most visitors, especially newcomers, the change may be undetected and thus potentially ignored. Furthermore, in Mostar, the difference may impact neighborhoods (and thus ethnic/religious affiliations) disproportionately, as an estimated 60 to 75% of buildings in the eastern part of the city were destroyed during the war, compared to only 20% in the western part (Bollens, 2007).

The participants' responses highlighted the difference between their *own* reactions to being in the presence of ruins (and the affective outcomes of this proximity between body and object) and the more cognitively assessed reactions to observing *others'* responses and behaviors in the presence of ruins. The addition of other people – *outsiders* – and their reactions and behaviors seemed to have a noticeable impact upon how residents personally processed these places. Sometimes, the recognition of uniqueness and appeal amidst the seemingly "everyday" features of their own city only seem to arrive to participants only upon observation of tourists' behaviors. I sensed that the influx of tourism was beginning to make many of the residents associate differently with the city's unique sites, such as the ruined buildings. In my interactions with Esma, for instance, she initially said that she didn't really think anything in particular about the city's ruins, but her attention to them intensified as she noticed tourists' interest. In this interaction, I recall Closs Stephens (2016) depiction of affective elements gradually building to create, at a certain point, something more atmospheric. I sensed with Esma

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that the ruins were starting to evoke a more complex blend of sensations within her as she noted others' (outsiders') attention, but these feeling hadn't fully coagulated. The restructuring of opinions and perceptions, I believe, provides a cognitively-derived parallel to the functioning of affects within an atmosphere – the collective qualities that emerge as something new; a sum greater than its parts, perhaps.

Atmospheric Influences Upon Place Image

These distinctions also raise questions about how the mental *image* one holds of a place may influence or differ from the *atmosphere* one perceives when actually in that place. This research begins to bring to light how a visitor's affective associations with a destination begin to form before a trip even takes place, as mental imaginations of a place impact everything from the initial selection of a particular destination to the excitement levels experienced in anticipation of a trip. Given the power of affective preconceptions and anticipations, it is valuable to consider to what extent these prior associations spill over into present sensations and interpretations of atmospheres. For visitors, these associations may be in the form of preconceived notions, based on TV news footage of the war, or more general envisionings of the characteristics of people and places in this region of the world. For residents, these prior associations may be based on personal memories and experiences, stories told by friends or family, or culturally engrained prejudices. This mixing of conceptualizations between atmospheres and place image has been noted by other scholars, including Pforr and Volgger (2020, p. 306), who articulate that "as sensual perceptions pass through emotional and cultural layers, atmospheres are also heavily influenced by the dominant perspectives or 'themes' which drive interpretation of a place as a comprehensive whole."

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Interviews and conversations from the tour experiences reveal ways in which residual effects of memories and preconceived notions may comprise some of the affective experience of being in a place. Aldin, for instance, explained that he would see four different versions of the same site when he looks at the city around him. The participants seemed to be in a push-and-pull negotiation between what they were observing, feeling, and absorbing around them in the moment and what they had previously felt or more recently anticipated. In the disparity between these mental inputs, elements of surprise at times arose, sometimes enhancing the affective experience. Returning to Hosany, Ekinci, and Uysal's (2006) tripartite conceptualization of destination image – affective, physical atmosphere, and accessibility – each of these seemed to place a role in how participants perceived atmospheres. This was evident through the incorporation of current moods, memories, social dynamics between them and me (or others), aesthetic assessments of our surroundings, and whether a place seemed welcoming or oriented toward someone such as them.

Mostar's frequently mentioned "magical" qualities, on one hand, have confronted an uphill task of re-imagining a city scourged by war. But simultaneously, I would argue, this magical quality of Mostar is amplified by the city's very history, as it makes the aesthetically pleasing, fairy-tale-like environments and relaxed settings somewhat surprising to a visitor, and thus even more affectively moving, memorable and profound. For a city to have overcome such strife is impressive in itself, but to have overcome superlative brutality and destruction to be reborn into such a sense of aesthetic and affective splendor and bounty is remarkable. Yet, related to this sense of magic is a perception of surrealness in Mostar's atmospheres. Aldin reflected how strange it was for

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him to think about the war, as it almost seemed as though it had not happened to him. For Lana, seeing her neighbor portrayed as a war criminal in the museum left her feeling similarly disjointed. For Lucija and Mirjana, their parents' young adult years in Mostar were so dramatically different from their own that it had been hard for them to imagine. For residents, tourism seems to weave in and out of this feeling of surrealness as it aims to bring certain aspects of the city's history into the present-day foreground, in ways that may not mesh with residents' day-to-day perceptions of their city. This attention to the past may lead to personal growth but may also be unwanted and thus rejected.

These senses of magic and surrealness, while abstract, have helped to "put Mostar on the map," even if it is still largely an "off-the-beaten-path" destination. These qualifications and associated sense of achievement are not lost on residents, but residents also express some frustration regarding the time that it is continuing to take foreigners to realize the fullness of their being and to see them as a modern, peaceful, and attractive place. Tzanelli (2019) notes how cinema can create limited depictions of a place's culture, context, and atmosphere that lead tourism to have potentially significant and long-lasting ethical implications. There is still indication that media representations of Bosnia and Herzegovina have similarly led people from other countries to hold certain image limitations, expectations, and prejudices, which they carry with them as new visitors. Mostar's social atmospheres can play a vital role in conveying to visitors a more nuanced and potentially affectively appealing version of their city that reflects the *here-and-now* of the city. Acknowledging this potential, residents articulated a wish to promote a form of tourism in Mostar that is based more upon taking time to relax, meet

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people, and enjoy the city's unique atmospheres. To quote Aldin, Mostar can offer a tourist much more than *"buildings blah-blah-blah."*

Methodology of Residents as Tourists

This unique research approach of inviting residents to "play tourist" allowed me to consider what might constitute "social exchange" between residents and tourism actors from different angles. I was able to simultaneously learn how residents perceive the effects of tourism in their city and embark on an experiment toward understanding what benefits (or disbenefits) might result when residents more actively participate in the tourism themselves. My findings indicated that this role change encouraged participants to consider both a wider range of benefits of tourism, but also increased their awareness of some of the risks associated with tourism development.

For residents, participating in this research was a meaningful act of intentionality. The participants were all willing to pause their regular lives to focus on their city in a new way. Some residents were drawn to participate because of personal interests in tourism development: a few were students studying related topics or had tourism-dependent side businesses and interests, such as managing an Airbnb rental. Others had been curious to visit certain tourist attractions around Mostar that they had heard of before but had not yet visited, or were intrigued by the unusual opportunity to spend the day with a foreigner and interact in the English language. Interestingly, I perceived that many of the participants began to step into a different mindset during our first interview before we even officially began our tour – one more like a tourist, or an outsider looking in upon Mostar. Speaking with me, they were free to praise their city or complain about its faults without judgment. I inquired about their general perceptions about Mostar and

their (and their friends' and families') level of satisfaction living in Mostar. Allowing sufficient time for us to tour and talk together was essential to our process of understanding ways in which environs could be special even if they were also "everyday."

For the participants, the process and context of co-touring (especially with a foreigner/outsider), enabled new iterations of atmospheres to be created in what would be regular, everyday spaces. We each became impactful affective bodies toward one another, influencing our combined experience and perceptions. This was revealed directly in our conversations but also in subtly communicated ways, as we silently observed each other's curiosities and attentions, as we moved at different paces than we might usually when alone, or as we paused to take in our surroundings, perhaps as a courtesy or just because it seemed like "the tourist thing to do." I sensed that the "tourist" mindset may be adopted momentarily and toggled on or off at will, without much encumbrance. While common definitions of "tourist" often rely upon strict geographic delineations, I believe this research reveals a mindset or attitude of being a "tourist" which may contradict other spatial definitions. This notion aligns with Crouch's (2018, p. 177) concerns regarding how tourism is generally conceptualized, as "tourism and its felt spaces of life do not occur in a world separate from leisure and vice versa," a notion which is illuminated by investigations of *space* and the dynamics within it. Essentially, we were allowing ourselves leisure time to explore popular attractions in and around Mostar – not an unusual thing to do, necessarily. But our company was unique, as was our in-depth and open conversation. When residents approach their own city as "tourists," they are still

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bound to experience places in their own familiar way, imbued with memories and prior associations.

Frequently, the unique context of our conversations illuminated the pride residents felt for their city, as it might not be something they would articulate in their everyday lives, even if it was felt on some level. I sensed that the city's influx of tourism was providing more space for sensations of progress and accomplishment, which in turn allowed residents to reacquaint with places in new ways. I am also reminded of Crouch's (2018) musings on how activities, memories, and interaction collectively create the spaces in which tourism occurs. "Felt settled," he writes, "memory can be jogged into new patterns and emphases in the performance of our lives" (p. 176). As time passes and memories fade or "settle," new spatial associations may arise, as was relayed by Aldin, who expressed that his memories made him feel four different ways about Mostar, but simultaneously, he had recently acknowledged with some surprise that his memories were fading to a place of feeling almost surreal.

For me, touring the city with Mostar residents allowed me to further explore general perceptions of Mostar's atmospheres with the additional nuance of local expertise and experience. This was useful, in part, because of how the cross-cultural engagements created by tourism can lead to affective "misreadings" or differences in interpretation that may impact atmospheric perceptions. For instance, communication styles and expressive differences may lead to different readings of moods and ambiences. As an example of this, in my first visit to Mostar, I commonly perceived residents' tones of voice, speaking cadence, and syllabic accenting to sound a bit angry or agitated, when in fact the conversations in question were in regard to normal, benign topics. As I grew more

familiar with the local language(s), style of speaking, and mannerisms, I soon began to reinterpret social spaces such as sidewalks, bars, and cafes. Background murmurs and chatter, although more deep and staccato than I may have been used to hearing, began to emit a mood of sociability rather than hostility. This was a very subtle mental switch, but indicative of the plethora of ways that intimate knowledge about an environment may shape atmospheric perceptions and impact the ways in which visitors and residents perceive their direct relations.

Overall, I believe that this methodology opened interesting pathways for geographical exploration and in-depth dialogue. These findings support Stefansdottir's (2018, p. 333) assessment that tuning attention to a city's atmospheres, specifically, opens useful opportunities "to interpret the meaning of experiencing characteristics of places as totalities," which include "social interaction, memories about places, cultural influence, locational perspectives and other situational aspects." Building upon these benefits, I believe that the co-created, experiential, place-based, and present-moment nature of this research allowed the participants and I to observe and reflect upon the more affective aspects of our touring experiences in ways that interviews alone would not have facilitated, nor focus groups or larger group tours.

Synthesis to Interdependence Theory

The previous discussion outlines some of the key ways in which the unique approach of this research (both in its attention to atmospheres and its place-based, co-experiential methodology) were able to illuminate how residents perceive and relate to their city and ways in which tourism may impact this relationship. To evaluate residents' attitudes and perceptions of tourism, it is essential to understand the affective context in

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which tourism is being developed. By attuning to Mostar's atmospheres, this research was able to identify, first, a baseline of understanding how residents perceive their home city's atmosphere, broadly speaking, and next, how tourism may impact perceptions of the city's atmospheres. In this examination, the wide variety of forms of exchange that may exist between residents and tourism actors become exposed.

While residents may offer visitors (in exchange for their money) desirable material goods including food, beverage, handicrafts, beds and rooms to sleep in, and historic buildings to wander, many of the "goods" that emerged in this research's attention to atmospheres were immaterial, consisting of emotional and affective worth. Interdependence theory has a strong ability to account for these types of goods, as the theory recognizes that emotional, affective, and social dimensions are often primary factors that constitute whether or not an interpersonal relationship is functioning positively and beneficially for both sides (Van Lange & Vuolevi, 2010). Through attention to atmospheres, this research reveals how many of the goods exchanged in resident-tourist transactions are not completely concrete or tangible. These goods may include the "good vibes" created in a space, or a perceived increase in a space's energy, liveliness or vibrancy. They may include feelings of success, progress, fulfillment, or friendship. This research finds support for past findings (e.g., Andereck and Nyaupane 2011; King et al. 1993; Milman and Pizam 1988) that residents may experience enhanced senses of pride as visitors come and show their appreciation for a place and its cultures. Some of this pride may stem from the perception that tourism can be a positive force to help keep the uniqueness of cultures alive (as indicated by Besculides et al. 2002; Chen 2000; Kim et al. 2013; and Stronza & Gordillo 2008). Participants provided evidence that

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cultural learning, cultural exchange, and interaction between people from different cultures may contribute to an increase in residents' sense of emotional well-being, as suggested by Kim et al. (2013).

Tourism may also open or expand leisure opportunities for residents. Tourism-oriented development may contribute in creating more public spaces for relaxation, regeneration, and appreciation of nature, enabling positive affective outcomes and restorative benefits, as has been detailed in past research (e.g., Barton & Pretty, 2010; Hartig et al., 1991; Knopf, 1987). Tourism may also be associated with a sense of fun, action, or excitement. For instance, as more adventure parks and natural areas become established with trails and activities hoping to attract tourists, residents may also have a greater range of activities available to them. Local support and patronage of these places may help establish more year-round offerings and the development of improved facilities, in turn benefiting tourists as well as locals. The "tourist mentality" and its encouragement to take time to explore more places may also encourage new behaviors for residents, potentially leading to increased appreciation of heritage, culture, landscapes, and others' perspectives.

This research shows indication of ways affective sentiments may be contagious between residents and tourists, to some extent, as feelings and moods are reflected and exchanged within spaces of tourism, through co-created affective atmospheres. In this research, this often manifested into increased senses of appreciation, esteem, and happiness. Such affect doesn't just spread, but it bounces between beings dynamically. In this process, a perception of affective momentum emerges in the city's spaces. There is an underlying sense that the city's positive energy or "good vibes" are continually

amounting to *something more* or leading toward *something better* – a better era for the city, one defined by something other than war or animosity. This sense of momentum becomes a dimension of the atmosphere, too, like a subtle yet succoring current of energy, tinged with excitement and hopefulness. Both residents and tourists are critical in keeping this momentum alive.

Not all affective manifestations compound positively. The attentions of residents or tourism actors may also be negatively impactful upon one another, such as via feelings of indifference, prejudice, or neglect. This may manifest through a variety of tourism actors, such as museum creators, management, and staff, who hold power to affect people in positive or negative manners. The tourism sector could help bring a greater range of resources and assets to Mostar, opening more opportunities for the exchange of ideas, knowledge, and language. Yet, it is also possible that stigmas and feelings of blame or shame can be passed between people in tourism-based exchanges. Not all tourist sites or activities may offer messages of unity or positivity, which could create future distaste within residents *or* visitors for this type of exchange or comprise an exchange of ideas that are not pro-social in the larger scheme. The context of Mostar provides further evidence of ways heritage tourism sites in places with multiple ethnic backgrounds can be potentially polarizing to some groups of visitors, but, if consciously presented, may be able to help define a shared, collective identity (Butler et al., 2014).

This is a particularly important consideration for a post-conflict city still in stages of tourism wayfinding. The affective presentations and inclinations of residents, visitors, and other tourism actors each have the potential to express a city that has moved on from its history of war and conflict or a place that is still dominantly embedded within this

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aspect of its identity. By viewing tourism-based interactions in terms of social exchanges, it becomes apparent how Mostar's prevalent and nuanced affective economy, described by Laketa (2016) infiltrates spaces of tourism, too, potentially in ways that may spread beyond the borders of the city. The places tourists visit, the narratives and messages they receive, and the feelings that the city ignites within them will in turn influence the stories and photos they share with other travelers, with friends back home, or publicly via media. Affect, viewed as an item of exchange that is further manifested in these types of representations, may compound between actors to reinforce a certain image of the city. Yet, these affects may emerge and grow from unstable sources. As social exchange theory expresses, the contributions of each party, while each unique due each side's positioning, needs to feel balanced. Consider, for instance, Aldin's statement that the city's ruined buildings "must be cleaned for our health first, and then to think about other things" – such as tourism. These places may be interesting, affective, and thought-provoking for visitors, but this offering should never come at the cost of a local boy's life.

While different types of relationships may exist in Mostar between residents and tourists or other tourism actors, some more balanced or equitable than others, the city's atmospheres reveal meaningful interactions of interdependence. Tourists' attention to Mostar seems to help emphasize or draw out residents' acknowledgements that their city is a special place. This attention can lead to feelings of hope and pride, helping to allow this post-war community to move on from the emotionally and economically burdensome events of the past. However, this exchange of positive feelings is not unilateral, as tourism is by no means solely responsible for the city's shift toward more positive

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atmospheres. My conversations with participants broadly revealed that Mostar's social aspects and way of life are critical to what makes the city seem special and enjoyable. Residents' relaxed mentalities and pace of life, appreciation of local food and coffee, and engrained sense of hospitality are key elements of creating a desirable affective setting for visitors and locals alike. These sensibilities create a foundation for tourism to build upon. In turn, visitors may add to the city's positive energy and liveliness (as participants commonly expressed to me) and make the city feel like a more "interesting" place to be. In these ways, the city's atmospheres highlight the ways in which residents and tourists share a "covariation of interests" (Kelley et al., 2003), in that both seek out and enjoy the city's affective atmospheres, whether for relaxation and renewal or for liveliness, excitement, or a sense of multiculturality, among possible desires.

While participants commonly spoke of how tourism contributed to the city's energy and vitality, they also spoke of its special "spirit," expressed as preceding the influence of tourism. Volgger (2020) describes how a place's *genius loci* (essentially, "the spirit of a place"), a concept which has long been of interest to architects and designers, can be embraced by a tourism sector and emphasized to attract visitors and develop stronger tourism products. Yet, Volgger warns, there is a need for care and humility in this endeavor, as atmospheric interventions pose a risk of endangering the special essence of a place. This delicate relationship illustrates one of many ways in which an interdependent relationship could be tipped out of balance by overzealous commercial interests, jeopardizing the appealing authenticity of a place as well as the sense of harmony between the community and the tourism sector.

Amin's comment that tourists are "making [the city] what it is" indicates that tourism holds a high level of *actor control* in Mostar, yet Amin's comment was imbued with positivity. For him, as a young, energetic person with a strong command of the English language, tourism created atmospheres of fun, excitement, and opportunity. As a friendly local (who told me how much he enjoyed interacting with people from different countries and spending time in Mostar's main tourist areas), Amin is positioned to reap benefits of tourism and also contribute positively to tourism himself. He was not employed in the tourism industry, nor were his parents, and his direct interactions with visitors were all informal. Yet, in paying specific attention to atmospheres, Amin's experiences and perceptions reveal a level of interdependence between residents and tourists, illustrated in the positive social benefits both may offer one another from their unique positions, in everyday and informal ways.

Several participants, such as Amin and Dragica, shared with me how much they enjoyed opportunities to converse with tourists, both to learn about other people and cultures and to advance their own foreign language skills. These perceived benefits occurred both through limited interactions, such as tourists asking for directions, and through more in-depth conversation. The notion of reciprocity in the exchange is an essential component in keeping the resident-tourist relationship seeming personally fulfilling. Lawler and Thye (1999, p. 239) suggest that negotiated exchange contexts (such as a tourist paying for a tour guide service, to adapt to this context) "usually promote and reward dispassionate, unemotional images or presentations of self in the actual process of negotiating, i.e. 'professional demeanors' or 'affective neutrality,'" whereas "reciprocal exchange allows a wider range of emotional expressions and a

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greater variety of emotion norms to emerge." Thus, the informal exchanges that can happen between residents and tourists in shared public spaces such as Mostar's cafes, streets, and parks provide fertile ground for affective resonance. This may only occur on an atmospheric or observational level – such as by sensing "a good energy" or by appreciating one another's smile or laughter – yet the positive outcomes may still manifest in powerful ways. For tourists, this may mean that they return next year or tell their friends back home how much they loved the city. For residents, it may lead to a general sense of appreciation and support for tourism in the city, as seemed to be very common amongst the participants of this research.

The Mostarian sense of hospitality and the many ways in which participants expressed that they hoped visitors would come and enjoy their city indicated a strong presence of *outcome transformation* in that these residents genuinely wanted visitors to have a positive experience in their city. Participants' comments often reflected that they believed Mostar had something meaningful to *offer* tourists, whether it was undisrupted natural beauty or desirable social interaction. While this shows a degree of altruism through their desire to share and provide for others, there are also indirect emotional and economic benefits associated with this. Visitors' positive experiences would likely lead to positive word-of-mouth promotion for Mostar, in turn strengthening the tourism-based economy of the city. Yet, participants commonly indicated a more emotional and social dimension of this exchange as well, as they very much wanted to be known internationally for something other than war and violence. They hoped that people in other countries would come to think of Mostar (and Bosnia and Herzegovina, more broadly) as a modern place with modern people. While this desire was still linked in

some ways to economic rationales, it also seemed to manifest deeply as a matter of respect and esteem, which residents seemed to crave after so many years of feeling subordinated in the global context.

It is also important to also note the negative feelings that arose within participants amidst Mostar's touristic environments. The city's destroyed or neglected buildings often evoked feelings of embarrassment in the acknowledgement that other more "developed" cities in other countries don't have these problems, or if they did, their governments would have acted more quickly to have mitigated them. The presence of tourists in these settings seemed to heighten the tendency for residents to compare their city to other places. However, participants did not necessarily want to hide this history from visitors. There was a common sentiment shared across many participants that the fact that they had survived the war and were now an increasingly visited tourism destination was a source of pride. Museums and memorials could play an essential role in educating visitors about what had happened in the city, allowing Mostarians' strength and resilience to be highlighted. This narrative re-focus could contribute to the sense of catharsis described by Causevic and Lynch (2011), in the ability of tourism to help foster a sense of impressiveness in a city's ability to "rise from the ashes" in spite of what significant hardships it has faced. However, the biases and prejudices present at some museums and historical sites might counteract this powerful, more collective emerging visage of the city by reinforcing an "us-versus-them" mentality rooted in the past. The presence of this type of messaging within sites commonly visited by tourists illustrates the potential for tourism to take a sour turn in residents' assessments of costs and benefits of tourism in their community. The participants of this research broadly expressed that they (as a

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member of a group of people representing a certain history) wished to be more *understood* by visitors/foreigners, but not gawked upon or exploited, or defined by this history alone. This reiterates the importance of local input and co-creation in the development of heritage site development, as expressed by Wollentz et al. (2019) within the context of Mostar, to ensure that residents can maintain an effective level of control and have opportunity to "challenge the static image of Mostar as permanently divided" (p. 210).

The diverse possibilities of touristic education and messaging strategies highlights the importance of *information availability* (Kelley et al., 2003), one of the more recently added dimensions within interdependence theory. In this research, since residents were visiting sites and attractions in their city in the same manner a tourist would, they were able to experience the touristic atmospheres of the city and also observe and digest the actual narratives and place images presented by the city's tourism sector. First-hand participation is particularly important given a noted recent shift in heritage-based tourism toward more experiential offerings, which may allow greater possibilities for tourism to affect individuals and society on a deeper level (Timothy, 2018). Most often, participants' responses to our touring experiences were positive, sometimes pleasantly surprised and impressed, but in other instances disappointed or frustrated. Lana, for instance, was even left feeling "shocked" by one of the museums we visited. Whether positively or not, residents are better positioned to weigh the rewards and costs of tourism in their community if they have full information available of what such tourism actually entails.

Information availability was also a source of frustration for residents in terms of the information *visitors* may be lacking about Mostar. The research participants commonly expressed how important they felt it was for visitors to see Mostar as a modern and diverse city. In order for visitors to appreciate the "real," full version of the city, they would need to spend more time than just a couple of hours, leave the main tourist area, explore different neighborhoods of the city, and interact with a broader variety of residents. If we consider information availability in terms of MacCannell's (1973) popularized concept of *authenticity*, we can presume that tourists would likely be interested in such off-the-beaten-path experiences that express more dimensions of the city and its people. If tourist guidebooks and other sources of information would inform visitors about more than just the Old Bridge and Old City, visitors may be more likely to change their approach of tourism in a way that would be more inclusive of a broader range of the city's neighborhoods and people, and thus more gratifying to residents. This shortage of tourist information creates an imbalance between how residents and tourists perceive the tourism "situation" in Mostar and create a disruption to the full potential of social exchange that could occur between residents and tourists. Reflecting back to Choi and Murray's (2010) resident attitude research applying social exchange theory, a heightened level of community participation would likely yield tourism sustainability benefits, as local participation can help maintain more checks and balances to ensure that tourism-based developments and representations of place and culture are agreeable to residents and positioned to form the basis of a long-term, stable industry. This point has been emphasized within the region of former Yugoslavia, as Ateljevic and Doorne (2003)

note that the incorporation of local values may be critical for the success of a burgeoning tourism industry, especially in a post-war setting.

Prior resident research has indicated that residents are more likely to become involved with tourism development and support the growth of this sector if they feel a higher degree of community attachment (Harrill, 2004). In this research, the majority of participants expressed a high degree of community attachment for Mostar, despite difficult personal associations with certain places or groups of people in the city. This attachment creates a basis for tourism development that reflects aspects of the city that are genuinely loved and cherished by residents. The presence of tourists in the city and their positive feedback about visiting then provides confirmation and reinforcement of residents' own reasons for developing feelings of attachment.

Prior resident attitudes and perceptions research has found that tourism may create places associated with increased stress (Jordan et al., 2019), frustrations from crowding (Andereck et al., 2005; Brunt & Courtney, 1999; Burns & Holden, 1995), or lead to complaints about changes in a place's ambience, such as from noise pollution from parties, international sporting events, or other large gatherings (Collins et al., 2007; Gurran & Phibbs, 2017; Kim et al., 2015). While all of these variables could be perceived to be present currently in Mostar, the young adult residents who participated in this research did not view these costs as currently being great enough to outweigh the present benefits of tourism. This assessment of costs and benefits has the potential to change, as Mostar residents were aware of the overtourism issues in nearby destinations like Dubrovnik, Croatia, yet they did not express much concern that Mostar was near approaching this tipping point. Instead, it seemed that the economic, social, and

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psychological benefits for residents from tourism were viewed as being in stages of expansion, with untapped potential still remaining. The breadth of these benefits helps to create a larger platform for a mutually-beneficial relationship of interdependence, which may evolve as the city continues to progress beyond the war, rather than solely a relationship of co-dependence built upon economic need alone.

Implications

Attending to affective atmospheres of tourism from the perspective of residents is useful and meaningful for a variety of reasons. First, resident perceptions and involvement are essential considerations in the democratization of tourism development and the creation of a sector that has the potential to be pro-social and oriented toward resident wellbeing. Tourism that is mindful of resident perceptions can build upon a stronger foundation of support for tourism to enable a more sustainable industry – a tourism sector that galvanizes residents to be engaged and empowered as stakeholders who may benefit both in terms of livelihood as well as personal enjoyment and wellness. Second, when residents are put in the role of tourists, it becomes clearer *who* tourism is really for and what it really means *to tour*. If it is the act of exploring a place in one's leisure, particularly to seek fun, enjoyment, education and/or a change from regular routines, *tourism* is something that can be more broadly understood to include local or regional residents. While this may contradict the very definition of a tourist (as a visitor from another place), this re-envisioning may enliven the possibilities of cultural learning, outdoor adventuring, cross-cultural exchange, and personal wellbeing afforded by typical understandings of tourism. While some components of the travel and tourism sector may be more likely used by residents than others – say, activities and restaurants more than

car rentals and lodging, for example (although from spa retreat "staycations" to Japanese "love hotels," there are plenty of instances of residents seeking local lodging, too) – resident interest in offerings typically created or promoted in terms of "tourism" is becoming increasingly re-evaluated by planners, promoters, and participants alike. Most recently, the travel restrictions and concerns arising from the COVID-19 pandemic have encouraged would-be world travelers to consider more local or regional options (Prayag, 2020) and has spurred destination marketers to consider how places previously dependent upon more international tourists can market to more local customers.

This investigation of a post-war city illustrates ways in which atmospheres may be telling of the emotional and affective underpinnings of an evolving destination community. Attending to these subjective or nebulous dimensions may provide essential information in the development of ethical, equitable and sustainable tourism ventures and markets. By focusing specifically on residents' perceptions of affective atmospheres, some of the more universally perceived aspects of a tourist destination's characteristics and identity may be revealed, while potentially important subjective differences may also be brought to light. While the former may be most telling of a destination's image and associated marketing opportunities, the latter may expose latent issues of politics and ethics, as well as untapped potentials for tourism and/or community development. Being able to access both of these positionings creates useful pathways for understanding the full analyses that residents refer to when evaluating the advantages and disadvantages of tourism in their communities. An investigation of atmospheres of a touristic city may provide reminders of the ways in which the city is a *home*, not just a destination, bringing awareness to critical social, cultural, and political contexts. Atmospheres may provide

insights about how the past may persistently linger in a place while also offering a sense of hopefulness for evolution and progress.

Atmospheres are a latent factor of tourism appeal and success that are not always easily described or pinpointable but are undeniably present. From a commercial or industry-based perspective, dialing in attention to affective atmospheres may provide key insights to the complex dichotomies that exist within a place and the underlying factors that contribute to a destination's appeal (in sometimes surprising ways), or undermine its success. Making efforts to describe and understand a destination's atmospheres may help planners, community members, business owners, and other stakeholders understand the possibilities and potentials of that place, both in terms of commercial viability and market segmentation, as well as resident wellbeing. Attunement to atmospheres may provide insights to the ways in which places may be remembered, felt, and associated in different or overlapping ways depending upon one's background. These ways may be obvious or subtle, potentially leading to valuable knowledge for destination developers or museum and attraction planners/designers in their processes of creating messaging, to style, and tone, and strategizing how to appeal to different audiences. This research serves as a reminder that notions of friendliness, welcoming attitudes, and positive pro-social behaviors may deeply shape visitors' experiences, even in settings oriented more toward quiet reflection, solitude in nature, or personal educational development. Social interaction comprises a primary component of a visitors' experience that leaves a certain *flavor,* so to say, in how they interpret and remember that site. These are important considerations that build upon prior research suggesting that the degree to which visitors develop social relations with their host(s) and feel welcomed are important factors of

visitor satisfaction (Pizam, Uriely & Reichel, 2000) and intent to revisit (Ribeiro, Woosnam, Pinto & Silva, 2018).

This research illuminates the importance of social dimensions in understanding both the formation of place identity and the ways in which residents evaluate risks and benefits of tourism development. While residents were proud their city's famous historic sites, they expressed a desire to show visitors more of what Mostar has to offer. To residents, the city's primary strengths also included their friendliness and hospitality toward visitors and their ample social spaces (such as cafes and parks) for relaxing and spending time with friends. These findings provide support to urban planning-directed arguments from Dovey et al. (2009) and Buser (2014) emphasizing the importance of definitions and assessments of urban "character" that encompasses more than built features, architectural styles, and other man-made physical attributes of place. In the more limited "built environment" focus, social dimensions of everyday life and the intricate relations between the social and the physical may be problematically overlooked. While the residents I spoke to were generally very supportive of tourism, the frustrations that began to emerge mostly stemmed from a concern or a disappointment that most tourists were only seeing Mostar as a collection of old buildings and structures, not a fully embodied, contemporary city. Given how much the residents seemed to broadly value the vibrance and "cosmopolitan" qualities that they observed tourism were able to help provide their city, tourism actors play an essential role in keeping this healthy relationship alive and in balance.

Reflecting upon tourism scholarships' longstanding attention to resident attitudes and perceptions, particularly toward understanding resident support for tourism

development, atmospheres provide a useful additional dimension consisting of elements that might not otherwise be detected from more typical survey, interview or focus group data. When considering the ways tourism may broadly impact a city's atmospheres, the definition of a "tourism stakeholder" broadens to encompass all residents who exist within its spaces. Tourism perceptibly alters the atmospheres of Mostar, whether or not residents are actively seeking participation or engagement with tourism. By investigating community impacts of tourism from an angle attuned to collective affects, a broader depiction may arise of the social networks that contribute to how tourism is experienced in a city. This knowledge may allow for greater social exchange and the increased development of social capital in the destination region (Viren et al., 2015).

In applying social exchange theory, the introduction of *atmospheres* as a key construct of interest provides a gateway toward a more holistic understanding of the exchanges and reciprocities that occur within touristic spaces between residents and tourists or other tourism actors (or the phenomena of tourism, broadly, in and of itself). Attention to atmospheres offers considerably open-ended means of attending to some of the calls that have arisen within tourism scholarship to better incorporate affective and emotional factors into conceptualizations of social exchange. Since community contexts may vary greatly, this is not necessary a task easily fulfilled via a standardized questionnaire. Thus, qualitative, place-based methods may find innovative ways to glean new insights and breathe fresh life into resident attitudes research.

Limitations

In this research, I have been specifically interested in learning about the opinions and feelings of younger adult residents in Mostar, as they represent the future of a city

that is still progressing through stages of recovery. In this delimitation, I acknowledge

that many of the sentiments of participants that I have shared may be skewed to favor

concepts such as modernization, societal change, and social unity, as well as tourism

itself. The participants often spoke of social stigmas or limitations imposed upon them by

older family members or other older local figures such as teachers or politicians; thus,

many of the findings of this research are not generalizable to a broader demography of

the population. Furthermore, despite my efforts to attract participants from different

neighborhoods, ethnicities, ages (within a younger-adult range), genders, and professions,

there is some self-selection bias in that each participant was someone who was interested

and willing to spend a day (plus additional interviews) with a foreign tourism researcher

and who spoke English well enough to do so.

Importantly, while I believe that Mostar is largely a community that is very

supportive of tourism development and welcoming of visitors (for both social behavioral

and economic factors), my intent of this paper is not to represent the city as completely or

wholeheartedly "pro-tourism," as concerns pertaining to cultural change, crowding, and

the negative effects of seasonality do exist in Mostar, as they do in many (re)emerging

destinations. Many prior resident attitudes and perceptions studies in other locales have

presented very different pictures of resident support for tourism. Residents in less

developed countries and in destination cities earlier in their tourism life cycle may be

more optimistic toward tourism and think more favorably of tourists (Kwon & Vogt,

2009). Mostar is still building its tourism industry, offerings and reputation, so large

affective changes could arise in the future. Tourism is not always associated with notions

such as hope, progress, or renewal. While Mostar's position as a post-conflict, emerging

destination is not completely unique in the global context, it is certainly not representative of all destination communities. Furthermore, Mostar is not representative of all post-conflict destinations. The dynamics of social exchange and degrees of interdependence may vary greatly across locations and attention to atmospheres only highlights the variable and contextual nature of social exchange.

Future Research

With the limitations of this study in mind, future research focusing on other types of destinations may find it useful to adopt similar approaches. It would be interesting to learn how residents perceived touristic atmospheres in destinations, for instance, in different stages of their life cycle, or in smaller, rural communities. Within dark tourism contexts, understanding resident perceptions via an investigation of atmospheres may be useful to understand interpretations of specific places, such as museums, memorials, or historic sites (as I have done in a more limited manner here with sites such as the Old Bridge and the Museum of War and Genocide Victims). This may help in processes of democratizing access to public sites and in creating ethical and compassionate forms of interpretation and outreach.

Broadly, this research provides rationale for a greater investigation of atmospheres within tourism scholarship, particularly as means of understanding the social and political underpinnings of destinations that may remain invisible within other frameworks of inquiry. While *affect* and *atmospheres* were key concepts of interest for me as I began this research, my interview questions and the general design of my procedures were not oriented solely toward these themes. Rather, they emerged as critical components of my analysis as I sought to understand, in a more holistic sense, how

tourism may impact communities in ways that are subjective, emotional, social, and cultural. While there are advantages of taking a more inductive approach, future research may benefit from incorporating a broader scope of interview questions that directly address theory pertaining to affective atmospheres or specific aspects of social exchange theory, such as those found within the framework of interdependence theory.

In this research, emulating the tourist experience by giving the participants choice in their itinerary and activities was an explorational priority for me in line with PAR methodology. Other researchers may wish to employ a strategy that enables more comparison between participants, such as by assigning each participant to the same experience. This could be done through group-based methods, such as the "roving focus group" system employed by Propst et al. (2008), or possibly through experimental design, borrowing from social psychology, as has been suggested by Tang (2014). Focus group methods focused on affective and atmospheric perceptions could be particularly beneficial in supplementing survey-based research on resident attitudes, including research utilizing social exchange theory. However, while my in-depth and time-intensive approach precluded me from being able to include as many participants as some other research methods, I believe that I was able to glean more detailed and honest insights from participants due to the trust we were able to build and the range of affective experiences we shared together. I would encourage other researchers to step outside of their usual routines and methods to also consider creative and experiential means of "uncovering" data. Lastly, I believe it is important to not undervalue the genuine human connections that can be forged during research processes, as well as the possibilities for fun, adventure, and transformation that can emerge during research experiences for the

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researchers and participants alike. By fostering space for actual, physical exploration, the mind may also find new, intriguing areas to "tour."

Conclusion

In this research, I sought to examine how tuning attention to a city's atmospheres may illuminate impacts of tourism upon a destination community and bring new light to the ways in which social exchange theory may be helpful in understanding resident attitudes toward tourism. By positioning residents as tourists for a day, we were able to explore the atmospheric and affective perceptions that emerge at the thresholds of the new and the familiar. These experiential methods, based upon notions of co-creation, allowed access to a greater understanding of a city in stages of post-war recovery. While Mostar still faces residual social divisions from the war, residents envision a brighter future, hoping to become re-established as a place of beauty, exploration, and enjoyment. In exploring Mostar's tourist sites with fourteen younger adult residents, the theme of affective atmospheres emerged as a key component in understanding Mostar's tourism appeal and the city's strengths and challenges in using tourism as means of progressing through the aftermath of war.

Atmospheres may be difficult to define or measure but are critical to the success of tourism destinations and attractions. Touristic atmospheres may be defined and manipulated through tangible variables such as architecture, art, color, lighting, plants, materials, music, sounds, smells, temperatures and air flow. Yet, atmospheres cannot be not determined solely by design teams, no matter how clever, as they are a manifestation of co-creation of the bodies that co-inhabit the space. As an assemblage of affects, an atmosphere can simultaneously evoke the past while also creating more autonomous

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present moments, as well as hints toward the potentials of the future. The social and emotional constituents of atmospheres may be difficult to pinpoint, yet greatly impactful of an atmosphere's feel and what the atmosphere implies as far as possibilities. These affective dimensions in turn affect the attractiveness and intrigue of a place as both destination and as a home. While tourism industry planners and promoters may focus on design elements (color, style, etc.) when considering "atmospheric" elements of a space, they should not overlook the social factors that critically impact perceptions of affective atmospheres. In a post-conflict setting, this may be particularly true, as friendly and welcoming attitudes and energetic or relaxed energies (depending upon the context) may play essential roles in redefining a place's identity and reputation and reinvigorating positive social relations within a community.

By attuning to the affective atmospheres of key tourist settings in Mostar, new layers of resident perceptions were revealed: affective and emotional; perhaps latent and not easily defined; sometimes seemingly contradictory. These perceptions are telling both of the greater context of tourism in Mostar – the indivisible back story and environment in which the city's tourism development resides – and of resident relations specifically with tourism. By actually visiting and immersing ourselves in touristic spaces, we were able to tap into a more affective realm of data generation, allowing perceptions to be based on felt experience rather than solely opinion or preconceived notions. This approach of "playing tourist" opens broad avenues of discourse and encouraged residents to consider spaces of tourism as residents, in an "everyday" sense, but also view them through a newly-adapted "tourist" lens, stepping outside of normal routine and allowing oneself permission to view or experience places differently. Touring places that are

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familiar or close to home has the potential to enliven atmospheric perceptions of a place by allowing new potentials and perspectives to unfold. This may allow residents to build a sense of pride in their culture and empathy with people who have different backgrounds, but may also illuminate societal stress points, such as perceived differences between people (as in cultural biases or prejudices between groups) or bring up feelings of shame, embarrassment, or comparative shortcomings.

These findings provide evidence of how creative, qualitative research approaches may enrich typical resident attitudes research and provide a more comprehensive articulation of the exchanges that occur between residents and tourists or other tourism actors. Attention to affective atmospheres helps to illuminate the aspects of a destination that residents feel proud or happy about sharing with visitors, as well as the ways in which they may not relish outside attention. An affective atmospheric focus helps bring focus to the things about tourism that residents appreciate, enjoy or hope to achieve through their relations with tourists and tourism, and the aspects of these relations that are less desirable. These elements are crucial to understand in order to consider both *what* is being exchanged in tourism interactions and their subjective value. These goods may not be tangible items but rather affective states, emotional responses, or abstract perceptions of one's environs. An investigation of atmospheres allows an inquiry into this nebulous territory, providing means to articulate the broad forms of social exchange that may occur between residents and tourists or other tourism actors. A recognition of the affective importance of atmospheres also highlights the ways in which communities and tourism share an essential relationship of interdependence. Residents and tourists simultaneously create spaces of sociability, peacefulness, "magic," vibrance, and excitement. These

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descriptors are critical to the appeal of cities as destinations, as well as to cities' ability to serve their residents in a positive manner oriented toward progress and well-being.

Attention to affective atmospheres helps to reveal the multi-layered relations residents have with their home city and with the phenomena of tourism, illuminating dimensions of the past and present as well as possibilities of the future. This atmospheric lens can help research account for the latent and less tangible impacts tourism has upon communities. Residents' perceptions of atmospheres within touristic and shared spaces of Mostar illustrate how relationships between residents and tourism, while delicate and dispositioned for potential conflict, may engage in a reciprocity or interdependence that offers tourists a unique and meaningful experience while simultaneously moving a community in a specific desired direction.

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CHAPTER 4

ILLUMINATING DARKNESS

Sestina

a street, in flux, backpackers minding their feet across cobblestone

oblivious to speeding hatchbacks and a lone motorbike stirring up dust

particles mellowed by sundown, settling upon tourists and phones, they must be lost

just off the bus, grasping for frameable photos and ready morsels of stories

that connect people to bullet holes, describing some macabre main point

classifying this place where Chinese couples and Turkish teens for a night are neighbors

a tour, overheard, acknowledges neighborhoods more than neighbors

Ottoman, Austro-Hungarian, historic facades of stucco and stone

a mosque emerges behind an alley, an architectural missile, this projectile point

yet, graceful, it weaves into a backdrop of crosses, cliffs, and chaparral dust

picturesque in the evening glow, reaching toward something more heavenly three stories

tall, a call to prayer preventing any more time here from becoming lost

I was here to be searching, not quite just a tourist, but still blissfully lost

more easily acquainted with bakeries than my native-speaking neighbors

a full autumn for me to deconstruct history and find my own stories

inviting strangers to see with me, traversing the city's concrete and stone

by night, alone, drinking wine from farmers' bottles, covered in dust

a foreigner embracing my days breaking from usual ways, as was the point

through weeks, exotic turned normal, I met up with locals at a mall at some point

warm conversation amidst florescent light, an ordinary day maybe otherwise lost

here I met Maja, returned from better work abroad in Middle East sand and dust

now happy to be my tourist companion, she a child of Mostar, now proud to be neighbors

with the river, the shops, the restaurants, and (of course) the bridge's famed stone

polished or old, the city's windows and walls echo her past, its ruins are too her stories

brutality within such beauty, I'd heard it before – same chapters, same stories

now remain only a cast of supporting actors slowly building toward an unknown point

craving a hero, but Ohio be damned, no future here has been written in stone

one's twenties spent with diplomas in hand, waiting for jobs after childhood lost

tomorrow, more coffee, smokes, maybe cake, over the same complaints with neighbors

war settles over time, but it leaves behind rivers of litter and mountains of dust

wandering, we climb a minaret and watch a city sparkle below sans dumpsters or dust

on the ground, history lacks clean lines, facts splintered, a museum touts one-sided stories

with a wall of mugshots - war criminals, *sick* people - one her friend, they were neighbors

pride is too closely linked with shame, I suspect, therein anger hones to a fine point

a spindle propelling bodies against invisible walls, in its thrust progress is too easily lost

but the bridge – it still stands strong, promising livelihood, *peace?,* in fine-crafted stone

tired from touring, we rest at a bench by a grandfather's headstone

the children of war now grown into mothers and fathers, replacing residents lost

with youth free of memories, yet the question still rattles, *what was the point?*

———————————

Introduction

This paper is a self-investigation of the personal experiences that flowed as an undercurrent of my research endeavors as an American scholar studying the affective and emotional impacts of tourism upon residents in a post-war, foreign country. I had determined prior to my research departure that as an addition to conducting survey and interview-based research focused on residents, I should opportunistically turn the lens upon myself to examine my own affective relations and responses within my daily life in the touristic, post-conflict spaces of a (re)emerging destination city. Grounding myself in tourism and cultural geography theory, I found that affect and emotions are often potent presences that need to be unburied, with intention and care, or gradually unpacked over the duration of a trip and its following period of reflection.

To aid this process, I have adopted a creative autoethnographic approach of dissecting the engagements of my intertwining roles as a doctoral student and researcher still early in my career and as a tourist/foreigner/other in a country that is not directly connected to my own history or heritage. Autoethnographical research methods have been increasingly recognized as means to confront the paradigmatic limitations of scholarship and the ways in which individual positionality is inherently imbued within research practices (Ellis et al., 2011). Facing these limitations, a careful intention of

reflexivity – a researcher's self-awareness and self-examination – allows for greater acknowledgement of how emotions and experiences may influence research processes (Dupuis, 1999). Embracing this notion, autoethnography creates space for personal experiences to be made accessible to others in a commitment to research practices that are reflective, critical, caring and transformative (Holman Jones et al., 2013).

Autoethnographical research methods have been relatively uncommon within tourism scholarship yet can offer valuable means of exploring the role of subjectivities within research and creating an opening toward greater possibilities of interdisciplinarity (Buzinde, 2020). Here, autoethnography provides means for me to critically examine my position as a member of a key group (tourists/visitors) within the central phenomena I sought to study – tourism in a post-conflict, re-emerging destination city – as well as more deeply engage with my personal experience as nascent researcher in a foreign, post-conflict setting. While tourism scholarship commonly addresses the dichotomies between *resident* and *visitor,* and *researcher* and *participant*, I believe there is a meaningful opportunity to explore the liminal spaces of these dualities that can emerge within field-based research processes. Through self-reflection of my mixed-methods research experience, I refer to daily journal entries, poetry and creative writing, photography, interviews, and both covert and overt participant observation to examine the relations between self and other and the ethics of care that arise as imperative considerations for a deeply immersed tourist/researcher (and as a tourism researcher, specifically) in places with histories of darkness and trauma.

Beginnings

In college many years ago, I recall my friend telling me about a classmate who was "*obsessed with Croatia.*" To be honest, this seemed like a more interesting detail than I would have attributed to her. The rest of us had just returned from a semester or year in Spain, Ireland, or Costa Rica; I had been in Thailand and Australia, fulfilling my longtime obsessions with tropical trees, fruits, and creatures. For this divergent classmate, Croatia had been *the best* and she wanted to move there after graduating. I had never travelled to anywhere Adriatic or even Mediterranean, and I was not aware that Croatia was a place of beaches, yachts, and wine. That might have made more sense to me, in picturing this straightforwardly pretty, blond California girl *loving every minute.* For me, Croatia was a place of war, where stone homes were reduced to rubble. I envisioned people with rough demeanors – violent maybe, or just a coarse mentality? I'm not sure. But they had to be different after everything that happened there. And for it to have happened there in the first place.

In retrospect, this 21-year-old me barely knew anything about this classmate or about Croatia, or this region of the world more broadly. I was operating via preconceived notions and very little substantive information, and it would not be the last time. Several years later, in my late twenties, I had a job as an office professional alongside a Bosnian-American woman my same age whose family had been refugees during the war. She and I had become friends across our workstations and she knew from our Monday morning conversations that travel and spending time outdoors were priorities for me. During a shared pause from our typing and phone calls one afternoon, she suggested that I would really enjoy her home country. She described Bosnia's mountains as looking like those in

our own backyard, Utah's famously skiable Wasatch range. "*What? It looks like it does here?"* I asked her, in disbelief, instantly feeling a bit embarrassed that I had never considered her home country in terms beyond *war*, or, *a place that people had to leave*. The only images I had available to reference in my mind were scenes from the television news during my childhood, from the Siege of Sarajevo and fighting in other places I had probably never heard of as a ten-year-old. Somehow, in my mind's absence of non-war images, I had constructed a place that was devoid of everything, really, even basic topographical features. I had not considered any savory culinary traditions, interesting architecture of mixed cultural influences, or hillside family farms with seemingly endless cherries and plums. It was just a name on a map, placed there by news reporting, a place of harshness.

My ignorance provoked me. The Balkans – I think people called it? – should be my next big trip, the actualization of an abstractly conceived vacation I had been hoping for. At that time, there were only limited guidebooks available for Bosnia and Herzegovina, and not many were well-reviewed online or recent enough to seem reliable. I decided to make do with a hot-off-the-press edition of Rick Steve's *Croatia*, including a supplementary chapter on Bosnian and Herzegovinian diversions, presented as side trips for intrigued adventurers willing to part with the seaside for a day or two. A photo of Mostar caught my attention – a pixelated image in black and white, which I viewed on my early generation Kindle reader. The page blinked as it loaded, and I blinked back, charmed by the picture of an arched stone bridge, cliffs, and riverbanks lined with lush foliage. Some shapes are striking in low resolution; even abstracted, they call to action.

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A couple of months later, I arrived in Dubrovnik with my ballooning carry-on backpack. From that point on, a feeling of enchantment never left me, only intensifying once I reached Bosnia and Herzegovina. These were powerful places: landscapes and cityscapes both sparkling and shattered, emanating dualities that caused me discomfort but made me want to inhabit their pangs. Too many places spoke of war. To tour here was to knead at a pulled muscle, both a tonic and a trigger, enabling obsession to grow from the ongoing attention. It numbed over time, but an awareness remained.

Mostar.

On bus rides through rugged countryside and along mystical foggy green rivers, certain songs on my phone's playlist animated my musings. How many songs are about violence, destruction, or love lost that seem benign in our own home contexts? Here, driving past villages with destroyed barns and abandoned homes, these same songs brought me to tears. Halted at long border crossings or waiting for our driver to finish his cigarette break, I sat with these thoughts, stewing in the August sun against the plush upholstery.

Months later, back home with my boyfriend, these same songs came on our car stereo and I told him how they were my soundtrack in Bosnia, how they seemed to fit my experience perfectly. He rolled his eyes, *"oh god."* Adopting a breathy, holier-than-thou voice, *"these songs… just… express… how I feel, you know?"* he mimicked. He had reduced me to a cliché, emo hipster and it devastated me. I knew how I sounded, but encapsulating what I had tried to openly express in an uncommon display of emotional vulnerability crushed me. On top of my embarrassment, somehow it felt like he was disregarding something more than me, too. Things that *really exist*. The apartment buildings still speckled with bullet holes where children at that very moment were having an after-school snack. Everyday people whose pain seems to dwell longer in their knowledge that friends and neighbors did this to them. Fighting to subvert impending tears, I shot back: *"you've never been anywhere post-war! You don't know what it's like! It's completely heartbreaking. You have no right to make fun of me now."*

We both came out embarrassed. I had called out his privilege, but we had called out my own at the same time. Even if not intentionally, in that moment, I had referred to others' dark histories to enrich my own cultural and emotional positioning, perhaps to

enhance my own sense of enlightenment or wisdom as a well-travelled American. If I tried to share what I had observed and experienced while traveling there, could I ever be anything more than cliché? Following my trip, I was overflowing with sensations, but words failed me. Attempting to articulate my emotions was not a comfortable mode for me – it rarely ever was, but now this carried the additional weight of others' trauma.

Revisiting/Re-Searching

Generally, I don't know what to do with others' pain. I'm not usually the friend who people go to when they are going through hard times. I am a moth – not always outwardly bright and ebullient, but I seek lightness around me. At restaurants, I gravitate to the brightest table. In our house, my husband has become accustomed to a nightly ritual of lamp lighting. Humor helps me get through funerals. I use a cheery voice when I first wake up every morning, even though I'm not really a "morning person." I hate horror films; I avoid war movies. I prefer comedies and the occasional romance. A positive mindset isn't always natural for me, but I would certainly *like* to be quintessentially upbeat. These are all generalizations, but I think there is something to them. Illumination presents possibilities, darkness is stagnation.

As a tourism researcher, I'm fascinated in the phenomena of tourism in post-war, post-conflict and post-disaster places, but I'm admittedly somewhat uncomfortable with the territory of *dark tourism* – the "presentation and consumption (by visitors) of real or commodified death and disaster sites" (Foley & Lennon, 1996). Dark tourism just doesn't feel like *me.* I have sensed others wondering whether I am the right person to be studying places of trauma. I have had a relatively easy life and have experienced very little personal trauma myself. My point of view as an outsider, one with few relevant personal

reference points, is limited but also useful, I think, in understanding how tourism may shape and be shaped by places of dark pasts. My feelings of distaste for death and suffering and my hesitance toward these topics are not without implications for communities looking to tourism as a source of resilience and revitalization. Even if I'm not personally drawn to dark tourism, I am compelled by the phenomena that underlie both its historic origins and its present-day commodifications – "the politics, economics, sociologies, and technologies of the contemporary world" (Lennon & Foley, 2000). On a more subconscious level, perhaps I am drawn to the light that may lay ahead – at the *end of the tunnel*, so to say – for these promising places and people who have experienced far too much devastation, to the point of infamy. In this autoethnographic exploration, I am embracing my position as an outsider, privileged yet imperfect, trying to make sense of a complicated foreign place and my own magnetism to it. I want to work through what visitors like me might mean for a destination striving to recover from trauma and hardship.

When I first visited Bosnia and Herzegovina, I was there to experience the light – to let the region declare itself to me as something other than war, violence, suffering, and destruction. I hiked, rafted, wandered narrow streets with a mouth full of Turkish delight, enjoyed beer and rakija with new friends. In Mostar, I stayed in the Eastern part of the city and barely ventured west at all; most tourists didn't. Nearly every local I interacted with was Muslim, and the history I learned reflected that limitation. My second visit five years later (a dissertation research reconnaissance trip) and third trip, for my research, were decidedly more about the war and its associated social divisions within the city. I ventured farther in Mostar, both physically and mentally. One can't study "tourism in a

post-war city" without war and conflict being central themes, even if I am a relentlessly "light" person who has experienced how light a place *can* be. In my research, I have been most drawn to positive themes of hope, progress, and resilience, but in Mostar these constructs were all gauged upon a metric set by war twenty-four years in the past.

Welcome.

In my doctoral studies, when I have discussed my research ideas with other scholars, it's the "post-*war*" that gets people interested; it's what makes my topic different from the surplus of other resident attitudes and perceptions research. I believe my interests in war recovery and resident wellbeing in geopolitically complex settings have been the elements that have made my research most viable in terms of scholarships and funding. It has sometimes felt like I am "playing the 'war' card." Before I even arrived in Mostar to do my research, I had, in a sense, made a commodity out of another's war. My plan, fundamentally, was to invest in this commodity and hopefully personally benefit later (in the typical academic ways: interesting data, a degree, some publications, and hopefully, a job; this commodity might even define my career or become the very basis of my personal success). This is not to say that I do not genuinely care about Mostar, its residents, and more broadly, matters of community development and peace – I *deeply* do. These feelings have only increased with the time I've spent there and the friendships that have developed between me and locals there, which is why confronting my personal dependence upon things I purport to loathe (war, violence, social divisions, etc.) feels essential at this pivotal part of my career. Maybe I have felt smug, too, at times, to be studying a topic deeply entwined with politics. Is this because of the sideways looks I received in the past when I told family members and "smart," "serious" acquaintances that I would be pursuing an advanced degree in *tourism?* The perceived art and science of piña coladas and chez lounges? Tourism is more, of course; it has been called out as the products and manifestations of neocolonialism (Bandyopadhyay, 2011; Chambers & Buzinde, 2015; Hall & Tucker, 2004; Wijesinghe, Mura, & Bouchon, 2019) and neoliberalism (Ayikoru, Tribe & Airey, 2009; Duffy, 2015; Rose & Dustin, 2009),

labels encompassing the problematic ways it has oftentimes been studied and discussed by scholars, too. While I love the occasional piña colada (and have even conducted phenomenological research on hotel bartenders), these other matters demand attention from anyone who purports to research or invest in tourism from a position of social justice and sustainability.

Midway into my Ph.D. program, my research agenda in tourism in post-conflict places had begun to crystallize, but I still didn't know how to work with the complex intersection of visitor and resident emotions. I needed a vocabulary to express the poignancy I had felt from being in these post-war places, the encounters that I couldn't fully describe in words or didn't feel accessible to me via normal emotional terms. Something clicked for me as I was introduced to theories of contemporary cultural geography focused on affect. These works questioned how sensations passed through/between bodies and objects might have meaningful impacts to those beings and bodies and the spaces they inhabit. Affect is "a non-conscious experience of intensity" that acknowledges that "the body has a grammar of its own that cannot be fully captured in language" (Shouse, 2005, n.p., referencing Massumi, 2002). Non-representational theory emerged as a window through which I could explore the workings of affect, through its focus on the "onflow of everyday life" (Thrift, 2008, p. 5) and emphases on relations and encounters within spaces – not just between people, but also objects and non-human (or more-than-human) beings and bodies. There is a sense of activism within non-representational theory, although perhaps an imperfect or underdeveloped one, to

pay attention to things that are happening, regularly, but have often been overlooked. Margaret Wetherell (2012, p. 19-20) summarizes this as the following:

> The target is not just inadequate pictorial metaphors for knowledge generation or Cartesian notions of the mind as 're-presenting' the world and activities of the body, although this is part of it. Non-representational theory is an attempt to get at processes that are placed below 'thresholds of conscious contemplation' (McCormack, 2003, p. 488) so that cultural geographers can describe, for example, how the senses are assailed as citizens wander the city, and how their affects (their rage, joy, disgust, malice and surprise, etc.) are automatically triggered by the ways cityscapes are engineered and built.

While in Mostar conducting my research, non-representational theory offered me a lens to explore the touristic and everyday spaces of the city that allowed me to stop dwelling on how I was going to try to later express myself, and instead, observe the sensations I experienced in my moments of being there, amidst locals, other tourists, buildings, landmarks, and objects. Yet, I found that my inward attunement and openness to sensation was paralleled by outward-oriented neuroses. As a researcher, I felt I lacked the freedom of a tourist who could do whatever they liked; as a long-term resident in a small city, I lacked anonymity. There were moments that I felt paralyzed: embarrassed to speak the local language(s) because my skills were minimal; not sure if I should go out to a bar alone on a weekend night as a married, foreign woman; overly conscious about my attire, face and hair, because I wanted to look professional, but also blend in. There were several days in which I asked myself, *"what has happened to me?"* The confident,

independent adventurer I normally felt I inhabited had been stifled through over-analysis and the stresses of foreign displacement into an insecure person I didn't like nearly as much.

I think I was operating on affective overload; intensities were pouring out of me in unexpected directions. Daily journaling only made this worse: I'd sit at my little studio apartment table, planning to write about what I had observed while walking through a particular neighborhood, but instead I'd obsess about how, on that day, I had intended to stop by a pub to talk to the owner, but then I chickened out because there were only a bunch of macho, twenty-something local guys there, sitting wide-legged in an impeding cloud of cigarette smoke, and I felt out of place. Unlike a journalist visiting only for a day or two, I could postpone my endeavors to another day or another week, only letting my anxieties fester. I became self-engrossed even though my own emotional experiences seemed paltry compared to what anyone in Mostar had lived through in their lives. Acknowledging this only made me feel worse.

Thankfully, these moods ebbed and flowed. Many upbeat afternoons followed anxious mornings. Very unexpectedly, poetry and creative writing became my balm. With poetry, there was no pressure. I almost expected it to be bad. I didn't have to deliberately analyze anything or think specifically backward or forward. Poetry helped me to capture individual moments without the surrounding noise. I could use any voice. I could be me, the adventurer, or me, the nervous academic. Or I could be someone or some*thing* else entirely. Even in another's voice, the words seem to capture the essence of my experience better than any factual and precise journal entry. If affect had been the

new vocabulary I had sought, poetry became my expressive language as I persisted in my research.

Apartment still life, October.

By writing in a freer context, I was able to gain secondary empirical evidence of my conscious and semi-conscious thoughts. The topics and words I used over the course of days and weeks reflected the phenomena I had observed. Most notably, I began to

acknowledge that as I spent extended time in this post-conflict place, *conflict* became repositioned in my relations and encounters within the city's spaces. This recognition was a thought I have returned to often and will continue to dissect here, and it's a notion that I believe has real implications for destination communities as they try to create tourism offerings and experiences that are meaningful to visitors, yet empathetic to the wide variety of lived experiences of residents. If I am any indication, visitors' affective relationships with places and the sites and objects that comprise these places are constantly in flux – evolving, dissolving, and re-emerging. I think back to Christine Vogt and Susan Stewart's (1998, p. 498) assessment that travel experiences "unfold over long periods of time"; visitors refer to and use information about a place differently over the course of a trip, and longer trips may open up possibilities of a broader range of affective experiences in navigating and negotiating touristic spaces. What does this mean for a post-war destination in stages of recovery and wayfinding, as it aims to reconstruct its international image and develop meaningful and memorable visitor experiences?

When I first visited Mostar, and upon my following two visits, the war was in the foreground during my first few days there. As I walked through the streets, war-damaged buildings held center stage. The voids in concrete created by shells two decades ago seemed to contain more substance than any physical, hard, touchable matter around them. Graffiti spoke loudly, announcing cultural affiliations and making visible the city's otherwise invisible borders and divisions. The Old Bridge was to be admired and enjoyed, but as a place of noted *recovery*. Gift shop postcards and tourist exhibits aimed at enticing day tour visitors on short, prescribed visits incessantly reminded me that this place had once been destroyed, by a certain group of people, and we should *never forget*.

This framing of buildings and objects as products of war positioned residents as players within a set designed around the subject of war. In the eyes of a visitor, a local woman on her way home from the bakery became a symbol of resilience, a vessel of grief and suffering, or an object of an outsider's sympathy. These images travel with people, back to their home countries, shared with others through photographs and selective narratives.

Tourist adventures.

Yet, with every day I spent in Mostar, new stories were created or revealed. Over time, as my own life faded into a feeling of "everydayness" there, so did my perceptions of my surroundings. I began to see the woman carrying bread without imagining her past;

instead, I would guess which bakery she was coming from, and if her bread looked good, I might be inspired to explore that neighborhood myself. The bridge became a place for me to enjoy sunsets when I needed a destination to stretch my legs after a stationary day on my laptop, often an excuse to have an ice cream cone. The war history of that location never left my mind completely, but it shifted from the foreground to the background as I created layers of my own memories and associations with that place. It became a place I regularly sought out to simply *be.* I wanted to absorb my surroundings – the *positive* attributes: the cool air upswelled from the river, the warm colors of nighttime gradually approaching upon tiled rooftops, the quieting submergence of the daytime bustle as most tourists continued on their way to Dubrovnik, Split, or Sarajevo. These elements constitute what Mostar *is*, here and now, a seemingly less complicated but still highly affective space free of too many cognitive conjurings. These spaces will likely expand as Mostar continues to attract more attention in guidebooks and travel magazines and greater number of tourists, including more who choose to stay overnight. Mostar, as a destination, is proactively creating new "stories" for tourists by highlighting certain facets of its identity. Six years ago, there were no ziplines or motorboat tours, but now these are some of the main attractions visitors see or hear about, creating a new frame for the city based upon outdoor adventure and natural beauty.

These moments to pause and just be, as in these evenings upon the bridge, seemed to hold for me a superlative sense of tranquility and wonder, yet the war would never leave Mostar's stage completely. It was painted into the backdrop, indefinitely. Sometimes illuminated, sometimes faded as if only in the distance, barely detectable. But it was always there. In conversations with friends and acquaintances, it often seemed to

me like the war had assumed a life of its own, as a tangible entity, a living being. Conversations acknowledged its presence as if not wanting to speak its name but unable to avoid its existence. At times, war took on the life of a problematic uncle – someone who your parents have had to deal with more than you, maybe, but is still reliably everyone's problem; a messy relationship that no one ever asked for but is undivorceable.

The Real Mostar

In my research, the young adult residents who I interviewed repeatedly told me that visitors needed to spend more time in Mostar. This posturing was largely economic, but there was something more to this, too. Day trip visitors, especially those on tour buses, weren't getting to know the *real Mostar.* For the locals who I talked to, this meant visitors weren't able to appreciate Mostar's special social culture, nor were they able to internalize the lasting effects of war. In my conversations, what stood out to me was a common call for a delicate balancing act: tourism should be focused on garnering appreciation for a place – an orientation of images and experiences based around positive assets – yet tourists *should know* the context of this city's historical and political complexities. What does this look like, in practice? How delicate is the tipping point in which darkness overshadows the possibilities for light, or lightness bleaches out the past to a status of erasure? My interview conversations reminded me of Dean MacCannell's (1973) essential writing on "staged authenticity" and tourists' common desires to access "back regions" of a destination. In my research, residents were expressing to me that visitors *should* explore the city more deeply; there was important value in finding these back regions, but visitors could potentially go too far, or just too far in the wrong direction.

Museum diorama.

On one occasion, I had the opportunity to dig into this duality of light and dark while having coffee with a friend, Eva[4], a local resident my age whose family had recently initiated a backpacker hostel operation in their home. She spoke of the war with sadness and regret, but I also sensed feelings of pride and accomplishment in her voice and her words. She was a survivor of war. How many modern-day hostel hosts in other popular European tourist destinations could claim such a thing? While the war had created a general sense of defeat across the city and on the international stage, on a

[4] All names have been changed.

personal level it was a great feat to persevere, to be resilient. This is no small matter. For

Eva, the city's war museums and exhibits fill an important role in tourism in Mostar. She

felt proud to show them to visitors. *"People <u>must</u> know how it was then, and how it is*

now. So, somehow, they can walk in my shoes. Like, let's say, at least for 15 minutes,"

she told me.

My mind takes me now to the concepts of yin and yang. The broadly recognized

symbol of this duality applies well here, I think, especially in the "dots": when yang is

strongest, it contains yin; when yin is strongest it contains yang. There's a relatively new

museum in Mostar dedicated to the topics of war and genocide, one that Eva had

mentioned to me. The museum is located in a Bosniak (Muslim) part of the city, and its

approach of interpretation reflects this position. I've visited several times over my past

two trips to Mostar, both alone and with the company of locals. For me, the exhibits' tone

seems accusatory and one-sided. Whether or not I agree with the museum's assessment of

history and its associated "facts," this tone in itself is important. It aims to create a

dichotomy of us/them, victim/perpetrator. Yet, there's a room in the museum, an

appendage of the main exhibit space, where black walls have been plastered with a

rainbow of neon Post-It notes and small drawings. Visitors from around the world, in a

multitude of languages, have left messages of peace and love to be shared with all who

follow their steps there. There are occasional notes focused on mourning and never

forgetting, but overwhelmingly the message is one of unity. The contrast – visually and

thematically – from the rest of the museum is pronounced. For me, this room reads as a

spot of hope, a reprieve from darkness amidst a midnight space of death, blame, anger,

and sadness. This museum is not perfect, and I am not alone in finding it problematic

within a city that hopes to move on from a troubled past and lasting divisions. Yet, I think

this museum does many things well, given limited resources, in creating an affective

environment that lets visitors feel – if only for 15 minutes or so – how it

was to live in Mostar during the war and in its troubling aftermath. For visitors, these

moments may be the seeds of greater, still-forming senses of empathy, hope, and

warning.
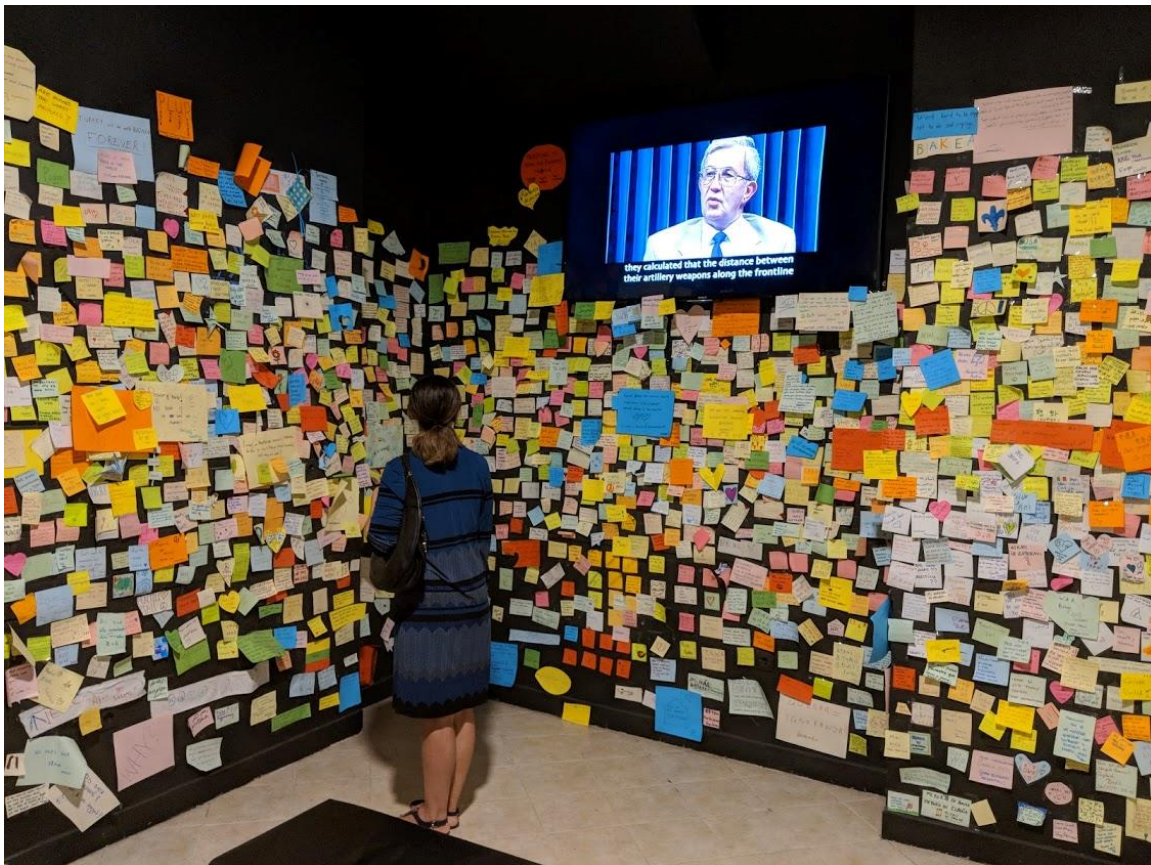
Messages.

On one of my visits to this museum, I toured in the company of two students from

West Mostar. They were initially reluctant – "*I don't know how it's gonna, like, affect*

me," Mirjana told me. Lucija's father had always told her not to spend any time in this

part of the city, so there was that looming over us, too. In the end, they both *loved* the museum. A defining element of the city had finally been revealed to them, visually and immersively, in a way that conversations with family members hadn't been able to express. It allowed them to feel, for once, what it must have been like for their parents and grandparents during the war. The "sides" didn't matter – everyone experienced something atrocious then.

The affective power of this museum, expressed to me by Eva, had been exemplified in my visit there with Lucija and Mirjana. To Eva, this museum could open doors for visitors to see her and her family and peers as complex and extraordinary beings within an industry that often dilutes, reimagines, or conceals communities' complete stories and backgrounds. As I sat with Eva, thinking over such things, she spoke to me quietly, with warmth, taking slow drags from her cigarette. We watched her young children play nearby, fearless of the strangers and hungry pigeons around our cafe. Despite the calmness of her voice, there was a tone of frustration, and an urging of importance. No matter what is to come of tourism in Mostar, the *people* here should not be overlooked. A touristic version of Mostar that omits the war would be denying residents the fullness of their being.

Mostar is not a singular place. Exploring Mostar's urban spaces, I felt multiple stories being told to me, always, through the buildings, the people, the businesses, and the atmosphere. I think of Doreen Massey's (2005) description of space as the dimension of the lived world, dynamic and multiplicitous – amassing a "simultaneity of stories-so-far" (p. 12). Especially in the city's touristic spaces, I often felt like a bystander in a railyard where multiple tracks of narratives were continually pushing through. I could jump on

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one and follow its course, or I could stay where I was and absorb the buzzing from all around me. As a tourist, the cacophony is strangely appealing. There's a sense that chaos is woven into the fabric of this place. It's inherently interesting. While several attractions speak directly to the city's divisions and history of conflict, most tourist moments are dedicated to the simple pleasures of travel, of wandering and discovering: window shopping along coppersmith's glistening storefronts, stopping along cobblestone footpaths for baklava and espresso, taking in the expansive, sunny views offered by the city's many bridges crossing the Neretva River. There is irrefutable brightness in Mostar and a classic, sought-after sort of tourist experience effortlessly offered here.

Mood swings seem to be built into the landscape in Mostar. I sensed it in myself as well as others. Broadly speaking, spaces of dark tourism are spaces of emotion and affect. The presentation of darkness causes things inside people to stir, whether they are familiar or unfamiliar with the history, the specific context. In my experience, the city's/destination's emphasis on war and darkness (as presented through exhibits, souvenirs, and the visual cityscape in the core tourism area) was strongest in the earliest moments of visiting, yet a quick visit may not allow for deeper affective response to develop. A visitor on a tour bus might just feel a superficial scratching, but for a visitor staying weeks or months this emotional and affective stirring may be discombobulating or disorienting, but also transformative and moving. I think about Nigel Thrift's (2008, p. 9) examination of the workings of affect within non-representational theory: "*things* can have a potent afterlife." The afterlife of Mostar's sites and objects wasn't always immediately detectable. For me, the darkness worked in mysterious ways: seemingly dulling my senses after prolonged exposure until it surpassed my capacity, in which case

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my buried emotions became jostled to a point of self-confrontation. Sometimes these were thoughts reflective of my environment: concerns about death and suffering within my own family and loved ones, or about my own hopes for success and growth. But sometimes it was just about me, as if an unsettled place was inviting me to wrestle with my own unsettledness.

In many ways, Mostar is well-positioned to handle the affective repercussions of dark tourism. Its relaxed pace of life and ample coffee shops and outdoor spaces offer spaces of reflection, regeneration, lightness, and youthfulness. These amenities still feel true to its identity. Hopefulness and positivity, even amidst the environment of conflict and divisions, does not feel forced or contrived. Not all dark tourism locations or destinations may have this privilege. Mostar, if it wants to be, can be about outdoor recreation, or art and architecture, or food and wine. Its popularity as a tourist destination predates its war infamy. Memories of riverside grand hotels, cafés serving Turkish coffee and baklava, and overflowing handicraft galleries are retained on pre-war postcards and coffee table souvenir books. Mostar has options, but direction takes consensus, and this seems to be missing here. The local tourism board, a body of headstrong neutrality whose staff have been welcoming and helpful to me as both tourist and researcher, strives to disregard the war altogether. To them, it is not a part of Mostar's image, and never again should be. It's too dangerous, because social and religious divisions still actively plague the city. Yet, visitors are interested. Plenty of locals will explore this topic with visitors, even if it makes them somewhat uncomfortable, if it leads to better income or better TripAdvisor reviews. This isn't to say that residents do so in a soulless way – I've been on guided tours pertaining to the war that were deeply moving and thought-provoking,

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and even sensitive to differences and divisions. But overall, I perceive that Mostar is a destination that doesn't want to be dark, but it can be, if you, the visitor, want it to be. The openness of that positioning is attractive in some ways – it paints a picture of destination as a place of possibilities, of opportunities for broad exploration and learning. But it also raises questions of power – *who* is (re)opening the doors toward darkness, and is it always necessary?

Clouds lifting.

Outsiders

Midway through my time in Mostar, my husband, Will, came to visit for a week. I was excited to show him some of Bosnia and Herzegovina; he was, after all, the same person to whom I had snapped at, years ago, about not understanding. I was confident

that he would genuinely love Mostar and it's region for the same reasons I did:

consuming generous portions of grilled meats at affordable restaurants; hiking through

alpine forests; swimming beneath waterfalls; laughing along with the local people's sharp

senses of humor. But I also thought that visiting would be good for him. He had been

unhappy in his work and prone to complaining. Perhaps visiting a post-war place would

put things in perspective for him? This sentiment made me uneasy, despite its probable

truth. Knowing Mostar better at this point, I felt like this was an unfair responsibility to

assign a place, as an outsider.

During Will's visit, this discomfort stuck with me, as though I was treading on

eggshells – not with him so much as with the city. I was trying to navigate balancing

roles as a tourist guide to a first-time visitor and a (hopefully) ethical, caring

researcher/student/short-term resident. At one point, Will and I were wandering around

Mostar's touristy area with a local friend, Amir. He had been helping me with my

research as a translator, so he and I were used to having open conversations about

tourism, history, and politics. Yet, I still cringed as my husband, a history aficionado,

stopped in front of an Austro-Hungarian era building, pointing at scattered holes upon the

stucco, and asked Amir if holes *that size* were from bullets or shells. My husband was

well-intentioned, genuinely hoping to become better educated about the city's past. But in

my knowing his already-established passion for foreign war history, I sensed some glee

in his being there in that space, like a child at a zoo, finally meeting a real-life giraffe.

From my past experiences as a student living abroad, I know that I can be overly

sensitive about cultural awareness and empathy (while still managing to make plenty of

my own faux pas) to the point where I inhibit my own opportunities for rich experiences

and personal growth. My default setting is to shut down rather than risk offending others or getting in trouble. Was I limiting Mostar's ability to be dark just because I was more comfortable in its spaces of lightness? Does a history of war give a place the *right* to be dark, and if so, do visitors have an innate right to access this darkness? There are plenty of tourism operators (including locals) that would argue *yes* from positions of neoliberalism as well as public education, and plenty of residents (and tourism boards) who would sternly argue *no.*

Marriott rising.

Sometimes, despite my best efforts to support (and co-create, through my participation) a progressive, positive type of tourism, I'd still fall into a trap of darkness. During my husband's visit, we drove into the mountains near Sarajevo to the Igman ski jumps, a venue of the 1984 Winter Olympics. The jumps now stand as a decrepit concrete monument to past glory days, pre-war. However, this place has not been completely frozen in time or left to decompose; it has evolved into something different. There is now a playground at the base of the jumps where families come to picnic in the alpine setting, and an adjacent rustic lodge serves coffee and rakija on a spacious deck. To my surprise, I found that there was an easy pleasantness to this place. To my husband, a former ski jumper himself (with friends who once jumped at this very site), the setting was more somber. I tried to hitch on to one of the brighter currents of the space, following the lead of a young couple who were taking photos of themselves atop the concrete awards podium. I thought it would be funny if I stood, alone, at third place, giving a thumbs-up sign with a sort of jolly obliviousness. A good one for Instagram!

Later that day, after I had released my photo to the world, Will shared some paragraphs he was reading online. *"It sounds like during the war they used that podium for executions?"* he relayed to me. I froze, horrified by my ignorant and unfeeling social media content. Ready to delete my post, I frantically sought more information on the topic online. I found rumors and comments, but no solid evidence. I took a step back to consider what my role – small, but maybe still important – might be in this scenario. My post represented a foreign tourist enthusiastically exploring off the beaten path in a country generally very supportive of tourism growth; a tourist finding a genuine smile

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and humor in a place with a dark past, but not a place defined *only* by a dark past; an imperfect tourist, who would always still have more to learn. I let the post stay.

Unpacking

My time in Mostar was vividly special – an alternative reality afforded by the unique circumstances of dissertation research. But adjusting back to life in the States was not always easy. Two months, I found, was enough to have acclimatized myself to the relaxed coffee culture, affordable pastries, and European enjoyment of strolling at sunset. Arriving back in the U.S. to a small town in Vermont, I was isolated and winter was arriving fast. Unpacking from trips is always an annoying task, confronting the realization that the fun is over, dwelling on what opportunities may have been missed by rehanging dresses and earrings that never got worn. I had dislodged blocks of halvah and herbal tea from my suitcase and gifted them to family; the final contents of my luggage had been partitioned to various closets, shelves and drawers, awaiting my next unknown big trip which might not be for a while.

The mental unpacking would take more effort. One night, a month or so after I returned to Mostar, I lay in bed, unable to sleep, and thought (as only a researcher experiencing insomnia might do) that I would create a Venn diagram analyzing the ways in which I performed different roles in Mostar: tourist, long-term visitor, student, researcher. This, it turned out, was largely an exercise in compartmentalizing my insecurities and discomforts. I could have focused on my successes, but they were not what grated at my mind at 1 am. While the friction between being both a tourist and being a researcher had caused me some irritation, I began to wonder if *touring* and *researching* were perhaps just different intensities of a shared phenomenon of exploring,

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inquiring, and learning, perhaps located at different points along a spectrum from *gazing*

to *understanding*? I had presumed a greater encumbrance for ethical, conscientious

behavior within my role as a researcher than I had generically attributed to the more

frivolous role of tourist. While I have always tried to be a mindful traveler, this was my

first time traveling under the auspices of external funding and IRB approval. This was a

new sort of responsibility, and as a tourism scholar, I was in an interesting position of

personally experiencing (a part of) the phenomena which I was there to study and

analyze. In retrospect, perhaps as a researcher I needed to be a little bit more like a

tourist, willing to gaze and risk my dignity from time to time, to see what discoveries

these actions might lead to. As a tourist, I needed to be more like a researcher, confident

in my abilities to succeed within the areas of my strengths, but also capable in knowing

which methods would help me proceed into new terrain.

[But do purchase.]

Tourism, as a subject, tends to be framed positively and is forward oriented; it is about *opportunity, development,* and *growth.* Even when its key attractions are historical, the industry's driving question becomes how history can be carried forward, for a profit. In this process, history becomes a new iteration of itself, a contemporary product. In Mostar, a certain amount of backward-looking was contextually requisite. To really understand this place, I needed the bared-down version of history, not a contemporary,

touristic retelling. Yet, in my discomforts with darkness, war had often been a beast that I didn't want to wake in Mostar. Others – residents – could tickle or tease it out of its burrow, but I was not its keeper. When it happened to awaken, I was excited, alert. As a researcher, these moments might lead to *findings!* But even in my moments of supposedly respectful passivity, I had become a spectator. Waiting. Knowing that it would naturally come out of its den, eventually, if I stayed long enough. In my attempts to avoid a tourist's unsavory or misplaced gaze of Mostar's war, I just became a different type of voyeur.

Verses

The sestina that opens this paper was the product of a poetry writing workshop hosted by a friend, David Elliot, a writer, poet and professor who lives in my hometown in New Hampshire. In our introductions to the other workshop participants (a group of mostly aspiring creative writers and poets looking to hone their craft), I described my attendance as being an effort to preemptively defeat the writer's block I would no doubt soon experience once I treaded deeper into my dissertation. I have never considered myself a poet, although I've enjoyed excuses to dabble in its forms over the years. This workshop fell on a Sunday in February, a soul-dulling time in New England. My friend Lila (a willing and curious companion) and I arrived late, the only attendees to have forgotten to bring journals and pens. I had no idea what to write about. Lila, 7 months pregnant with her first child, immediately knew where to direct her creative energies. I myself was pregnant with only one thing – Ph.D. anxieties. I followed her lead and devoted the session toward unpacking these uncomfortable internalities that had been

taking over my mind and body as of late. Maybe this was a good way to dedicate a few hours to "unfolding" the affective states of my travel experience.

The focus of this workshop was sestinas, which most of us recalled only from high school English classes decades ago. Having lied to the group about whether I knew what I would write about (as only a vague outline was gradually materializing in my mind; certainly nothing resembling a clear narrative arc), I was then slung into an even more difficult task: coming up with the six words that would form the repetitive foundation of my sestina. We were given about three minutes to complete this seemingly impossible task. I winged it, hastily narrowing down a free association list to six which seemed somehow fitting of my abstract perceptual experience in Mostar, and which also might be used in more than one sense: neighbors, dust, stone, stories, lost, point.

It did not take me long to feel that I had chosen the wrong words – too limiting, or perhaps contrived? But I recalled the quote from iconic poet John Ashbery (1974), presented by our workshop host: *"I once told somebody that writing a sestina was rather like riding downhill on a bicycle and having pedals push your feet. I wanted my feet to be pushed into places they normally wouldn't have taken*." In reading this now, I think of McMahon's (1996) call to attention to the "significant absences" that traditional means of research and analysis may produce. What insights might I uncover when I am forced to frame things in unconventional ways? (Or, importantly, ways that are unconventional for *me?)*

I made a commitment to my workshop compatriots to finish my poem, returning to it a week later, aiming to integrate stories from multiple research participants into one vignette. I interrogated the sections that weren't giving me a sense of harmony, initially

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feeling that a major rewrite was needed for it to be anything I would dare to share. But after stepping away from it for just one day, I realized that my struggles with this poem – this silly, impromptu sestina, whatever it was – mirrored the very problems I was trying to dissect in my data analysis. Hints of my own neuroses kept peeking through within stanzas as I tried to describe a place, a person, or another's story. Myself-as-traveler/foreigner/researcher was inseparable from the narrative. While I expected this and encouraged this, as I have been trained in the values of reflexive research and constructivism, I didn't expect the extent of which my reflexivity would reflect my discomforts, my shame, and my perceived self-shortcomings. I was the protagonist and the antagonist, and in occupying the center stage I left limited space for the other characters who I did actually care about.

Frankly, this poem only reflects this to a fraction of what my daily journal exposes. It was often difficult for me to write about affect regarding my relations with the city's places and people when I was preoccupied with self-conscious concerns, largely stemming from my position of liminality. Not quite (just) a tourist, I wasn't able to "let go" and have a carefree night at a pub with other backpackers. Not quite a local, and lacking confidence with my foreign language skills, I had limited interaction with those who did not speak English. Not quite a "young adult" anymore, I felt out of place in my university neighborhood where passersby were perpetually glammed up en route to clubs or shows. As a researcher (and employer, in the case of my translator research helpers), I wasn't quite a pure "friend," as the earnestness of friendship can be uncertain in the manufactured relationships of research. In my daily journal, when I'd try to make sense of my emotions and affective responses to my daily events and encounters, I felt like I

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would have to wade through a sludge of superficial and probably unnecessary inner

insecurities and questions of my own personal growth before getting to the subject that I

(thought I) was actually there to study. I felt vain and immature, but in my commitment

to write about what I really felt and experienced every day, it would have seemed

negligent and dishonest to ignore my own personal psychological messiness.

Patchwork.

My sestina, especially in its earliest draft, reflects this struggle. I had come face to

face with cliched self-help advice: you have to work on yourself before you can work on

others! I am thankful to other qualitative researchers, especially in their emergent years as

scholars, who have willingly vocalized their own insecurities, such as Yuen (2010) and Tamas (2013), in their own autoethnographical explorations. As researchers, we are seemingly surrounded by phenomenal scholars who are also fearless world travelers. But if I am to write about affect and emotion, I need to come to terms with my own humanness, in its strengths as well as weaknesses. In my research in and about Mostar, I came to see how a place with its own discomforts may provide fertile ground for fostering and exposing visitors' own inner discomforts. We all have our own respective pieces of darkness within us. My own areas of darkness and personal discomfort, thankfully, only describe a portion of my personal experiences in Mostar, and my discomforts largely dissipated as I found new comfortable routines and grew genuine friendships. I had many personal victories during my time, but these cannot be segregated from the full amalgamation of my feelings and sensations.

At Home

This article was born through multiple waves between February and April of 2020, each pushing in new reflections, experiments, and expressions. During my process of writing this piece, not long after my sestina had come into existence, the COVID-19 pandemic took over the world. Initially, I joked with friends that social distancing was my specialty as a Ph.D. candidate. The pandemic's timing felt a little uncanny – convenient, in some ways, as I was now free of distractions such as events and travel. My topic of conflict and recovery was also consoling, at times, in light of the panic and fear in the world around me. One day, as the virus spread more broadly to the United States, Will came home from his job at a financial office feeling deflated and personally devastated by the stock market crash. I had spent the day analyzing interview data,

coding text into themes like "desire to rebuild ruins," "impacts of war on leisure choices," "daily pervasiveness of social divisions," and "avoidance of sharing personal war stories." My husband and I were immersed in drastically different paradigms for what constituted "struggle" and "hardship," and all I could do, to his annoyance, was shrug off our losses and his exhaustion. *I mean, at least we're not at war now. Our lives could be so much worse.* Here we were again.

My research, and my mundane, laptop-based daily existence that had manifested as of late, had transported me to an emotional netherworld – I felt that, as an outsider, I could neither fully relate to the stories of war and social conflict that I was mechanically highlighting and sorting in MaxQDA or the numbers I was analyzing in SPSS, nor could I step outside of my realm of research enough to find empathy to my own family's present situation amidst a frightening pandemic. I was mentally straddling two disasters without fully committing to either; each world borrowing enough of my imagination to stifle the other. It was time, I realized, to step away from my interview transcripts and survey responses and get back to autoethnography. Although rather foreign and often daunting to me, I found that an autoethnographical approach aided me in persevering past the emotional, intellectual, and motivational blocks that I encountered while working on the other components of my research. I needed the allowance to look inward, *to make it personal,* and in the final [heaving, unsteady] push of my dissertation, a reminder of what brought me here.

On a bleak April evening a couple of weeks into the stay-at-home order, I was chatting online with Amir, my friend in Mostar. "*What the fuck is up with our generation?"* was his Mostarian assessment of current affairs. From our respective parts

of the world, we were both exasperated about being on lockdown, but our sentiments

carried such different weight. People in Mostar are very good at staying home. *Too* good

at it. This doesn't tend to be a coveted skillset. I was fascinated to hear Amir's depiction

of Mostar during this time; only five months had passed since I had been there, but the

city was a different place without its tourists and peak season sunshine, and now, without

much local activity at all. Small children and the elderly were being directed to stay

home, with others who were more able-bodied charged with caring for them. A curfew

was in place. Protective gear was required to walk through the city. Once again. But this

time, it was nothing, really. How could anything be as bad as before?

It was nothing for me, too, but for me this came from a place of privilege, not

from a relative positioning of hardship. The land where I now reside hasn't seen war for

over 200 years, and most of my living family members and neighbors have accepted the

luxury of avoiding combat. Before chatting with Amir, I had been tuning into a social

media livestream of a bored DJ broadcasting from his back yard. The downtempo beats

helped me stay motivated while editing one of my dissertation articles – my only real task

that day, and a job well-suited to pajamas. Around me, it seemed that everyone in the

U.S. was complaining about these "uncertain times," whether or not they had lost jobs or

loved ones in the pandemic. *If this is my generation's 'trying time,'* I thought, *so far I've

got nothing to complain about*. This was Mostar speaking through me, as if its own

experiences had rubbed off on me. I did not feel like I could ever truly understand what it

was like to live there during the war, but having been there made me understand the

potentiality of the world. Anything is possible, and the anything can be *really bad*. This is

a dark realization, but it's a necessary counter to allow gratitude, peace, and goodwill to prosper.

Tourism can be powerful means to allow people to know (not just to hear or be told, but to *know*) that darkness exists. It can be seen, smelled, heard, felt. It's out there, right now. It creates survivors. And it claims victims. All, regardless of one's nationality, pose a crucial lesson for humanity. As a tourist, I feel it is my duty to receive that lesson, but also to be patient and receptive to the ways it may be shared with me, which may be subtle, understated, blatant, or maybe biased. History is like a wound: if the cut is too fresh, there may be the free-flowing blood of stories, but not the solidified scars of facts. My experiences in Mostar illuminated to me how the lesson of many historical sites, monuments, and museums isn't necessarily the *facts* or the stated *history* – those can be misleading, disputed, or not fully representative. Instead, the lesson may be the affects we experience within the spaces they create. Affect may encourage us pause when we might otherwise keep moving. It helps to transfer us into another's shoes, even if only abstractly or momentarily. It may lead us to confirm that we, as visitors, may never really know what it was like for another, but it can reveal the power of at least trying. The interpretation and representation strategies of museums and monuments are duly important, but affect is not limited to their halls and plazas. Affect follows us through the streets, it meets us as we lie in bed at night; it captures us at unexpected moments.

Amounting

What was the point? My final words in my sestina leave me unsettled. Determining whether wars have served real purpose is a topic of thick tomes and great debates between great minds. But on a day to day basis, for people currently calling

Mostar their home, perhaps this is an overcomplication. The benefits of war, if there were supposed to be many, have not been realized, twenty-five or more years later. There is a widespread feeling in Mostar – not felt by all, but many – of *why?* To what end? Did this serve any purpose? As I spoke with younger adult residents, I detected a common resentment toward past egos: *thanks for nothing*. These residents showed much pride in their city's famed bridge, religious sites, mountains, river, sports, and social life, but this pride was often tempered by embarrassment: about a government that can't figure out trash disposal or restoration of ruins; about companies that are so embroiled in nepotism that management suffers and job opportunities seem futile; about foreigners who assume they must be "peasant people," and about grandparents who presume a duty to reinforce religious and ethnic prejudice to younger generations.

A point of it all, a clear trajectory, or a real, defined purpose may still be absent for many, but that does not mean the war has not been without any modern-day utility. Tourism brings this point to light. Visitors learn from Mostar. I have learned from Mostar. Yet, I do not strive to make a lesson out of Mostar – it is not their duty, not a task that they signed up for. There was no "short straw" drawn at the United Nations determining which country must demonstrate to others why peace is essential. They should not have to (continue to) suffer so that foreigners may benefit, returning from their trips enlightened, filled with newfound gratitude for their own better fortune of peacefulness. Gratitude and a deeply felt respect for peace *are* some of the greatest bestowments one can ever receive, but receiving is not the same as having been given.

There lies the challenge in navigating the ethical and caring development of tourism in post-trauma, post-conflict places. As a tourist – and as a researcher – I am not

just a recipient of destination images and tourism products. I too am a creator, via the passing of my ATM and credit cards, the direction of my footsteps, the angle of my camera, and the questions I ask local people. Residents, tourists, and tourism industry actors co-produce tourism narratives and place images. In seeking to understand the hidden layers of a place, tourists are continually undertaking acts of exposure. Yet, this must not only consist of exhuming the shame, disappointment, and dirty secrets that underlie a place – these acts can uncover emerging victories and signs of hope, which sometimes may be evident to visitors in a different way than they are to residents. Multiple perspectives can be valuable. Tourism may open opportunities for residents to highlight their successes and progress, potentially providing a source of hope and resilience for the community itself as well as others who have experienced similar destruction and trauma.

Touring.

A Conclusion, For Now

Thinking back upon my time in Mostar, my daily life was generally relaxing. Even when recruiting and meeting new research participants, I did so in the peaceful settings of crepe shops and riverside cafes. For the most part, locals were friendly, easy-going, and welcoming. Conversation came naturally. It's easy for a visitor to adopt a pleasant lifestyle in Mostar. But this backdrop of war created a tension of dueling sensations within me. On one hand, Mostar's war history and its lasting reminders in the cityscape made the feeling of *being able to relax* all the more profound. This is where that sense of magic arises – the power of atmosphere over aesthetics. Yet the chasm between my own lived experience and those in Mostar left me uneasy, unable to fully

settle into a relaxed state. This is similar, affectively, to how I feel now at home when I attempt to do yoga in my living room while train track construction carries on across the street. I can nearly block it out during my focused or meditative state, but the jarring vibrations stick with me, even once the track workers have gone home for the day. A backdrop of trauma, like distant jackhammers, seems to muddle my molecules down to my marrow. This stirring may open room for growth, but it can be persistently unsettling.

I believe this is partly why dissecting my experience in Mostar often became about *me* even when I wanted it to be about the city and its people, places, and objects. A certain amount of anxiety is to be expected as a Ph.D. student conducting research, especially internationally, away from home for a prolonged amount of time. Spending a longer amount of time in a place does allow for a sense of *settling*, but what precisely was I settling into? A relaxed pace of life in a sociable atmosphere, yes; but also a more developed acknowledgement of how deeply and broadly war leaves its marks upon a city and its people. I felt an ethical challenge to approach Mostar more empathetically than a journalist or reporter; the notion that I was there to "find a good story" troubled me. While Mostar's history and tourism context had become my scholarly commodity, I was acutely aware of how my research approaches and end products might be exploitative of other people and their histories. At times, this recognition was nearly paralyzing, leading me to brine within my own emotions even more. *I* was fair game for myself. But unlike my outward gaze, which I dutifully tried to keep in check, my inward gaze had no stops in place.

The inability to fully separate oneself from one's subject matter is a predicament that exists in all research, and oftentimes it is left hidden, perhaps malignantly. But I also

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think there is something more at work in Mostar, this highly affective environment, that transformed me into a body prone to anxieties and self-discomforts, often in ways that seemed unpinpointable. Darkness does not exist only within a place or space, but within the beings who inhabit it, who in turn impact its atmosphere, identity, and reputation. In a destination city, tourists are inhabitants of touristic spaces, too.

I have wanted to discuss my own emotional and affective experiences openly here to perhaps encourage other researchers and writers, and travelers more broadly, to confront their own internal experiences that accompany acts of touring and exploring. These bodily responses are not necessarily isolated from the world around us, nor without external impacts. Affect travels between and through bodies. These affective experiences, of visitors as well as residents, shape what a place is to become – light/dark, positive/negative, hopeful/hopeless, provocative/dull. They may determine whether a destination becomes a place of (self)discovery and or a place of (self)complacency. An open mind and a body that is receptive to a range of affects is rudimentary and requisite for both ethical tourism and ethical research, and I believe openness is one of the greatest offerings a guest can present their host. Inwardly and outwardly, openness is where trust, honesty, and possibility are born.

In my time in Mostar and in my reflections post-travel, I've experienced the affective and emotional activations that a destination city can stimulate for visitors who aren't particularly oriented toward darkness or who may not find their own emotions or the act of self-reflection to be comfortable realms. The deeply affective resonance of a place can be considered a strength – and a valuable one, not easily attained – even if a place aims to progress from its dark past. It can be an important factor, if somewhat

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intangible, of why some places are deemed historically *significant.* Affective resonance is what makes a place memorable and connectable. For me, it made me return to Mostar again and again, even though I wasn't initially attracted to the city by its darkness or recent historical events. My own experiences suggest that affect can lead to a visitor to unexpected reactions, which in turn may be far more personally impactful than the outcomes of simply executing prescribed or premeditated tourist actions.

Whether visitors are drawn to a place for its darkness or whether they are surprised by the curiosities they encounter once there, I believe that destinations need to consider how to answer visitors' burning questions, without letting those first few questions define the overall experience of visiting. This is a matter of mitigation, in a way – addressing an issue before it becomes something greater and less controllable. By confronting the past and sharing it with visitors, destination communities and their tourism actors may be able to clear the air to make more space for new focuses, allowing new possibilities to unfold – perhaps tourism focused on architecture, culinary traditions, or outdoor adventures. Still, the presence of war in Mostar and the opportunities it affords for learning and pondering are unique and powerful. This is a delicate balancing act that "semi-dark" destinations are tasked with attempting as they navigate marketing, image development, and attraction creation. In our modern-day world, plenty of destinations known for beauty and enjoyment also bear scars of violence, conflict, or disaster. Other places previously known for blight are emerging into new identities, articulated through opportunities for recreation or relaxation. A place is as dark as its past and as light as its future, all at once. Visitors' interests and intrigues may, too, be complex, reflecting a desire for destinations that are multi-layered. Their heartfelt curiosities about a place's

dark past may lead to a deeper care and compassion for what a people or a culture are *today,* and what direction they want their society to move in the future.

This paper reflects my thoughts and my being at specific moments of time and during certain periods of reflection. Not every sentence here, poetic or analytic, rests easily for me, nor do I expect that they will all for others. I am still in the process of reflecting – it takes a long time. Despite my discomforts and still-forming sensations and ideas, I hope what will resonate for others is a call for self-reflection that accompanies any research endeavor or touring experience, especially those which occur in places belonging to others. In our decisions of what and how to tour and what and how to research, we are entering affective spaces, contributing to the shaping of others' identities, images, and representations, attributed to the past, present and future. This recognition encourages a responsibility to embrace, interrogate, and challenge the personal messiness one encounters in research and travel experiences. Through greater attention to affective and emotional dimensions of travel, touring, and cultural immersion, a stronger platform may be expanded and enlivened to serve the development of an ethics of care for host cultures and destination communities.

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CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION: COALESCENCE

In this research, I used quantitative and qualitative methods to collectively explore relationships between tourism and host community in a post-war setting. These three articles, while employing widely ranging theories and methods, shared a common goal of illuminating the affective and emotional impacts of tourism upon the people who inhabit the destination's spaces for prolonged periods of time. In the first two articles, the investigations focused on residents. In the third article, I turned the gaze inward to consider my own experiences as a longer-term visitor and outsider in a post-war city. While the city of Mostar has international notoriety of darkness and a plethora of sites and attractions that reflect the city's violent and troubled past, the city also shines as a destination for its positive affective characteristics, diversity of tourism assets, and broad visitor appeal. This blend created a complex and enlivening environment to study how tourism and war affect the people who live amidst its everyday presences.

In this final chapter, I explore three main themes that connect the articles of this research, framing tourism within a lens of community development: dark tourism, community attachment and its relationship with the affective impacts of tourism, and explorative methodologies. While each of these themes influenced the early development of the research plan, the completed research process also inductively reaffirms their importance for this area of inquiry. In considering dark tourism, I reflect upon how Mostar is crucially both light and dark, and how tourism can play vital roles in emphasizing cultural/societal difference but also in creating space for communities to

move on from past difficulties. I continue to explore these themes within the context of community attachment, further investigating how tourism may foster pride, local appreciation, and a sense of unity in a post-conflict setting. Lastly, I reflect upon how the concept of the "gaze" was an essential component of my research design across studies, and how place-based methodologies can better serve the interests of communities. In its totality, this research aims to encourage tourism research that more deeply and creatively inquires about the industry's impacts upon community well-being, while considering both the subtle and transparent ways tourism rears affective benefits and repercussions upon host communities.

Dark Tourism

Dark tourism experiences have commonly been studied from the angle of visitors' experiences, but less often from the perspective of residents. This research emphasizes the notion that darkness comes in different forms, especially in a post-war setting where residents still face social divisions and economic development barriers due to war. Darkness is not just a history to be revisited, but a present-day element of everyday life, which residents may or may not wish to share with visitors. This research reveals how residents may find pride and catharsis in sharing the darker aspects of their city and collective identity with outsiders, but may also feel shame and regret, or an oppressive sense of societal stagnancy. Generational differences and other demographic characteristics can influence these tendencies. The interview component of this research, in particular, reveals how tourism may have different affective outcomes for residents who lived in Mostar during the war than for those who grew up in its aftermath or moved to the city later in life. Sharing memories with strangers (and in the process, opening

oneself to reveal the affective and emotional responses associated with those memories) is, logically, a more personal exercise than sharing others' stories, even if those stories are entwined with one's own identity.

While residents do not all feel the same way about sharing their city's dark past, some notable commonalities emerged in how they tend to view tourism, more generally. Overall, in this research, Mostar residents felt very positively about tourism and its prospects for their city. They felt proud to be known as *welcoming* to people from other countries, despite – and because of – their country's notoriety for war and internal conflict. While Mostar's cityscape bears a plethora of reminders of the war, this environmental presence is countered by a largely warm and sociable atmosphere for visitors. As interview participants noted, residents are very rarely rude or unwelcoming to visitors. More often, they are interested in engaging with visitors, such as by practicing English language skills. The resident survey found that tourism in Mostar is associated with a high degree of satisfaction, pride, and support amongst residents. For a visitor, these positive perceptions amongst residents contribute a detectable stream of lightness flowing through this so-called "dark" setting.

Dark tourism in Mostar occurs in both formal and informal channels. For many tourists, especially those making shorts stops from tour buses, the war history is experienced through casual observation: buildings' facades scattered with bullet holes, remnants of the Old Bridge's original stones left on the riverbank, street-side graffiti suggesting internal social divisions. Tour bus guides may or may not choose to address these aspects of the city, but even if they do, it will be an outsider's quick summary version (many of which I overheard during my time in Mostar, as a keen observer). The

tourism board and other government-affiliated agencies and organizations would prefer that the war is left out of Mostar's tourism narrative, as it is too divisive and controversial and brings attention to a negative aspect of the city's identity. Mostar's ample natural and cultural resources provides a strong argument for this approach – the war is not *necessary* to attract tourists to the region, even if it is *compelling*. Nevertheless, attractions such as the Museum of War and Genocide Victims and guided city walking tours are dedicated specifically to the city's history of conflict. While most of these offerings aim to be educational, they are not the product of an official governmental or institutional narrative and thus have the unmediated ability to express biased perspectives. If tourism actors choose to tap into the city's darker aspects, it is essentially a free-for-all.

One of the main forces that serves to moderate the destination's commercialization of darkness is residents' own affective proclivities. Spending time in the city's post-war touristic spaces tends to be an evocative and affective experience for residents and visitors alike, although residents' experiences are heavily influenced by memories and prior associations. Without too many multinational or international business presences within Mostar's tourism sector (so far), tourism is still in a largely grassroot, entrepreneurial phase. Local voices still have a substantial command of the destination's image, offerings, and narratives. This is generally a positive positioning for the development of sustainable, ethical tourism, but in a post-war setting this could exacerbate internal conflict. The interviews and tour experiences illustrated how Mostar's tourist attractions can walk a tenuous line. In reflecting upon the variety of museums we collectively visited, participants were pleasantly surprised by what they felt and observed at some sites and distressed and disappointed by others. Interestingly, residents'

responses were not always predictable based upon characteristics such as religious/ethnic affiliation alone. This research reiterates the importance described by Light (2017) of dark tourism research that engages directly with the people who create and/or live in the midst of dark tourism environments. Detached observation and "expert" interviews alone cannot provide a comprehensive overview of the variable dynamics of dark tourism in destination communities.

For many residents, the war remains a taboo topic in Mostar. Yet, it is also common for residents to welcome visitors into spaces that reflect this dark history. Some residents feel a deeply rooted desire, or *need,* even, to share their history of hardship and trauma with others. Overall, this research provides strong support for the viability of "phoenix tourism" (Causevic & Lynch, 2011) as a meaningful framework for deciphering the phenomena of tourism in post-war places. For residents, places with dark histories can still be greatly associated with feelings of pride and bring them satisfaction in knowing that tourists are visiting. Many Mostarians on a personal level felt a sense of pride and strength in knowing that they've been able to survive and persevere through some of the most extreme forms of adversity.

Tourism offers a confirmation that the city is progressing into a new era. In a post-war setting, questions of "will this development be positive for us?" are not so central to the conversation, as there's a general shared sense that *any* change is positive, especially if it brings economic opportunity. Within the "phoenix" analogy of rising from the ashes, tourism is "the wind beneath its wings," so to say. But, importantly, this touristic wind is generated in large part by residents' welcoming demeanors, entrepreneurial spirits, and by the region's diverse and impressive natural and cultural

offerings. This acknowledgement of the "phoenix" being largely self-propelled allows for greater pride and a sense of accomplishment to manifest.

Community Attachment and Affective Relations with Tourism

The survey and the interview components of this research highlighted similar affective responses amongst residents pertaining to their perceptions of Mostar places and tourism in Mostar. The item of *pride* continually scored highly in the survey and also was mentioned recurrently in interviews and conversations. Likewise, residents reported feeling high levels of *satisfaction, contentment* and *happiness* when observing (or envisioning) tourists in their city, and these responses were often linked to feelings of *hopefulness* for the city's future and for their own personal social and economic opportunities. Yet, participants also commonly noted how "moody" the city can be and prone to developmental and social barriers that stem, in part, from affective and emotional dimensions.

As Laketa (2016) expresses within the context of Mostar, a deeply rooted affective economy permeates the city's neighborhoods and social structures. A tourist who only visits the Old City may not gain much of a sense of this, but visitors who venture even a block or two beyond the old city will see signs of charged social disharmony (such as divisive graffiti) and indications that the city's past struggles also manifest in present-day management issues (such as litter from overflowing dumpsters, a commonly cited frustration of residents). Similarly revealing, I found conversations with residents to generally be very open, and not only when I was in the role of a researcher. The war tends to seep its way into conversations, sometimes imbued with sorrow and regret, and other times in a proud or even boastful manner. In residents' interactions with

visitors, outsiders can offer a sounding board to air past or present frustrations with Mostar *or* provide impetus for refocusing attention on topics removed from war and politics.

As an example of the latter, I had several lighthearted and enthusiastic conversations with residents about Mostar's outdoor recreation opportunities, as we discovered shared interests in hiking or cycling. These conversations were devoid of politics, at least at face value, but celebratory of a different sort of shared identity – *outdoor enthusiast* – which was comparatively benign. Rather than being rooted in the past, these discussions tended to be more future-oriented, as we discussed trail systems currently in development and ways to increase participation in outdoor sports. I sensed a mutual excitement in these moments, as if our discussions were signifying a new, hopeful era and opportunity for a positively reinvigorated international reputation. With scenic mountains, parks and trails on both sides of the city, neither Bosniak nor Croat resident populations could monopolize the claim to these possibilities; unlike many of the city's neighborhoods, schools, and businesses, they were refreshingly *shared*.

To quote Aldin, one of the interview participants, interactions with tourists can offer opportunities for residents to get out of "the box" and explore different mindsets and possibilities, in both simple and profound ways. As residents often insinuated, this openness with foreigners stems in part from an understanding that in a city where everything is political, outsiders can bring a refreshing neutrality. As an American, I was not entirely "neutral," however; American forces had notoriously intervened in the war and were thus viewed as friends, heroes, enemies, and/or criminals, depending upon whom I talked to. I found it interesting how my own national identity occasionally would

weave itself into conversations. At times I had begun to see myself as a generic "outsider," and when others would remind me of my Americanness and what that implied as far as this city's specific context, I was reminded of how deeply the war's affective currents still run throughout the city.

This research revealed evidence that much of the city's affective energy arises from residents' everyday experiences in its spaces. Aldin, for instance, became noticeably charged in our conversation when discussing the city's dangerous ruins, which were interspersed in his own neighborhood. He was angry about this, but he also expressed a sense of hope that change could arrive as the generations in power shifted and the war became a more distant memory. For several interview participants, their love of the city had encouraged them to study tourism or related topics in school or pursue work in the tourism sector. This love of Mostar was often described in everyday terms: their enjoyment of walking near the river, sitting in a café for several hours, or enjoying a good plate of ćevapi (a common, traditional meat dish). While exemplary sites such as the Old Bridge brought senses of awe to residents as well as visitors, it was more commonly the simple, everyday things about Mostar that residents seemed most attached to. In the survey, most respondents reflected that Mostar had a lot to offer tourists across a wide variety of types of tourism (heritage-based, outdoor activities, etc.). Commonly, participants expressed a wish that tourists would see Mostar as more than just the Old Bridge. This was reflected in the survey, too, in which residents did not tend to express an increase of pride when envisioning tourists at the bridge. Tourism there was to be expected, but Mostar had more to offer than this alone.

Attention to affective atmospheres helped to reveal the multidimensional ways in which the city's assets emerge. Tourists and residents together contribute to the city's evolving and appealing atmospheres. Both residents and visitors can easily observe that the city's multitude of spaces of relaxation and socialization create a certain desirable ambiance. The pace of life and typical lifestyle of Mostar people seems to further enable the development of these features. Yet, not all co-created atmospheres are positive. It takes a certain commitment of behaviors and interest in a particular style of living from all parties – residents *and* visitors – to maintain the city's special feel within coinhabited spaces. Stepping outside of one's regular role can allow a broader range of a place's assets and atmospheres to be revealed. In this research, residents were encouraged to experience places more as a visitor, and I, as a visitor, strived to get to know the city more as a resident would, by staying through the fall tourism shoulder season and living alongside everyday Mostar people.

As illustrated in my autoethnography, I was a microcosmic example of how this can play out: in the occasions in which I opted out from visiting a pub at night (usually due to a reason not entirely tangible, like picking up, or making up, a not-so-inviting "vibe" from an establishment) and instead headed back to my apartment to eat dinner alone, I was not contributing positively to a vibrant atmosphere within Mostar's shared spaces. But on other occasions, like when I decided to move closer to the stage during a music festival to join other audience members dancing, I was actively contributing to the space's air of carefree fun and togetherness. As a tourist, I had the ability to exchange more than just local currency in the co-creation of a successful tourism environment. This level of power can be subtle, but it is an important recognition in assessing the impacts of

ethical and mindful visitor behavior, especially in a post-conflict setting hoping to achieve a more positive public perception.

In Mostar, the tourism industry is greatly shaped by residents' participation. The survey found that about one-quarter of the adult population works in the tourism sector to some degree. Most visitors to Mostar stay at small guest houses or resident-owned rental units. Visitor offerings, such as the zipline at Park Fortica, reflect local entrepreneurism. As Mostar becomes a common stop on more bus tours and as larger hotels such as the in-development Marriott become a larger presence, power and control may begin to shift to external parties. Yet, currently, Mostar's success in tourism development is largely attributed to "everyday" Mostar people – those who run small cafes, coppersmith shops, and hostels in their family homes.

Residents' participation in the tourism sector and their widespread support of tourism is closely associated with economic need and recognition of opportunity. Yet, this research revealed that this engagement and support was not purely for utilitarian reasons. As was also found in Poland-based, post-communist research from Strzelecka et al. (2017), economic factors alone do not determine residents' support for tourism; rather, pride, self-esteem, and social cohesion play highly influential roles. With a limited number of exceptions, in all sections of this research residents tended to express a fondness for the city and a recognition that it was a special place. This specialness was noted by residents in terms of its built and natural environment as well as social and atmospheric dimensions. These sentiments were reflected throughout the three sections of this research – in interviews, in the survey, and in my own observations and interactions. Residents' appreciation for their city seemed linked to their desire to share it with

visitors, which in turn helped to generate pride. This seems to create a positive feedback loop, in which pride then helps to open residents' minds to even greater appreciation for their city. This was evident in the tour experience, as the act of touring commonly created an invitation for deeper exploration. For instance, visiting one so-called "tourist attraction" inspired interest amongst the participants to visit more similar places during our tour day. This growing recognition of their city's assets led to increased expressions of pride or acknowledgement of the city's economic possibilities via tourism. Prior research on culturally significant tourism destinations has suggested, not surprisingly, that increased awareness and knowledge about a tourism destination/attraction are associated with higher levels of community participation (Rasoolimanesh et al., 2017). This present research further suggests that if destination communities are to encourage increased resident participation in tourism planning processes, they should encourage and welcome resident participation in tourist-type activities.

Upon considering all three sections of this research, *community attachment* emerges as an important concept in understanding residents' support for tourism and affective responses to tourist sites and spaces. In Mostar, there does not seem to be a singular formula that explains attachment, partly because residents' lived experiences vary so greatly. In the tourism research context, McCool and Martin (1994, p. 30) define community attachment as "the extent and pattern of social participation and integration into the community, and sentiment or affect toward the community." While these authors found that longer tenure as residents is associated with heightened community attachment, the findings of this present research suggest that young adults can still exhibit very high levels of attachment. Providing a more general baseline of understanding, the

survey revealed very positive perceptions of Mostar and sentiments toward tourism across the adult population. The interviews allowed for deeper investigation into the dynamics of community attachment. Expressions of attachment appeared to originate from different key sentiments. The older interview participants commonly expressed senses of *strength* and *worldliness* from having personally persevered through the war and having witnessed the city in so many different stages of destruction and recovery. They had lived through something major *with* their city – they were co-survivors with their city. For the younger interview participants, their attachment to the city seemed more connected to modern-day *enjoyment* – namely socializing with friends and enjoying the city's unique settings, such as parks, cafes, and nightclubs. Each of these pathways to attachment have their own implications for tourism development, and each can help to build a destination that is appealing. The balance, perhaps, is what makes the city so interesting, as I explored in sections two and three. Mostar, as a destination, is a unique blend of its light and dark instincts. It is a place to *relax* as much as it is a place to *reflect*.

These differences amongst residents reinforce Blackstock's (2005) call for community-based tourism research and literature to more deeply acknowledge the differences that may exist between residents within the host community. If tourism development prioritizes one of these channels over the other, a lack of cohesion between tourism stakeholders could be detrimental to the community's ability to realize long-term benefits from the sector as it aims to heal from past conflict (Novelli et al., 2012). Considering that prior research has found community attachment to be a key element of support for sustainable tourism development, planners and promoters should be strategic in determining how to amplify and utilize the different shapes and forms of attachment

within the community. This is likely not a simple task, especially in a city that is on one hand known for its cultural heritage offerings (such as the Old Bridge and Old City), and on the other hand known for its history of war and conflict. Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) use the term "dissonant heritage" to describe how heritage-based resources are always going to mean different things to different people, and thus are always pre-dispositioned to prioritize or highlight one group over another. Facing multiplicitous pulls, heritage sites are often tasked with facilitating remembrance as well as forgetting.

This expectation of multitasking is further complicated in Mostar by the common understanding that there is no one accepted version of the war history. In an investigation of place-making in Mostar, Palmberger (2019, p. 243) reflects that "Mostarians are not only exposed to changing political contexts but are also confronted with their personal past experiences; therefore their reconstructions of the past remain more flexible and situational than those of people professionally involved in writing official national histories." Many of the city's sites are prone to hosting multiple narratives, although day visitors may not realize this and take the messaging they are presented at face value.

In Mostar, I saw evidence of the demand for remembering as well as for forgetting. Yet, these dichotomies were not always amidst different population groups – sometimes they emerged within single individuals. Their personal histories with the war were too important and too formative to forget, but simultaneously felt too painful to have to remember constantly in their everyday lives. This was frequently evident in the interviews and tour experiences, particularly in terms of residents' perceptions of the city's ruined buildings. Many participants relayed to me that they understood the potent affective and cognitive value of the ruins (for visitors and locals alike) but felt as though

such places should be limited to certain designated sites, as memorials or museums with more controlled environments. They didn't want to confront them everywhere, every day, especially if they posed a health and safety threat.

The survey findings also show how sites with dark associations or places that are more affiliated with one population subgroup than another can trigger multilayered affective responses. Residents could feel strong pride, but also perhaps some shame, when they envisioned the Old Bridge. Picturing Mostar could make them mostly happy, but also a little bit angry. Generally, positive and negative valence items exhibited a negative correlation, but despite the respondents' tendencies of scoring items at or near the extreme points of the seven-point Likert-type scale, there was still some variation. Even low-mid reported levels of negative affect – say, a 3 on the scale ("somewhat") – illustrate the importance of understanding tourist sites and attractions as complex, affectively layered places for residents. To label places as singularly positive even if they are, indeed, *mostly* positive could mean overlooking certain voices or disregarding aspects of a place's history or associations in a misleading, broad brushstroke of positivity. This veiling of negative affective elements may not work as an eraser so much as a lid as on a saucepan – covering simmering issues until they build into something more volatile. In the potentially fragile relations of post-conflict places, researchers and planners should not disregard these "lower scores" (e.g., the more moderate shows of frustration or discomfort) as being unimportant just because they seem proportionately smaller.

In understanding tourism development dynamics in post-war or post-conflict places, it is essential to note the level of community attachment that residents can feel,

despite a traumatic past and blighted reputation. Struggle may encourage residents to be even more invested in their community rather than detached. In Mostar, I observed instances of both – residents feeling exhausted by the divisive politics and lack of progress, and as a result, adopting a somewhat apathetic stance, but also residents who expressed senses of energization and mobilization from witnessing their city's (and country's) slow progress. For these individuals, there was a sense that maybe they could be a part of the change to come.

It is also very common in Mostar for residents to have friends and family who live in other countries, due to war-era emigration. These foreign counterparts provide a comparison point for locals, reflecting what Mostar can offer as well as what it lacks. In several of the interviews, I heard from residents about how much their friends and family abroad miss elements of Mostar, particularly its relaxed way of life, sociability, and beautiful setting. Several participants told me that they themselves would not want to move away, despite the city's frustrating political and economic issues. Others who I spoke with *had* moved away but later returned, partly because they had missed Mostar's unique ambience and lifestyle. A few participants had worked in tourism-related positions abroad and were now keen to find ways to improve Mostar's tourism offerings and positioning.

This point highlights how *detachment* can be a valuable tool in generating *attachment*. Spending time in other places for work or for leisure had led several of the Mostarians I spoke with to realize how their city was special, for reasons such as its culture, atmosphere, landscape, food, and relative affordability – all things tourists too are sure to note. In recognizing their city's assets – particularly it's more unique features,

residents seemed to experience an enhanced sense of pride. Detachment was also an important concept in the tour experiences, as I asked participants to try to experience their city more as tourists would, in a mental exercise of separating their local tendencies and associations across the places we visited and activities we participated in. For some participants, this approach generated a greater sense of difference than for others, but participants commonly noted that they began to see things differently or notice things they hadn't before. Many reflected that they looked forward to sharing these new places or activities with friends and family later, illustrating how the experience of detachment can have positive implications for community attachment.

The resident survey data suggested another way that tourism can help foster enhanced pride and attachment, through positive external feedback. The presence of tourists was associated with an enhanced perception of pride when envisioning Park Fortica and the city, broadly, and the survey item "I am happy and proud to see tourists coming to see what my community has to offer" yielded a median score of 7 out of 7 ("very strongly agree") and a similarly high mean score (6.17). Whether through helping to build a sense of esteem, by providing new leisure and educational opportunities, or by encouraging different ways of looking at a place, this research overall found strong indication that tourism can have powerful affective benefits for residents that may enhance their wellbeing and quality of life. While neighborhood affiliation yielded significant differences between some of the scores, overall residents expressed high levels of positive affect, including pride, for tourist sites and tourism including those in other neighborhoods. These findings suggest that tourism may be a vehicle of economic improvement as well as a source of enhanced positive affect for *all* members of the city's

population, regardless of their neighborhood affiliation (a proxy for religion/ethnicity) and whether or not they work in tourism or encounter tourists regularly. In this way, the shared enthusiasm for tourism development and for sharing one's own city's assets with others could provide much-needed common ground in a city often noted for divisions and conflicts amongst its population. Yet, the significant differences that arose in the survey results, such as those between neighborhoods, suggest that there is still reason for some concern about how tourism development and promotion are executed in Mostar. While there is great promise for tourism to build upon residents' strong foundation of community attachment, there is also reason for planners and other tourism industry actors to be mindful of the local social context and the ways in which tourism products and representations may privilege one group over another.

Explorative Methodologies

A common thread of this research was that each section sought to be somewhat unconventional, while still engaging respected and established theoretical traditions. I went into this research with an understanding that affect and emotions can be elusive and thus may require some creativity and experimentation to explore in a meaningful manner. My ontological approach was inspired by the "hopeful tourism" perspective pertaining to tourism research from Pritchard et al. (2011), encouraging co-transformative learning, reflexivity, and incorporation of research topics and ways of knowing that have previously been neglected or underserved. Non-representational theory literature from cultural geography (e.g., Lorimer, 2005; Thrift, 2008) provided further encouragement for methodological inventiveness.

One way this research broke out of a standard research mold was by engaging and modulating different forms and angles of the "tourist gaze." As Urry (2002, p.1) clarifies, there is no singular tourist gaze, but rather "what makes a particular tourist gaze depends upon what it is contrasted with; what the forms of non-tourist experience happen to be." In the interviews/tour experiences, residents were invited to flip the gaze upon their own community and try to view Mostar more as a tourist would. Usually, for them this meant dynamically role-switching throughout the day, embracing the freedom to be touristic while still engaging their wisdom as residents. In a city troubled by its social divisions and persistent tendency of "othering," they were essentially invited to "other" themselves and become a more neutral third party. As a result, it was common in this research for participants to choose to go somewhere or do something that otherwise they would not have. This enabled opportunities for co-discovery, not just co-touring, and it was often in these moments that affective responses were most pronounced amongst the participants. Whether it was Mirjana and Lucija leaving the Museum of War and Genocide with contemplative tears in their eyes, or Tarik rapping along with his stereo while driving through the sunny countryside, the freshness of the experience seemed to enliven the affective outcomes. While my research invitation had facilitated these outcomes, they were also the product of *tourism.* Embracing a tourist-like curiosity and openness in one's own home city has the potential to be a powerful and transformative experience.

Interestingly, as I reflect in my autoethnography, I myself experienced an opposite problem: feeling a confining lack of tourist-ness although I was a visitor. As I became more engrained in the city and my research, I felt myself becoming more closed off to the city's opportunities in some ways – self-conscious of my behaviors and how I

might be publicly representing myself. I was gazing at myself with the scrutiny of a microscope, allowing myself too much space for inward contemplation. I believe my autoethnography is very raw and honest, but I also think some of my emotions and affective experiences would not have been churned up as they were had I not been in Mostar with the intention of daily journaling and writing an autoethnography. I created a nursery for my insecurities and discomforts, consoling them but also allowing them to flourish. I couldn't *just be*, free and frivolous, as a tourist could, but I also did not have all of the advantages of a resident, such as local language fluency. My feeling of local embeddedness did shift gradually, as I became more familiar with the ins and outs of the shops and restaurants in my neighborhoods and developed local friendships, but I did not anticipate the degree of which my *in-betweenness* would feel jarring. I suspect these feelings might be shared by other longer-term visitors – foreign workers on assignment or extended-stay backpackers – but I also think there was something affectively amplifying about my position of being an actor within the phenomena I was there to intricately dissect.

These feelings were a testament to how tourism can only offer escapism and revitalization to a certain degree, whether a resident is "playing tourist" or a visitor is looking for a change of normal routine or a "restart." I could not hide from my pre-existing issues here. Instead they felt heightened, as if the city's scarred past sought solidarity in my own psyche. My efforts to be *in the moment* conflated with my overt inward attunement. I felt both older and younger than I would like to be, and both over-experienced (as a tourist) and under-experienced (as a foreign researcher). Yet, there were also ample moments in which I recognized the remarkable uniqueness of this in-

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betweenness: when would I have such a specific experience again? In this notion, my unsettledness became cause for celebration. I employed intentionality and self-forgiveness to savor each disjointed feeling. When I think back to my time in Mostar it feels as though it occurred in an alternate universe: a beautiful oddity that doesn't entirely make sense within the framing of my "normal" life. My memories of my affective experience seem to mirror the atmospheric character of the city: beautiful, magical, unsettled, embarrassed, undefinable, a motion still in progress.

The "gaze" played a role in the survey, as well, although attention was flipped from the "non-tourist" onto local touristic spaces and their visitors. Rather than inquiring what residents think about tourists directly, the emphasis on affect positioned the *residents* as central to the investigation. How did the presence of tourists make residents feel when they envisioned places in their city? Contrasting internal and external factors was a key element of the study design. Residents were asked to picture places in a general sense, which could evoke associations of their history and experiences in Mostar including their own leisure time (if that was most salient to them personally). In the tourism scenario, they were asked to picture tourists visiting the site, employing a mentally conjured gaze to construct a division between self and others.

All three sections of this research reiterate the importance of place-based methodologies in helping to uncover and unfurl a place's affective dimensions. Actively touring the city with participants in the second research section created moments of immersion and reflection and sparked conversations that may not have otherwise arisen. In the autoethnography section, I explored affective aspects of my own experience of spending prolonged time in another country in a direct and exposed way that I had not

previously ventured to do. In the survey, participants were asked to mentally envision

sites in their city in order to tap into more immediate, affective responses to those places.

While actually being in the setting might be more precise or effective than mentally

conjuring the experience, photo elicitation and other descriptive methods can be a useful

proxy for actually being in the place of interest in a survey format that aims to reach a

large number of participants. As the exploration of atmospheres details, there are

subversive and underlying aspects of a place's identity and *feel* that only become evident

upon first-hand experience and close observation. These elements create essential

components of providing a more holistic and honest representation of residents'

perceptions toward tourism as well as their own city and community. By anchoring

research in actual places that are touristic as well as "every day," the broad possibilities

of tourism may be more fully uncovered.

Final Thoughts

One major question on my mind is: will tourists gradually lose interest in

Mostar's darkness, as the war history fades farther into the past? I imagine so, as nearby

destinations such as Dubrovnik illustrate how this can happen. In Mostar, this may take

decades rather than years, given the extent of the war's damage within the municipality

and the city's destination image that is so entwined with history and heritage (rather than,

say, beaches and boats). As I discussed in my autoethnography, I am of the precise age of

someone who remembers the war from news footage during formative years of my

childhood, and am now old enough to have financial means to travel but young enough to

have physical ability and desire to explore a still off-the-beaten-path destination. As time

passes, people like me will grow up, replaced by generations that did not have my

experience. Internationally, memories of Bosnia and Herzegovina featured on the evening news will dissipate. President Clinton's intervention and the Dayton Accords will fade farther into a backdrop of world affairs, overshadowed by more recent issues.

Nevertheless, tourists' current interests in the Mostar's darkness are ultimately interest in *tourism* in Mostar, which is a multifaceted product not defined only by historical, dark attractions. Word of mouth and the increase of tourism development projects will continue to keep Mostar within tourists' view, I believe. Mostar has ample assets to (re)build an industry defined by world-class features including its cultural heritage and outdoor recreation offerings.

The war will likely not fade from the memory of residents in this same way. Even if buildings are rebuilt and visitors take minimalized notice of the war history, the affective potency of this past will still linger amongst the residents who personally lived through trauma and hardship and still find reminders of this past in their everyday lives. As new generations replace older generations, this will gradually shift, but this family history will still leave an imprint, even if diminishing. This is a primary reason why the darkness of "dark tourism" ethically *cannot* only be studied from the perspective of visitors. Darkness is variable, elusive, wavering, and complex. The affective outcomes of immersion in post-war settings can run deep and sometimes manifest in surprising ways. Darkness can exist differently from person to person, or between residents and tourists, or tourists and longer-term visitors. The darkness of a place not only is a product of the direct trauma of the people who have resided within its spaces, but it can also actively work to conjure or uncover additional, indirect "darknesses" unique to the individual. Tourism has the ability to be a tool for progress – to build hope, resilience, pride, and

admiration – but it can create fragile and temperamental community relations in its wake.

By attuning to the affective dispositions, encounters, and atmospheres within post-

conflict touristic spaces, tourism development is more strongly positioned to empower

residents, create a lasting economy, and allow a place, as a community, to flourish to the

fullest of its potential.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

COMPLETE RESIDENT SURVEY RESULTS WITH TRANSLATION

Survey Overview

Surveys were collected between September to October of 2019 via intercept-based, probabilistic cluster sampling methods across different neighborhoods of Mostar. The population was delimited to adult (ages 18 and older) residents of Mostar and its immediate suburbs. In total, 408 valid surveys were included in the analysis.

Section 1: Respondent Demographics and Descriptive Characteristics

Table 1. Respondents' gender *(Spol ispitanika)*

Gender	n	%
Male *(muško)*	216	54
Female *(žensko)*	183	46

Table 2. Respondents' ages *(Godina ispitanika)*

Age	n	%
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

Table 3. Employment status *(Trenutni status)*

Employment category	n	%
Work full-time *(Radim puno radno vrijeme)*	181	44
Part-time/temp./seasonal *(Pola radnog vremena, privremeni /sezonski posao)*	68	17
Student *(Student)*	90	22
Unemployed *(Nezaposlen)*	48	12
Retired *(Mirovini)*	35	9
Caring for family at home *(Radim kod kuće I brinem se za porodicu)*	5	1
Other *(Ostalo)*	7	2

Note. Participants were able to select more than one category, if applicable.

Table 4. Whether occupation is related to travel, hospitality and/or tourism *(Zanimanje vezano za putovanja, ugostiteljstvo ili turizam)*

Category	n	%
Yes (examples: work for a hotel or guest house, airline, tour operator, etc.) *(Da [primjer: rad za hotel ili hostel, avio kompaniju, turistički vodić, itd.])*	57	14
Partially/indirectly (examples: work in a shop frequented by tourists, at a bus station, at a café, etc.) *(Periodicno/indirektno [primjer: rad u suvenirnici, kafiću, autobusnoj stanici, mjestima gdje prolazi mnogo turista])*	46	12
No *(Ne)*	296	74

Table 5. Highest level of education completed *(Stepan obrazovanja)*

Level *(Razina)*	n	%
High school graduate *(Srednja školska sprema)*	200	50
College degree *(Univerzitetska diploma)*	161	40
Advanced degree *(Magisterij ili Doktorat)*	42	10

Table 6. Number of years lived in Mostar *(Broj godina života u Mostaru)*

Years *(Godine)*	n	%
Less than 5 *(Manje od 5)*	44	11
5 to 14 *(od 5 do 14)*	29	7
15 to 29 *(od 15 do 29)*	186	46
30 to 49 *(od 30 do 49)*	75	19
50 or more *(50 I više)*	68	17

Table 7. Lived elsewhere during lifetime *(Tokom života živjeli drugdje)*

Place *(Mjesto)*	Yes *(Da)*		No *(Ne)*	
	n	%	n	%
Another city in Bosnia and Herzegovina *(Drugi grad u Bosni I Hercegovini)*	124	31	280	69
Another country *(Druga država)*	99	24	306	76

Table 8. Frequency traveling to other countries as a tourist *(Učestalost putovanja u druge zemlje kao turista)*

Frequency	*n*	%
Never *(Nikada)*	9	2.2
Once or a few times in my life *(Jednom ili nekoliko puta u žIvotu)*	72	17.8
About every few years *(Svako par godina)*	74	18.3
About once a year *(Jednom godišnje)*	99	24.5
Multiple times per year *(Više puta godišnje)*	150	37.1

Table 9. Home neighborhood *(Susjedstvo)*

Part of Mostar *(Dio Mostara)*	*n*	%
Western *(Zapadni)*	147	37
Eastern *(Istočni dio Mostara)*	220	55
Other *(Ostalo)*	34	8

Table 10. Approximate distance between home and the Old Bridge *(Približna udaljenost između kuće i Starog mosta)*

Distance	*n*	%
Within 500 m *(Oko 500 metara)*	87	22
Within 1 km *(Oko jednog kilometra)*	97	24
Within 2 km *(Oko dva kilometra)*	82	21
Within 3 km *(Oko tri kilometra)*	46	12
3 km or more *(Tri kilometra I više)*	88	22

Table 11. Frequency seeing tourists *(Učestalost viđenja turista)*

Years *(Godine)*	n	%
Every day, very frequently *(Svaki dan, jako često)*	170	42
Every day, but usually only once or twice per day *(Svaki dan, obično jednom do dva puta)*	45	11
A few times a week *(Nekoliko puta sedmično)*	85	21
Several times a month *(Nekoliko puta mjesečno)*	52	13
Very rarely *(Veoma rijetko)*	47	12
Never *(Nikada)*	4	1

Section 2: Perceptions and Opinions of Tourism in and Near Mostar

Table 12. Level of support for tourism development in Bosnia and Herzegovina (generally) and Mostar (specifically), by percent per response score

Place level	n	1 (%)	2	3	4	5	6	7	*Mdn*	*M*	*SD*
Bosnia and Herzegovina (national level)	407	1	0	2	9	13	22	53	7	6.08	1.27
Mostar (city level)	406	2	0	1	9	13	20	56	7	6.14	1.25

Note. The Likert-type response scale (1 to 7) was presented with the following guidelines: 1 = extremely unsupportive *(kategorično ne podupirem)*, 2 = very unsupportive *(jako ne podupirem)*, 3 = somewhat unsupportive *(donekle ne podupirem)*, 4 = neither supportive nor unsupportive *(niti podupirem niti ne podupirem)*, 5 = somewhat supportive *(donekle podupirem)*, 6 = very supportive *(jako podupirem)*, 7 = Extremely supportive *(snažno podupirem)*

Table 13. Level of support for tourists visiting two examples of specific sites in Mostar, by percent per response score

Site	n	1 (%)	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mdn	M	SD
Old Bridge *(Stari Most)*	400	1	1	1	6	7	21	63	7	6.33	1.15
Park Fortica	395	2	1	1	10	8	23	56	7	6.16	1.26

Note. The Likert-type response scale (1 to 7) was presented with the following guidelines: 1 = extremely unsupportive *(kategorično ne podupirem)*, 2 = very unsupportive *(jako ne podupirem)*, 3 = somewhat unsupportive *(donekle ne podupirem)*, 4 = neither supportive nor unsupportive *(niti podupirem niti ne podupirem)*, 5 = somewhat supportive *(donekle podupirem)*, 6 = very supportive *(jako podupirem)*, 7 = Extremely supportive *(snažno podupirem)*

Table 14. Support of specific types of tourism development and promotion in Mostar and the surrounding region

Type of tourism	n	1 (%)	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mdn	M	SD
Regional food, art, and music *(Domaća hrana, umjetnost I muzika)*	396	0	2	3	4	10	24	58	7	6.26	1.12
Outdoor recreation [such as hiking, biking, rafting, fishing and swimming] *(Rekreacija u prirodi [kao npr.planinarenje, biciklizam, rafting, riboliv, plivanje])*	408	1	1	2	7	10	23	57	7	6.17	1.24
Large sporting events [such as races, marathons, competitions, soccer matches, etc.] *(Veliki sportski događaji [kao npr.ulične trke, maratoni, fudbalska natjecanja itd.])*	405	1	2	2	8	10	22	55	7	6.11	1.31
Ottoman history and heritage *(Ostavština Turske vladavine)*	402	2	1	3	13	13	20	47	6	5.84	1.43
Yugoslavian history and heritage *(Ostavština Jugoslovije)*	404	2	3	4	14	13	20	43	6	5.65	1.57
History of the past 30 years [including the recent war] *(Istorija, posljednjih 30 godina [uključujući I rat])*	406	7	4	4	14	14	17	40	6	5.33	1.88

Note. The Likert-type response scale (1 to 7) was presented with the following guidelines: 1 = extremely unsupportive *(kategorično ne podupirem)*, 2 = very unsupportive *(jako ne podupirem)*, 3 = somewhat unsupportive *(donekle ne podupirem)*, 4 = neither supportive nor unsupportive *(niti podupirem niti ne podupirem)*, 5 = somewhat supportive *(donekle podupirem)*, 6 = very supportive *(jako podupirem)*, 7 = Extremely supportive *(snažno podupirem)*

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Table 15. Places in or near Mostar that respondents reported <u>more</u> tourists should visit. (Optional; short answer) *(Mjesta u Mostaru ili u blizini kojih su ispitanici prijavili da bi trebalo posjetiti više turista)*

Original response *(Originalan odgovor)*	Frequency	English translation
Blagaj	19	Blagaj
Blagaj - ljepota prirode	1	Blagaj - natural beauty
Blagaj, Tvrdjava Stjepangrad	1	Blagaj, Stjepangrad Fort
Blagaj, Kravica	1	Blagaj, Kravica
blagaj pocitelj kravice	1	Blagaj, Počitelj, Kravice
Blagaj, Daorson, Kravice	1	Blagaj, Daorson, Kravice
blagaj, kravice, tihaljina	1	Blagaj, Kravice, Tihaljina
Blagaj, pecina Vjetrenica, Stolac,	1	Blagaj, Vjetrenica Cave, Stolac
Blagaj, pocitelj	2	Blagaj, Počitelj
Blagaj, Pocitelj, Kravice vodopadi	1	Blagaj, Počitelj, Kravice waterfalls
Blagaj, Pocitelj, Kravice, Stolac	1	Blagaj, Počitelj, Kravice, Stolac
Blagaj, Vodopad Kravice, Počitelj, Medjugorje...	1	Blagaj, Kravice waterfall, Počitelj, Međugorje…
Blagaj, vodopadi Kravice, Radimlja, Pocitelj, Medjugorje..	1	Blagaj, Kravice waterfalls, Radimlja, Počitelj, Međugorje.
Blagaj,Buna,jer su predivna mjesta i trebali bi se fokusirati da se ta mjesta urede i omoguci uzivanje u njima kako turistima tako i domacem stanovnistvu	1	Blagaj, Buna [River], because they are beautiful places and they should focus on tidying up these places and allowing them to be enjoyed by both tourists and locals
Blagaj,dreznica,podvelezje	1	Blagaj, Dreznica, Podveležje [plateau]
Blagaj,kravice,salakovac	1	Blagaj, Kravice, and Salakovac
Blagaj,Krqvice I Pocitelj	1	Blagaj, Kravice and Počitelj
Blagaj,Tekija	2	Blagaj,Tekija
Blagaj. Imamo prelijepo mjesto kao sto je Vrelo Bune	1	Blagaj. We have beautiful places like Vrelo Bune.
Blidinje park pirode, Hutovo Blato park pirode	1	Blidinje Nature Park, Hutovo Blato Nature Park
Buna	1	Buna [River]
Buna prelijep pogled	1	Buna beautiful view

Buna tekija		Buna Tekija
Caplina i Trebizat	1	Čapljina and Trebižat
Da Blagaj, Partizanako apomen obilježje ,Bunica....sve je to bogata naša baština	1	Yes: Blagaj, Partisan Memorial, Bunica .... it's all our rich heritage
Da, Stari Grad u Blagaju	1	Yes, the Old Town in Blagaj
Da, stecci u Cimu	1	Yes, stecći (Medieval tombstones) in Cim
Da, uborak, smetljiste, da turisti vide tu sennzaciju	1	Yes, well, rubbish, for tourists to see that sensation
da. pstoji mnogo mjesta. zavisno od vrste turizma za koji su ljhdi zainteresovani.opcija je mnogo: sportski turizam, istorijski turizam, vjerski, gastronomski...	1	Yes. There are many places. Depending on the type of tourism they are interested in. There are many options: sports tourism, historical tourism, religious, gastronomic ...
Daorson	1	Daorson
dreznica	1	Dreznica
Gradski park ,trimusa,hum,neretva beach	1	Trimuša city park, Hum Hill, Neretva beach
Herceg stjepan kosaca dvorac	1	Herceg Stjepan Kosača Castle
hum	1	Hum Hill
Hutovo blato	1	Hutovo Blato
Hutovo blato, Buna Blagaj Pocitelj	1	Hutovo Blato, Buna, Blagaj, Počitelj
Izletiste Bunica,zracna banja Podvelezje,Ruiste	1	Bunica picnic area, fresh air in Podvelezje, Ruiste
Izvor Bune, Šantićeva Emina, Partizansko obiljezje	1	Buna spring, statue of Šantić's "Emina", Partisan Monument
Kamenica Mimara Hajrudina (Bijelo Polje)	1	Kamenica Mimara Hajrudina [architect] (Bijelo Polje)
Kanjon fortice , hum , Kula iznad Opina, most kamenica	1	Fortica canyon, Hum Hill, tower above Opin, Kamenica Bridge
Kravice	3	Kravice
kravice - Radi prirode	1	Kravice - For nature
Kravice, Trebizat, Stolac, Blidinje	1	Kravice, Trebizat, Stolac, Blidinje
Kula u Počitelju jer je mjesto historijska građevina i ima dosta priče iza te kule, Vodopad na kravicama zraci	1	The tower in Počitelj because the place is a historic building and has a lot of stories behind it, Kravica

ljepotom njegovog vodopada i lijepo je mjesto za obilazak, tekija Blagaj mjesto priča samo za sebe		waterfall radiates beauty and is a beautiful place to tour, Blagaj Tekija because the place tells stories for itself
Međugorje	2	Međugorje
Medugorje i Kravice	1	Međugorje and Kravice
mjesto tuge i ocaja kao i nade i uspjeha univerzitet dzemal bijedic	1	A place of sadness and despair as well as hope and success: Džemal Bjedic University
Mogorjelo	1	Mogorjelo [Roman villa in Čapljina]
Muslibegovica kuca	1	Muslibegović House
muzej genocida	1	Museum of Genocide
Muzej zrtava rata u BiH	1	Museum of War Victims in Bosnia and Herzegovina
Nekropole stecaka, Blagaj, Blidinje	1	Necropolis stecaks (Medieval stones), Blagaj, Blidinje
Obale Neretve duz cjeloga grada bi trebale biti prohodne, osvijetljene. Takodjer bi trabao biti ratfing od sjevernog djela grada pa sve do juznoga kao i uredjene plaze gdje bi turisti mogli stati tokom raftinga	1	The shores of the Neretva along the whole city should be walkable, illuminated. There should also be rafting from the northern part of the city all the way to the south as well as landscaped beaches where tourists can stop while rafting
Park Bunica , priroda , Kravice	1	Bunica nature park, Kravice
Park Partizanovo Groblje	5	Partisan Cemetery/Park
Partizansko groblje, Blagaj Tekija, Buna, Ušće Neretve...	1	Partisan Cemetery, Blagaj Tekija, Buna, Neretva estuary...
partizansko groblje, Blagaj, Počitelj...	1	Partisan Cemetery, Blagaj, Počitelj…
Partizansko spomen groblje	1	Partisan Memorial Cemetery
Počitelj	2	Počitelj
Pocitelj, Kravice, Blagaj	1	Počitelj, Kravice, Blagaj
POCITELJ,BLAGAJ,STOLAC,DREZNICA	1	Počitelj, Blagaj, Stolac, Dreznica
Pocitelj,Blagaj I Stolac	1	Počitelj, Blagaj, and Stolac
Podvelezje	1	Podvelezje [Plateau]
Podvelezje, Blagaj, Pocitelj, Stolac	1	Podvelezje, Blagaj, Počitelj, Stolac

Response	Frequency	English translation
Podvelezje,Blagaj, Kravice,Pocitelj,Stolac	1	Podvelezje, Blagaj, Kravice, Počitelj, Stolac
Postoje punk [puno] arranging lokacija, blagaj, kravice, rujiste	1	There are many arranging locations, Blagaj, Kravice, Rujište
Prirodni park Ruišta u selu Ruište na planini Prenj	1	Ruište Nature Park in the village of Ruište on the mountain Prenj
Ruista	1	Ruišta
ruiste , dreznicu , blagaj	1	Ruište, Dreznica, Blagaj
Rujiste priroda(munika), stolac - historija, daorson - stecak, Velez, blagaj, izvor bunice - ljekovito jodom	1	Rujista nature (munika endemic pine trees), Stolac - history, Daorson - stecak (Medieval tombstones), Velez, Blagaj, Buna spring - medicinal iodine
Standardne turisticke lokacije, Pocitelj, Kravice, Blagaj....	1	Standard tourist locations, Počitelj, Kravice, Blagaj....
Stari Grad - Herceg Stjepan	1	Old City - Herceg Stjepan Kosača Center
Stari most	1	Old Bridge
Stecci u Stocu i Mosturu	1	Stecci (Medieval tombstones) in Stolac and Mostar
stjepan grad, ruiste, stolac, jablanica, konjic, pocitelj, blagaj, kraviCe, daorson, grabovica	1	Stjepan Grad (Old Blagaj Fort), Ruište, Stolac, Jablanica, Konjic, Počitelj, Blagaj, Kravice, Daorson, Grabovica
Sudoku brijeg [Široki Brijeg]	1	Široki Brijeg
Tekija Blagaj	1	Blagaj Tekija
tekija na buni	1	The tekija at Buna
Veleov stadion	1	Velež Stadium

Negatory responses	Frequency	English translation
ne/nema	3	No/none
ne znam	1	I don't know
[blank]	297	-

Table 16. Places in or near Mostar that respondents reported that tourists should <u>not</u> visit. (Optional; short answer) *(Mjesta u Mostaru ili u blizini kojih su ispitanici prijavili da turisti ne bi trebali posjetiti)*

Original response *(Originalan odgovor)*	Frequency	English translation
blagaj	1	Blagaj
Bulevar i tako to	1	The Boulevard [of National Revolution] and such
Da	1	Yes
Fortica, Blidinje i Rujiste, zato sto su jedno od rijetkih mjesta u okolici Mostara u kojima lokalci mogu uzivati bez guzve.	1	Fortica, Blidinje and Rujište, because they are some of the few places around Mostar that locals can enjoy without the crowds.
goranci	1	Goranci
Hum her su odatle.bacane bombe na bosnjake.	1	Hum Hill. From there bombs were thrown at the Bosniaks.
Jedan stari spomenik trg svim našim hrabrim predcima	1	An old monument square to all our brave ancestors
Medjugorje	2	Međugorje
Međugorje zbog dusmanstva	1	Međugorje because of the enemies
minska polja	1	minefields
Partizansko spomen groblje	1	Partisan Cemetery
Pocitelj zbog starog grada,Blagaj zbog vrela I kule,Stolac zbog starog grada	1	Počitelj for the old town, Blagaj for the spring and tower, Stolac for the old town
prirodne ljepote	1	natural beauty
Rujiste,lose iskustvo	1	Rujište, a bad experience
ZBOG STAROG GRADA	1	For the Old Town
Negatory responses	Frequency	English translation
Mislim da nemamo takvih mjesta.	1	I don't think we have such places.

Naravno da ne	1	Of course not
Ne	12	No
Ne mislim	1	I don't think so
ne Znam	1	I don't know
Nema	2	None
[blank]	374	-

Table 17. Perceptions of tourism and tourism opportunities in Mostar (by percentage per agreement scale response score)

Statement	*n*	1 (%)	2	3	4	5	6	7	*Mdn*	*M*	*SD*
Tourism holds great promise for Mostar's future *(Turizam predstavlja veliku mogućnost za Mostar)*	407	4	1	2	2	5	21	65	7.0	6.26	1.44
I am happy and proud when I see tourists coming to see what my community has to offer *(Sretan sam I ponosan da vidim turiste koji dolaze da vide šta moja zajednica ima da ponudi)*	399	3	1	1	3	14	19	60	7	6.17	1.38
There are many enjoyable or interesting activities and attractions for tourists in Mostar *(Postoje mnoge ugodne I interesantne atrakcije za turiste u Mostaru)*	404	2	2	3	4	18	20	51	7	6.00	1.37
Tourism development increases residents' quality of life in Mostar *(Razvoj turizma povećava kvalitetu života mještana)*	405	3	2	2	4	11	21	58	7	6.10	1.44
I would personally benefit from more tourism development in Mostar *(Ja bi lično imao veću korist od većeg broja turista)*	406	14	5	4	17	15	9	36	5	4.86	2.13

Note. The Likert-type response scale (1 to 7) was presented with the following guidelines: 1 = very strongly disagree *(apsolutno se ne slažem)*, 2 = strongly disagree *(jako se ne slažem)*, 3 = somewhat disagree *(donekle se ne slažem)*, 4 = neither agree nor disagree *(niti se slažem niti se ne slažem)*, 5 = somewhat agree *(donekle se slažem)*, 6 = strongly agree *(jako se slažem)*, 7 = very strongly agree *(totalno se slažem)*

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Table 18. Perceptions of the Red Bull Cliff Diving World Series event (by percentage per agreement scale response score)

Statement	*n*	1 (%)	2	3	4	5	6	7	*Mdn*	*M*	*SD*
The event enhances community pride *(Ovaj događaj pospješuje ponos zajednice)*	395	2	1	2	5	3	12	75	7	6.45	1.24
The event enhances the sense of being a part of a community *(Ovaj događaj pospješuje osjećaj pripadnosti zajednici)*	394	2	1	2	5	7	12	71	7	6.37	1.25
The event provides the incentive for the preservation of local culture *(Ovaj događaj predstavlja poticaj za očuvanje lokalne culture)*	395	2	1	1	4	9	14	69	7	6.34	1.26
The event reinforces community spirit *(Ovaj događaj osnažuje duh zajednice)*	395	3	1	2	6	5	14	71	7	6.33	1.34

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Note. The Likert-type response scale (1 to 7) was presented with the following guidelines: 1 = very strongly disagree *(apsolutno se ne slažem)*, 2 = strongly disagree *(jako se ne slažem)*, 3 = somewhat disagree *(donekle se ne slažem)*, 4 = neither agree nor disagree *(niti se slažem niti se ne slažem)*, 5 = somewhat agree *(donekle se slažem)*, 6 = strongly agree *(jako se slažem)*, 7 = very strongly agree *(totalno se slažem)*

Section 3: Residents' Affective Associations with Tourist Places and Tourism in Mostar

This section presents data collected with the intention of providing a comparison between: a) residents' affective associations with places (generally conceived) to the affective associations with the same places when envisioned with tourists visiting; and b) residents' affective associations with the city of Mostar (broadly conceived) to the affective associations of two examples of specific tourist sites in Mostar.

Table 19. Reported affective associations when mentally envisioning the city of Mostar (general conception)
(Anketno pitanje: "Na skali od 1 do 7 koje emocije osjećate kada mislite o Mostaru? [Za svaki osjećaj/odgovor molimo odaberite jedan od ponudjenih odgovora]")

Affect item	n	1 (%)	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mdn	M	SD
Satisfied/content/pleased *(Zadovoljan)*	398	2	1	2	9	15	26	44	6	5.88	1.38
Happy/joyful *(Sretan, radostan)*	393	1	2	2	9	21	24	40	6	5.80	1.35
Proud *(Ponosan)*	389	1	4	5	12	15	21	43	6	5.72	1.48
Hopeful/inspired *(Nadati se, inspirisana)*	394	3	3	8	19	20	18	29	5	5.21	1.59
Strong/empowered *(Osnažen/a)*	391	4	5	8	20	20	19	24	5	4.99	1.67
Interested/excited *(Zainteresovan, uzbuđen)*	396	7	5	7	25	28	16	13	5	4.61	1.61
Unconcerned/calm *(Nezabrinut, smiren)*	394	16	13	11	22	20	9	9	4	3.79	1.83

	N									M	SD
Angry/bothered *(Ljut, razljućen)*	399	31	17	18	13	8	5	8	3	2.95	1.90
Disinterested/bored *(Nezainteresiranost, dosada)*	396	30	20	13	21	9	4	3	3	2.84	1.68
Worried/nervous/anxious *(Zabrinut, nervozan, ankciozan)*	395	39	17	14	12	9	4	5	2	2.66	1.81
Powerless/weak/disenfranchised *(Nemoćan)*	393	45	16	9	9	9	5	7	2	2.63	1.95
Sad/mournful/depressed *(Tužan, žalostan, depresivan)*	392	42	15	16	11	9	3	4	2	2.56	1.73
Ashamed *(Posramljen)*	393	46	16	15	11	7	3	3	2	2.39	1.67
Hopeless/despaired *(Beznadežan, očajan)*	386	54	15	11	7	7	2	3	1	2.17	1.63

Note. The Likert-type response scale (1 to 7) was presented with the following guidelines: 1 = not at all *(nimalo)*; 2 = slightly *(jako malo)*; 3 = somewhat *(malo)*; 4 = moderately *(umjereno)*; 5 = quite a bit *(poprilično)*; 6 = very much *(jako mnogo)*; 7 = extremely/totally *(totalno)*. The affect items and measurement descriptions were translated to Bosnian and back-translated to English.

Table 20. Reported affective associations when envisioning <u>tourists visiting Mostar</u>
(Anketno pitanje: "Na skali od 1 do 7 koje je vaše iskustvo sa navedenim emocijama I osjećajima kada mislite o posjeti turista Mostaru. [Za svaki osjećaj /odgovor molimo odaberite jedan od ponudjenih odgovora]")

Affect item	n	1 (%)	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mdn	M	SD
Proud *(Ponosan)*	398	2	2	3	9	18	24	43	6	5.87	1.34
Happy/joyful *(Sretan, radostan)*	398	2	2	3	11	21	20	41	6	5.73	1.41
Satisfied/content/pleased *(Zadovoljan)*	398	2	2	3	7	25	21	39	6	5.71	1.41
Hopeful/inspired *(Nadati se, inspirisana)*	402	3	2	4	10	26	21	34	6	5.53	1.48
Surprised *(Zapanjen)*	404	3	3	6	14	23	18	33	6	5.33	1.61
Strong/empowered *(Osnažen/a)*	393	5	3	5	15	26	20	28	5	5.27	1.60
Interested/excited *(Zainteresovan, uzbuđen)*	392	8	4	7	20	23	17	20	5	4.75	1.77
Unconcerned/calm *(Nezabrinut, smiren)*	398	22	6	8	20	19	10	15	4	3.98	2.07
Disinterested/bored *(Nezainteresiranost, dosada)*	396	42	17	10	18	9	2	3	2	2.52	1.66
Powerless/weak/disenfranchised *(Nemoćan)*	397	59	13	10	6	5	3	3	1	2.06	1.64
Angry/bothered *(Ljut, razljućen)*	400	59	14	10	8	5	1	4	1	2.06	1.61
Worried/nervous/anxious *(Zabrinut, nervozan, ankciozan)*	392	55	17	11	9	3	2	2	1	2.05	1.50
Ashamed *(Posramljen)*	400	66	11	9	7	3	2	2	1	1.82	1.41
Sad/mournful/depressed *(Tužan, žalostan, depresivan)*	396	68	13	8	6	3	1	2	1	1.73	1.32
Hopeless/despaired *(Beznadežan, očajan)*	394	69	13	7	6	3	0	2	1	1.69	1.29

Note. The Likert-type response scale (1 to 7) was presented with the following guidelines: 1 = not at all; 2 = slightly; 3 = somewhat; 4 = moderately; 5 = quite a bit; 6 = very much; 7 = extremely/totally. The affect items and measurement descriptions were translated to Bosnian and back-translated to English.

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Table 21. Reported affective associations when mentally envisioning the Old Bridge (general conception)
(Anketno pitanje: "Na skali od 1 do 7 koje od sljedećih osjećaja I emocija osjećate kada pomislite o Starom Mostu. Molimo vas odgovorite za svaku vrstu osjećaja koji su navedeni. [Za svaki od osećaja molimo vas da odaberete jedan od ponuđenih brojeva na skali]")

Affect item	n	1 (%)	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mdn	M	SD
Proud *(Ponosan)*	399	1	1	2	6	9	22	60	7	6.26	1.17
Satisfied/content/pleased *(Zadovoljan)*	400	2	1	1	5	12	20	59	7	6.20	1.26
Happy/joyful *(Sretan, radostan)*	399	2	1	1	6	12	22	57	7	6.19	1.25
Hopeful/inspired *(Nadati se, inspirisana)*	401	2	1	1	9	14	24	48	6	5.94	1.38
Strong/empowered *(Osnažen/a)*	398	3	2	4	8	15	22	47	6	5.85	1.49
Interested/excited *(Zainteresovan, uzbuđen)*	401	9	4	4	20	17	19	27	5	4.93	1.88
Unconcerned/calm *(Nezabrinut, smiren)*	399	28	8	7	18	12	13	16	4	3.78	2.20
Disinterested/bored *(Nezainteresiranost, dosada)*	397	50	12	9	18	6	3	3	2	2.37	1.68
Angry/bothered *(Ljut, razljućen)*	402	59	15	9	6	6	3	2	1	2.03	1.58
Powerless/weak/disenfranchised *(Nemoćan)*	396	65	13	8	6	4	1	4	1	1.91	1.58
Worried/nervous/anxious *(Zabrinut, nervozan, ankciozan)*	397	62	14	9	8	3	3	2	1	1.90	1.47
Sad/mournful/depressed *(Tužan, žalostan, depresivan)*	402	63	14	10	4	4	2	2	1	1.86	1.44
Ashamed *(Posramljen)*	398	69	13	8	3	2	2	3	1	1.74	1.45
Hopeless/despaired *(Beznadežan, očajan)*	399	71	12	7	2	3	3	3	1	1.71	1.44

Note. The Likert-type response scale (1 to 7) was presented with the following guidelines: 1 = not at all *(nimalo)*; 2 = slightly *(jako malo)*; 3 = somewhat *(malo)*; 4 = moderately *(umjereno)*; 5 = quite a bit *(poprilično)*; 6 = very much *(jako mnogo)*; 7 = extremely/totally *(totalno)*. The affect items and measurement descriptions were translated to Bosnian and back-translated to English.

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Table 22. Reported affective associations when envisioning <u>tourists visiting</u> the Old Bridge
(Anketno pitanje: "Na skali od 1 do 7 kakvo je vaše mišljenje I koji su vaši osjećaji vezano za posjetu turista Starom Mostu. [Za svaki od osećaja molimo vas da odaberete jedan od ponuđenih brojeva na skali]")

Affect item	n	1 (%)	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mdn	M	SD
Proud *(Ponosan)*	397	2	2	3	7	13	22	52	7	6.01	1.36
Happy/joyful *(Sretan, radostan)*	399	1	1	3	9	15	19	52	7	6.00	1.32
Satisfied/content/pleased *(Zadovoljan)*	396	2	2	2	7	17	20	51	7	5.98	1.34
Surprised *(Zapanjen)*	398	4	1	3	12	16	16	48	6	5.78	1.55
Hopeful/inspired *(Nadati se, inspirisana)*	397	3	1	5	12	16	20	43	6	5.70	1.51
Strong/empowered *(Osnažen/a)*	390	4	4	5	12	16	20	40	6	5.53	1.66
Interested/excited *(Zainteresovan, uzbuđen)*	395	10	5	5	21	16	17	26	5	4.82	1.92
Unconcerned/calm *(Nezabrinut, smiren)*	397	30	7	7	18	14	10	14	4	3.66	2.18
Disinterested/bored *(Nezainteresiranost, dosada)*	396	53	10	8	18	6	3	3	1	2.32	1.69
Angry/bothered *(Ljut, razljućen)*	400	62	12	10	6	5	2	4	1	1.99	1.62
Worried/nervous/anxious *(Zabrinut, nervozan, ankciozan)*	398	60	15	8	9	4	3	2	1	1.96	1.48
Powerless/weak/disenfranchised *(Nemoćan)*	398	64	12	6	7	6	2	2	1	1.93	1.55
Sad/mournful/depressed *(Tužan, žalostan, depresivan)*	397	67	13	8	6	4	2	1	1	1.74	1.32
Hopeless/despaired *(Beznadežan, očajan)*	397	73	9	5	6	3	3	2	1	1.73	1.47
Ashamed *(Posramljen)*	398	70	10	7	6	3	2	2	1	1.73	1.38

Note. The Likert-type response scale (1 to 7) was presented with the following guidelines: 1 = not at all *(nimalo)*; 2 = slightly *(jako malo)*; 3 = somewhat *(malo)*; 4 = moderately *(umjereno)*; 5 = quite a bit *(poprilično)*; 6 = very much *(jako mnogo)*; 7 = extremely/totally *(totalno)*. The affect items and measurement descriptions were translated to Bosnian and back-translated to English.

Table 23. Reported affective associations when mentally envisioning Park Fortica (general conception)
(Anketno pitanje: "Na skali od 1 do 7 koje od sljedećih osjećaja I emocija osjećate kada pomislite o parku Fortica. Molimo vas odgovorite za svaku vrstu osjećaja koji su navedeni. [Za svaki od osećaja molimo vas da odaberete jedan od ponuđenih brojeva na skali]")

Affect item	*n*	1 (%)	2	3	4	5	6	7	*Mdn*	*M*	*SD*
Satisfied/content/pleased (*Zadovoljan*)	398	3	4	5	13	16	18	41	6	5.53	1.66
Happy/joyful (*Sretan, radostan*)	393	3	4	5	14	18	17	40	6	5.52	1.60
Proud (*Ponosan*)	391	3	4	6	12	18	18	39	6	5.47	1.65
Hopeful/inspired (*Nadati se, inspirisana*)	394	4	4	6	10	21	17	39	6	5.47	1.67
Strong/empowered (*Osnažen/a*)	391	5	4	7	15	18	18	34	6	5.29	1.73
Interested/excited (*Zainteresovan, uzbuđen*)	386	12	5	9	24	17	12	22	5	4.51	1.94
Unconcerned/calm (*Nezabrinut, smiren*)	390	26	8	8	23	12	9	15	4	3.71	2.11
Disinterested/bored (*Nezainteresiranost, dosada*)	384	50	11	6	19	7	3	4	1	2.45	1.78
Angry/bothered (*Ljut, razljućen*)	393	57	18	9	5	5	3	3	1	2.03	1.58
Powerless/weak/disenfranchised (*Nemoćan*)	390	63	12	7	6	6	3	3	1	2.00	1.63
Worried/nervous/anxious (*Zabrinut, nervozan, ankciozan*)	388	59	16	9	7	5	3	2	1	1.97	1.48
Sad/mournful/depressed (*Tužan, žalostan, depresivan*)	392	65	14	7	5	4	2	3	1	1.84	1.48
Ashamed (*Posramljen*)	390	69	11	6	5	4	2	3	1	1.82	1.51
Hopeless/despaired (*Beznadežan, očajan*)	391	69	11	6	5	4	2	3	1	1.81	1.49

See notes continued on next page.

Note. The Likert-type response scale (1 to 7) was presented with the following guidelines: 1 = not at all *(nimalo)*; 2 = slightly *(jako malo)*; 3 = somewhat *(malo)*; 4 = moderately *(umjereno)*; 5 = quite a bit *(poprilično)*; 6 = very much *(jako mnogo)*; 7 = extremely/totally *(totalno)*. The affect items and measurement descriptions were translated to Bosnian and back-translated to English.

Table 24. Reported affective associations when envisioning <u>tourists visiting</u> Park Fortica
(Anketno pitanje: "Na skali od 1 do 7 kakvo je vaše mišljenje I koji su vaši osjećaji vezano za posjetu turista parku Fortica. [Za svaki od osećaja molimo vas da odaberete jedan od ponuđenih brojeva na skali]")

Affect item	*n*	1 (%)	2	3	4	5	6	7	*Mdn*	*M*	*SD*
Proud *(Ponosan)*	393	1	3	4	11	18	19	44	6	5.74	1.46
Happy/joyful *(Sretan, radostan)*	396	2	3	4	11	17	21	42	6	5.71	1.48
Satisfied/content/pleased *(Zadovoljan)*	393	3	3	3	12	16	19	44	6	5.70	1.53
Surprised *(Zapanjen)*	399	4	3	5	11	17	17	44	6	5.62	1.65
Hopeful/inspired *(Nadati se, inspirisana)*	391	3	3	5	13	18	20	38	6	5.53	1.59
Strong/empowered *(Osnažen/a)*	388	5	5	6	12	20	19	34	6	5.30	1.73
Interested/excited *(Zainteresovan, uzbuđen)*	391	9	6	5	26	19	11	24	5	4.67	1.86
Unconcerned/calm *(Nezabrinut, smiren)*	393	25	10	8	18	14	8	17	4	3.78	2.15
Disinterested/bored *(Nezainteresiranost, dosada)*	390	48	13	6	19	7	3	4	2	2.49	1.77
Angry/bothered *(Ljut, razljućen)*	396	61	15	5	6	6	3	4	1	2.06	1.72
Powerless/weak/disenfranchised *(Nemoćan)*	392	63	12	6	8	6	2	3	1	2.01	1.64
Worried/nervous/anxious *(Zabrinut, nervozan, ankciozan)*	392	63	12	7	8	5	2	3	1	1.99	1.61
Sad/mournful/depressed *(Tužan, žalostan, depresivan)*	391	65	15	5	6	5	2	2	1	1.86	1.49
Ashamed *(Posramljen)*	394	70	9	7	6	5	2	2	1	1.81	1.49
Hopeless/despaired *(Beznadežan, očajan)*	390	69	12	5	6	4	2	2	1	1.79	1.47

Note. The Likert-type response scale (1 to 7) was presented with the following guidelines: 1 = not at all *(nimalo)*; 2 = slightly *(jako malo)*; 3 = somewhat *(malo)*; 4 = moderately *(umjereno)*; 5 = quite a bit *(poprilično)*; 6 = very much *(jako mnogo)*; 7 = extremely/totally *(totalno)*. The affect items and measurement descriptions were translated to Bosnian and back-translated to English.

APPENDIX B

RESIDENT SURVEY INSTRUMENT (BOSNIAN LANGUAGE)

Ova anketa ima za cilj da obezbjedi informacije za istraživače iz Arizona State University o tome kako Mostarci percepiraju turizam u svom gradu. Za mogućnost učestvovanja u anketi morate biti stariji od 18 godina. Rezultati ove ankete mogu biti korišteni u svrhe izdavanja I javnog prezentiranja ali vaši odgovori te vaše privatne informacije neće biti dijeljene I obavljivane. Ne postoji nikakav rizik od učestvovanja u anketi niti postoje ikakve kazne u slučaju da bilo kad odlučite odustati od popunjavanja ankete. Ne postoje Pravi I Pogrešni odgovori, zato vas molimo da odgovorate iskreno. Za popunjavanje ankete potrebno je izdvojiti oko 10 minuta. Sva pitanja su prevedena I predstavljena na Bosanskom jeziku. Nakon što popunite ovu anketu vi pristajete da sudjelujete u istraživanju.

Jako cijenimo vaše sudjelovanje u ovoj anketi.

Jada Lindblom, M.S., Co-Investigator
[contact information]
Christine Vogt, Ph.D., Primary Investigator
[contact information]

Za sva pitanja vezana za ovu anketu kontaktirajte [email]

Ako imate nekih pitanja o vašem učestvovanju u ovom istraživanju, ili ako mislite da ste dovedeni u rizik možete kontaktirati Chair of the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board preko ASU Office of Research Integrity and Assurance, [phone number] (USA; samo Engleski jezik).

Molimo nastavite ako pristajete i želite učestvovati.

U ovoj anketi cemo vas pitati šta mislite o određenim mjestima u određenim okolnostima i onda vas zamoliti da opišete šta mislite /osjećate kada razmišljate o njima. Prvi paragraf je vezan općenito za osjećaje vezane za Mostar.

Molimo da odgovorite iskreno po prvobitnom nahođenju.

Q1. Na skali od 1 do 7 koje emocije osjećate **kada mislite o Mostaru**? *(Za svaki osjećaj /odgovor molimo odaberite jedan od ponudjenih odgovora)*

Emocija ili osjećaj	nimalo	*jako malo*	malo	umjereno	poprilično	*jako mnogo*	totalno
Zadovoljan	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Stretan, radostan	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ponoson	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Nadati se, inspirisana	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Osnažen/a	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ljut, razljućen	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Tužan, žalostan, depresivan	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Posramljen	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Beznadežan, očajan	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Nemoćan	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Zabrinut, Nervozan, Ankciozan	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Nezabrinut, smiren	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Zainteresovan, uzbuđen	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Nezainteresiranost, dosada	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Q2. *(Optional)* Da li imate još neke osjećaje I sentimentalne reakcije kada se govori o Mostaru. *(Molimo opišite)*

_____

Sada bi vas željeli pitati o turizmu u Mostaru.

Q3. Na skali od 1 do 7 molimo vas da odgovorite koliko se slažete /ne slažete sa sljedećim izjavama.

	Apsolutno se ne slažem	*Jako se ne slažem*	*Donekle se ne slažem*	*Niti se slažem niti se ne slažem*	*Donekle se slažem*	*Jako se slažem*	*Totalno se slažem*
Turizam predstavlja veliku mogućnost za Mostar	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Sretan sam I ponosan da vidim	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

turiste koji dolaze da vide šta moja zajednica ima da ponudi							
Postoje mnoge ugodne I interesantne atrakcije za turiste u Mostaru	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Razvoj turizma povećava kvalitetu života mještana	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ja bi lično imao veću korist od većeg broja turista	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

A sad, molimo vas da zamislite Mostar preplavljen turistima.

Q4. Na skali od 1 do 7 koje je vaše iskustvo sa navedenim emocijama I osjećajima **kada mislite o posjeti velikog broja turista Mostaru**. *(Za svaki osjećaj /odgovor molimo odaberite jedan od ponudjenih odgovora)*

Emocija ili osjećaj	nimalo	jako malo	malo	umjereno	poprilično	jako mnogo	totalno
Zapanjen	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Zadovoljan	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Stretan, radostan	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ponoson	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Nadati se, inspirisana	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Osnažen/a	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ljut, razljućen	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Tužan, žalostan, depresivan	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Posramljen	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Beznadežan, očajan	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Nemoćan	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Zabrinut, Nervozan, Ankciozan	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Nezabrinut, smiren	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Zainteresovan, uzbuđen	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Nezainteresiranost, dosada	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Idući dio je vezan za vaše mišljenje o razvoju turizma.

Q5. U suštini, koliko podupirete razvoj turizma u **Bosni I Hercegovini**. *(Molimo odaberite jedan odgovor)*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kategorično ne podupirem	Jako ne podupirem	Donekle ne podupirem	Niti podupirem niti ne podupirem	Donekle podupirem	Jako podupirem	Snažno podupirem
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Q6. U suštini, koliko podupirete razvoj turizma u **Mostar**. *(Molimo odaberite jedan odgovor)*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Kategorično ne podupirem	Jako ne podupirem	Donekle ne podupirem	Niti podupirem niti ne podupirem	Donekle podupirem	Jako podupirem	Snažno podupirem
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Q7. Na skali od 1 do 7 molimo vas da rangirate koliko podupirete razvoj turizma u Mostaru I okolici sa fokusom na sljedeće:

	Kategorično ne podupirem	Jako ne podupirem	Donekle ne podupirem	Niti podupirem niti ne podupirem	Donekle podupirem	Jako podupirem	Snažno podupirem
Rekreacija u prirodi (kao npr.planinarenje, biciklizam, rafting, riboliv, plivanje)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Domaća hrana, umjetnost I muzika	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Veliki sportski događaji (kao npr.ulične trke, maratoni, fudbalska natjecanja itd.)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ostavština Turske vladavine	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ostavština Jugoslovije	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Istorija, posljednjih 30 godina (uključujući I rat)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Sljedeće pitanje se odnosi na vaše osjećaje vezane za iduće primjere turističkih lokacija u Mostara. Molimo vas da odgovorite iskreno po prvobitnom nahođenju. Za reference predstavljene su slike određjenih lokacija.

Lokacija 1: Stari Most

Za početak željeli bismo da zamislite to mjesto i da sa nama podjelite vaše prvobitne osjećaje.

Q8. Na skali od 1 do 7 koje od sljedećih osjećaja I emocija osjećate kada pomislite o Starom Mostu. Molimo vas odgovorite za svaku vrstu osjećaja koji su navedeni. *(Za svaki od njih molimo vas da odaberete jedan od ponuđenih brojeva na skali)*

Emocija ili osjećaj	nimalo	*jako malo*	*malo*	*umjereno*	*poprilično*	*jako mnogo*	*totalno*
Zadovoljan	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Stretan, radostan	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ponoson	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Nadati se, inspirisana	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Osnažen/a	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ljut, razljućen	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Tužan, žalostan, depresivan	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Posramljen	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Beznadežan, očajan	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Nemoćan	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Zabrinut, Nervozan, Ankciozan	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Nezabrinut, smiren	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Zainteresovan, uzbuđen	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Nezainteresiranost, dosada	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Q9. *(Optional)* Imate li neke osjećaje ili sentimentalne reakcije koje vam padaju na pamet kada pomislite o Starom Mostu. *(Molimo vas da objasnite)*
_____

Stari Most je uvršten u mnoge turističke knige I privlači veliki broj turista u Mostar te predstavlja centar zbivanja za turiste u gradu.

A sad, molimo vas da zamislite to mjesto preplavljeno turistima.

Q10. Na skali od 1 do 7 kakvo je vaše mišljenje I koji su vaši osjećaji vezano za **posjetu velikog broja turista Starom Mostu**. *(Za svaki od njih molimo vas da odaberete jedan od ponuđenih brojeva na skali)*

Emocija ili osjećaj	nimalo	*jako malo*	*malo*	*umjereno*	*poprilično*	*jako mnogo*	*totalno*
Zapanjen	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Zadovoljan	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Stretan, radostan	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ponoson	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Nadati se, inspirisana	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Osnažen/a	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ljut, razljućen	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Tužan, žalostan, depresivan	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Posramljen	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Beznadežan, očajan	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Nemoćan	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Zabrinut, Nervozan, Ankciozan	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Nezabrinut, smiren	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Zainteresovan, uzbuđen	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Nezainteresiranost, dosada	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Q11. *(Optional)* Imate li neke osjećaje reakcije koje vam padaju na pamet kada mislite o **turistima koji posjećuju Stari Most?** *(Molimo vas da objasnite)*

_____

Q12. Generalno, koliko podupirete **posjetu turista Starom Mostu?** *(Molimo odaberite jedan odgovor)*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kategorično ne podupirem	Jako ne podupirem	Donekle ne podupirem	Niti podupirem niti ne podupirem	Donekle podupirem	Jako podupirem	Snažno podupirem
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

400

Lokacija 2: Fortica

Za početak željeli bismo da zamislite to mjesto i da sa nama podjelite vaše prvobitne osjećaje.

Q13. Na skali od 1 do 7 koje od sljedećih osjećaja I emocija osjećate kada pomislite o Fortica. Molimo vas odgovorite za svaku vrstu osjećaja koji su navedeni. *(Za svaki od njih molimo vas da odaberete jedan od ponuđenih brojeva na skali)*

Emocija ili osjećaj	nimalo	jako malo	malo	umjereno	poprilično	jako mnogo	totalno
Zadovoljan	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Stretan, radostan	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ponoson	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Nadati se, inspirisana	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Osnažen/a	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ljut, razljućen	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Tužan, žalostan, depresivan	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Posramljen	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Beznadežan, očajan	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Nemoćan	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Zabrinut, Nervozan, Ankciozan	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Nezabrinut, smiren	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Zainteresovan, uzbuđen	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Nezainteresiranost, dosada	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Planinsko područje sjeveroistočno od Mostara nedavno je obogaćeno zip lajningom, pješačkim I biciklističkim stazama. Fortica I zastava Bosne I Hercegovine je vidljiva iz svakog dijela grada.

A sad, molimo vas da zamislite to mjesto preplavljeno turistima.

Q14. Na skali od 1 do 7 koje od sljedećih emocija I osjećaja osjećate **kada mislite o posjeti velikog broja turista parku Fortica**. *(Za svaki od njih molimo vas da odaberete jedan odgovor na skali)*

Emocija ili osjećaj	nimalo	jako malo	malo	umjereno	poprilično	jako mnogo	totalno
Zapanjen	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Zadovoljan	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Stretan, radostan	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ponoson	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Nadati se, inspirisana	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Osnažen/a	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ljut, razljućen	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Tužan, žalostan, depresivan	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Posramljen	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Beznadežan, očajan	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Nemoćan	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Zabrinut, Nervozan, Ankciozan	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Nezabrinut, smiren	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Zainteresovan, uzbuđen	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Nezainteresiranost, dosada	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Q15. *(Optional)* Imate li neki drugi osjećaj ili reakciju kada je u pitanju posjeta turista Parku Fortica? *(Molimo vas da objasnite)*

_____

Q16. Generalno, koliko podržavate posjetu turista Parku Fortica *(Molimo odaberite samo jedan odgovor)*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kategorično ne podupirem	Jako ne podupirem	Donekle ne podupirem	Niti podupirem niti ne podupirem	Donekle podupirem	Jako podupirem	Snažno podupirem
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Q17. Mislite li da postoje neka druga mjesta u blizini Mostara koje bi turisti trebalo da posjete? *(Molimo navedite ta mjesta I objasnite zašto)*

_____
_____

Q18. Mislite li da postoje mjesta u blizini Mostara za koje smatrate da ih turisti **_ne_** bi trebali posjetiti. *(Molimo navedite ta mjesta I objasnite zašto)*

_____
_____

Sljedeći dio se odnosi na velike sportske događaje koji privlače turiste u Mostar.

Q19. Na skali od 1 do 7 izrazite vase mišljenje o godišnjem **Red Bull Cliff Diving World Series** natjecanju koje se odražava u Mostaru.

	Apsolutno se ne slažem	*Jako se ne slažem*	*Donekle se ne slažem*	*Niti se slažem niti se ne slažem*	*Donekle se slažem*	*Jako se slažem*	*Totalno se slažem*
Ovaj događaj pospješuje ponos zajednice	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ovaj događaj pospješuje osjećaj pripadnosti zajednici	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ovaj događaj predstavlja poticaj za očuvanje lokalne kulture	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ovaj događaj osnažuje duh zajednice	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

U posljednjem djelu željeli bismo znati malo više o vama.

Q20. Koliko imate godina?
- 18-24
- 25-34
- 35-44
- 45-54
- 55-64
- 65-74
- 75-84
- 85+

Q21. Vaš spol:
- muško
- žensko
- Ostalo - ne želim reći

Q22. Koliko dugo živite u Mostaru?
- Manje od 5 godina
- Od 5 do 14 godina
- Od 15 do 29 godina
- Od 330 do 49 godina
- Od 50 I više godina

Q23. Da li ste ikada živjeli u nekom drugom gradu o Bosni I Hercegovini?
- Da
- Ne

Q24. Da li ste nekada živjeli u nekoj drugoj državi?
- Da
- Ne

Q25. Koliko ste često putovali u drugu drzavu kao turist?
- Nikada
- Jednom ili nekoliko puta u žIvotu
- Svako par godina
- Jednom godišnje
- Više puta godišnje

Q26. Koji je vaš stepen obrazovanja?
- ☐ Srednja školska sprema
- ☐ Univerzitetska diploma
- ☐ Magisterij ili Doktorat

Q27. Koji je vas trenutni status? *(oznaci sve na koje se odnosi)*
- Radim puno radno vrijeme
- Radim pola radnog vremena
- Imam privremeni /sezonski posao
- Trenutno tražIm posao
- Ja sam u mirovini
- Nezaposlen, I trenutno ne tražim posao
- Radim od kuće I brinem se za porodicu
- Ja sam student
- Ostalo: _____

Q28. Da li je vaš posao povezan sa putovanjima, uslužnom djelatnošću ili turizmom?
- Da (primjer: rad za hotel ili hostel, avio kompaniju, turistički vodić, itd..)
- Periodicno/ indirektno (primjer: rad u suvenirnici, kafiću, autobusnoj stanici, mjestima gdje prolazi mnogo turista)
- Ne

Q29. Koliko često se srećete sa turistima?
- Svaki dan, jako često
- Svaki dan, obično jednom do dva puta
- Nekoliko puta sedmično
- Nekoliko puta mjesečno
- Veoma rijetko
- Nikada

Q30. Gdje živite?
- ☐ Zapadni dio Mostara
- ☐ Istočni dio Mostara
- ☐ Ostalo: _____

Q31. Odprilike, koliko daleko živite od Starog Mosta?
- ☐ Oko 500 metara
- ☐ Oko jednog kilometra
- ☐ Oko dva kilometra
- ☐ Oko tri kilometra
- ☐ Tri kilometra I više

Hvala vam što ste odvojili svoje vrijeme da popunite ovu anketu. Molimo vas da predate anketu našem istraživačkom timu.

APPENDIX C

UNIVERSITY APPROVAL FOR HUMAN SUBJECT TESTING

ASU Knowledge Enterprise
Development

APPROVAL: EXPEDITED REVIEW

Christine Vogt
Community Resources and Development, School of
-
CHRISTINE.VOGT@asu.edu

Dear Christine Vogt:

On 7/19/2019 the ASU IRB reviewed the following protocol:

Type of Review:	Initial Study
Title:	Jada Lindblom Dissertation Research: Investigating Emotion and Affect within Residents in a Post-War, Emergent Destination
Investigator:	Christine Vogt
IRB ID:	STUDY00010351
Category of review:	(4) Noninvasive procedures, (7)(a) Behavioral research
Funding:	None
Grant Title:	None
Grant ID:	None
Documents Reviewed:	• Letter to IRB addressing modifications 7.29.19, Category: Other (to reflect anything not captured above); • Interview protocol, Category: Measures (Survey questions/Interview questions /interview guides/focus group questions); • Emergency plan while in Bosnia, Category: Other (to reflect anything not captured above); • Jada Lindblom Dissertation Form-Social-Behavioral-Protocol IRB v3.docx, Category: IRB Protocol; • Interviews recruitment flier clean copy, Category: Recruitment Materials; • Survey instrument, Category: Measures (Survey questions/Interview questions /interview guides/focus group questions);

	• ASU photo release, Category: Off-site authorizations (school permission, other IRB approvals, Tribal permission etc); • Letter of approval from local official, Category: Off-site authorizations (school permission, other IRB approvals, Tribal permission etc); • Interviews consent form clean copy, Category: Consent Form; • Survey consent/intro (short), Category: Consent Form;

The IRB approved the protocol from 7/19/2019 to 7/17/2024 inclusive. Three weeks before 7/17/2024 you are to submit a completed Continuing Review application and required attachments to request continuing approval or closure.

If continuing review approval is not granted before the expiration date of 7/17/2024 approval of this protocol expires on that date. When consent is appropriate, you must use final, watermarked versions available under the "Documents" tab in ERA-IRB.

In conducting this protocol you are required to follow the requirements listed in the INVESTIGATOR MANUAL (HRP-103).

Sincerely,

IRB Administrator

cc: Jada Lindblom
        Kathleen Andereck
        Jada Lindblom
        Christine Vogt