



PRIDE of PLACE

PRIDE OF PLACE:  
**DEFINITIONS, CAUSES,  
EFFECTS AND RELEVANCE  
FOR THE RURAL CONTEXT**

Marino Bonaiuto, Silvia Ariccio, Thomas Albers,  
Ramazan Eren & Silvia Cataldi

**May 2020**



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Erasmus+ project: Pride of Place  
Intellectual Output 1

**Marino Bonaiuto, Silvia Ariccio, Thomas Albers,  
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DEI PROCESSI DI SVILUPPO  
E SOCIALIZZAZIONE



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# Introduction

Pride of Place (PoP) is the positive emotion that people can have for the place they identify or associate themselves with. It is linked to one's own place attachment and one's own place identity, both referring to one's own place or local area. Positive pride of where one comes from can elicit a series of behaviours that are of pro-social and caring character. However, a pride that is too extreme can result in nationalism and antisocial behaviours (at least towards what is outside one's own place).

PoP has only seldom been directly investigated, even though a great deal of research explores the broader topic of positive people-place relationships. Recent research shows how having a positive relationship with the place people live in has positive benefits on the residents' physical and psychological health (Counted & Meade, 2019; Lewicka, 2011). Equally, people with strong bonds with their place of residence are likely to show a variety of behaviors that benefit the place itself (Lewicka, 2010a; Manzo & Devine-Wright, 2014; Scannell & Gifford, 2010a). Attached residents usually display more pro-environmental and pro-social behaviors, contributing to local collective well-being, and are more likely to remain in the place of attachment for longer periods of time, rather than moving elsewhere. In the case of rural areas, this means that people with a strong bond with their place are less likely to move from the rural area, thus reducing depopulation rates.

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Promoting PoP among young people is especially relevant for rural areas in the upcoming decades. Sustainable, inclusive and vibrant rural societies are on many important political agendas at national, European and global level. PoP and this Erasmus+ project can contribute to at least three main policy frameworks:

- The United Nations' 17 Sustainable Development Goals<sup>1</sup> (SDG) that aim to end poverty, protect the planet and ensure health and prosperity for all. Rural areas, which cover most of the planet's surface, play an important role in this. A well-established psychological and emotional connection with the local place could be a good starting point for protecting ecosystems and biodiversity. A healthy Pride of Place contributes to exactly that.
- The new Common Agricultural Policy<sup>2</sup> (CAP) of the European Union for the period 2021-2027 aims to develop and maintain rural areas and landscapes across the EU. The CAP policy is based on nine objectives to ensure access to a high-quality and strong agricultural sector and recognizes the importance of rural communities in which most farmers thrive. Two of the objectives are focused on developing and maintaining vibrant rural areas and preserv-

ing landscapes and biodiversity. A well-established psychological connection with the rural places is fundamental for achieving these objectives as will be outlined in this report.

- The European Youth Strategy<sup>3</sup> (2021–2027), informed by the Structured Dialogues held with youth in 2017–2018, sets 11 Youth Goals which focus on three core areas: engagement, connection, and empowerment of young people. Through this strategy, the EU aims to fulfil the vision young people have for their future. PoP particularly contributes to Youth goal 6, ‘Moving Rural Youth Forward’. This Goal focuses on making rural areas more attractive for young people to remain in and on creating a more positive image of rural areas, both for their residents and to attract tourism and investment. One of the solutions proposed by the young people was to revive rural traditions and heritage in a youth friendly way. The PoP project has aimed to do exactly this: engage, connect and empower young people in rural areas to improve local livelihood, image and opportunities.

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Given the little research available directly involving PoP, compared to similar constructs of people–place relationships, the present framework deals with the definition of PoP, its relationship with similar psychological concepts, its antecedents and its consequences. Based on this framework, an innovative curriculum for rural schools has been developed (ages 10–16y) using the *Inquiry Based Learning* methodology. In this form of social learning, students start an inquiry into the uniqueness of the place. By investigating PoP in this way, this student-centered learning approach can increase both students’ levels of Pride of Place and their 21st century competences (e.g., creativity, critical thinking, self-directed learning, communication). This scientifically tested approach is different from the traditional education approach, thus requiring partly different competences from the teachers. Consequently, a newly developed teacher training will be offered to teachers to support them in their new role, focused on acquiring these said competences. All project deliverables can be accessed and downloaded free of charge from the project website [www.prideofplace.eu](http://www.prideofplace.eu).

The present document, in the following pages, argues for the definition of the PoP construct, in order to set a theoretical and methodological basis on which the above-mentioned curriculum and methodology can be scientifically grounded and practically developed.

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1 <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org>

2 [https://ec.europa.eu/info/food-farming-fisheries/key-policies/common-agricultural-policy/cap-glance\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/info/food-farming-fisheries/key-policies/common-agricultural-policy/cap-glance_en)

3 [https://ec.europa.eu/youth/policy/youth-strategy\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/youth/policy/youth-strategy_en)

# 1 Pride - a positive emotion



In the western world, pride is regarded as both a vice and a virtue. As much as it is seen as the opposite of humility (Tracy & Robins, 2007b) it is also regarded as a great motivator for achievement (Williams & DeSteno, 2008). It is often described in its “negative” aspects as “self-praising” and it has been linked to social rejection, narcissism and aggression (Carver, Sinclair, & Johnson, 2010; Cheng, Tracy, & Henrich, 2010; Tracy, Cheng, Robins, & Trzesniewski, 2009; Tracy & Robins, 2007b). At the same time, pride is praised for its positive effects on human functioning, from motivating and stimulating to perseverance (Gable, Reis, Impett, & Asher, 2004; Michie, 2009; Williams & DeSteno, 2008).

Pride is defined as a positive emotion that results from self-governed events that are congruent and relevant to the initial objectives of the event: such objectives need to be important and meaningful to the person (Hart & Matsuba, 2007). Like other self-conscious emotions (e.g., guilt and shame), pride is traditionally labelled as a self-focused (intrapersonal) emotion, rather than another-focused (Tracy et al., 2009; Tracy & Robins, 2004, 2007b, 2007a). When a person experiences a non-self-conscious emotion (interpersonal) such as gratitude, the emotion is directed towards something or someone else and it does not particularly reflect on one’s own role in the process, but when pride is being experienced, the person becomes aware that s/he has lived up to some ideal self-representation. Pride does, thus, require self-awareness and self-evaluation (Tracy & Robins, 2004).

Pride may be the least understood of all emotions (Tracy & Robins, 2007a) with the most antagonistic effects on peoples’ behaviour. Several researchers, such as Tracy and her colleagues, have stated that pride is probably a multifaceted emotion and propose making a distinction between at least two different aspects of this emotion: “authentic” and “hubristic” pride (Tracy & Prehn, 2012; Tracy & Robins, 2007a).

Authentic pride is a specific emotion, characterized by a proportionate sense of self-esteem (Tracy et al., 2009), social acceptance (Cheng et al., 2010), motivating us to achieve (Williams & DeSteno, 2008) and to fill our lives with meaning (Nakamura, 2013). Also, authentic pride derives from achievements and goal accomplishments (Williams & DeSteno, 2008). Hubristic pride is, however, more related to self-views, abilities and character strengths (Tracy et al., 2009). Or, as Carver et al. (2010) put it: *authentic pride is more about the “doing”, whereas hubristic pride arises from a self-evaluation of “being”*. The self-identification aspect of hubristic pride appears to be correlated with negative personality outcomes such as being defensive and neurotic by nature, experiencing social rejection, creating interpersonal problems, having a low self-esteem and is also associated with aggression and narcissism (Carver et al., 2010; Cheng et al., 2010; McGregor, Nail, Marigold, & Kang, 2005; Tracy et al., 2009; Tracy & Robins, 2004, 2007a).

In general, pride is still a poorly studied positive emotion (Nakamura, 2013). The two facets that have been proposed by Tracy and Robins (2007b) make an attempt to refine the different aspects of the antagonistic emotion of pride. Nakamura (2013) suggests making several more subdivisions based on her research on pride and detected meaning, and recommends extending the taxonomy and differentiated analysis on positive forms of pride (authentic). Nakamura is, for instance, in favour of adding another subset of pride that accounts for the identification of self and others (Aron, Aron, Tudor, & Nelson, 1991); and, more interestingly, recommends reviewing the assumption that pride is a self-focused and self-praising emotion that mainly serves to socially dominate others. In her research on pride and meaning, Nakamura found that pride can actually evoke pro-social behaviour and be a source for experiencing meaning in daily life.

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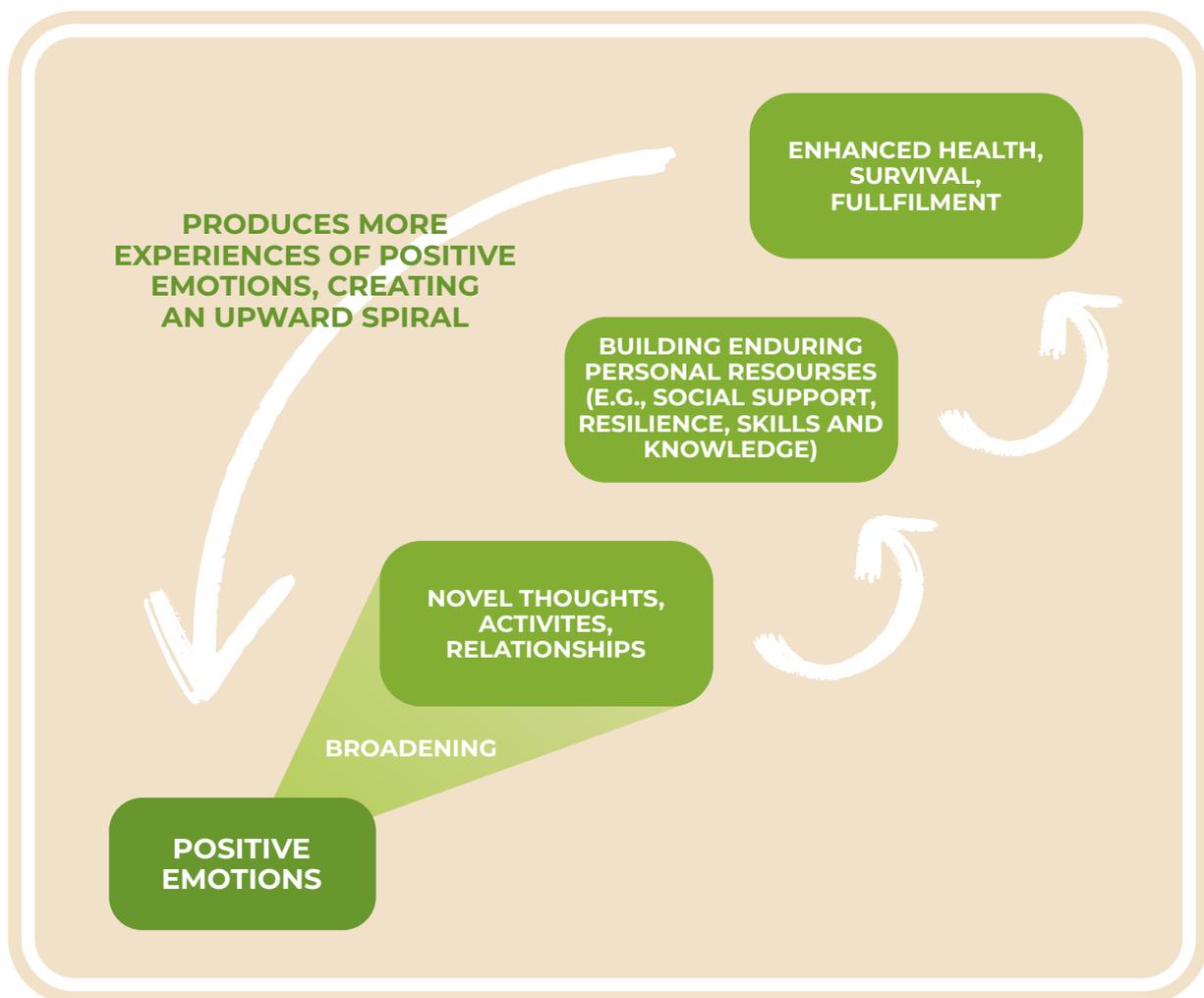


Fig 1. The upward spiral of positive emotions (Fredrickson & Joiner, 2002, 2018)

In the field of positive psychology (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000), where positive emotions play an essential role, there is a growing body of interest in the function of positive emotions for human flourishing. However, little research has been done on pride as an emotion in this field, and even less so on pride in relation to place. Outside the field of positive psychology, Tracy and colleagues (Tracy & Prehn, 2012; Tracy & Robins, 2004, 2007b) have paid growing attention to pride, particularly to the psychological structure and outcomes related to achievement and non-verbal expression, much less so to the added value of this emotion for human flourishing.

In contrast to positive emotions, negative emotions (Frijda, 1986) – such as anger, sadness, anxiety and guilt – evoke emotion-specific and adaptive responses to a “threatening” situation within the individual. The response can be a “fight” or “flight” reaction that triggers the person to ensure its emotional or physical safety and well-being. Typically, negative emotions narrow our attention and cognitive abilities, and evoke heightened levels of physical arousal. Experiencing these emotions has helped our ancestors to survive and to quickly and adequately respond to life-threatening situations.

Regarding the function of positive emotions, much less research has been done than for negative emotions. In contrast to negative emotions, positive emotions do not evoke specific adaptive responses to the experienced emotion, they are very broad, and have no direct link to survival (Fredrickson & Levenson, 1998). Barbara Fredrickson, one of the pioneers of positive psychology, has written extensively about the “broaden-and-build model” (Fig. 1) of positive emotions (Fredrickson, 1998, 2001; Fredrickson & Joiner, 2002, 2018).

Even though pride has been mentioned in literature on positive emotions (e.g., Fredrickson, 1998), pride is not a purely “positive emotion” in the sense that it does not unambiguously contribute to an individual’s well-being (Tracy, Weidman, Cheng, & Martens, 2014). It does however deserve to be regarded as a positive emotion as it is often pleasant to experience and has, particularly in the case of authentic pride, positive effects on human functioning.

Positive emotions such as pride, joy, satisfaction, awe, gratitude, love, serenity, compassion, do much more than just make us feel good. In her model, Fredrickson explains that positive emotions do not narrow – as with negative emotions – but broaden our attention, cognition and behavioural repertoire. Every positive emotion has its unique contribution to this “broadening effect”. For example, experiencing (authentic) pride can stimulate caring, sharing (Nakamura, 2013; Tangney & Fischer, 1995), altruism (Michie, 2009) motivation (Williams & DeSteno, 2008), engagement and a sense of connection with others (Gable et al., 2004). In general, positive emotions promote social engagement. Where negative emotions are of value for short term responses to (life) threatening situations, positive emotions build up long term resources. Through the broadening of attention, cognition and behaviour, people build up resources that sustain the presence of positive emotions (the “build effect”). When people for example experience (authentic) pride, they build up, amongst others, perseverance (Williams & DeSteno, 2008), stronger social ties (Gable et al., 2004) and higher self-esteem (Tracy et al., 2009; Tracy & Robins, 2007a). These resources can prove useful in order to deal with difficult or challenging situations. Because of the broadening and building up of resources, positive emotions initiate an upward spiral towards physical and mental well-being (see fig. 1; Fredrickson & Joiner, 2002, 2018).

The broaden-and-build model could equally be used to understand Pride of Place and its upward spiral towards (eudaimonic) mental health. A similar point is also made in the literature

regarding people-environment relations, particularly the positive impact of natural places on human beings: beyond mitigating psycho-physical harms and restoring depleted cognitive and affective resources, nature (either “green” or “blue” elements and areas) can foster new abilities and habits in human beings, thanks to its effects on people’s physical and/or social activities (e.g., Bonaiuto & Albers, 2020).





# 2 Pride of Place - between place attachment and place identity

Place can be defined as any environmental locus in and through which individuals' or group actions, experiences, intentions and meanings are drawn together spatially (Manzo & Devine-Wright, 2014; Relph, 2008). Place can also refer to a wide range of spaces such as a bedroom, a house, a workplace, a neighbourhood, a city, a village, a landscape, an area or a region. Whatever the space, a place does not solely consist of its physical features, it also incorporates the social and cultural dynamics that happen in it (Hidalgo & Hernández, 2001) and that inform both a person's perceptions and evaluations of such a space, and her/his activities in it (coherently with a psychological theory of place, e.g., Canter, 1977; Bonnes and Secchiaroli, 1992/1995), where the physical characteristics consist of factors such as natural or built environment or proximity to nature and the social aspects are social relationships or cultural heritage of the place.

Many constructs in environmental psychology explore the relationship people have with their environment (see Pretty, et al., 2003, for a review). Place identity is considered the cognitive facet of the person-place relationship, contributing, together with personal and social identity, to the definition of the individual's identity (Proshansky, 1978; Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983). Place attachment mainly refers to the affective bond people have with specific places (Altman & Low, 1992). Place dependence attests of a behavioural link people have with some places that allow them to perform specific actions (Stokols & Schumaker, 1981). Sense of place is a more general construct referring to the relationship people have with places, composed by different dimensions. Different organizations of these constructs have been proposed in literature, with some of these constructs suggested as components of or composed by others, in a complex and not-always consistent hierarchical structure (Bonnes, Lee, & Bonaiuto, 2003).

Associated yet distinct from these constructs, Pride of Place (PoP) can be defined as the feeling of pride people can have for places they identify or associate themselves with. PoP has seldom been studied as an independent construct, even though its relevance emerges in various studies, mainly dealing with place identity and sometimes place attachment (but also, for example, sense of place, Williams, Kitchen, DeMiglio, Eyles, Newbold, & Streiner, 2010; and topophilia, Tuan, 1974). Moreover, even if a direct link is not explicitly drawn in the literature, it is often associated to place-based activities thus implying an association with the conative aspect of the person-environment relationship. Thus, although PoP primarily deals with the emotion of pride people have for their given places, its antecedents and consequences are affective, but also cognitive and conative.

Beyond its specific position in the wide and complex galaxy of people-environment constructs, what consistently emerges from literature is the link PoP has with feelings of self-esteem, ownership, place-making, and social significance of places.

Without entering into the debate over constructs' hierarchy and structure, Pride of Place can certainly be considered as an emotional component of the person-environment relationship, either mentioned or transpiring in many of these different constructs: place attachment, given its affective status – in comparison to other relevant constructs which deal more with PoP cognitive or conative components – positively assumes a pivotal role for PoP.

Paradoxically, while PoP is at the core of some of the fundamental conceptualizations regarding place attachment and identity, it is also almost completely overlooked in the relevant contemporary literature.

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**Beyond its specific position in the wide and complex galaxy of people-environment constructs, what consistently emerges from literature is the link PoP has with feelings of self-esteem, ownership, place-making, and social significance of places.**

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## 2.1 Place attachment and PoP

Place attachment has been defined as a concept that integrates several interrelated and inseparable aspects of people-place bonds (Altman & Low, 1992). Many more definitions have been made as a result of the diverse fields of application of place attachment (e.g., environmental psychology, landscape architecture, urban planning, and social geography). Scannell and Gifford (2010b) have presented a very practical framework (fig. 2) for place attachment, where most of the different theories and models are represented. In their tripartite framework, the three dimensions of place, people and process synthesize how people are tied to their important places.

The person dimension deals with the subject that is attached to the place and there is a distinction between individual and group levels, though these are interdependent. At group level, the attachment can be based on symbolic meanings derived from historical or religious context that are shared by the group; on an individual level, the bond involves the direct personal experiences one has with the place.

The place dimension relates to the object that the attachment is directed at, and the model separates the social from the physical attachment (Hidalgo & Hernández, 2001) that are interconnected (Clayton & Myers, 2015). The physical aspect of place is measured on different geographical scales and the extent to which people find the place meaningful depends on a variety of aspects ranging from built features, such as presence or absence of sidewalks, shops, streets, houses; through to more natural features such as lakes, forests, rivers, parks or green in general. These features are the most visible aspects of the dimension of place, yet the less visible aspects of the social level are just as or even more important: “people are attached to places that facilitate social relationships and group identity” (Scannell & Gifford, 2010b, p.4).



**Fig 2.** The tripartite model of place attachment (Scannell & Gifford, 2010b)

The third dimension, process, concerns the psychological interactions between people and place, and can be subdivided into affective, cognitive and behavioural levels. Also in this dimension, the three levels are interrelated and together make up for the psychological process of people-place bonding. With regards to the cognitive level, Scannell & Gifford (2010b) explain that “memories, beliefs, meaning and knowledge that individuals associate with their central settings make them personally important”. People can also grow attached to a place because of important events that have occurred, its historical importance or its (unique) cultural heritage (Scannell & Gifford, 2010b). Since place identity (Bonaiuto et al., 1996; Bonaiuto et al., 2016; Proshansky, 1978; Proshansky et al., 1983; Twigger-Ross, Bonaiuto, & Breakwell, 2003; Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996) is predominantly a cognitive process, where the self-construct is being formed in relation to a specific physical and social environment, this falls under the cognitive level of place attachment as well.

However, place attachment is primarily defined by the affective level, through the emotional bond people have with their environment (e.g., Giuliani, 2003; Hidalgo & Hernández, 2001). These emotions vary from positive emotions such as pride (Brown, Perkins & Brown, 2003; Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996) or gratitude and love, to more negative emotions such as fear (Brown et al., 2003) or boredom (Russell, 1992).

The behavioural level deals with how people act in relation to their place. For example, when people feel securely attached they may want to stay in proximity to their special place (Hidalgo & Hernández, 2001; even when it implies danger (De Dominicis, Fornara, Ganucci Cancellieri, Twigger-Ross, Bonaiuto, 2015; Bonaiuto, Alves, De Dominicis, Petruccelli, 2016). It may be possible that people who have strong feelings of PoP would want to present their place in the best possible way or even protect it from deterioration.

On the psychological dimension, obviously all three levels are interrelated and interdependent: emotions towards a place are not independent of thought, perspectives or memories related to it, and behaviour is, for the major part, the outcome of the interplay between the cognitive and affective mindset.

Scannell and Gifford mention pride within the affective component of the process facet (Scannell & Gifford, 2010b). Indeed, pride has recurrently emerged in place attachment literature. For instance, in their seminal book about place attachment, Altman and Low report how, at the beginning of the XX century, Afro-American women always struggled to keep their PoP by providing an air of “homelikeness” to their apartments, even in less-than-ideal conditions, such as small, crowded apartments that were also used for their work activities, e.g., laundry (Low & Altman, 1992). Looking into the situation of these women, the authors explicitly mention the role of Pride of Place as a motivator for “homelikeness” efforts. In the same book, they also highlight how typical childhood activities that modify the physical environment (e.g., a tree house in the garden, or an area of flattened grass) would aim at experiencing a sense of pride in the act of creating a place that is an expression of one’s emerging identity. Altman and Low also explicitly suggest that “place attachment plays a role in fostering individual, group, and cultural self-esteem, self-worth, and self-pride.” (Low & Altman, 1992, p. 10). The association between pride and place attachment has often been suggested, including pride related items in place attachment measurements (Lewicka, 2010b; Levicka, 2011; Scannell & Gifford, 2010a; Brown & Perkins, 1992; Brown et al., 2003). In a study about place attachment and pro-environmental behaviour, for instance, Scannell and Gifford (2010a) considered city pride as an item of the civic place attachment. However, in a paper about operationalization of place attachment, Hidalgo (2013) decides not to include pride as an item of the place attachment scale, stating that, even though pride is sometimes mentioned among the different emotions associated to place attachment, it is not strictly intrinsic to the concept, but simply often associated. From a methodological point of view, PoP has repeatedly been associated to Place Identity rather than Place Attachment.

## 2.2 Place identity

Researchers still do not agree on how place identity and place attachment are related: place identity is claimed to be interchangeable with place attachment (Brown & Werner, 1985; Manzo & Devine-Wright, 2014) and some see place identity as a sub-component of place attachment together with place dependence (e.g., Williams & Vaske, 2003). Others (Droseltis & Vignoles, 2010), argue the opposite, that place attachment can be the affective facet of a broader place identity concept, together with its cognitive and conative facets. Certainly, place identity and place attachment are related.

In modern scientific psychology, the term place identity was first coined by Proshansky (1978) and has been defined as “memories, conceptions, interpretations, ideas, and related feelings towards specific physical environments as well as types of settings” (Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983). Proshansky defines place identity more as a state, whereas Seamon (2014, p. 17) defines place identity as a process “whereby people living in or otherwise associated with a place take up that place as a significant part of their world”. Place identity is a sub-concept of self-identity and refers to “the component of identity that is associated with feelings about a particular locale” (Clayton & Myers, 2015, p. 172). Place identity can exist next to social, professional or personal identity – all are subsets of the same self-concept which may change throughout a lifetime and across situations. Since the place where the identity process is emerging from is made up of physical and social elements (Scannell & Gifford, 2010b), place identity is also partly made up of a social/group identity (Twigger-Ross Gazelle, 1996). The place element (physical and social) usually refers to place of residence but it can be used in regard to the place where one grew up but does not currently live in. A place can refer to a variety of geographical levels such as a specific neighbourhood, a city, or a broader (rural) area.

A person’s sense of identity is a process that starts in early childhood and develops throughout their lifetime. Many theorists have written about how this process takes place (e.g., Erikson, 1995; McAdams, Josselson & Lieblich, 2006) and, most importantly for this review, how environment and place play an essential role in the forming of the self-concept, from an early age. Several researchers have demonstrated that meaningful relationships with natural environments and places are of significant importance for the development of identity in childhood (Bruni & Schultz, 2010; Chawla, 1986). It is mainly through strong emotions and, in particular, feelings of privacy, control and security, that relationships to environments are established (Clayton & Myers, 2015). More recently, in terms of the dynamics of place identity, researchers (Bonaiuto et al., 2016) showed a link between memory of located flow experiences (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990) during self-defining activities (Coatsworth, Sharp, Palen, Darling, Cumsille & Marta, 2005) and the strength of place identity. In their research they measured Pride of Place as the one single item of place identity.

Twigger-Ross & Uzzell (1996) identified four principles that are important in the process of developing place identity: *distinctiveness*, *continuity*, *self-esteem* and *self-efficacy*. Under the principle of *distinctiveness* they understand that people have a natural desire to perceive distinctiveness from others associated to places. Lalli (1992 p.25) writes “The bond to a particular part of town also contributes to one’s differentiation from residents in other town areas”. According to the *continuity principle* of place identity process, people have the desire to maintain continuity to their self-construct. On a collective level, according to the idea of perceived *collective continuity*, also groups like to perceive themselves as collective entities, moving across time (Sani, Bowe, Herrera, et al., 2007). There are two sub-types of the continuity principle: *self-referent continuity*, which refers to places as referents to past selves and actions (e.g., Lalli, 1992), and *place-congruent continuity*, which means that people are motivated in their behaviour to maintain continuity to places that have emotional significance to them. An example of self-referent continuity is that of landscapes used as memorial of a person’s past (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996), when people, for instance, choose to maintain their residence in a certain place as a means of staying connected to their ancestors.

With regards to place-congruent continuity, the principle can also act as a motivator for people to move out of a certain place if they think that their identity no longer meets the emotional significance of a place. An example of this is the city of Amsterdam, where many young parents move away from the city, as they no longer feel the city meets their needs, particularly due to the high numbers of tourists and the impact this has on the dynamics of the city (Statistics Netherlands, 2017). Such a feeling has been named by the environmental philosopher Albrechts (2005) as “Solastalgia”, namely the chronic distress a person feels when his/her own place changes beyond recognition (Albrecht et al., 2007).

The third principle of place identity process is *self-esteem* where the authors describe how self-esteem can be a result of a positive association of one’s identity with a place. Pride of Place can be a result of this association (Lalli, 1992; Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996), and self-esteem is known to be a possible positive result of feelings of (authentic) pride (Tracy et al., 2009; Tracy & Robins, 2007a).

The fourth principle is the need for *self-efficacy* (Bandura, 1977), which in context of place identity refers to the manageability of and sense of agency over one’s own environment. In case of lack of sense of agency related to one’s place of residence – due, for instance, to high levels of crime, or of environmental crisis, emergency or disaster – people can lose their motivation to remain in their place of residence and move away.

Place-related self-esteem and place-related distinctiveness are strongly related and linked to PoP (e.g., Knez, 2005). Place-related self-esteem directly refers to how a given place contributes to people’s self-esteem; place-related distinctiveness, instead, describes how unique features of a place (e.g., architectural, natural) promote a sense of pride that can contribute to self-esteem (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996). In both cases, the focus is on how a given place affects people’s self-esteem, possibly through the fostering of pride.

Our developed self-concept (including place identity) can have a strong impact on how we perceive and interact with the world and with places throughout our lives, both emotionally and cognitively. It can especially influence how motivated we are in our interaction with the places we inhabit. As a consequence of this self-identification we can be more strongly motivated to protect and to present in the best possible way whatever we see as part of our self (Ryan & Deci, 2000).

One significant question that arises in the development of place identity as part of one’s self-construct is how modern day life (of young people) interferes in this process. As we can safely assume, in the past (pre-digital era), physical interaction with the natural environment (and indirectly with the non-physical aspects of place) may have been much more frequent and of a different quality than today. Our current society, characterized by high levels of migration, mobility and digitalization, represents a shift in human-place interaction, possibly influencing the identity process and, in particular, place identity. As Relph (2008) argued, the historical lack of experiencing of place has led to the decline of significance of places and a rise in meaningless places in modern day society.

The emotion of pride (both authentic and hubristic pride) has often been found to be associated to identity. An identity linked to place can serve as a source of pride (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996) and have strong influences on people’s perceptions and behaviour regarding that place (Bonaiuto et al., 1996). Also, one of the functions of identity found in many theories

such as, for example, social identity theories (e.g., Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979), is to provide individual self-esteem, which can be considered a function closely related to pride.

From an operational point of view, PoP has often been associated to place identity rather than to place attachment. For instance, in their qualitative study about place-related identity processes among people living in the London Docklands, Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1996) directly investigated the role of PoP in place identity asking Docklands dwellers “Would you say a bit more about what makes you feel proud/not feel proud about living here?” (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996, p. 210). Similarly, the operational link between place identity and pride is particularly evident in several studies in which the pride of living in a place is considered a measure of place identity (e.g., Bonaiuto, Breakwell & Cano, 1996; Bonaiuto, Carrus, Martorella & Bonnes, 2002; Bonaiuto, Mao, Roberts, Psalti, Ariccio, Ganucci Cancellieri, & Csikszentmihalyi, 2016). For instance, in a study about place identity and beach pollution perception, Bonaiuto, Breakwell and Cano (1996) measured local identity through the item “Do you feel proud of living in this town?”. More recently, while studying Regional Identity in the context of support for protected areas in Italy, Carrus, Bonaiuto and Bonnes (2005) found that Regional Pride is one of the two components of Regional Identity (the other one being Regional Empowerment). Knez (2005) study on urban vs. countryside identity and place attachment found that the persons highly attached to Gothenburg and who defined themselves as urban-persons were those who also were the most proud of living in Gothenburg (vs. low attached persons and country-persons), thus implying an association between PoP, place attachment and place identity.

Overall, PoP seems to be a pervasive but understudied aspect of the person-environment relationship, most often considered as a facet of a number of other related constructs (place attachment, place identity and the like). Studies so far have failed to properly recognize and enucleate it. Its primary affective and emotional status, which probably justifies place attachment being particularly relevant for PoP, requires a deeper look at pride as an emotion in general.

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# 3 Developing PoP - antecedents and processes

## 3.1 PoP and psychological needs: proud of a place that fits me

Literature is still lacking specific factors and antecedents that make people more likely to develop PoP. However, as most of the psychological benefits usually associated to broader constructs regarding person-environment relationships are likely to be also associated to PoP, it is likely that people will feel proud of places that fulfil their psychological needs (Droseltis & Vignoles, 2010; Scannell & Gifford, 2017a; Scannell & Gifford, 2017b). As Ryan and Deci (2000) have described in their Self-Determination Theory (SDT), people have intrinsic needs for autonomy, relatedness and competence as a basis for their personality integration. The relatedness need can refer to building coherent relationships (and secure attachment) with others, as well as with places or the natural world in general (Clayton & Myers, 2015). Building meaningful relations leads to increased care and concern for those others and for environments and places. Autonomy can relate to the need for self-efficacy as described before, where people feel a need to have a sense of agency over their place. The need for competence relates to the desire to feel proficient in mastering certain tasks. Regarding place, we may safely assume that the same applies given a place is part of one's own self-identification, and that Pride of Place can result from a place that fulfils our basic psychological needs.

On the basis of this theory and trying to create a list of place attachment benefits, Scannell and Gifford (2017b) have done an explorative study and found thirteen categories of benefits among their participants: memories, belonging, relaxation, positive emotions, activity support, comfort-security, personal growth, freedom, entertainment, connection to nature, practical benefits, privacy and aesthetics. In another relevant research (Scannell & Gifford, 2017a), place attachment was found to satisfy the basic human needs of belongingness, self-esteem and meaning in life, linking it to general psychology research about psychological well-being (Ryan & Deci, 2000; Ryan, Huta, & Deci, 2008). Even though there is no explicit link between PoP and some of these specific psychological benefits, it is likely that PoP could contribute to at least some of them; further research should be conducted on this subject.

Similarly, place attachment has shown links with global measures of well-being, such as quality of life (Bonaiuto, Fornara, & Bonnes, 2006; Marcheschi, Laike, Brunt, Hansson, & Johansson, 2015), but it has also been found to elicit self-esteem (Droseltis & Vignoles, 2010), sense of belonging (Billig, 2006; Scannell & Gifford, 2017b) and meaning in life (Scannell & Gifford, 2017a); all these constructs could thus equally be PoP antecedents.

Even though SDT indicates these four basic psychological needs in general, the specific needs people have can change according to person, time, or context specificities. In other words, people are proud of places that fit their current needs and abilities. This is also consistent with theories such as the flow theory (Bonaiuto, Mao, Roberts, Psalti, Ariccio, Ganucci Cancellieri, Csikszentmihalyi, 2016; Csikszentmihalyi, 1990) and person–environment fit theory (Dawis, 1992), even if this last construct has so far mainly been applied in the organizational context.

Likewise, people might lose their PoP when a place does no longer fulfil their needs.

Considering the dynamic nature of psychological needs people have through their life stages, it is also likely that PoP and places people are proud of might change and depend upon age (e.g., Lewicka, 2010a; Pretty, Chipuer, & Bramston, 2003). Another aspect that has not been explored so far is that of gender differences in PoP: do men and women have different needs and are therefore proud of different sorts of places?

In this sense, it can be considered as a significant limitation that most research on pride so far has been done on student populations, especially the research from Tracy and colleagues (e.g., Tracy et al., 2009; Tracy & Prehn, 2012; Tracy & Robins, 2007b) as this can give a biased perspective on the nature of pride, especially because students are in a particular phase of life that it is not representative of a person’s complete life span. Interestingly Tracy and colleagues labelled pride as a self-focused emotion (e.g., Tracy & Robins, 2004), based on their research findings in students populations. However, some studies (Michie, 2009; Nakamura, 2013) that suggest that pride can also promote pro-social behaviours retrieved their data from non-students populations.

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**Likewise, people might lose their PoP when a place does no longer fulfil their needs.**

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For the research on Pride of Place, where the experiencing of this emotion is most probably not limited to a certain life phase, it would be interesting to see how prevalent pride is and how it develops throughout a person’s life.

### 3.2 PoP and place making: proud of a place that I feel mine

From a concrete point of view, PoP is often found to be associated to places where people perform specific activities, suggesting a link with place dependence. Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1996) found that people are proud of a place when they associate this place with specific activities, positive for their self-esteem (e.g., having participated to place renewal). Similarly, Scannell and Gifford (2017b) suggest that people could be attached to places where they perform specific activities they are proud of (e.g., gym, but also gardening, Clatworth, Hinds & Camic, 2017).

Overall, several studies suggest that PoP could develop through place making and appropriation. In this sense, design, architecture, and planning literature on place making could provide some relevant inputs on how PoP could be elicited.

In their book Altman and Low (1992) highlight how place modification and appropriation seem to be linked to pride both in childhood and among Afro-American women taking care of their apartment. This is consistent with home been considered as an expression of self and pride (Cooper, 1974).

From a theoretical point of view, the Eudaimonistic Identity Theory (e.g., Waterman, 1984) explicitly posits a link between a person's activities and her/his development of an identity. One contribution in particular shows this is the case for place identity too: people feel more place identity in places where they remember or they know they performed flow-related activities (Bonaiuto, et al, 2016).

This equally applies, for instance, to religious and sacred places (see Bonaiuto, Albers, Ariccio, Cataldi, 2019). Studying Hindu immigrants in Southern California (but also immigrant Muslims' homes, Mazumdar & Mazumdar, 2004), Mazumdar and Mazumdar (2009) find how religion is inscribed into home spaces through specific elements in the *décor* and in the gardens: they suggest that a home can be a religious space and that religion can affect homes in tangible physical ways. Gale and Naylor (2002) consistently highlight how the incorporation of specific architectural elements (e.g., a marble frontage) in a Hindu temple in UK would be a source of pride for the local Hindu community.

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In terms of the Eudaimonistic Identity Theory stated above, it can be observed that a self-defining activity – namely an activity capable of psychologically strengthening an individual's identity whether at personal, social or place level – could be offered not only through a direct self-defining experience but equally through a mediated inherited self-defining activity realized by a somewhat significant individual or group, historically embedded in that place and previously acting in it.

### **3.3 PoP and collective meaning: proud of a place that is relevant for my culture**

Even though person-environment studies often mainly focus on residential places, literature about PoP reports a significant number of non-residential places people are proud of, mostly linking them to their social (rather than personal) significance, suggesting that PoP is eminently social.

In this sense, cultural heritage – both material and immaterial, both tangible and non-tangible – is likely to be a capital aspect of PoP development. The concept of cultural heritage has been a topic of interest for academics working in the field of history, anthropology, sociology and tourism in the present century. Cultural heritage, despite all the destruction endured over time, is the rare cultural assets of civilizations that have existed throughout the history of mankind. Cultural heritage can be broadly defined as the function of verbal or nonverbal traditions created by people living in a location: production methods, social life, rituals, festivals and the transfer of behaviours or tangible abstract items to future generations as a result of different experiences. Although the meaning of the word heritage is more reminiscent of concrete concepts, Culture contains both concrete and abstract concepts. In this context, cultural heritage has become a new research topic with a different meaning. Cultural heritage refers to all abstract and tangible cultural values that are inherited from the past and accepted by the society of the present time.

As an example of how PoP might be associated to cultural heritage, Hawke (2011), in a study about sense of place in England's North Pennines region, finds that the relevance of these places (e.g., a battlefield) was mediated by the collective meaning associated with the places, retelling a proud collective history rather than direct experiences. On the same line, in a study about place attachment to sport facilities, Madgin and colleagues (Madgin, Bradley, & Hastings, 2016) found that the pride people associate to these places of attachment (in the context of their destruction and upgrading), is mainly due to their history, in this case a history of traditional sporting success and reputation. Similarly, pride has been found to be associated to famous museums (Capper & Scully, 2016) and to festivals (Ryan, 2015). Notably, pride can also be associated to negative events, because of the media and scientific resonance the place acquires (e.g., volcanic activity in Canary Islands, Spain; Ruiz & Hernández, 2014).

In line with the idea that PoP is affected by media attention and the reputation of a place, different studies found that international branding initiatives (such as the European Capital City label and funding) increase PoP in the local communities (Liu, 2015; ŽiličFišer & Kožuh, 2018). Overall, this suggests that PoP has to do with the self-esteem associated to belonging to a place with a positive social reputation (Bonaiuto and Alves, 2016; see also Bonaiuto, Ariccio, De Dominicis, Fornara, Molinaro, Troffa, Wang, 2018).

Consistently, the only scale of PoP available so far is a Civic Pride scale proposed by Wood (2006) in order to measure the pride effects of events and festivals organized by local government. The aim of this scale is to provide a measurement of positive social benefits of these events, i.e., civic pride, which is otherwise hardly measured and thus often under-considered when evaluating the outcomes of these events.

### **A. Tourism in rural areas - PoP as an opportunity and a risk**

Rural areas usually present a significant amount of cultural heritage (monuments, natural landscapes, traditions) and are usually associated to a positive (bucolic) reputation. However, besides new work activities and work arrangements (e.g., smart-working), they are currently undergoing processes of loss of population and of economic and cultural resources, because of their inconvenience compared to the more dense, diverse, and complex urban areas.

Tourism is often considered as a valuable solution to this issue, using cultural heritage elements as a vector of development and dynamism.

#### **A.1 Tourism in rural areas - PoP as an opportunity and a risk**

Tourists feel belongingness to historical monuments found in their own countries, considering them as something they have inherited from their ancestors. Historical monuments or buildings can equally fascinate visitors from other countries, as they represent a different architecture, a different style and a different life. In this sense, tourists could be messengers of the tourist destination PoP.

Locals may also feel a sense belongingness and continuity through keeping local (cultural and historical) work, craft and trade alive, using skills and talent inherited from their ancestors. In the Kayseri province of Turkey, for example, the locals see themselves as skilled merchants. The city of Kayseri was the heart of Assyrian trade, home of the largest Karum (shopping center) of the period. Also in Turkey, people to this day call their daughters “Sibel”, derived from “spill”, a reference to the ancient mother goddess Kybele who lived in Anatolia.

People from places with a rich cultural and historical heritage are fond of where they live: this heritage is not only part of their identity, it also gives them a sense of direction and meaning.

The culture of a region carries the traces of the past. Highlighting the historical and cultural heritage of people living in rural areas and introducing it to visitors will positively affect the local people’s love for the region and country.

#### **A.2 Tourism effects on rural areas**

Beyond the social and environmental impact tourism has in rural areas, there is also an economic effect, with new job opportunities, increased exchange and investments, improved economy and infrastructure and mobility at both local and national levels.

Tourism contributes to the balance of income distribution in rural areas, especially as one of the largest sources of income (Kutukiz et al, 2016). Rural communities living from agriculture have the opportunity with tourism to develop other sources of income. Human resources are used in marketing, feasibility studies and packaging of endemic crops, bee-keeping or other products peculiar to rural areas to serve tourism. Having local people as guides provides a rich and interactive for visitors and tourists to learn about local history and culture.

Although the positive (infrastructure, transportation, etc.) and negative (regional destruction, etc.) effects of tourism are primarily felt in physical areas, it also causes social effects over time. One of the biggest impacts of cultural heritage tourism on local populations is the positive change in their quality of life: quality of life improves as a result of the interaction related to cultural heritage with tourism (Canbolat, 2017).

One of the positive effects of cultural heritage tourism has on rural populations is that of raising awareness of their cultural heritage. With the introduction and marketing of abstract and concrete cultural heritage items transferred from old generations to new generations to tourists, values that have been forgotten come to light again (Coalter, 2001).

### **A.3 Rural tourism as a sustainable tourism**

A major transformation is taking place in the understanding and implementation of tourism as concept, in line with the changing demands of tourists since the 1950s. As a result of this change in tourism demand, different tourism activities have emerged, such as rural tourism. Rural tourism, which is included in the socio-economic development of rural areas, is defined as a set of activities that contribute to the development of the local people and the evaluation of the historical, natural and cultural richness in rural areas outside the city centres (Torre and Gutierrez, 2008). In other words, rural tourism is a type of tourism that happens when people visit rural areas to stay and observe and/or take part in activities that are unique to the region in order to learn about different cultures and relax in natural environments. Rural tourism includes walking, horseback riding, hunting, fishing, sports, health, adventure, art, cultural and historical activities, which are alternative tourism activities (Lane, 1994; Soykan, 1999).

Relevant literature defines rural areas as areas found outside the “sea, sun and sand” tourism centres, away from the city centres, where the local traditional lifestyle is preserved and where various activities linked to rural life take place. The definition of rural development is the whole set of plans, policies and activities aimed at raising the quality of life of people living in these regions, in line with their social, economic and cultural conditions, the protection of the environment and the principle of sustainability. The main philosophy of rural development is to use the resources of rural areas effectively and to minimize the socio-cultural and economic development gap between the city and the countryside, to prevent rural desertification by increasing employment opportunities and raise the living standards of people living in rural areas (Çeken, Dalgın & Çakır, 2012).

Rural areas provide tourists activities and attractions that result from their ethnic and geographical character, history, different culture and rural nature. In the process of planning and branding these attractions, the contribution of local people is paramount. In this regard, rural tourism should be considered as an approach to support the economic development of the local population rather than merely seeing it as a profit-generating activity.

Rural tourism is, primarily, an opportunity for employment and income opportunities for rural areas and can be an effective alternative to addressing these problems in countries with higher regional disparities and poverty. In order to achieve the balanced development of a country, cities and rural regions need to be developed equally making the importance of tourism even more evident: in order to improve the quality of life of people living in rural areas, employment opportunities other than agriculture are needed.

In underdeveloped regions, rural tourism activities have a positive impact, increasing the level of economic and social development as a result of the efficient use of all the resources of the region, fostering economic growth and improving the quality of life of the local population. As described in Abraham Maslow's hierarchy of needs: that once people fulfilled their physical needs, they addressed their social ones.

Rural tourism provides opportunities for local inhabitants to connect economically to the place they live in. Emotional and economically high adherence to where people live is an important factor for PoP, as is the tourists' interest and admiration about the characteristics and specificities of the rural area they are visiting. Another source of PoP comes from the opportunity for locals to share their knowledge about their region, both real life stories and the history of the area, as well as local culture, traditions and produce.





# 4 Consequences and outcomes of PoP

The previous paragraphs presented what pride means and how it has been studied so far in relation to place, either as an autonomous construct or as a component of broader aspects of the person–environment relationship, i.e., mainly place attachment and place identity. This chapter aims to focus on PoP outcomes and consequences.

Again, only a few studies investigated PoP separately from other constructs, many more studying the effects of broader concepts highlighting the relevance of pride among the different facets of the considered constructs.

Pride is strongly linked to self–esteem, strongly associated to feelings of personal well–being, self–confidence and, in general, self–centered positive feelings and activities, as well as continuity of oneself (individual and collective). Pride can also be associated to social groups and places, leading to act in favour of these people and sites. However, this self–centered emotion can equally lead to antisocial attitudes and behaviours, with possible negative consequences, particularly at a societal level.

## 4.1 Positive effects of PoP: self-esteem, well-being, pro-social attitudes and behaviours

The direct or indirect impact of positive emotions such as pride related to one’s own place on an individual’s well–being is of particular interest, especially since the broaden–and–build theory (Fredrickson, 1998; Fredrickson & Joiner, 2002, 2018) suggests that positive emotions trigger an upward spiral towards well–being.

The most immediate effect of pride in general and also of PoP is self–esteem (Tracy et al., 2004, 2007a, 2009).

PoP has been found to be associated to well–being at different levels. Reeskens and Wright (2011), in a cross–national survey project, found that national pride is positively associated to subjective well–being. At neighbourhood level, some studies show how living in a place that provides pride has positive consequences for the individual, since it makes people feel happier about themselves and their dwelling (e.g., Renzaho, Richardson & Strugnell, 2012).

On the other hand, a lack of PoP could lower self–esteem: for instance, studies about cultural identity and mobility show how low ethnic identity and high cultural homelessness (i.e., the feeling of not pertaining to a certain culture that is often felt by people who spent their childhood in several different cultural contexts) is associated to low self–esteem (Hoersting & Jenkins, 2011).



**Pride is strongly linked to self-esteem, strongly associated to feelings of personal well-being, self-confidence and, in general, self-centered positive feelings and activities, as well as continuity of oneself (individual and collective). Pride can also be associated to social groups and places, leading to act in favour of these people and sites. However, this self-centered emotion can equally lead to antisocial attitudes and behaviours, with possible negative consequences, particularly at a societal level.**

The positive association between PoP and well-being is also consistent with the broad framework of Terror Management Theory (TMT; Rosenblatt et al., 1989; Solomon, Greenberg & Pyszczynski, 1991, 2004; Pyszczynski, Sullivan, & Greenberg, 2015). This theory explains how humans defend themselves against anxiety and existential terror that the awareness of our mortality brings about. The theory suggests that, over millennia, civilizations all over the planet have developed cultures to minimize the psychological distress that is associated to this existential terror. The worldviews of these cultures offer a potential psychological buffer against the terror and a source for the self-esteem of individuals. TMT argues that people will experience a higher self-esteem when they value themselves as living a good and meaningful life and as a valuable participant to their culture; i.e., living up to the expectations of society (Greenberg, Vail & Pyszczynski, 2014).

One of the main hypotheses of the TMT is that when mortality salience (i.e., bringing mortality into awareness) is induced, people will tend to increase their adherence to, and their defence of, the culture they are part of. In line with this assumption, many studies have demonstrated that an augmented mortality salience in participants is connected to a variety of outcomes related to the defence of cultural worldviews and self-esteem, such as enhanced prejudice and stereotyping towards others who hold different cultural worldviews (Schimel, Simon et al, 1999), motivating violent behaviour towards out-group members (McGregor, Lieberman, Greenberg, Solomon, Arndt, Simon, et al., 1998), discrimination of out-group members (Leippe, Bergold & Eisenstadt, 2017), and a nationalistic bias (Nelson, Moore, Olivetti & Scott, 1997).

Consistently, studies have also shown that in countries such as Italy or the USA where nationalistic pride is widely valued, feelings of nationalism were increased when mortality salience was induced (Nelson et al., 1997; Castano, Yzerbyt & Paladino, 2004). In Germany however, a country where expression of national pride is historically negatively viewed, high levels of emotional self-regulatory skills are needed to show any signs of national pride (Kazen, Baumann & Kuhl, 2005).

Furthermore, higher levels of pride correspond to stronger social ties (Gable et al., 2004), both factors being important elements of psychological well-being (Delle Fave, Brdar, Freire, Vella-Brodrick, & Wissing, 2011; Ryan & Deci, 2000; Ryff, 1989). Nakamura (2013) showed a relationship between pride and sensed meaning in daily life, as well as a strong relationship between levels of pride and pro-social behaviour. Meaning in life is a well-documented element of one's psychological well-being (Ryff, 1989) and a strong motivational factor relevant in pro-environmental behaviours (e.g., Molinario, et al., 2019).

On a societal level, PoP can also have positive societal effects. People with a stronger place identity and place attachment are known to be more active in their neighbourhood and in protecting identity-relevant natural places (Comstock et al., 2010; Hinds & Sparks, 2008). In a study about place identity and support of a local protected area, Carrus and colleagues (2005), for instance, found that the place identity component Regional Pride (but not the component Regional Empowerment) is found to positively predict support for the institution of a local natural protected area, independently of the conservation attitude measures (Carrus, Bonaiuto & Bonnes, 2005).

PoP has also positive effects for the community because it leads to pro-community initiatives. Cultural events (e.g., European Capital City) are seen as a particularly effective catalyst for city regeneration processes through boosting PoP (Liu, 2015). In a different cultural context, civic pride has been found to be a driver for the adoption of new hygienic practices in Nepal, with community health benefits (McMichael & Robinson, 2016).

Consistently, several examples in literature provide links between PoP and support for tourism development of the local area. In a study about support for tourism in a rural community in Poland, Bynum Boley and colleagues (2018) found that psychological empowerment mediates the positive relationship between place distinctiveness and support for tourism. Place distinctiveness (recognizing one's own place as unique) is proposed to lead residents' to psychological empowerment (pride and self-esteem boost associated to recognizing that their community has something unique to offer), which then leads to tourism support. Similar results are found in a set of studies on both US and Chinese samples. Place-related self-esteem is found to be positively associated to tourism, often through the mediation of attitudes towards positive and negative tourism impacts (Wang & Chen, 2015; Wang & Wang, 2018). Interestingly, similar results are found also when studying attitude towards dark tourism in a post-disaster Chinese town (Chen, Wang & Xu, 2017).

The presented benefits of PoP (e.g., self-esteem, meaning in life, pro-social and pro-environmental attitudes and behaviours) are usually included among the psychological benefits associated to broader person-environment constructs, especially place attachment.

## 4.2 Negative effects of PoP: egoistic attitudes, parochialism, shame, national and religious extremism

The literature presented so far mainly provides evidence of the positive outcomes of PoP, however too high a PoP could be a double-edged sword, leading to positive individual outcomes, together with negative societal effects. PoP emphasis on the individual's self-esteem could indeed lead to antisocial and egoistic attitudes of the individuals who would favour their source of PoP, denigrating or even aggressing other individuals, groups, and places.

Ledgerwood and colleagues (2007) suggest indeed that places are linked to group-identities; in an inter-group context (see also, Twigger-Ross, Bonaiuto, Breakwell, 2003) this can lead to property issues and potential conflicts. A small-scale example of this kind of conflict can be found when groups of immigrants ask to be able to create a temple for their religion. Bugg (2013) reports that when a Hindu community wanted to construct a Hindu Temple in Australia,

the project raised a dispute, with locals considering the religious site as inconsistent with the traditional rural heritage of the area they are proud of, while immigrants would feel proud to have a place to pray in (Bugg, 2013).

The inter-group frame leads to connecting place identity and PoP to parochialism. Parochialism can be defined as the tendency for people to favour a group that includes them while undervaluing, ignoring or harming outsiders (Schwartz-Shea & Simmons, 1991). More broadly, it is a social-psychological construct according to which people tend to support the in-group and to harm the out-group. For instance, Quin (2011) studied the relationship between East Asia regionalism and Chinese national pride among young Chinese university students, finding that East Asia regionalism and Chinese national pride are positively correlated, probably in an anti-West sentiment. Consistently, Reeskens & Wright (2011), in a European study involving more than 40,000 participants from 31 European Countries, found that national pride appears to increase subjective well-being through the mediation of nationalism. Further links between PoP and parochialism are suggested by the recurrent association of PoP to international sport competitions, where pride, and often national pride, is found to be associated to wins (Kavetsos, 2011).

Sport competitions aside, strong parochialism is known to possibly translate to aggression towards the out-group and thus to fascism, ethnocentrism and religious fundamentalism (e.g., Reeve, 2017; Frischlich et al., 2015).

In a study about a community photo project, Nowell and colleagues found that physical characteristics of a neighbourhood can be sources of evidence for residents and outsiders to form judgments about the community and its inhabitants (Nowell, Berkowitz, Deacon & Foster-Fishman, 2006). These judgments can result into feelings of pride or, when the conditions of the neighbourhood are poor, into feelings of shame and frustration among the inhabitants. As a coping strategy to these negative feelings, inhabitants can become apathetic and disengaged in their attitude and behaviour towards the community and this can even result in upward mobility to neighbourhoods with better conditions.

In its most extreme negative form, PoP can turn into collective narcissism, i.e., a belief in an in-group greatness with a need for external recognition (Cislak, Wojcik & Cichocka, 2018). In Poland, for example, where the coal mines are a source of national pride (referred to as *Polish gold*), collective narcissism showed to be positively related to support of the national coal industry and negatively correlated to pro-environment policies (Cislak et al., 2018). The authors however suggest that when environmental protection will become an element of PoP, it could satisfy the need of collective narcissism for external recognition and hence turning it into something positive.

### **B. Rural culinary traditions as business opportunities**

#### **B.1 Rural areas, rural gastronomy and PoP**

Through exploring the processes of transition and redefinition of local identity, local cuisine can be seen as an aspect of local tourism growth. Gastronomy meets the specific needs of consumers, local producers and other stakeholders in rural tourism as an identity marker of a region and/or as a means of promoting farm produce. Several examples in France demonstrate this phenomenon: the publishing of books about regional cuisine is booming, many producers are selling their produce directly and opening farm restaurants, famous 3-star chefs are introducing regional modern cuisine, and both the Ministries of Culture and Agriculture have funded a detailed inventory of French provincial culinary heritage and have awarded grants (Bessiere, 1998).

#### **B.2 Rural and natural food quality and geographical labels**

The average consumer seeks to be completely aware of the different components of the food that he consumes. Through branding, the 'unidentified edible object' has to tell the tale of its source, preparation, and identification. Consumers demand a closer relationship with the producer, whether it is real or imaginary. Adequate branding allows for a certain warranty about the product's origin, identity and nature. Symbolically, these signs reflect imaginary characteristics and help reduce the gap between the food supply and the customer.

The European Union (EU) is seeking to create opportunities for farmers to build local food systems delivering high-value goods as a way of supporting the economic development of family-run farms in rural areas (Clements, 2004). Efforts include the use of geographical label protection at EU level, labelling regional products that are related to the culture, nature and heritage of a particular area. From the consumers' point of view, buying local produce seems to be increasingly relevant, suggesting a wish to support different geographical, cultural and regional food systems. It is believed that local food systems have a positive impact in local economic development, fostering local employment and a direct contact between farmers and customers as well as environmental benefits.

### **B.3 Rural travelers and rural gastronomic activities**

Food is likely to be a contributing factor in tourism, as an element of cultural heritage. France, for example, is known for its culinary heritage. French rural tourism values food as an essential cultural element as illustrated by the various labels and quality seals developed in this sector. The French “Welcome to the farm” seal can be granted to farmers that sell their produce in situ and can also provide accommodation for visitors. This seal guarantees a certain level of quality and consistency, encouraging visitors to stay at working farms and to buy produce directly from the farm.

“Welcome to the farm” farms offer half-board accommodation, meals prepared from local produce and shared at the family table, as well as leisure activities and farm visits.

Local gastronomic fairs and festivals and itineraries also provide a means of attracting tourism to rural areas. Galicia is particularly famous for their mushroom, chicken, goose barnacles, oysters and traditional empanadas festivals. Festivals in other parts of Spain include the annual pig slaughter in the town of Burgo de Osma, outdoor Catalan spring onion barbecues known as calçotades, and snail festivals in Lleida.

Traditional restaurants specialized in serving traditional local cuisine dishes can also introduce visitors to the specificities of traditional local culinary tools, and the new regional ‘new cuisine’ movement reflects a return to traditional regional cooking by famous chefs. Hence the preservation of heritage is truly a collective concern (Bessiere, 1998).

### **B.4 Gastronomy: escapism or liberation?**

Food is part of people’s cultural, psycho-sensory, social and physiological environment: the way the person considers and evaluates food items and categories includes all these different features and facets (see Bonaiuto et al., 2017). In addition to hygienic and dietary qualities, food has psycho-sensorial and symbolic characteristics, a symbolism expressed in a variety of ways, including:

- Food as a sign of communion: an element for social connection (for example, business meals, family celebrations, daily meals).
- Food as an emblem: an element of local identity.

The ‘incorporation principle’ is an unchanging feature of eating behaviour. This principle has a double meaning: ‘the eater becomes what he consumes’, where eating is combining or accepting the characteristics of the food one consumes; and ‘the eater is a member of a society’ where both food and cooking place the eater in a social context and a cultural order. Eating patterns form the foundation of a social identity (Bessiere, 1998)



# 5 PoP dynamics: does change prevent PoP?

Considering the dynamic nature of the place–person relationship, determined on the one hand by the changing needs of the person through life and an increasing individual mobility, but also by the dynamic nature of places that change according to natural and human action, it is relevant to consider how PoP might relate to place change.

Since people are proud of place as it is, change can be critical, since it could alter some aspects of this relationship and remove the conditions for pride.

## 5.1 PoP and mobility

If most environmental psychology constructs have conceived people–place bonds as the result of residential stability and long–term person–place relationship, today’s people mobility and migrations are a key issue, increasingly questioning this assumption. People are found to be proud of places even if they were not born there or if they do not live there anymore, breaking the length of residence–bond link. This raises theoretical questions about how PoP develops among newcomers or immigrants, and if PoP is likely to develop through early life experiences and community shared experiences.

According to place attachment literature, it is probable that people are more likely to establish new bonds with places that present features similar to those of other places they have already bonded with, consistent with self–continuity (e.g., developing attachment for a settlement rather than for a place; Feldman, 1996). For instance, immigrants coming from rural areas are likely to feel more self–continuity (and thus possibly feel more PoP and be better integrated) in rural areas, rather than in urban ones, while the opposite is likely for people coming from urban contexts. On the other hand, people may maintain PoP for a place when they are temporarily or permanently far from it, for instance in the case of refugee or forced migrations. PoP of dislocated people can still affect the place itself, because it can lead people to have an impact on their place of pride even when they are far from it, for instance sending money home or investing in the place of origin while permanently living away. In a globalized world such as the present one, people can also be proud of places they visited as tourists or even of places they never visited but that they somehow associate to their own identity, e.g., people being proud of a city or country, even if they do not live there, because of supporting the local sport team.

A last mention should be made with regards to virtual environments, increasingly common: no studies so far seem to have focused on this, but it seems likely that PoP might also exist in belonging to virtual communities and places (even more relevant due to the smart working shift imposed by the 2020 global sanitary emergency).

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# 6 Conclusion - from authentic and hubristic pride to PoP as a motivation to place-related action

PoP deals with the emotional relationship people have with place, and particularly the feeling of pride a place can instil. Even though this construct has only seldom been systematically studied, pride often emerges as one of the emotions characterizing the person-place relationship. In general, pride is mostly linked to achievements and to one's own abilities (Gaines, Duvall, Webster, & Smith, 2005; Webster, Duvall, Gaines, & Smith, 2003), and rarely to extra-personal characteristics such as that of places that have been absorbed into one's own self-construct.

Although PoP is based on the emotion of pride, there are some limitations in the extent to which it fits in the dual-faceted theories of Tracy and colleagues, namely the distinction between "authentic" and "hubristic" pride (Tracy & Robins, 2007b).

Instead, it can indeed be hypothesized that different kinds of PoP can develop depending on which needs the place satisfies. Hubristic pride seems to be particularly linked to self-esteem, belonging and relatedness (it is particularly reported when people are proud of belonging to a place-related specific group). Authentic pride, in turn, may be more related to autonomy, control and competence (particularly reported when people have a sense of appropriation and are able to act) and linked to action, place-making and place-protection. However, it is possible that other kinds of pride and of PoP exist, fulfilling different psychological needs (Lewicka, 2011).

Furthermore, even though research on pride as a general emotion has always focused on considering these two kinds of pride as dichotomously organized, they could also be considered as a continuum or rather as two steps of a process. It is possible that hubristic pride could represent a first step of PoP (or general pride) development, in which people simply feel the individual positive effects of pride on self-esteem. A stronger PoP would instead be associated to more pro-active attitude and behaviour, also consistently with the positive emotional circle of pride.

A stronger PoP could thus ultimately bring to agency, place protection activities and participation. It can thus increase social capital and foster commitment and engagement for place improvements (e.g., volunteering).

Authentic pride could emerge in environmental risk situations, when acting for place preservation becomes of capital importance, just like people's belonging to groups is strengthened by an external threat (Sherif, 1953). In this sense, PoP eases community empowerment for solving place-related issues. An example of this can be the ACMA environmental disaster in Italy, where a huge industrial-related pollution issue brought people to feel PoP and thus to

engage to in protecting their place. In this sense, PoP can be considered as a seed that lasts over time and sprouts at specific place-relevant situations to make one act in favour of one's place (similarly to early childhood experiences for Quest for Significance, as outlined in the EC 7<sup>th</sup> FP BIOMOT project; see Molinario et al., 2019).

However, just as the general emotion of pride, a too strong a PoP can both motivate to act in favour of the place, with relevant implications for both personal and collective well-being and prosperity, but also be associated to inter-group intolerance and aggressiveness.

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Pride of Place could be useful for motivating people to act in favour of rural communities. Nowadays, rural communities are often affected by depopulation, mainly caused by the higher number of educational and occupational opportunities urban areas can offer. However, with their rich cultural heritage (e.g., culinary traditions, music), rural areas can also provide PoP. Highlighting PoP and how it is linked to the place specificities could motivate people to act in favour to their rural places of origin, either to reinforce community ties or open the community to external stakeholders with network and business opportunities. Considering food as an example, people in rural areas can easily use their traditional foods and food production techniques in various events to attract tourists, and promote their community. Visitors' interest for local food and culinary culture can encourage the local people to adopt these values. Local gastronomy can be used to enhance loyalty to rural areas and the heritage of the rural areas. Recognition of the culture is a factor that increases the sense of PoP for the local people, provided they can (re-)appropriate and appreciate their culture.

## Examples from the project partners

### Landscape features

Natural and human-made unique features of the local environment that characterize the aesthetical and physical place experience can be very important for PoP.

General landscape uniqueness and variety is considered a source of PoP. The Achterhoek (woodland combined with pastures) in the Netherlands, the Portuguese Douro river valley or the terraces in Langhe (IT), are all distinctive and unique landscapes and sources of PoP.

Specific well-known landmarks are sources of PoP for the local community, such as the Manavgat Waterfall in Turkey, and Mount Brandon in Ireland.

Landmarks' and landscapes' persistence through time can also be considered as a link to the past and past place features and lifestyles, easing a feeling of self-continuity. In this sense, local memories and legends are often associated to specific places and act as a link between past and present.

- Places associated to legends and celebrations (e.g., Mount Brendon in Ireland is associated to Saint Brendan and his legendary quest to the “Isle of the Blessed”, also denominated “Saint Brendan’s Island”). Sometimes, local festivities are associated to these stories and legends (e.g., Mount Brandon).
- Places associated to life “as it used to be” and how society has changed through time (e.g., Blasket Islands, a beautiful Irish archipelago that has been abandoned since the 1950s, is still important for locals as a reminder of how people used to live there and how hard it was for them to eventually leave the place).
- Landscape can also feature some physical memories from the past, such as ancient buildings (e.g, the Gallaras Oratory and Riasc monastic settlement in Ireland).

### Language

Language is one of the most relevant local sources of PoP. In Ireland, language is a distinguishing feature and a source of PoP. The relevance of language is also highlighted in Achterhoek and in Italy. Its importance is also linked to toponymy, i.e., to the fact that local place name origins and meaning are often (especially in Ireland) only comprehensible to those who know the local language.

Language tradition is often kept alive through local artists (singers, bands, actors and actresses) that use the local language in their songs (e.g., Brav’om, Famija Albeisa , and Il nostro teatro di Sinio, in the Langhe region, IT).

Language distinction can be used as a tool to differentiate between an in-group (who speaks and understands the language) and an out-group (who does not understand nor speak it), with consequent political issues.

## Food and other local products

Local production is strongly affected by the place's features and needs. In the Douro river valley (PT), turnip soup, shad and lamprey are part of the traditional local cuisine, while in Achterhoek (NL) people are proud of the local beer (Grolsch). Local produce are considered to be strongly linked to place identity and thus to PoP. These produce can also have international recognition, such as the Protected Geographical Indication label attributed to Italian hazelnuts, or the "Roquefort" cheese in France (only the cheese produced in Roquefort, using local products and traditional methods can be called "Roquefort").

Beside food, other local products are linked to the place's possibilities and needs. Some of these products and tools are no longer in everyday use but they are still preserved and celebrated as symbols of the past, enhancing self-continuity.

- The ancient Irish boat called "Naomhóg" was traditionally used for moving between the islands and for fishing, and is still used today for specific races during local festivities.
- The Portuguese tradition of filigree and woodcarving, established through the local presence of wood and gold mines, is still part of local craftsmanship and economical activities.

## Local cultural traits

In some places, specific social norms, behaviors or attitudes can be considered an integral part of local culture.

- In Turkish Managvat, the welcoming attitude and the mixity of people from different origins, religions and cultures can be considered a typical feature of the place and contributes to local PoP.
- In Achterhoek (NL), a special form of in-group solidarity called "Naoberschap" can be considered a local feature. Based on the ancient rural community structure, it consists in the moral obligation to support each other wherever and whenever needed and it is still recognized by locals as a relevant social norm.

## Examples of existing PoP initiatives

At a local level, many initiatives to promote local features and sources of PoP already exist in many places. These initiatives can be a way of diffusing local PoP, as they celebrate or advertise local features, as well as a source of PoP as these events become part of the local place identity.

### School activities

Many activities are run in schools, either by the schools themselves or in collaboration with local institutions and associations. These activities aim at highlighting sources of pride to children, and, indirectly, to their family.

- Activities consisting in teaching local languages, dances and traditional music and literature (e.g., in Ireland).
- School activities focusing on specific landscape features, such as local flora (e.g., in Ireland).
- Schools projects collecting information about the local past and history, either from official sources (museums, books, etc) or local informal knowledge (e.g., asking older locals in the Douro valley, PT).
- In Turkey, the “Saving, Investment and Turkish Products Week” is an event for all schools, aiming to encourage young people to consume less, consume local products and invest in national production systems. To encourage this attitude change, schools try to introduce the students to local products and environment.
- Also in Turkey, the “one day at the museum” event for secondary or high school students, organised by city governors: students visit a museum where the staff presents them the city. City museums try to exhibit the timeline of local place from a social, economic and environmental perspective.

### Institutional initiatives

Institutional initiatives can also enhance and highlight local sources of PoP to the local population.

- Museums make local heritage more visible and accessible to people. Eco-museums (like the one in Cortemilia, IT), in particular, are exhibit areas conceived specifically as places that show the identity of a place, involving local people and directly aimed at the development of the local community.
- Specific PoP activities aimed at the whole population can be conducted in specific situations. For instance, in the Achterhoek area (NL), a competition was held to create of a flag the region (that did not have one). The participation of locals in this competition was, in itself, an occasion of PoP, and the final flag can be relevant for place identity and PoP.

## Local public events

Local public events are opportunities to gather and celebrate that are particularly relevant for the given area. They are both a source of local pride, as people are proud of the events themselves, and an important factor in making people aware of the other typical features of their local area, as they often display and promote local products, as well as legends or historical events linked to the local place.

Many events are associated to specific local products (e.g., hazelnuts in Italy, beer in Netherlands, fish in Portugal, orange and banana in Antalya).

Several religious traditions are reported; Romaria de Nossa Senhora do Rosário in Portugal and St. Patrick's Day Parade and Wren's Day in Ireland.

Modern customs can merge with older traditions: the Zwarte Cross (Black Cross) festival in Achterhoek (NL), combines motocross and local dialect music, and at the Side International Culture and Art Festival in Turkey, heritage sites stage traditional and modern international art performances.

Some sport activities and related events be important sources of PoP:

- Certain sports are specifically linked to local landscape; rowing in the Douro (PT), consistent with the presence of a river.
- Specific sports can be explicit sources of pride because they are typical local sports that are not played elsewhere; the Italian game "pallapugno" is only known in a specific area, where it is a source of PoP.
- More generally, support for local teams (such as the soccer team "Graafschap" in Achterhoek, NL), can be a manifestation of local PoP.
- Wrestling events and horse-riding festivals in Antalya are some examples of local events. Particularly in rural parts of Antalya where these sport events are popular, respected for their history and local ancestry.

## Expected effects of PoP initiatives in rural communities

PoP initiatives, as conceived here, have the primary goal of motivating youngsters to not contribute to rural depopulation but, instead, remain living in their rural area. In order to achieve this, and according to Self Determination Theory, PoP initiatives have to fulfil basic psychological needs. If the initiatives succeed, youngsters will feel more intrinsically motivated (need for relatedness), feel free to express their thoughts and ideas (need for autonomy), and feel empowered to be an active part of solutions through improving their competences (need for competence). This will lead to a general increased well-being of young residents of rural areas and will also increase locals' emotional attachment and connectedness to the place.

Getting to know the local place better can deepen the knowledge of local culture and local landscape and nature. In this sense, PoP initiatives could get people to have an increased and deeper knowledge of their territory, both at social and physical levels. This means having a better knowledge of the local culture and experiencing a stronger sense of community and thus a higher social engagement and participation to local initiatives; it also means developing a more respectful attitude towards the territory, and, particularly, towards local nature. More importantly for this project, it could motivate people to stay in (or return to) the place, avoiding further rural desertification.

Motivating people to stay and or return to their rural area could have positive outcomes on local economy and job opportunities, in several sectors, with a positive virtuous circle (more people remain - more job opportunities - more people remain...). Economical sectors expected to particularly affected are tourism, agriculture and agricultural product processing.

This could also increase the quality of inter-generational relationships. Most young people tend to devalue their region, dismissing its cultural heritage and labelling those who value it as parochial and narrow-minded. In this sense, PoP initiatives could also support elderly people, as they may feel less excluded and would benefit from all the advantages that development brings to the region. Moreover, a more lively, active and dynamic rural area would increase quality of life of all the residents, regardless of age.





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