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Political Pilgrimage and the Wailing Wall Phenomenon: Political Nostalgia, Parasocial Attachment, and Visit Intention to Joko Widodo's Former Residence in Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

The novelty of this study lies in the introduction of political pilgrimage as an emotionally driven form of political tourism centred on a former president's residence, integrating political nostalgia, parasocial attachment, political loyalty, emotional wellness, collective identity, and visit intention within a single framework. This study aims to examine the relationships among these constructs in the context of the "Wailing Wall of Solo" phenomenon associated with the former residence of Joko Widodo in Solo, Indonesia. Data were collected through an online survey involving 859 eligible respondents selected using a self-selected sampling approach. The data were analysed using exploratory factor analysis, reliability testing, average variance extracted, and structural equation modelling. The findings revealed that political nostalgia significantly influenced parasocial attachment and political loyalty. Parasocial attachment further strengthened political loyalty, which subsequently enhanced emotional wellness and collective identity. Emotional wellness also positively affected collective identity, while collective identity emerged as the strongest predictor of visit intention. These results demonstrate that political tourism is not solely motivated by historical curiosity but is also shaped by emotional attachment, collective memories, and social belonging. The study contributes to the political tourism literature by extending the concept of political pilgrimage and highlighting the psychological mechanisms underlying visits to politically significant places. Furthermore, the findings support the achievement of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals, particularly SDG 8 (Decent Work and Economic Growth) through tourism diversification, SDG 11 (Sustainable Cities and Communities) through the preservation of political heritage, and SDG 16 (Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions) through the promotion of civic memory, social cohesion, and democratic engagement.

Keywords: Consumer Behaviour, Destination Marketing, SDGs, Political Tourism
JEL Classifications: D12, M31, Z30, Z32

1. INTRODUCTION

Political tourism has become a significant topic in modern tourism research, driven by increasing public interest in places connected to political leaders, national figures, revolutions, and state heritage. In many countries, visitors are drawn to presidential residences, memorial homes, political museums, and historical sites associated with influential leaders to gain a deeper understanding of national

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history and political identity. Recent research suggests that political tourism is no longer motivated solely by educational or heritage-related interests but also involves emotional connections, symbolic meanings, and the development of collective memory (Light and Young, 2021; Biran et al., 2022). Examples from around the world include visits to political sites linked to former leaders in the United States, South Africa, and Eastern Europe. Similarly, in Indonesia, public interest has grown in destinations associated with former President Joko Widodo. Researchers have also emphasized that contemporary political tourism increasingly centers on emotional experiences, identity reinforcement, and a sense of social belonging, rather than being limited to traditional sightseeing activities (Isaac and Çakmak, 2023; Poria et al., 2024; Zhang et al., 2024; Chen and Xu, 2025).

Political pilgrimage refers to travel to places that hold symbolic political significance and are closely connected to influential leaders, historic movements, or important political events. Unlike traditional heritage tourism, political pilgrimage is often driven by emotional bonds, admiration, and a sense of personal identification with political figures rather than solely by educational purposes. Recent studies have found that people can develop strong psychological attachments to public leaders even without direct personal interaction, creating a form of symbolic closeness that influences their travel decisions (Liu and Zhao, 2021; Seaton, 2022). Around the world, sites associated with figures such as Nelson Mandela, Mahatma Gandhi, and Václav Havel continue to attract visitors who seek meaningful emotional and commemorative experiences. Similar patterns can also be seen in Indonesia, where locations connected to prominent political figures have increasingly become spaces for remembrance and expressions of public admiration. Scholars suggest that these visits often reflect respect, gratitude, and the affirmation of personal or collective identity, highlighting how political meanings have become deeply integrated into contemporary tourism experiences (Korstanje, 2023; Kim and Butler, 2023; García-Hernández et al., 2024; Nawijn and Mitas, 2025).

Among contemporary political figures in Indonesia, Joko Widodo has become one of the most influential and widely recognized leaders of the post-Reformasi period. His appeal goes beyond his official position as President of Indonesia, as his public image carries broader cultural and symbolic significance. Unlike many political elites who come from established political or military backgrounds, Joko Widodo is commonly viewed as a leader from a modest family who rose through local administration and national politics through his own efforts. This narrative has reinforced public perceptions of authenticity, humility, and closeness to ordinary people, qualities that often foster strong symbolic connections among his supporters (Mietzner, 2021; Warburton, 2022). Similar trends have been identified in other countries, where political leaders evolve into lasting cultural symbols whose influence persists even after they leave office (Street, 2023; Kaneva and Popescu, 2024). In Indonesia, this phenomenon can be seen in the steady stream of visitors to Joko Widodo's residence in Solo, with people travelling from various regions to express admiration, nostalgia, and emotional attachment (Heryanto, 2024; Aspinall and Fossati, 2025).

One of the most distinctive aspects of visits to Joko Widodo's residence in Solo is the emergence of the popular term "The Wailing Wall of Solo" (*Tembok Ratapan Solo*). This nickname arose from observations that many visitors, particularly women, often show strong emotional responses, including tears, during their visits to the former president's home. Symbolically, the term draws inspiration from the Western Wall, a place widely known for prayer, contemplation, and emotional expression. However, unlike the religious setting in Jerusalem, the emotions expressed in Solo are directed toward a political figure rather than a sacred site. Recent tourism research has shown that powerful emotions frequently arise when people visit places associated with admired public figures, shared memories, and symbolic identities (Noy, 2021; Reijnders, 2022). Comparable emotional experiences have also been reported at sites connected to national leaders, social movements, and political memorials in different parts of the world (Dwyer, 2023; Sumartojo, 2023). The case of Solo therefore demonstrates that political tourism can extend beyond simple sightseeing, creating deep emotional experiences shaped by admiration, memory, and symbolic attachment (Marschall, 2024; Buda and McIntosh, 2025).

Political nostalgia refers to feelings of longing for a past period of political leadership and governance that people remember in a positive light. Unlike nostalgia in a general sense, political nostalgia focuses specifically on former leaders, political eras, and public policies that are believed to have brought social stability, economic development, or a sense of national pride. Recent studies indicate that individuals who hold favourable views of a previous administration often develop emotional and sentimental attachments to the leaders associated with that period (Lammers and Baldwin, 2021; Smeekes et al., 2022). These nostalgic feelings can encourage people to revisit places, symbols, and experiences that remind them of those political memories. Evidence from different countries shows that former residences, memorial sites, and museums dedicated to political leaders often attract visitors who wish to reconnect with meaningful collective memories (Kubik, 2023; Velikonja, 2024). In Indonesia, visits to Joko Widodo's residence in Solo may reflect similar motivations, as the house serves as a symbolic space where visitors can relive memories of a leadership era they view positively and regard as emotionally meaningful (Brescó de Luna et al., 2024; Bilewicz and Wojcik, 2025).

The growth of digital media has changed how citizens engage with political leaders, making it possible for people to develop parasocial relationships that resemble personal connections even without direct interaction. Through television broadcasts, social media, online videos, and news coverage, political figures become increasingly familiar and emotionally accessible to the public. Recent research suggests that repeated exposure to media content can encourage parasocial attachment, leading individuals to feel a sense of closeness, trust, and personal connection with public figures (Bond, 2021; Frederick et al., 2022). In political settings, these attachments can strengthen loyalty by reinforcing positive perceptions and deepening emotional commitment toward a leader (Gabriel et al., 2023). Similar trends have been identified in many democratic societies, where political support is increasingly

shaped by emotional bonds rather than solely by ideological considerations (Boulianne and Theocharis, 2024). In Indonesia, the extensive public exposure to Joko Widodo during his presidency may have fostered strong parasocial attachments that go beyond electoral support and are expressed through symbolic actions, including visits to his residence in Solo (Setijadi, 2024; Power and Warburton, 2025).

Visiting places associated with admired political leaders can create meaningful emotional experiences that contribute to visitors' psychological wellbeing. Tourism researchers increasingly acknowledge that destinations with strong emotional significance can evoke feelings of comfort, pride, inspiration, gratitude, and personal fulfilment, which are closely linked to the concept of emotional wellness (Filep et al., 2021; Nawijn and Filep, 2022). Political tourism is particularly important in this context because many visitors arrive with existing emotional attachments to political figures and the values they symbolize. Studies from different countries have shown that experiences at symbolic heritage sites can enhance positive emotions while strengthening visitors' sense of purpose and belonging (Rickly, 2023; Pearce and Wu, 2024). Similar processes may occur in Indonesia when people visit places associated with Joko Widodo and derive emotional satisfaction from shared admiration and collective memories. These experiences can, in turn, reinforce collective identity, as visitors come to see themselves as part of a larger community united by common values, beliefs, and historical experiences, ultimately increasing their intention to visit such places (Ram et al., 2024; Zhang and Xu, 2025).

Although political tourism has received growing attention from scholars, most existing research has concentrated on memorial tourism, political heritage attractions, election-related travel, and destinations associated with conflict, tragedy, or ideological change (Wight and Lennon, 2021; Lennon, 2022). Comparatively little research has explored former leaders' residences as tourist destinations, despite the increasing popularity of these sites in various countries. Studies from Europe, Asia, and Latin America have mainly focused on historical interpretation, heritage conservation, and destination management, while giving less attention to the psychological factors that influence visitation behaviour (Moufakkir, 2023; Farmaki, 2024). In addition, previous tourism studies have seldom combined political nostalgia, parasocial attachment, emotional wellness, and collective identity within a single conceptual framework. These concepts are often examined separately and from different disciplinary perspectives. This gap is particularly noticeable in Southeast Asia, where political tourism remains relatively understudied. The phenomenon known as the "Wailing Wall of Solo," marked by strong emotional reactions among visitors to Joko Widodo's residence, represents a distinctive case that has received limited attention in international tourism research and therefore offers important theoretical and empirical contributions (Timothy, 2024; Winter, 2025).

This study seeks to explore the relationships among political nostalgia, parasocial attachment, political loyalty, emotional wellness, collective identity, and visit intention toward the former residence of Joko Widodo in Solo, Indonesia. More specifically, it examines how nostalgic views of past political leadership can foster emotional and psychological connections with a former national leader, and how these connections subsequently shape tourism-related behavioural intentions. By focusing on a unique political tourism context, this research broadens the scope of political tourism studies beyond traditional topics such as political heritage, memorial tourism, and dark tourism. The study introduces the idea of political pilgrimage motivated by emotional attachment, collective memory, and nostalgia, offering a more comprehensive understanding of why people visit politically significant destinations. In addition, this research contributes to the tourism and consumer behaviour literature by showing how psychological ties with political figures can be translated into symbolic travel behaviour. The findings are expected to advance theoretical discussions on political tourism while also providing practical guidance for the development and management of emerging political tourism destinations in Indonesia and other democratic societies.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Political Nostalgia

Political nostalgia has gained increasing attention from scholars who seek to understand how memories of past political periods shape present-day attitudes, identities, and behaviours. In general, political nostalgia is defined as a sentimental longing for a previous political era, leadership, or social environment that is viewed more positively than current conditions (Lammers and Baldwin, 2021). Many researchers consider political nostalgia to be a psychological resource that helps individuals preserve a sense of continuity, certainty, and emotional connection to political experiences they value (Smeekes et al., 2022). In a similar vein, Versteegen et al. (2024) argue that nostalgic feelings can influence political preferences by strengthening positive perceptions of past political systems and arrangements. Other scholars focus on its identity-related role, suggesting that political nostalgia reinforces collective memory and a sense of group belonging rather than simply reflecting favourable views of the past (Obradović and Baron, 2025). Meanwhile, some studies highlight its importance in generating support for political leaders during times of uncertainty and social change (Wohl et al., 2026). Despite these advances, political nostalgia has received limited attention within the field of political tourism. Existing tourism research has largely concentrated on heritage, memory, and symbolic destinations, while the impact of nostalgic political memories on tourism behaviour and visits to politically meaningful places remains insufficiently explored.

2.1.1. Political nostalgia and parasocial attachment

Political nostalgia refers to a sentimental longing for a past political era, leader, or administration that individuals or social groups remember positively. Researchers suggest that political nostalgia is more than simply remembering the past; it also functions as a psychological process through which people maintain emotional connections with symbolic political figures and shared collective memories (Smeekes et al., 2022; Versteegen et al., 2024). When citizens look back nostalgically on a particular political period, the

leader associated with that era often becomes a powerful symbol of those positive experiences, strengthening feelings of emotional attachment and psychological closeness. Consequently, nostalgic memories can encourage individuals to develop stronger affective bonds with political leaders even after they are no longer in office.

Although research specifically investigating the link between political nostalgia and parasocial attachment is still limited, several recent studies provide strong theoretical foundations for this relationship. Smeekes et al. (2022) showed that collective nostalgia can strengthen emotional identification with political groups and leaders. Likewise, Versteegen et al. (2024) found that nostalgic feelings influence support for political actors through emotional and identity-based processes. Obradović and Baron (2025) further demonstrated that national nostalgia enhances attachment to political identities and fosters a stronger sense of group belonging. In addition, Wohl et al. (2026) reported that collective nostalgia positively affects support for strong political leaders, indicating that nostalgic sentiments can reinforce emotional connections with political figures. Research on parasocial relationships has also revealed that repeated emotional engagement with public figures helps create feelings of intimacy and psychological closeness (Schramm and Hartmann, 2024). Moreover, Harff (2022) found that emotional identification with mediated personalities can facilitate the development of parasocial relationships in political communication settings.

In the context of political tourism, empirical research exploring political nostalgia as a precursor to parasocial attachment is still largely lacking. Most existing studies on political tourism have concentrated on topics such as political heritage, memorial tourism, and collective memory, while giving limited attention to the parasocial processes that may develop around former political leaders. Therefore, the case of Joko Widodo's residence in Solo offers a unique opportunity to investigate how nostalgic feelings toward a particular political era can evolve into parasocial attachment to the leader most closely associated with that period. Based on the preceding discussion, the following hypothesis is proposed:

- H_1: Political nostalgia positively influences parasocial attachment.

2.1.2. Political nostalgia and political loyalty

Political nostalgia refers to a positive emotional longing for a past political era, style of leadership, or administration that citizens remember favourably. In the fields of political psychology and political behaviour, nostalgia is increasingly recognised as an important factor influencing political attitudes and behavioural commitment, as nostalgic memories often deepen emotional attachment to political leaders and reinforce support for the values associated with them (Lammers and Baldwin, 2021). People who view a previous political period positively are more likely to evaluate the leader connected to that era in a favourable way and maintain strong loyalty to that leader even after the administration has ended.

Recent empirical research provides considerable evidence supporting the relationship between political nostalgia and political loyalty. Lammers and Baldwin (2021) found that political nostalgia can significantly increase support for political leaders, as individuals with nostalgic feelings are more likely to idealise past leadership and remain committed to the figures associated with that era. Similarly, Smeekes et al. (2022) demonstrated that collective nostalgia strengthens group identification and political support by reinforcing positive interpretations of shared political experiences. Versteegen et al. (2024) further showed that nostalgic perceptions of the past play an important role in shaping political preferences and sustaining long-term support for political actors. In the same vein, Obradović and Baron (2025) found that national nostalgia contributes to lasting political commitment through emotional and identity-related processes. More recently, Wohl et al. (2026) reported that collective nostalgia can foster stronger support for political leaders, particularly when individuals experience uncertainty in the contemporary political landscape.

Although the connection between political nostalgia and political loyalty has attracted increasing attention in political psychology and political communication studies, evidence from the field of political tourism remains limited. Most political tourism research has focused on heritage interpretation, collective memory, and political symbolism, with relatively little attention given to loyalty toward former political leaders. Therefore, visits to Joko Widodo's residence in Solo offer a distinctive context for examining whether nostalgic memories of a particular political era lead to continued loyalty toward the leader associated with that period. This loyalty may be reflected not only in ongoing political support but also in symbolic forms of tourism behaviour, such as visiting places that hold political significance. Based on the preceding discussion, the following hypothesis is proposed:

- H_2: Political nostalgia positively influences political loyalty.

2.2. Parasocial Attachment

Parasocial attachment has become an increasingly important concept in the fields of communication, psychology, marketing, and political behaviour. It is generally defined as a one-sided emotional connection that individuals form with media personalities, celebrities, influencers, or public figures despite having no direct personal interaction with them (Bond, 2021). Many scholars argue that repeated exposure through various media channels creates feelings of familiarity, intimacy, trust, and emotional closeness that resemble genuine social relationships (Frederick et al., 2022). In a similar way, Schramm and Hartmann (2024) suggest that parasocial attachment serves as a psychological mechanism that enables audiences to maintain emotional connections with mediated personalities. While some researchers emphasise the emotional aspects of parasocial attachment, others focus on its behavioural consequences, such as loyalty, engagement, and support (Liebers and Schramm, 2023). In political settings, parasocial attachment has been associated with stronger support for political leaders and higher levels of political participation (Gabriel et al., 2023). Despite these developments, the concept has received relatively little attention in political tourism research. Most studies in this field have focused on heritage, memory, and political symbolism, while the influence of parasocial attachment on visits to politically significant destinations remains insufficiently examined.

2.2.1. Parasocial attachment and political loyalty

Parasocial attachment refers to a one-sided psychological connection that individuals develop with public figures through repeated media exposure and a growing sense of familiarity. Even without direct personal interaction, people may experience feelings of closeness, trust, affection, and emotional connection toward political leaders. Recent research in political communication suggests that these attachments increasingly shape political attitudes and behaviours, as citizens regularly encounter political leaders through television, social media, online news, and other digital platforms (Bond, 2021). As these emotional connections become stronger, individuals are more likely to maintain positive perceptions and continue supporting the political figure involved.

Recent studies provide strong evidence for a positive relationship between parasocial attachment and political loyalty. Frederick et al. (2022) found that stronger parasocial attachments increase individuals' commitment and supportive behaviours toward public figures. Similarly, Gabriel et al. (2023) reported that emotional connections developed through social media can significantly strengthen loyalty to political leaders. In the Indonesian context, Setijadi (2024) observed that emotional attachment to political figures contributes to the continuation of public support over time. Likewise, Boulianne and Theocharis (2024) demonstrated that affective forms of political engagement often arise from perceived personal connections with leaders. Power and Warburton (2025) further argued that personalised leadership can foster emotional loyalty that goes beyond ideological alignment.

Despite the growing body of evidence in political communication research, studies exploring the relationship between parasocial attachment and political loyalty in the context of political tourism are still limited. Most political tourism research has focused on issues such as heritage interpretation, collective memory, and destination symbolism, while paying less attention to the psychological attachment processes that may motivate people to visit politically significant sites. Consequently, the case of Joko Widodo's residence in Solo provides a distinctive setting for examining whether parasocial attachment to a former president can strengthen political loyalty and, in turn, encourage tourism-related behaviours. Based on the preceding discussion, the following hypothesis is proposed:

- H_3: Parasocial attachment positively influences political loyalty.

2.3. Political Loyalty

Political loyalty has long been regarded as a key concept in political behaviour research, referring to a lasting sense of commitment, trust, and attachment toward a political leader, party, or movement. Scholars generally agree that political loyalty goes beyond short-term political preferences, as it represents a relatively stable psychological bond that shapes attitudes and behaviours over time (Huddy and Bankert, 2022). Researchers commonly suggest that political loyalty is influenced by factors such as emotional attachment, political identity, trust, and perceptions of leader effectiveness. For instance, Bankert et al. (2023) emphasise the identity-based dimension of political loyalty, arguing that loyal supporters often see political leaders as symbolic representations of their own values and beliefs. Likewise, Van Bavel et al. (2022) highlight the importance of social identity and emotional commitment in maintaining political support. While some scholars view political loyalty primarily as an emotional attachment, others interpret it as a behavioural commitment reflected in continued support and engagement (Power and Warburton, 2025; Setijadi, 2024). Although political loyalty has been extensively examined in political psychology and political communication, its role in political tourism remains largely understudied. Existing research on political tourism has mainly focused on political heritage, collective memory, and symbolic destinations, whereas the influence of political loyalty on tourism behaviour and visits to politically significant sites has received relatively little scholarly attention.

2.3.1. Political loyalty and emotional wellness

Political loyalty refers to a lasting sense of commitment, trust, and emotional attachment to a political leader that continues beyond particular political events or election cycles. Although political loyalty is commonly studied in relation to voting behaviour and political participation, recent research suggests that loyalty toward admired leaders can also provide psychological benefits, such as feelings of security, optimism, belonging, and emotional comfort. Individuals who demonstrate strong loyalty to political figures often view their preferred leaders as symbols of stability, hope, and shared accomplishments, which can positively contribute to their emotional wellbeing (Huddy and Bankert, 2022).

Although direct research on the relationship between political loyalty and emotional wellness is still limited, several recent studies provide evidence that supports this connection. Van Bavel et al. (2022) found that identification with political groups and trusted leaders can strengthen psychological resilience and promote a greater sense of emotional security. Similarly, Greenaway et al. (2023) reported that strong political identification contributes positively to wellbeing by enhancing feelings of belonging and social support. Jetten et al. (2023) further demonstrated that identification with valued social and political groups is linked to better psychological wellbeing and greater emotional stability. In addition, Haslam et al. (2024) found that commitment to groups and collective identities can promote positive mental health outcomes by reinforcing social connectedness. More recently, Wakefield and Bowe (2025) showed that emotional attachment to meaningful social identities contributes to higher life satisfaction and increased psychological comfort.

In the field of political tourism, empirical evidence directly connecting political loyalty with emotional wellness remains limited. Most existing studies have concentrated on destination experiences, heritage interpretation, and collective memory, while giving less attention to the psychological benefits that may arise from loyalty toward political leaders. In the case of visits to Joko Widodo's residence, loyal supporters may experience feelings of emotional comfort, pride, inspiration, and personal fulfilment when interacting with a place that symbolically represents a leader they admire. Therefore, political loyalty may serve as an important factor influencing emotional wellness within political tourism contexts.

Based on the preceding discussion, the following hypothesis is proposed:

- H_4: Political loyalty positively influences emotional wellness.

2.3.2. Political loyalty and collective identity

Political loyalty represents a lasting sense of commitment and emotional attachment to a political leader, while collective identity refers to an individual's feeling of belonging to a social group that shares similar values, beliefs, and experiences. According to social identity theory, individuals who strongly support a political leader are more likely to develop a stronger sense of identification with communities of fellow supporters, as loyalty reinforces shared meanings, social norms, and collective narratives (Jetten et al., 2023). As a result, political loyalty can play an important role in the development and preservation of collective identity.

Recent empirical studies provide support for the relationship between political loyalty and collective identity. Greenaway et al. (2023) found that strong commitment to social and political groups enhances individuals' sense of belonging and strengthens collective identification. Similarly, Huddy and Bankert (2022) reported that political loyalty contributes to the development of stronger political identities and deeper connections with communities of supporters. Van Bavel et al. (2022) further demonstrated that emotional commitment to political leaders can reinforce group cohesion and shared perceptions among followers. In addition, Simon and Klandermans (2023) argued that long-term support for political causes and leaders helps strengthen collective identity through shared emotional experiences. More recently, Wakefield et al. (2024) found that social commitment and loyalty promote stronger feelings of solidarity and a greater sense of community membership.

In the context of political tourism, studies that directly examine political loyalty as a predictor of collective identity are still limited. Most existing research has focused on heritage interpretation, collective memory, and political symbolism, while paying less attention to the psychological mechanisms that connect loyalty with group identity. In the case of visits to Joko Widodo's residence, politically loyal supporters may view themselves as members of a larger community united by shared admiration, memories, and values associated with the former president. These shared perceptions can strengthen collective identity and encourage participation in symbolic forms of tourism activity. Based on the preceding discussion, the following hypothesis is proposed:

- H_5: Political loyalty positively influences collective identity.

2.5. Emotional Wellness

Emotional wellness has attracted increasing interest in psychology, health, and tourism research as an important aspect of overall wellbeing. It is generally defined as a positive psychological state characterised by emotional balance, optimism, comfort, resilience, and the ability to cope effectively with life experiences (Nawijn and Filep, 2022). Many scholars agree that emotional wellness develops when individuals experience positive emotions, meaningful relationships, and a sense of fulfilment in their everyday lives. For instance, Filep et al. (2021) highlight the importance of positive emotions in improving personal wellbeing and life satisfaction. Likewise, Pearce and Wu (2024) argue that emotionally meaningful experiences can enhance psychological fulfilment and strengthen social connections. While some researchers view emotional wellness primarily as an outcome of positive tourism experiences, others emphasise its role in promoting social belonging and the formation of identity (Rickly, 2023; Ram et al., 2024). Within tourism research, emotional wellness has been widely studied in areas such as wellness tourism, heritage tourism, and nature-based tourism. However, its application in political tourism remains relatively limited. Existing studies have rarely examined how visits to politically significant sites can create feelings of comfort, pride, inspiration, and psychological fulfilment among visitors, highlighting an important opportunity for further research in this emerging field.

2.5.1. Emotional wellness and collective identity

Emotional wellness refers to a positive psychological state in which individuals experience feelings of comfort, optimism, emotional balance, and personal fulfilment. Researchers increasingly acknowledge that positive emotional experiences can strengthen social relationships and encourage people to identify with groups that share similar values, experiences, and emotional meanings. From the perspective of contemporary social identity theory, individuals who experience emotional wellbeing within a particular social setting are more likely to develop a stronger sense of belonging and identification with that community (Haslam et al., 2024). Consequently, emotional wellness may provide an important psychological basis for the development of collective identity.

Recent empirical studies provide evidence for a positive relationship between emotional wellness and collective identity. Filep et al. (2021) found that positive emotional experiences in tourism contexts can strengthen feelings of social connectedness and a sense of belonging. Similarly, Nawijn and Filep (2022) reported that emotional wellbeing promotes stronger interpersonal relationships and enhances shared experiences among tourists. Pearce and Wu (2024) further demonstrated that psychological fulfilment derived from tourism experiences can reinforce perceptions of community membership and social attachment. In addition, Ram et al. (2024) found that positive emotional experiences support collective meaning-making and the development of shared identities among visitors. Zhang and Xu (2025) also reported that emotional satisfaction plays a significant role in fostering collective identity within symbolic tourism settings.

Although research directly exploring the relationship between emotional wellness and collective identity in political tourism is still limited, existing evidence suggests that emotionally meaningful experiences at symbolic places can strengthen visitors' sense of belonging to groups that share common memories and values. In the case of visits to Joko Widodo's residence, individuals who experience feelings of comfort, pride, inspiration, and psychological fulfilment may come to see themselves more strongly as part of a wider community of supporters. As a result,

emotional wellness may play an important role in fostering collective identity within political tourism contexts. Based on the preceding discussion, the following hypothesis is proposed:

- H_6: Emotional wellness positively influences collective identity.

2.6. Collective Identity

Collective identity is commonly understood as a shared sense of belonging to a social group whose members perceive that they have common values, beliefs, experiences, and goals. Scholars generally agree that collective identity develops through social interactions, shared memories, and emotional connections that allow individuals to see themselves as part of a larger community (Jetten et al., 2023). Many researchers argue that collective identity strengthens social cohesion, solidarity, and behavioural commitment because people are more likely to act in ways that support groups with which they strongly identify. For example, Simon and Klandermans (2023) highlight collective identity as a psychological basis for group participation and collective action. Likewise, Wakefield et al. (2024) suggest that a sense of belonging enhances social connectedness and encourages community involvement. While some scholars view collective identity mainly as a cognitive process of self-categorisation, others emphasise the importance of emotional attachment and shared experiences in its development (Greenaway et al., 2023; Van Bavel et al., 2022). Within tourism studies, collective identity has been explored in cultural, heritage, and community-based tourism contexts. However, its role in political tourism remains relatively understudied, particularly in understanding how shared political memories and emotional attachment to political leaders influence visitation behaviour and participation in political pilgrimage experiences (Zhang et al., 2024).

2.6.1. Collective identity and visit intention to Joko Widodo's house

Collective identity refers to an individual's sense of belonging to a social group whose members share similar values, beliefs, experiences, and emotional connections. In tourism research, collective identity is increasingly recognised as an important factor influencing behavioural intentions, as people often choose destinations that reinforce their social affiliations and shared meanings. When individuals perceive themselves as part of a particular community, they are more likely to engage in activities and visit places that symbolically reflect that collective identity (Cheung et al., 2021). As a result, collective identity can become a strong motivational factor that encourages visits to destinations associated with shared social or political experiences.

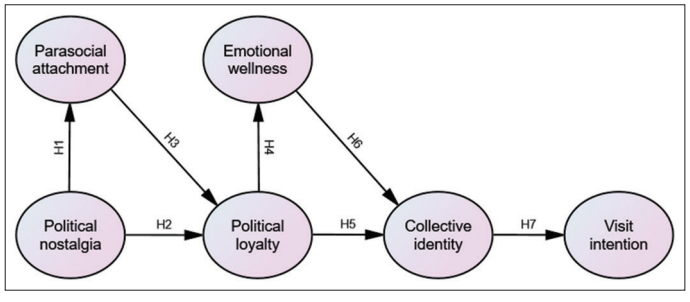
Recent empirical studies consistently demonstrate a positive relationship between collective identity and visit intention. Ram et al. (2024) found that shared identities and collective meanings play a significant role in encouraging participation in tourism activities and destination visits. Similarly, Zhang et al. (2024) reported that collective identity rooted in shared historical memories positively influences intentions to engage in political tourism. Kim and Thapa (2022) further showed that identification with a community strengthens tourists' intentions to visit symbolic heritage sites. In addition, Lee et al. (2023) found that feelings of social belonging and collective attachment positively influence destination preferences and visitation behaviour. More recently, Xu and Li (2025) reported that collective identity serves as a significant predictor of behavioural intentions toward destinations with strong symbolic and cultural significance.

In the field of political tourism, studies that directly examine the relationship between collective identity and visit intention are still relatively scarce. Most existing research has focused on political memory, heritage interpretation, and destination symbolism, while giving less attention to collective identity as a factor driving visitor behaviour. In the context of visits to Joko Widodo's residence, individuals who see themselves as part of a wider community of supporters may be more motivated to visit the site as a way of expressing solidarity, a sense of belonging, and shared political memories. Therefore, collective identity is expected to positively influence visit intention toward Joko Widodo's house. Based on the preceding discussion, the following hypothesis is proposed:

- H_7: Collective identity positively influences visit intention to Joko Widodo's house.

Figure 1 presents the proposed research model developed to explain visit intention towards the former residence of President Joko Widodo in Solo, Central Java, a site that has increasingly attracted public attention as a form of political tourism and political pilgrimage. The model proposes that political nostalgia serves as the primary antecedent influencing both parasocial attachment (H_1) and political loyalty (H_2). Parasocial attachment is further expected to strengthen political loyalty (H_3), reflecting the role of perceived psychological closeness to Joko Widodo in shaping enduring support. Political loyalty subsequently influences emotional wellness (H_4) and collective identity (H_5), suggesting that loyalty towards a former political leader may generate positive emotional experiences and reinforce feelings of belonging among supporters. Emotional wellness is also hypothesised to contribute to collective identity formation (H_6). Finally, collective identity is proposed as the direct predictor of visit intention (H_7), indicating that individuals who perceive themselves as part of a community sharing admiration, memories, and values associated with Joko Widodo are more likely to visit his residence. Within the context of the "Wailing Wall of Solo" phenomenon, the model conceptualises political tourism as an emotionally driven form of symbolic travel in which nostalgia, psychological attachment, loyalty, wellbeing, and collective identity jointly shape behavioural intentions to visit a politically significant destination.

Figure 1: The research model



3. RESEARCH METHODS

3.1. Sampling

This study employed an online survey administered through Microsoft Forms. A total of 927 individuals participated in the survey, of which 859 respondents met all screening criteria and were included in the final analysis, representing 92.66% of the total responses collected. Respondents were required to satisfy three eligibility criteria: (1) Being at least 17 years old, (2) having undertaken an out-of-town trip within the previous 6 months, and (3) being aware of the "Wailing Wall" phenomenon associated with the former residence of President Joko Widodo in Solo, Central Java.

The study adopted a self-selected sampling method, whereby participation was voluntary and respondents independently decided whether to complete the questionnaire. To facilitate respondent recruitment, the survey was distributed through Jakpat, an Indonesian online survey platform that maintains a large panel of potential respondents. Jakpat promoted the questionnaire to eligible panel members over a 2-day period. To encourage participation, respondents were offered the opportunity to enter a prize draw for a monetary reward. The self-selected approach was considered appropriate because the study targeted individuals possessing specific knowledge regarding the political tourism phenomenon under investigation, thereby enabling the collection of relevant perceptions and experiences from respondents who met the predefined criteria.

3.2. Measurements

The variables employed in this study were measured using indicators adapted from previous studies published in Scopus-indexed journals. Political Nostalgia was adapted from studies examining collective nostalgia, political memory, and political attachment (Smeekes et al., 2022; Versteegen et al., 2024). Parasocial attachment was adapted from research on parasocial relationships and emotional attachment to public figures (Bond, 2021; Schramm and Hartmann, 2024). Political loyalty was adapted from studies investigating political identity, leader attachment, and political commitment (Huddy and Bankert, 2022; Power and Warburton, 2025). Emotional wellness was adapted from tourism and wellbeing literature focusing on positive emotions and psychological fulfilment (Filep et al., 2021; Nawijn and Filep, 2022). Collective identity was adapted from studies examining social identity, group belonging, and collective participation (Jetten et al., 2023; Simon and Klandermans, 2023). Finally, Visit Intention was adapted from tourism behavioural intention studies that investigated tourists' willingness to visit destinations and engage in future travel behaviour (Ram et al., 2024; Zhang et al., 2024).

Each indicator was measured using a six-point likert-type scale. Respondents were asked to indicate their level of agreement with each statement using the following response categories: (1) Strongly disagree, (2) disagree, (3) slightly disagree, (4) slightly agree, (5) agree, and (6) strongly agree. The use of an even-numbered scale was intended to minimise neutral responses and encourage respondents to express either positive or negative evaluations of the statements presented. Higher scores indicated stronger levels of political nostalgia, parasocial attachment, political loyalty, emotional wellness, collective identity, and visit intention towards the former residence of Joko Widodo in Solo, Central Java.

3.3. Data Analysis Methods

The quantitative data were analysed in four stages. First, validity testing was conducted using exploratory factor analysis (EFA) with SPSS version 31. An indicator was considered valid when it achieved a factor loading of at least 0.40. Second, reliability testing was performed using Cronbach's alpha coefficient in SPSS version 31, where a construct was regarded as reliable if the alpha value exceeded 0.70. Third, convergent validity was assessed using the average variance extracted (AVE), with values >0.50 indicating adequate convergent validity. Finally, the hypotheses were tested using structural equation modelling (SEM) with AMOS version 31. A hypothesis was accepted when the critical ratio (C.R.) exceeded the recommended threshold of 1.96.

Following the recommendations of Hair et al. (2022), Byrne (2022), and Kline (2023), model fit was evaluated using multiple goodness-of-fit indices representing absolute fit, incremental fit, and error-based fit measures. The model was considered acceptable when the goodness-of-fit index (GFI) and adjusted goodness-of-fit index (AGFI) exceeded 0.90, the normed fit index (NFI), relative fit index (RFI), incremental fit index (IFI), tucker-lewis index (TLI), and comparative fit index (CFI) exceeded 0.90, the Root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) remained below 0.08, and the PCLOSE value exceeded 0.05. In addition, the normed Chi-square (CMIN/DF) was considered acceptable when it remained below 5. The results indicated that all model fit criteria were satisfactorily achieved, confirming that the proposed structural model adequately represented the observed data and was therefore appropriate for subsequent hypothesis testing.

4. RESULTS

4.1. Participants

As presented in Table 1, the study involved 859 respondents with a relatively balanced gender distribution, although females constituted a slightly larger proportion (54.5%) than males (45.5%). In terms of marital status, most participants were unmarried (55.2%), followed by married respondents (42.0%), while separated/divorced (2.4%) and widowed individuals (0.3%) represented only a small proportion of the sample. Regarding occupational status, employed respondents formed the largest group (47.4%), followed by unemployed individuals (37.5%), self-employed participants (13.5%), and retirees (1.6%). The educational profile indicated that most respondents had completed high school education (41.0%) or undergraduate studies (39.7%), whereas smaller proportions held diploma (6.5%) and postgraduate qualifications (3.0%). The age distribution was dominated by younger participants, particularly those aged 21-25 years (22.7%), 17-20 years (20.4%), and 26-30 years (17.6%), suggesting that the sample was largely composed of young adults. Finally, the majority of respondents had never visited Joko Widodo's residence (86.5%), while only 13.5% reported prior visitation experience.

Table 1: Profile of participants

Profile	Frequency	Percentage
Sex		
Male	391	45.5
Female	468	54.5
Total	859	100.0
Marital status		
Unmarried	474	55.2
Separated/divorced	21	2.4
Married	361	42.0
Widowed	3	0.3
Occupational status		
Employed	407	47.4
Unemployed	322	37.5
Self-employed	116	13.5
Retired	14	1.6
Level of education has been completed		
Less than high school	84	9.8
Diploma	56	6.5
Postgraduate	26	3.0
Undergraduate	341	39.7
High school	352	41.0
Group of age		
>40	119	13.9
17-20	175	20.4
21-25	195	22.7
26-30	151	17.6
31-35	137	15.9
36-40	82	9.5
Experience visiting Joko Widodo's house		
No	743	86.5
Yes	116	13.5

This distribution indicates that the study primarily captured perceptions and behavioural intentions among potential visitors rather than individuals with direct visitation experience.

4.2. Data Validity, AVE, and Reliability Tests

Table 2 shows that all measurement items met the recommended standards for construct validity, convergent validity, and internal consistency reliability. Factor loadings ranged from 0.765 to 0.957, well above the minimum threshold of 0.40, indicating that each indicator adequately represented its corresponding latent construct. Political loyalty demonstrated factor loadings ranging from 0.765 to 0.906, whereas parasocial attachment recorded loadings between 0.824 and 0.898. Collective identity exhibited particularly strong indicator loadings, ranging from 0.848 to 0.943, while political nostalgia also showed high levels of validity with loadings between 0.887 and 0.937. Emotional wellness and visit intention displayed the strongest measurement properties, with factor loadings ranging from 0.925 to 0.942 and 0.915 to 0.957, respectively. In addition, all average variance extracted (AVE) values exceeded the recommended cut-off value of 0.50, ranging from 0.738 to 0.935, thereby confirming satisfactory convergent validity. Similarly, Cronbach's alpha coefficients ranged from 0.911 to 0.964, surpassing the recommended threshold of 0.70 and indicating excellent internal consistency reliability. Among all constructs, emotional wellness ($\alpha = 0.964$) and visit intention ($\alpha = 0.964$) achieved the highest reliability scores. Overall, these findings indicate that the constructs possess strong psychometric quality and are appropriate for further analysis using structural equation modelling (SEM).

4.3. Hypotheses Tests

The structural model demonstrated a satisfactory level of goodness-of-fit, indicating that the proposed theoretical framework adequately represented the observed data. Several fit indices met the commonly accepted thresholds recommended in structural equation modelling literature. The goodness-of-fit index (GFI = 0.971) and adjusted goodness-of-fit index (AGFI = 0.952) exceeded the recommended cut-off value of 0.90. Likewise, the incremental fit indices showed excellent performance, including the normed fit index (NFI = 0.987), relative fit index (RFI = 0.982), incremental fit index (IFI = 0.991), tucker-lewis index (TLI = 0.988), and comparative fit index (CFI = 0.991), all of which were substantially higher than the recommended threshold of 0.90 and surpassed the more stringent criterion of 0.95. Furthermore, the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA = 0.051) was below the acceptable maximum value of 0.08 and close to the ideal value of 0.05, while the PCLOSE value of 0.410 exceeded the minimum criterion of 0.05, indicating a close-fitting model. Although the normed chi-square value (CMIN/DF = 3.234) was slightly above the ideal range of 1-3, it remained within the acceptable limit of <5.0. Therefore, the model can be considered fit and appropriate for testing the proposed hypotheses (Figure 2).

As presented in Table 3, all seven proposed hypotheses were supported, indicating that the conceptual model successfully explained the relationships among political nostalgia, parasocial attachment, political loyalty, emotional wellness, collective identity, and visit intention. Political nostalgia had a significant positive effect on parasocial attachment (C.R. = 35.862, $P < 0.001$) and political loyalty (C.R. = 3.113, $P = 0.002$), suggesting that favourable memories of Joko Widodo's leadership strengthen both emotional attachment and continued loyalty towards the former president. Parasocial attachment further exerted a significant positive influence on political loyalty (C.R. = 10.216, $P < 0.001$). In addition, political loyalty significantly enhanced emotional wellness (C.R. = 22.012, $P < 0.001$) and collective identity (C.R. = 5.340, $P < 0.001$), indicating that loyal supporters tend to experience greater psychological wellbeing and stronger feelings of belonging to a community of like-minded individuals. Emotional wellness also positively influenced collective identity (C.R. = 14.543, $P < 0.001$). Finally, collective identity emerged as a strong predictor of visit intention (C.R. = 33.428, $P < 0.001$), demonstrating that the intention to visit Joko Widodo's residence is closely associated with shared identity, social belonging, and collective political memories. Overall, the findings provide empirical support for the proposed political pilgrimage framework and highlight the important roles of nostalgia, emotional attachment, loyalty, and collective identity in shaping political tourism behaviour.

5. DISCUSSION

Hypothesis 1 proposed that political nostalgia positively influences parasocial attachment. The findings support this hypothesis, as indicated by a critical ratio (C.R.) value of 35.862 with a significance level of $P < 0.001$, demonstrating a strong and statistically significant relationship between the two constructs. This result suggests that individuals who nostalgically remember

Table 2: Results of data validity, AVE, and reliability tests

Variables and Indicators	Factor loadings	AVE	Cronbach's alpha
Political loyalty		0.738	0.911
PLJ2. I feel proud to show my support for Joko Widodo in front of others	0.906		
PLJ1. I continue to support Joko Widodo despite various political criticisms against him	0.896		
PLJ4. I feel an emotional connection to Joko Widodo as a national figure	0.862		
PLJ5. I am willing to spend time visiting places associated with Joko Widodo	0.861		
PLJ3. I follow the latest information about Joko Widodo through social media or online news	0.765		
Parasocial attachment		0.764	0.922
PA5. I feel a sense of loss when Joko Widodo is no longer president	0.898		
PA3. I feel happy when I see Joko Widodo; s daily activities on social media	0.894		
PA4. I feel an emotional connection to Joko Widodo as a public figure	0.889		
PA2. I feel sad when Joko Widodo is attacked or criticized by others	0.862		
PA1. I feel like I know Joko Widodo personally even though I have never met him in person	0.824		
Collective identity		0.847	0.955
CI4. I feel a social bond with other visitors who support Joko Widodo	0.943		
CI2. I feel like I share similar views with fellow Joko Widodo supporters	0.941		
CI3. I feel comfortable discussing with people who support Joko Widodo	0.936		
CI1. I feel like I'm part of the Joko Widodo supporter community	0.931		
CI5. I feel like a visit to Joko Widodo's house can strengthen solidarity among supporters	0.848		
Political nostalgia		0.843	0.953
PN3. I feel comfortable reminiscing about Joko Widodo's past policies or programs	0.937		
PN2. I feel like the Joko Widodo administration has a special meaning for my life	0.932		
PN1. I miss the social atmosphere during Joko Widodo's presidency	0.923		
PN4. I feel like Joko Widodo's house represents important political memories for me	0.912		
PN5. I want to visit Joko Widodo's house to reminisce about his presidency	0.887		
Emotional wellness		0.935	0.964
EW1. I feel calmer when I'm in a place associated with Joko Widodo	0.942		
EW2. I feel more comfortable after discussing with fellow Joko Widodo supporters	0.938		
EW3. I feel like a visit to Joko Widodo's house can reduce my emotional stress	0.935		
EW5. I feel like the experience of visiting Joko Widodo's house can improve my mood	0.934		
EW4. I feel more optimistic when I think about Joko Widodo's leadership	0.925		
Visit intention		0.874	0.964
VIJ3. I want to invite family or friends to visit Joko Widodo's house	0.957		
VIJ2. I am interested in making Joko Widodo's house my personal tourist destination	0.942		
VIJ4. I am willing to pay to visit Joko Widodo's house	0.930		
VIJ4. I am willing to pay to visit Joko Widodo's house	0.926		
VIJ1. I intend to visit Joko Widodo's house in the near future	0.915		

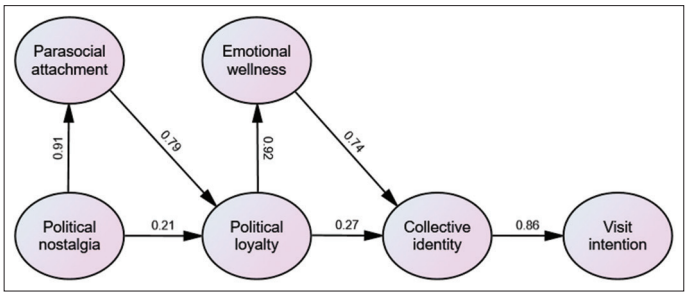
Joko Widodo's presidency are more likely to develop feelings of psychological closeness, emotional connection, and perceived familiarity with him despite having no direct personal interaction. In the context of the "Wailing Wall of Solo," positive memories of Joko Widodo's leadership appear to transform into symbolic emotional bonds, encouraging supporters to perceive him as a personally meaningful figure. Empirically, this finding is consistent with Smeekes et al. (2022), who found that collective nostalgia strengthens emotional identification with political leaders and groups. Similarly, Versteegen et al. (2024) reported that nostalgic evaluations of the past reinforce emotional support for political actors. Obradović and Baron (2025) further demonstrated that national nostalgia strengthens attachment to political identities, while Wohl et al. (2026) found that collective nostalgia increases support for admired leaders. The result is also supported by parasocial relationship research indicating that emotionally meaningful memories facilitate perceived intimacy and psychological closeness with public figures (Harff, 2022; Schramm and Hartmann, 2024). Therefore, political nostalgia serves as an important psychological mechanism through which former political leaders remain emotionally relevant long after leaving office.

Hypothesis 2 proposed that political nostalgia positively influences political loyalty. The results support this hypothesis, as evidenced by a critical ratio (C.R.) of 3.113 and a P = 0.002, indicating a positive and statistically significant relationship between political nostalgia and political loyalty. This finding suggests that individuals who hold favourable memories of Joko Widodo's presidency tend to maintain stronger loyalty towards him even after the conclusion of his presidential term. In the context of the "Wailing Wall of Solo," nostalgic recollections of Joko Widodo's leadership appear to reinforce enduring emotional commitment, admiration, and support, motivating individuals to remain connected to the former president through symbolic behaviours such as visiting his residence. Empirically, this finding is consistent with Lammers and Baldwin (2021), who found that political nostalgia strengthens support for political leaders by encouraging idealised evaluations of past leadership. Similarly, Smeekes et al. (2022) reported that collective nostalgia enhances political support through positive interpretations of shared experiences. Versteegen et al. (2024) further demonstrated that nostalgic perceptions significantly influence long-term political preferences and commitment. Likewise, Obradović and Baron (2025) found that national nostalgia reinforces political loyalty through emotional attachment and identity-based mechanisms. More recently, Wohl et al. (2026) showed that collective nostalgia increases support for political leaders, particularly during periods of uncertainty. Therefore, political nostalgia functions as an important antecedent

Table 3: Results of the hypotheses tests

Hypotheses	Paths	C.R.	P-value	Results
H_1	Political nostalgia >Parasocial attachment	35.862	***	Accepted
H_2	Political nostalgia >Political loyalty	3.113	0.002	Accepted
H_3	Parasocial attachment >Political loyalty	10.216	***	Accepted
H_4	Political loyalty >Emotional wellness	22.012	***	Accepted
H_5	Political loyalty >Collective identity	5.340	***	Accepted
H_6	Emotional wellness >Collective identity	14.543	***	Accepted
H_7	Collective identity >Visit intention	33.428	***	Accepted

Figure 2: Structural model of the hypotheses tests



of political loyalty by preserving favourable evaluations of past leadership and strengthening emotional commitment towards political figures.

Hypothesis 3 proposed that parasocial attachment positively influences political loyalty. The findings support this hypothesis, as indicated by a critical ratio (C.R.) value of 10.216 with a significance level of $P < 0.001$, demonstrating a strong and statistically significant relationship between parasocial attachment and political loyalty. This result suggests that individuals who perceive a psychological closeness to Joko Widodo are more likely to maintain enduring support and commitment towards him. Although supporters may never have interacted with Joko Widodo personally, repeated exposure through television, social media, online news, and public appearances appears to foster feelings of familiarity, affection, and trust, which subsequently strengthen political loyalty. Within the context of the "Wailing Wall of Solo," visitors who feel emotionally connected to Joko Widodo may view the former president not merely as a political figure but as a personally meaningful individual, thereby reinforcing their loyalty.

Empirically, this finding is consistent with Frederick et al. (2022), who reported that stronger parasocial attachment increases commitment and supportive behaviours towards public figures. Similarly, Gabriel et al. (2023) found that emotional connections developed through social media significantly enhance loyalty towards political leaders. Setijadi (2024) further demonstrated that emotional attachment to political figures contributes to sustained public support in Indonesia. Likewise, Boulianne and Theocharis (2024) argued that affective political engagement frequently emerges from perceived personal connections with leaders. Power and Warburton (2025) also observed that personalised leadership cultivates emotional loyalty that extends beyond ideological considerations. Therefore, parasocial attachment represents an important psychological mechanism through which political leaders maintain loyal followers and symbolic support even after leaving public office.

Hypothesis 4 proposed that political loyalty positively influences emotional wellness. The results support this hypothesis, as evidenced by a critical ratio (C.R.) value of 22.012 with a significance level of $P < 0.001$, indicating a strong and statistically significant relationship between political loyalty and emotional wellness. This finding suggests that individuals who maintain enduring trust, admiration, and commitment towards Joko Widodo experience higher levels of emotional comfort, optimism, and psychological wellbeing. In the context of the "Wailing Wall of Solo," loyal supporters may perceive visits to Joko Widodo's residence as emotionally meaningful experiences that evoke feelings of pride, inspiration, reassurance, and personal fulfilment. Such experiences may reinforce positive emotions and contribute to emotional wellness.

Empirically, this finding aligns with Van Bavel et al. (2022), who found that attachment to trusted political leaders enhances emotional security and psychological resilience. Similarly, Greenaway et al. (2023) reported that strong identification with valued political groups contributes positively to wellbeing through feelings of belonging and social support. Jetten et al. (2023) further demonstrated that commitment to meaningful social and political identities is associated with greater emotional stability. Likewise, Haslam et al. (2024) found that collective commitment and group identification foster positive mental health outcomes by strengthening social connectedness. More recently, Wakefield and Bowe (2025) reported that emotional attachment to important social identities enhances life satisfaction and psychological comfort. Therefore, political loyalty functions not only as a political attitude but also as a source of emotional wellbeing, particularly within political tourism experiences centred on admired political figures.

Hypothesis 5 proposed that political loyalty positively influences collective identity. The findings support this hypothesis, as indicated by a critical ratio (C.R.) value of 5.340 with a significance level of $P < 0.001$, demonstrating a positive and statistically significant relationship between political loyalty and collective identity. This result suggests that individuals who maintain strong loyalty towards Joko Widodo are more likely to perceive themselves as members of a broader community of supporters who share similar values, experiences, and political memories. In the context of the "Wailing Wall of Solo," loyalty towards Joko Widodo appears to extend beyond individual admiration and evolve into a collective sense of belonging among visitors and supporters. Shared emotional experiences associated with Joko Widodo's leadership may strengthen social bonds and reinforce perceptions of group membership.

Empirically, this finding is consistent with Greenaway et al. (2023), who reported that strong commitment to social and political groups enhances collective identification and feelings of belonging. Similarly, Huddy and Bankert (2022) found that political loyalty contributes to stronger political identities and attachment to supporter communities. Van Bavel et al. (2022) further demonstrated that emotional commitment to political leaders strengthens group cohesion and collective perceptions among followers. Likewise, Simon and Klandermans (2023) argued that enduring support for political leaders reinforces collective identity through shared emotional experiences and common narratives. More recently, Wakefield et al. (2024) found that social commitment and loyalty foster solidarity and stronger perceptions of community membership. Therefore, political loyalty serves as an important psychological mechanism that transforms individual political support into a collective identity, thereby strengthening the social foundations of political tourism behaviour.

Hypothesis 6 proposed that emotional wellness positively influences collective identity. The findings support this hypothesis, as evidenced by a critical ratio (C.R.) value of 14.543 with a significance level of $P < 0.001$, indicating a strong and statistically significant relationship between emotional wellness and collective identity. This result suggests that individuals who experience positive emotions, psychological comfort, optimism, and emotional fulfilment associated with Joko Widodo and his residence are more likely to develop a stronger sense of belonging to a community of fellow supporters. In the context of the "Wailing Wall of Solo," emotional experiences such as pride, inspiration, comfort, and nostalgia appear to foster social connectedness and strengthen perceptions of shared identity among visitors. As individuals derive emotional benefits from engaging with places symbolically linked to Joko Widodo, they may increasingly perceive themselves as part of a collective group united by common memories and values.

Empirically, this finding is consistent with Filep et al. (2021), who found that positive emotional experiences in tourism settings enhance feelings of social connectedness and belonging. Similarly, Nawijn and Filep (2022) reported that emotional wellbeing contributes to stronger interpersonal relationships and shared experiences among tourists. Pearce and Wu (2024) further demonstrated that psychological fulfilment derived from tourism experiences strengthens perceptions of community membership and social attachment. Likewise, Ram et al. (2024) found that positive emotional experiences facilitate collective meaning-making and identity formation among visitors. More recently, Zhang and Xu (2025) reported that emotional satisfaction significantly contributes to the development of collective identity in symbolic tourism environments. Therefore, emotional wellness functions as an important psychological pathway through which individual emotional experiences are transformed into a broader sense of collective belonging within political tourism contexts.

Hypothesis 7 proposed that collective identity positively influences visit intention towards Joko Widodo's residence. The findings support this hypothesis, as indicated by a Critical Ratio (C.R.) value of 33.428 with a significance level of $P < 0.001$, demonstrating a very strong and statistically significant relationship between collective identity and visit intention. This result suggests that individuals who perceive themselves as members of a community sharing admiration, memories, and values associated with Joko Widodo are more likely to intend to visit his residence in Solo. Within the context of the "Wailing Wall of Solo," the house functions not only as a physical location but also as a symbolic gathering place where supporters can express belonging, solidarity, and shared political memories. Consequently, collective identity appears to transform social affiliation into a concrete behavioural intention to participate in political tourism activities.

Empirically, this finding is consistent with Ram et al. (2024), who found that shared identity and collective meanings significantly increase participation in tourism activities and destination visitation. Similarly, Zhang et al. (2024) reported that collective identity derived from shared historical memories positively influences political tourism intentions. Kim and Thapa (2022) further demonstrated that identification with a community strengthens intentions to visit symbolic heritage destinations. Likewise, Lee et al. (2023) found that social belonging and collective attachment positively affect destination choice and visitation behaviour. More recently, Xu and Li (2025) reported that collective identity is a significant predictor of behavioural intentions in destinations associated with symbolic and cultural meanings. Therefore, collective identity serves as a crucial mechanism linking shared political experiences and social belonging to intentions to visit politically significant sites, reinforcing the role of political pilgrimage in contemporary political tourism.

6. CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to investigate the relationships among political nostalgia, parasocial attachment, political loyalty, emotional wellness, collective identity, and visit intention toward the former residence of Joko Widodo in Solo, Indonesia. The findings showed that all proposed hypotheses were supported. Political nostalgia was found to significantly strengthen both parasocial attachment and political loyalty, suggesting that positive memories of Joko Widodo's presidency continue to influence the emotional and behavioural responses of his supporters. Parasocial attachment also had a positive effect on political loyalty, highlighting the importance of perceived psychological closeness to political leaders. In addition, the results indicated that political loyalty positively affected emotional wellness and collective identity, while emotional wellness contributed significantly to the development of collective identity. Among all the variables examined, collective identity emerged as the strongest predictor of visit intention, indicating that the motivation to visit Joko Widodo's residence is closely linked to feelings of shared belonging and social solidarity. Overall, this study contributes to the political tourism literature by introducing political pilgrimage as an emotionally driven form of tourism in which nostalgia, symbolic attachment, and collective identity work together to shape tourism behaviour.

This study offers several important theoretical contributions to the field of political tourism. First, it broadens the scope of political tourism research beyond conventional themes such as political heritage tourism, memorial tourism, and dark political tourism by introducing the concept of political pilgrimage focused on the residence of a former political leader. Second, the study brings together political nostalgia, parasocial attachment, political loyalty, emotional wellness, collective identity, and visit intention within a single integrated framework. Previous research has generally examined these concepts separately within the disciplines of political communication, psychology, or tourism. By incorporating them into one model, this study provides a more comprehensive understanding of how political memories and emotional connections shape tourism behaviour. Third, the findings highlight the important role of collective identity as a mechanism that connects individual psychological experiences with behavioural intentions. Finally, the study contributes to parasocial relationship theory by demonstrating that emotional attachment to political leaders can extend beyond media exposure and political support, influencing symbolic tourism activities and intentions to visit politically significant destinations.

The findings of this study offer several practical implications for destination managers, local governments, tourism organisations, and community stakeholders involved in the development of political tourism attractions. The results indicate that visitors are driven not only by curiosity but also by emotional attachment, nostalgia, and a sense of collective belonging. Therefore, managers of tourism sites associated with Joko Widodo should create visitor experiences that highlight storytelling, personal memories, leadership accomplishments, and emotional engagement. Interpretive materials, exhibitions, guided tours, and digital content can be designed to strengthen visitors' emotional connections and reinforce collective identity. Local governments may also consider organising commemorative events, educational activities, and community gatherings that celebrate shared political memories while promoting social inclusiveness. In addition, destination marketers can position Joko Widodo's residence as a distinctive political pilgrimage destination that complements Solo's existing cultural and heritage tourism attractions. By incorporating emotional experiences into destination branding strategies, stakeholders can improve visitor satisfaction, encourage repeat visits, and contribute to the sustainable growth of political tourism in Indonesia.

This study has several limitations that should be considered. First, the research focused solely on Joko Widodo's former residence in Solo, which may restrict the generalisability of the findings to other political tourism destinations, political leaders, or cultural settings. Future research could explore similar phenomena involving other political figures, memorial residences, or political heritage sites in different countries. Second, the study adopted a cross-sectional design, capturing respondents' perceptions at only one point in time. Longitudinal studies may provide a better understanding of how political nostalgia, political loyalty, and visit intentions change over time, particularly following political transitions. Third, although the proposed model was effective in explaining visit intention, other tourism-related variables such as destination image, perceived value, novelty seeking, and place attachment may also influence political tourism behaviour and warrant further examination (Suhud et al., 2022a; Suhud and Allan, 2022; Suhud et al., 2023). Future studies may also consider incorporating emerging topics such as destination sustainability, digital marketing, and social media influencers, which have recently attracted increasing attention in tourism and consumer behaviour research (Suhud et al., 2025; Madhavedi et al., 2025; Fauzi et al., 2025). Expanding the scope in these directions would contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of political pilgrimage and emotionally driven tourism behaviour.

7. INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD STATEMENT

Authors confirm that the study was conducted in line with the ethical standards of the Declaration of Helsinki, and all participants took part voluntarily after being informed about the purpose of the research, their right to withdraw, and the confidentiality measures in place. No identifying details have been included in the manuscript. Authors further declared that the study complied with ethical guidelines set forth by the Institutional Review Board of the human research ethics committee of Universitas Negeri Jakarta. (No.861/UN39.14/PT.01.05/VI/2026, Approval date June 12, 2026).

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