

Drivers of community participation in heritage tourism planning: an empirical investigation

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Abstract

Despite increased emphasis on community participation in tourism planning, our current knowledge of community attitudes and their motivations to engage in such collaborative governance is limited and fragmented. This paper explores the role of heritage values, tourism and community perceptions held by destination hosts as drivers to willingness to participate in heritage tourism development. Such enquiry aims to enhance our current knowledge of community views and their potential to influence involvement in participatory decision-making in order to inform policy approaches to collaborative heritage tourism strategies. Using a relatively inexperienced destination community (Kastoria, Greece), the study collects quantitative data via an attitudinal survey. Our findings suggest that intentions to participate are mainly driven by community ideals while their positive influence is more evident on community members with high place attachment. Heritage values play a significant role; however, their effects do not always favour participation as they can also act as barriers to involvement. On the other hand, tourism perceptions are found to be mainly insignificant in shaping intentions to participate. Finally, the paper presents and discusses variations between different demographic groups and draws implications for policy.

Introduction

This paper aims to investigate the factors that motivate or demotivate community participation in heritage tourism planning, using an attitudinal survey instrument. In particular, the study seeks to

disentangle the role of heritage values, tourism expectations and the wider societal context in driving willingness to participate (WTP), as identified through semi-structured interviews with local stakeholders and a cross-disciplinary review of the literature, and expressed empirically by questionnaire data. Such enquiry is timely as in recent years research on heritage tourism proliferated (see *inter alia* Bessiere, 2013; Dines, 2016; Suchet & Raspaud, 2010; Wu, Xie, & Tsai, 2015), whereas collaborative decision-making and bottom-up approaches are increasingly understood as critical to sustainable tourism development in both academia (Cohen-Hattab, 2013; Su & Wall, 2014; Waligo, Clarke, & Hawkins, 2013) and international policy (UNESCO, 2012; UNWTO, 2008).

Heritage tourism is a type of special interest tourism where visitors experience the local heritage of destinations as manifested by archaeological sites, historic landscapes, local architecture, museums, art expressions, traditions and practices resourced from the past (Timothy & Nyaupane, 2009). Although not exclusively, heritage tourism has become particularly relevant to culturally rich and remote regions that wish to stimulate growth and compensate for their depressed primary and secondary industry sectors (Smith, 2009b). In this respect, heritage tourism is an economic solution that promises to bridge conservation and development by highlighting the economic value of heritage resources. Nevertheless, the building of a lucrative and viable heritage tourism sector is challenging, as it presupposes collaborative strategies and the balancing of growth with social equity and environmental quality – both ecological and cultural (Landorf, 2009; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2011).

Among other vital steps towards successful and sustainable heritage tourism operations, decision-making polyphony and multi-stakeholder approaches to planning are largely considered as important elements of realizing sustainability, proposing the active involvement of destination communities in the design of tourism strategies (see among others, Kimbu & Ngoasong, 2013; Li

& Hunter, 2015; Pacifico & Vogel, 2012; Su & Wall, 2014). The advocates of this proposition suggest that the benefits of participatory governance would be numerous, including the higher legitimacy of tourism policies (Hall, 2007), the more rightful share of tourism gains and costs (Sofield, 2003), and the cultivation of synergies that enhance heritage interpretation, hospitality atmosphere and social capital (Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2011; Okazaki, 2008).

Despite the growing consensus on participatory tourism planning, there is presently little knowledge of how policy-makers can approach and engage communities in decision-making effectively (Ashley, Osmani, Emmitt, Mallinson, & Mallinson, 2015). Although participatory tourism models place most emphasis on the definition and management of stakeholders (e.g. Johnston & Tyrrell, 2008; Waligo et al., 2013), in actu experience highlights several other complications that undermine its application, including practical and ideological barriers (Aas, Ladkin, & Fletcher, 2005; Marzuki, Hay, & James, 2012), the difficulties of maintaining community involvement on a long-term basis (Dodds, 2007; Svensson, 2015), and a frequent gap between participation and the generation of benefits that are appreciated collectively (Simpson, 2008). At the same time, tools that explore community perceptions (e.g. Byrd, Bosley, & Dronberger, 2009; Currie, Seaton, & Wesley, 2009) seek to inform development decisions but are disconnected from participatory approaches.

Given that community WTP should not be taken for granted, it is proposed that the management of heritage through community-based research could form a paradigm of practice towards a more community-inclusive heritage tourism planning. This paradigm positions communities and their aspirations at the heart of its enquiry, emphasizing questions that revolve around the public understandings of heritage, the identification of community needs and the accommodation of these needs through community involvement (Atalay, 2010; Stephens & Tiwari, 2015). It is held that such an approach is better positioned to balance expert with local knowledge from the very

beginning, address community-specific demands more effectively and make collective actions that would be more relevant to destination hosts.

As Fan (2014) and Perkin (2010) argue, the understanding of community incentives and needs is vital for embarking on community-driven projects. Therefore, it is maintained that participatory strategies need to depart from community attitudes, taking cognizance of existing meanings and perceptions of local heritage, tourism and the community itself. This would allow the identification of those elements that have the capacity to influence participation in heritage tourism and thus inform engagement and communication strategies that could be maintained on a long-term basis. We specifically suggest that the heritage management values framework and our current knowledge from community-based participatory research within the heritage field could critically enhance present work on participatory tourism. We further propose the linking of tourism perception studies with collaborative decision-making over heritage tourism planning as a means of informing policy approaches to community engagement.

Based on these premises, the present study combines the values-based approach to heritage management with tourism perceptions and community-specific qualities, with the view to explore empirically the factors that drive community intensions towards participatory policy-making for the shaping of the local heritage tourism agenda. We provide empirical evidence on this critical issue through an attitudinal survey at Kastoria, Greece, an area that is ideal for the evaluation of an immature participatory environment, where both heritage tourism development and community involvement in its planning and management are at their infancy.

Factors influencing WTP

Community participation in heritage tourism planning is a particularly complex and multifaceted issue, which can be better explored through a synthesis of approaches and knowledge generated

within both the heritage and tourism fields. For this reason, our enquiry into the drivers of community behaviour builds and tests a broad set of factors that are likely to influence participatory dynamics and WTP, based on scholarly and practice-based literature.

Starting from heritage studies, we adopt the values-based model, an approach of increasing importance in heritage conservation, planning and management (de la Torre, 2013; Walter, 2014). Values are best defined as socially constructed meanings and as actual or potential qualities attached to heritage assets (Mason, 2002). These qualities are particularly diverse (e.g. aesthetic, scientific, spiritual) and can exhibit much heterogeneity due to their dynamic and subjective character that is place and time-specific (for a historic development of value typologies see McClelland, Peel, Hayes, & Montgomery, 2013). Despite their intrinsic and dynamic character, heritage values permeate a plethora of decisions associated to heritage practice (de la Torre, 2013), whereas ultimately, the rationale of the values approach is the identification of the societal reasons for investing in heritage (Worthing & Bond, 2007). Community-based research on this area suggests that cultural heritage is most commonly invested with social, symbolic and identity attributes, historic associations and a sense of connection to place and the past (Fouseki & Sakka, 2013; Mydland & Grahn, 2012; Smith, 2009a).

The need for assessing heritage significance is also relevant to heritage tourism decisions. In fact, the values-based approach is considered particularly useful to collaborative planning practices and an approach that has the capacity to improve community engagement and promote more inclusive planning frameworks (Mason, 2006). The basis of using the values-based approach in participatory heritage tourism is for understanding the ways through which such development could be relevant to its community while capturing the reasons for stakeholders' engagement in collaborative planning. Values inscribed in local heritage can be defined in terms of the personal and communal importance that community members attach to the heritage assets of their area (Dillon et al., 2014).

Based on the aforementioned, it is important to first evaluate the role of heritage values on community behaviour and in particular, to establish a relationship between the former and intentions to participate, in order to inform engagement policy. It is plausible to assume that the nature of heritage values and the degree to which a destination community acknowledges them as important may impact their participation. Thus, it is interesting to explore the connection between WTP and heritage values and to test whether the latter would stimulate community involvement. This leads us to propose our first hypothesis:

H1. Heritage values drive WTP in heritage tourism planning.

In parallel, it is valuable to investigate community aspirations with regard to heritage tourism development (actual and potential) and whether these influence, either positively or negatively, their future involvement in heritage tourism planning. Tourism impacts are commonly classified as economic (e.g. invigoration of local economy, employment), socio-cultural (e.g. capacity building, development of infrastructure and services) and environmental (e.g. preservation of local heritage and local arts/crafts) (Simpson, 2008; Wall & Mathieson, 2006). Although impacts have both positive and negative sides (e.g. opportunity costs and rise of prices, deprived access, environmental degradation, commodification or standardization), communities of non-mature destinations frequently visualize (potential) positive impacts at a greater degree than (potential) negative consequences (Reid, Mair, & George, 2004).

Thus, when dealing with emerging destinations and future tourism development, it is more appropriate to investigate the influence of desirable tourism change on community behaviour. Based on this premise, a reasonable hypothesis to test is whether expectations of (positive) tourism impacts motivate WTP, as a way to influence and drive policy towards the realization of anticipated benefits. This enquiry will help establishing a link between intentions to participate and expected

tourism effects. Based on the aforementioned, our second hypothesis is the following:

H2. Expectations of positive tourism impacts exert a positive influence on WTP in heritage tourism planning.

Further, community-based participatory research highlights that local environment and place are also likely to affect the initiation and continuity of participation, rendering it important to also assess the broader societal context of community involvement (Brodie et al., 2011; Frank & Smith, 2000; Giachello, 2007). Perceptions of place and community, local political culture and local priority issues are key ingredients in the formalization and maintenance of community-based collaborations (Brodie et al., 2011). For instance, trust, cohesiveness and current community ties can form a fertile ground for establishing collective action (Giachello, 2007; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2011). At the same time, perceptions of impact, i.e. the degree to which community is convinced that their action could meaningfully affect policy, can be another catalyst to WTP (Brodie et al., 2011).

Therefore, it is important to also take into consideration these parameters and explore whether they influence community behaviour towards participation. Our hypothesis is that community-specific elements that shape social fabric, such as place attachment and societal relationships along with confidence in the value-adding capacity of collaborative planning, would all affect WTP positively. This leads us to our third testable hypothesis:

H3. Community ideals affect WTP in heritage tourism planning positively.

As illustrated on [Figure 1](#), our framework of enquiry has three different dimensions, drawing from heritage values, tourism perceptions and community-based participatory studies. It is held that deconstructing the role that these factors play in driving community attitudes towards involvement in heritage tourism planning could contribute both methodologically and practically to our knowledge of designing effective participatory strategies for heritage tourism.

Survey design

The context of the present study is Kastoria, a peripheral region in the northern peninsular mainland of Greece. Kastoria presents several characteristics that make its development of sustainable heritage tourism relevant and timely: (i) it is rural and isolated, (ii) it has a depressed economy due to its declined manufacturing, (iii) it features a rich collection of heritage assets, including archaeological sites, medieval monuments and traditional architecture and (iv) its tourism sector is currently developing and could gain a competitive edge by focusing on special interest heritage tourism. Given the dramatic raise of unemployment rate in the area (as high as 30% according to the Hellenic Statistical Authority, [2016](#)) and the vulnerability of its heritage capital (it is characteristic that its historic centre featured in Europa Nostra list of the ‘7 Most Endangered Heritage Sites in Europe’; Council of Europe Development Bank, [2015](#)), the development of viable solutions that could serve both its economic and heritage ends is of critical importance.

Although local administrators and citizens view such potential in heritage tourism operations, policy-wise, little has taken place in terms of planning for heritage tourism and engaging community in the design of a local heritage tourism strategy. Acknowledging the significance of sustainable heritage tourism for the area, the survey placed its emphasis on three main sets of parameters: (a) heritage values, (b) tourism impacts and aspirations and (c) local environment and perceptions of community, to inform its future policy. The purpose was to evaluate the impact of

these sets of parameters on community attitudes towards participation (i.e. drivers and barriers to participation) and in particular, their willingness to take on an active role in the strategic design of heritage tourism in their area, while also considering respondents' personal circumstances (i.e. demographic profile and resources).

More specifically, the questionnaire comprised a set of 51 Likert scale attitudinal statements with a 7-point rating scale from totally disagree to totally agree. In general, attitudinal statements express respondents' viewpoints, beliefs, preferences, feelings or positions towards a particular sentence (Oppenheim, 2001). This survey approach is common in tourism studies (e.g. Andereck, Valentine, Knopf, & Vogt, 2005; Sharma & Dyer, 2009) and can be further used to explore perceptions of heritage tourism and their effect on participation.

Statement items were based on qualitative data and desk research. The former were collected through 25 semi-structured interviews with representatives from key stakeholder groups (i.e. residents, members of local community associations, tourism professionals chosen through convenient random sampling and heritage experts and government officials approached through quota sampling) conducted at Kastoria to inform questionnaire design (Dillon et al., 2014; Fouseki & Sakka, 2013). The interviews aimed to elicit personal and comparative statements of value through exploratory questions associated with interviewees' perceptions of heritage and tourism, their relationship with community and place, and their attitude towards participation. Most relevant data were subsequently extracted from the interview transcripts and grouped into themes (i.e. heritage values, tourism and community/place perceptions) (Bernard, 2011). The questionnaire was also enriched by statements composed based on the relevant literature on heritage values, tourism impacts and community participation (e.g. Brodie et al., 2011; Mason, 2002; Wall & Mathieson, 2006). WTP was measured by a binary variable that asked respondents to state whether they wanted or not to be involved in heritage tourism planning and management.

In addition, the survey featured a section of demographic questions with the view to gain an additional insight into respondents' personal circumstances and how these might differentiate their WTP. Apart from gender and age, questionnaire items sought to collect information about respondents' practical (e.g. time, income) and learnt resources, such as education level and field of study (Brodie et al., 2011; Frank & Smith, 2000). Moreover, it was meaningful to collect profile information that related to stakes in heritage tourism development, including professional/economic dependency on tourism and/or heritage, place of residence and attachment to community and place measured by birthplace, years of residency at Kastoria, membership to local cultural groups/associations or other formal or informal modes of participation that contribute to the promotion of local heritage. All demographic characteristics were measured as categorical variables.

A face-to-face delivery of the questionnaire occurred in Kastoria between July and November 2015. The sample included community members aged over 18 that lived or worked in the studied area on a permanent basis or they otherwise had some common interests in the place (e.g. origins and family ties). Respondents were chosen on the basis of simple random and convenience sampling. All respondents maintained their anonymity.

Data and preliminary findings

Overview of responses

In total, 665 of the collected responses were valid for statistical analysis. Based on the Krejcie and Morgan's (1970) sample size determination matrix and Kastoria's population (50,322 residents; Hellenic Statistical Authority, 2011), the minimum number of representative sample should be 381 (Lwoga, 2016). Thus, our sample size is highly representative of the host community. Demographic-wise, the sample comprised 53.1% male respondents, with median age ranging from 35 to 44 years. Further, 91% of respondents held at least a high school diploma, 51.9% were in

full-time employment and 63.9% had lived in Kastoria for more than 20 years. Positive responses towards WTP in heritage tourism planning equalled 63.2% of the sample.

In terms of attitudes, respondents generally showed a high appreciation for local heritage. However, the community's evaluation of heritage assets complied largely with Smith's (2006) 'authorised heritage discourse', as statements referring to the material heritage that is officially recognized as significant (e.g. archaeological remains and medieval sites) exhibited much less differentiation in responses (i.e. commonly ranked high/very high) compared to statements referring to intangible and more folk elements (e.g. the local traditional carnival), which exhibited greater variation (i.e. from very low to very high). Moreover, responses towards tourism impacts showed optimism about high positive and low negative effects, in accordance to the literature (Reid et al., 2004), although there was much less confidence in the degree to which these effects would be relevant to community at a practical level (e.g. increase their job opportunities).

Heterogeneity across subsamples

It is important to examine intentions towards participation based on respondents' demographic characteristics and personal circumstances. More specifically, we need to explore whether WTP in heritage tourism development is differentiated among individuals with diverse profile and backgrounds. To do so, we ran a series of nonparametric tests to illuminate any such behavioural differences based on personal traits. The results are exhibited in Table 1.

[TABLE 1 SOMEWHERE HERE]

In particular, we observe that there is a significant variance between male and female respondents, with women being more willing to participate than men. However, neither age nor the custody of underage children seems to influence WTP in our sample. In contrast, WTP varies with the level

of education, with highly educated individuals (i.e. those holding a diploma or university degree) being significantly more willing to participate compared to all other groups. We also observe that those whose education relates to heritage and/or tourism show greater WTP compared to those with no relevant education. Thus, there is evidence that learnt resources differentiate preferences with regard to participation in heritage tourism planning.

As far as employment is concerned, our results indicate that those expressing the highest WTP are students, part-time employees and those at retirement, implying some connection with time resources. Further, unemployed show low WTP compared to other employment statuses, which in this case might relate to limited financial resources or psychological factors. It is also interesting to note that those whose employment relates to tourism show significantly more willingness compared to individuals in other occupations. This finding is not surprising as tourism-based professionals have higher stakes in heritage tourism. We would expect a similar differentiation for those who are employed by the heritage sector; however, variation between heritage specialists and non-specialists in relation to WTP is insignificant.

In addition, our results indicate that household income does not differentiate WTP significantly. The same holds for place of origin (Kastoria or not), mode of stay at the destination (permanent or temporary) and type of residence (traditional/listed building or conventional accommodation). However, when we consider the specific location within Kastoria to which respondents relate, we observe those at places of higher heritage tourism interest are significantly more willing to participate than those at more remote places. Such differentiation might stem from higher tourism stakes and/or higher attachment to local heritage.

Interestingly, WTP exhibits a U-shaped relationship with duration of stay, as those who had spent

too little (less than five years) and too much time (more than 20 years) at Kastoria are the most willing to participate. Based on previous work, it is plausible to suggest that more experience with a place increases attachment while enhancing both the functional and affective bonds that individuals develop with a destination (Gross & Brown, 2006). On the other hand, being new in a city may create a desire to create such bonds. It should be also noted that respondents who are currently members of local community groups/associations or who are formally or informally involved in collective activities that promote heritage show a positive differentiation in favour of WTP. This indicates that community groups and current structures of collective action can create a fertile ground for engaging with communities.

Factor analysis

Although descriptive data are informative, we need to further explore the relationship between respondents' perceptions, attitudes and their behaviour towards future participation in heritage tourism planning. To this end, we perform an exploratory principal components factor analysis with varimax rotation in order to reduce attitudinal statements on heritage values, tourism and community perceptions into a smaller set of component variables that gather similar information (Dillon et al., 2014; Lwoga, 2016; Yung & Chan, 2012). The Kaiser–Meyer–Olkin (KMO) measure of sampling adequacy and the Bartlett's Test of Sphericity (BTS) are employed to test inter-correlations between statements. The reduced variables will then be used as predictors of WTP in heritage tourism planning ([Table 2](#)).

[TABLE 2 SOMEWHERE HERE]

In particular, our factor analysis extracts 12 component factors that make conceptual sense and have reasonably high coefficients (KMO degree of common variance is higher than 0.8, whereas

BTS level of significance is $p = 0.000$) ([Table 3](#)). For brevity, factor loadings are not presented here, but are available upon request.

[TABLE 3 SOMEWHERE HERE]

Heritage factors

The first heritage factor component (HER1) reflects what Mason ([2002](#)) defines as bequest values. It consists of statements that refer to the ethical need and the moral intergenerational duty to preserve and protect local heritage, expressed in a generalized/neutral way (e.g. ‘it is important to protect’ or ‘it is beneficial to conserve’). On the other hand, the second component variable (HER2) has a more personal tone and refers to the social associations made with local heritage, such as the witnessing of place history or the emotional appeals to shared identity and sense of community. Thus, HER2 embraces qualities that more commonly relate to collective identity and sense of place, resembling what Worthing and Bond ([2007](#)) describe as associational values.

Our third heritage values factor (HER3) reflects proximity and inclusion values, comprising statements that relate to the historic districts of Kastoria and access to specific heritage sites within its historic core. Interestingly, the forth factor component (HER4) consists of statements that question heritage conservation and emphasize resistance to the past and a need to modernize. However, for the sake of analysis and homogeneity with other factors, we converted connotations from negative to positive and termed this factor as resistance to change. The final heritage component (HER5) was labelled as instrumental values as it concerns current and potential uses of heritage (i.e. educational, tourism) that serve contemporary purposes (e.g. transforming traditional residencies into visitors accommodation).

Tourism factors

From our tourism components, the first (TOUR1) was labelled as high positive effects. This consists of statements that express positive attitudes towards the development of local heritage tourism services, their potential for generating both socio-cultural (e.g. incentivizing protection, promoting heritage knowledge) and socio-economic gains (e.g. stimulating the local economy, improving infrastructure) and their support for setting heritage tourism as a priority for policy-making. In contrast, statements that imply perceptions of tourism as a threat shape the second component (TOUR2).

More specifically, TOUR2 makes reference to potential negative tourism impacts, such as minimizing authenticity or causing undesirable change. For the purpose of homogeneity across statement variables, we converted negative to positive responses and labelled this factor low negative effects, reflecting a low appreciation of potential tourism costs. In a similar way, the third tourism component (TOUR3) comprises statements that refer to opportunity costs of investing in heritage tourism, question the potential of local heritage to compete with other destinations and express scepticism that heritage tourism would stimulate local development. Again, for the analysis, we converted these negative statements into positive ones so that this component variable can reflect high expectations of tourism-led development opportunities.

Community-related factors

Finally, four factor components were extracted by community-related variables that mirror respondents' mentality, political culture and perceptions of participation impact on policy. The first component variable (COM1) was coined gains of participation as it consists of general statements that validate the value of community participatory processes and its benefits for the sustainable development of local heritage tourism (e.g. safeguarding social equity, contributing to

expert work) and the community itself (e.g. reinforcing social ties, helping participants to gain experience).

In turn, the second component (COM2) describes altruism and attachment, reflecting personal connections to locality, pro-social and pro-heritage feelings of respondents, such as prioritizing common interests over individual pursuits and investing public funds to heritage. On the other hand, the third component (COM3) consists of statements that voice pessimistic feelings of the outcomes of participation due to conflict and policy-makers' lack of true will for a meaningful change. As previously, we reverted response values from negative to positive with COM3 expressing optimism towards conflict resolution and change. Our final component (COM4) is described as community responsibility and ties, as its statements evaluate community's role as custodian of local heritage and community solidarity.

Regression model

Since motivations to be involved in heritage tourism governance are rather complex and shaped by multiple elements, the application of a regression analysis is an appropriate technique for identifying and quantifying the factors that determine respondents' WTP in heritage tourism planning. In particular, as we are interested in exploring the drivers that influence community attitudes towards participation, we perform a binary logistic regression analysis based on survey responses data where WTP is set as the dependent variable and heritage values, tourism perceptions and community component factors are used as predictors to respondents' behaviour. Our regression model is shown in Equation (1):

$$WTP_j = \alpha + \beta_i \mathbf{HER}_j + \gamma_i \mathbf{TOUR}_j + \delta_i \mathbf{COM}_j + e_j, \quad (1)$$

where WTP_j denotes willingness to participate of respondent j , \mathbf{HER}_j , \mathbf{TOUR}_j and \mathbf{COM}_j are the vectors of subject's j attitudes towards heritage, tourism and community, and β_i , γ_i and δ_i are the coefficients to be estimated. Finally, ϵ_j denotes the error term.

To test the stability of our model we first ran the regressions with a single category of component variables (either HER, or TOUR or COM) and then added them together in the equation. Results for the full sample are presented in [Table 4](#).

[TABLE 4 SOMEWHERE HERE]

Furthermore, as demonstrated in the previous section, although host communities share some common characteristics and interests, they still exhibit certain heterogeneity, especially with regard to their personal circumstances and demographic backgrounds. Based on our earlier findings ([Table 1](#)), it is meaningful to compare behaviour among different demographic sub-groups by repeating our regression analysis with the view to explore whether our component factors (i.e. HER, TOUR, COM) alter their significance or influence on WTP. [Table 5](#) exhibits all results whereas the rest of our analysis highlights some of the most interesting findings.

[TABLE 5 SOMEWHERE HERE]

The next sections present the empirical results and discuss their interpretation.

Drivers of participation across full sample

Heritage factors

Starting with the full sample results of [Table 4](#), we observe that only two heritage factors exercise a significant impact on WTP. In particular, we find that collective identity and sense of place

(HER2) has a negative effect on WTP in heritage tourism development, whereas proximity and inclusion (HER3) has a positive impact. Nonetheless, the full sample results may mask differences among the various sub-groups, given their heterogeneity, as identified in [Table 1](#).

Thus, from [Table 5](#), we observe that bequest values (HER1), which appear to be insignificant in the full sample, exert important influences to various sub-groups of respondents. For instance, we find that those with relevant education are influenced positively by this factor, whereas the reverse holds for respondents without such educational background. Further, bequest values demotivate WTP for those whose employment does not relate to tourism and those who belong to community groups.

Analogous dichotomies are evident for identity and sense of place (HER2), which is found negative in the full sample estimation. When we run the model with respondents' classifications that measure place attachment (i.e. location and length of stay), we find that the impact of these values is significant only for those who are located close to places of high heritage tourism interest and for those who had lived in the area for more than two decades. Likewise, proximity and inclusion (HER3) values have generally a positive effect on community but exert no influence on respondents from distant locations and those who had lived less than five years in the area.

Some interesting results are also reported for the remaining heritage factors. A notable example is resistance to change (HER4), which affects negatively those who are currently involved in community organizations and positively those not involved. We further observe that resistance to change has a positive impact on respondents with junior high education, who are also significantly influenced by instrumental values (HER5) but in a negative manner. Such relationships might express a conservative attitude towards the 're-invention' of heritage for tourism purposes.

Tourism factors

Perhaps surprisingly but based on the full sample results we observe that expectations of tourism development do not influence WTP at a significant degree (see [Table 4](#)).

From the disaggregated analysis (see [Table 5](#)), though, we find important influences by TOUR1 and TOUR2 on the WTP of various subsample groups. In particular, it is reported that the acknowledgement of high positive tourism effects (TOUR1) impacts WTP negatively for subsamples at lowest education levels and those facing job insecurity (i.e. part-time employees and unemployed). Further, optimism with regard to tourism costs (TOUR2) demotivates participation for the less educated, for those with much experience with the place (i.e. more than 20 years) and most surprisingly, for those whose employment relates to tourism. These findings might imply a low degree of confidence, which stems from respondents' learnt resources (low educated), a sense of alienation from reaping tourism benefits (e.g. tackling unemployment) or some form of responsibility assignment towards other stakeholders (e.g. government bodies) for the planning of heritage tourism, instead of direct involvement.

Community-related factors

Finally, the full sample estimation suggests that community variables seem to be the most important drivers, with three out of the four components having a significant positive effect on our dependent variable (see [Table 4](#)). These are expected gains of participation (COM1), altruism and attachment (COM2) to community and place, and optimism towards conflict resolution and meaningful change (COM3) as the result of collaborative planning.

Nevertheless, some notable variations are identified across our subsamples (see [Table 5](#)). More specifically, high expectations of participation gains (COM1) and optimism towards conflict resolution and change (COM3) act as barriers to WTP for those with education relevant to tourism

and/or heritage, contrary to the full sample estimation. This inverse effect on intentions to collaborate might indicate that heritage and tourism experts still feel sceptical towards community participation outcomes. Further, attitudes towards responsibility and ties (COM4) – insignificant in the full sample – incentivize participation for several clusters of respondents, including those residing near to heritage tourism places, those with longest residency, and members of community-led associations, namely for groups on which community ideals are expected to exert a greater influence.

Discussion

The empirical findings of this study display much diversity which emphasizes the heterogeneous nature of communities themselves, whose fluid and multifaceted character is shaped by interacting sociological, geographical, psychological and political elements (Cole, 2006). For instance, we observe an effect of gender on WTP with women being more willing to participate than men. A gender variation with regard to communal activity could relate to personal preferences, such as women's highest appreciation of connection and collective good values (Browne, 1995).

Further, the positive effect of education on participation identified here is also reported by previous work (e.g. Alesina & La Ferrara, 2002; Brodie et al., 2011; Forret & Dougherty, 2004; Frank & Smith, 2000). Similarly, the effect of employment status on participatory behaviour, i.e. the expression of highest WTP by students, part-time employees and pensioners, lends support to the literature and its emphasis on available time as a catalyst for participatory work (Brodie et al., 2011; Holmes & Slater, 2012). Reversely, time constraints could justify the low willingness on behalf of houseworkers due to family commitments (Alesina & La Ferrara, 2002; Holmes & Slater, 2012) but are less relevant to the unemployed, who have also little desire to be involved in heritage tourism planning. Psychological factors relating to unsuccessful professional experiences (Alesina

& La Ferrara, 2002) or a lack of practical resources (Brodie et al., 2011) might discourage the latter from taking on a more active role in their community.

In addition, the relationship between WTP and location, which indirectly relates to high or low tourism stakes, is also not surprising. The literature suggests that community attitudes can be influenced by their proximity to heritage tourism locations (Sharma & Dyer, 2009), as their everyday lives and access to heritage are more likely to be interrupted by tourism development. Thus, the geographical element of proximity or distance is in fact a significant factor that alters community behaviour towards participation progressively.

In contrast, felt proximity/distance and connection with the place, measured by length of residence, appears to be more complicated with regard to participation intentions, as the relationship is non-linear. Rather, highest willingness is exhibited by the two extremes – those with relatively little or too much acquaintance with the place, with a ‘gap’ in-between them. Earlier studies have found that place attachment by itself does not increase social participation (Hays & Kogl, 2007; Wu, 2012), whereas, WTP might be ‘overshadowed’ by other socio-political circumstances, which are difficult to capture here.

Interestingly, when we focus on the attitudinal factors that shape WTP, the aforementioned groups exhibit more commonalities than differences. In particular, almost all groups are primarily driven by community factors, which reflect either purposive (COM1) or solidary (COM2) motivations (Caldwell & Andereck, 1994). The effect of these factors is weaker only for respondents with low place attachment (i.e. <5 years length of stay) and for those with heritage-tourism education. In fact, the latter are incentivized predominantly by bequest values (HER1), confirming the influence of Smith’s (2006) ‘authorized heritage discourse’ and its notion that heritage experts are the custodians of the past and those who should pass it on to future generations. In contrast, as

reported by Mydland and Grahn (2012), local communities are mobilized to safeguard heritage less by bequest values and more by a desire to reinforce social ties and common social institutions.

Similarly, barriers to participation are of equal interest as many key sub-groups (e.g. highly educated, fully employed, residents of key tourism areas, respondents with high place attachment, members of local cultural associations) appear to be mostly discouraged by heritage values that relate to identity and sense of place (HER2). Such a negative relation might stem from a perceived threat of community displacement by visitors and tourism businesses that would disrupt or transform the character of the place, its heritage landscapes and everyday life (Suntikul & Jachna, 2013).

Overall, based on our earlier hypotheses, we find that heritage values can play both a positive and a negative role in community intentions to participate. Alterations depend both on the type of values (e.g. inclusion values drive WTP positively whereas place identity values exert a negative effect) and on the particular community group they concern (e.g. bequest values drive only those who have certain heritage expertise whereas inclusion values are irrelevant for those with low place attachment). Thus, H1 can be marginally accepted, as there are also heritage values that exert inverse effects on intentions to participate in heritage tourism planning. In parallel, tourism perceptions, especially for communities that have witnessed limited tourism growth, have mostly insignificant effects on WTP. Based on such results, H2 is rejected. Rather, participation is largely driven by community ideals, and this is particularly evident for community members with high place attachment (e.g. proximity, length of stay, current involvement in collective activities). Therefore, our testable hypothesis H3 can be accepted.

Conclusion

Recent years witnessed an increased interest in heritage tourism and community participation in

its planning and management; however, our hands-on knowledge of engaging with communities is still fragmented while research on community drivers for participating is limited. In view of this, this paper endeavoured to shed light into the attitudinal and practical factors that might influence community intentions towards participation. Using the case study of Kastoria, Greece, and an attitudinal survey instrument, the study collected and analysed community responses in order to disentangle the influence of heritage values, expected tourism impacts and community-related factors on WTP in the design of heritage tourism at their destination. The findings of the research not only inform policy approaches to meaningful participation but they also advance our theoretical understanding of community aspirations and motivations to personally invest in such collaborations.

Our data provide empirical evidence that largely supports the literature while illuminating some interesting variations among different community fractions. In particular, community ideals seem to play the most pivotal role in driving intentions towards involvement. Expected gains of participation, altruism and emotional attachment to the destination, along with optimism towards conflict resolution and a meaningful change from collaborative planning act as positive drivers to respondents' WTP. Contrary to our initial hypothesis, a high assignment of values to cultural heritage plays both a positive and a negative role in participation intentions. This suggests that tourism might be partly viewed as antagonistic to heritage in terms of leading to a clash between protection and commercial opportunities (Wang & Bramwell, 2012) or by causing community displacement and the disruption of heritage landscapes (Suntikul & Jachna, 2013). As far as tourism-led benefits and development expectations are concerned, their influence on WTP is mainly insignificant. Rather, personal circumstances, such as learnt resources, time, job security, physical and psychological proximity to heritage places were found to differentiate WTP considerably.

Based on these findings, some important implications can be highlighted. First, community-led collaborations for the planning of heritage tourism need to be founded primarily on community values. Given that previous research suggests that the reinforcement of common social institutions mobilizes heritage preservation by local communities (Mydland & Grahn, 2012), the contribution of participation towards such goal needs to be emphasized and promoted. A higher WTP on behalf of those currently involved in grassroots activity (e.g. through cultural associations) indicates that existing structures of collective action can serve as a starting point for engaging with stakeholders who are excluded by conventional top-down planning.

Second, given that tourism might be understood as a threat to heritage and place identity, it is important for communication and engagement strategies to convincingly highlight the criticality of collaborative planning for preventing undesirable tourism change. This presupposes a commitment of contribution to the development of indicators that will empower the host community to make choices in accordance to its cultural values and capacity. Third, the fact that tourism factors are found insignificant in incentivizing the community might illustrate a weak link between tourism gains and their perceived potential socio-economic spillovers. Therefore, policy-making needs to convincingly build a development path towards broader socio-economic gains to avoid tokenistic or short-lived involvement.

Overall, the results of our study highlight the importance of considering the ideological and practical needs of potential community participants before moving on to the participatory process per se. Although time-consuming, this process could prove vital for building solid communication and engagement strategies and realizing the benefits of collaborative decision-making. Our proposition is that in order to be inclusive and accessible, participatory projects need to develop organically, based on values that are locally relevant, and practices adapted to serve these values.

Obviously, these findings are based on a single case study of a particular place and time. Future research could expand this enquiry to other destinations and compare communities across different places or phases of tourism growth, as incentives to participate are likely to change their character and magnitude over time. In addition, alternative methodological approaches could further disentangle the contextual relationships of the factors explored here. For instance, given that survey tools are limited by their setting in a hypothetical context (e.g. intentions to participate might not necessarily translate into real commitments in the future), experimental and behavioural methodologies could greatly complement this area of research and help us further illuminate the interplay of drivers and barriers to participation.

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Figure 1 Elements that may affect community's WTP in heritage tourism.



Table 1. Demographic characteristics and their influence on WTP.

Variable	Clusters	Test statistic
Gender	Males/Females	-2.129** ^a
Age	18–24; 25–34; 35–44; 45–54; 55–64; 65+	3.297 ^b
Underage Children	Yes/No	-1.378 ^a
General education	Jr high diploma or lower; High school diploma; Technical Diploma; Graduate degree; Post-Graduate degree	32.203*** ^b
Relevant education	Yes/No	-3.141** ^a
Employment status	Unemployed; Student; Full-time employee; Part-time employee; Family/housework; Retired	18.018*** ^b
Heritage-related employment	Yes/No	-0.822 ^a
Tourism-related employment	Yes/No	-3.222*** ^a
Household income	< €5,000; < €10,000; < €20,000; < €30,000; > €30,000 (annually)	4.897 ^b
Place of birth	Kastoria/elsewhere	-0.127 ^a
Place of residence	Kastoria/elsewhere	-0.545 ^a
Type of residence	Traditional or listed building/conventional accommodation	-0.303 ^a
Specific area of residence/work	Outside Kastoria; Historic centre; New city neighbourhoods; Towns-villages close to key heritage sites; Towns-villages remote to key heritage sites	13.719*** ^b
Duration of stay	<1 yrs; <5 yrs; <10 yrs; <20 yrs; 5: >20 yrs	8.505* ^b
Membership to community groups/associations	Yes/No	-4.562*** ^a
Formal/informal involvement in promoting heritage	Yes/No	-9.983*** ^a

Notes: For nominal variables, we run Mann–Whitney tests, whereas for categorical variables, we employ the Kruskal–Wallis test.

^aMann–Whitney z-statistics.

^bKruskal–Wallis chi-square statistics.

* , ** , ***Significance at 10%, 5%, and 1%, respectively.

Table 2. Factor components reflecting attitudes towards heritage, tourism and community.

Factor name	Description	Attitude statements included
Heritage values (HER)		
HER1: Bequest value	Statements that refer to the ethical need and the intergenerational duty to study and protect local heritage.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Kastoria is rich in archaeological remains that deserve scientific research. Archaeological excavations conducted in the area are beneficial as they reveal the history of the place. The Byzantine monuments of Kastoria are of international cultural significance and we need to protect them and promote them. The Byzantine and post-Byzantine artwork of Kastoria is of unique artistic value. The traditional architecture of Kastoria reflects the hard-working, creativity and culture of the place. It is important to protect cultural heritage so that we can bequest it to our next generations.
HER2: Identity/sense of place	Statements expressing personal, social and affective associations with local heritage.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The fur art and traditional craftsmanship is part of the common cultural identity of Kastorians. The mud brick houses in the abandoned villages of Kastoria witness place history and shared memory from civil war. Traditional customs, such as the local carnival, provide opportunities for community gatherings and collective identity making.
HER3: Proximity/Inclusion	Statements that relate to the historic districts of Kastoria and access to specific heritage sites within its historic core.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The most beautiful parts of the city are its old traditional neighbourhoods (Dolcho and Apozari). The area surrounding Koubelidiki church (historic centre) should be protected from any aesthetic damage. The demolition of the old traditional high school in the historic centre was a huge mistake due to its historic value. It is important to open the Tsatsiapa Mansion (historic centre) to the local community once conservation works are complete.
HER4: Resistance to change ^a	Statements that value heritage conservation and its prioritization over modernization.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> We need to protect the Ottoman monuments of Kastoria as they form part of the history of the place. In their majority, traditional or neoclassical houses are more beautiful than contemporary ones. The image of Kastoria would have been worse if it had less listed/preserved buildings. The Ottoman barracks should not be demolished for the erection of the new police station.
HER5: Instrumental value	Statements that refer to current/potential uses of heritage to serve local needs.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> It is important to have educational activities that relate to archaeological and heritage work at Kastoria. The re-use of listed buildings as hotels and restaurants made Kastoria more attractive to visitors.
Perceptions of tourism (TOUR)		
TOUR1: High positive effects	Statements that express positive attitudes towards the development of the local heritage tourism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tourism development should be a priority in the local government agenda.

(Continued)

Table 2. Continued

Factor name	Description	Attitude statements included
	industry and their support for setting such policy goal.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tourism development should be directly linked to cultural heritage. • The linking of tourism with heritage in Kastoria will create incentives for the protection and promotion of local cultural heritage. • The development of heritage tourism will contribute to the development of the local economy. • The development of heritage tourism will provide incentives to the local community to learn more about their cultural heritage. • Tourism development will lead to infrastructure and services development for the local community.
TOUR2: Low negative effects ^a	Statements reflecting a low appreciation of potential tourism costs.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An increase of visitor numbers will not be detrimental to the authenticity of the local Carnival and other traditional customs. • Tourism development in Kastoria will not lead to the degradation of its urban environment. • The increase of tourism in Kastoria will not lead to the degradation of the natural environment.
TOUR3: Development opportunities	Statements that refer to heritage tourism as a development opportunity for the area.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Despite not being a seaside destination, Kastoria has high potential for tourism development. • Heritage tourism is one of the best solutions for Kastoria compared to other development options. • Tourism development will contribute to unemployment reduction. • Tourism can provide broader economic benefits, not only for those who engage with it directly (e.g. hoteliers, restaurant owners).
Community factors (COM)		
COM1: Gains of participation	Statements that assign value to community participation and its potential benefits.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is important that citizens participate in the protection and promotion of cultural heritage. • The design of heritage tourism in Kastoria should be done in cooperation with as many stakeholder groups as possible. • Community participation in activities for the development of heritage tourism would reinforce social ties among the local community. • Community participation in activities for the development of heritage tourism would help participants to gain skills/experience. • Community participation in activities for the development of heritage tourism would contribute to experts' work on heritage-tourism issues. • Community participation in activities for the development of heritage tourism would safeguard that decisions made are beneficial to everyone.
COM2: Altruism & attachment	Statements reflecting personal attachment to locality, pro-social and pro-heritage feelings.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Despite other local problems, it is worth spending public money to cultural heritage. • Community/public interests are more important than individual interests. • I personally feel deeply connected to Kastoria.

(Continued)

Table 2. Continued

Factor name	Description	Attitude statements included
COM3: Conflict resolution & change ^a	Statements that voice optimistic feelings towards conflict resolution and trust.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• I would like to help Kastoria and contribute to its development.• Community participation in activities for the development of heritage tourism will lead to fertile results despite conflict.• Community participation in activities for the development of heritage tourism can have a positive impact and overcome issues arising from the political status quo.
COM4: Responsibility & ties	Statements referring to heritage custody and community cohesion.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Government agencies are not exclusively responsible for the protection and promotion of monuments.• I feel that Kastorians are closely tied to each other.

^aFactor scores were reversed for reporting results that express positive attitudes/beliefs.

Table 3. Principal component analysis results.

Component variables	KMO index ^a	BTS Sig. (p-value) ^b	Variance explained (%)
Heritage values	0.908	0.000	54.38
<i>HER1: Bequest value</i>			32.07
<i>HER 2: Collective identity/sense of place</i>			7.89
<i>HER 3: Proximity/Inclusion</i>			5.22
<i>HER 4: Resistance to change</i>			5.00
<i>HER 5: Instrumental value</i>			4.20
Perceptions of tourism	0.842	0.000	51.50
<i>TOUR1: Tourism as a source of benefits</i>			31.16
<i>TOUR2: Tourism as (not) a source of costs</i>			13.20
<i>TOUR3: Development opportunities</i>			7.14
Community factors	0.823	0.000	59.35
<i>COM1: Gains of participation</i>			31.31
<i>COM2: Altruism & attachment</i>			11.36
<i>COM3: Conflict resolution & change</i>			8.65
<i>COM4: Responsibility & ties</i>			8.03

^aKMO index ranges from 0 to 1, with anything above 0.50 to be considered suitable for factor analysis.^bBTS is significant when $p < .05$.**Table 4.** Attitudinal factors driving WTP.

	WTP	WTP	WTP	WTP
<i>Constant</i>	0.564***	0.566***	0.585***	0.610***
Heritage values (HER)				
<i>Bequest value</i>	0.147*			-0.155
<i>Collective identity/sense of place</i>	-0.040			-0.321***
<i>Proximity/Inclusion</i>	0.339***			0.221**
<i>Resistance to change</i>	0.257**			0.071
<i>Instrumental value</i>	0.153*			0.003
Perceptions of tourism (TOUR)				
<i>High positive effects</i>		0.139*		-0.196
<i>Low negative effects</i>		0.040		-0.022
<i>Development opps.</i>		0.479***		0.151
Community factors				
<i>Gains of participation</i>			0.317***	0.609***
<i>Altruism & attachment</i>			0.580***	0.678***
<i>Conflict resolution & change</i>			0.296**	0.254***
<i>Responsibility & ties</i>			0.236*	0.176
<i>R-squared</i>	0.068	0.075	0.154	0.211

Note: This table presents the results of Equation (1) ($WTP_j = a + \beta_i HER_j + \gamma_i TOUR_j + \delta_i COM_j + e_j$).

*, **, ***Significance at 10%, 5%, and 1%, respectively.

Table 5. Attitudinal factors driving WTP based on demographic subsamples.

	Tourism employment		Location		Duration of stay			Membership to community groups		Contribution to heritage	
	No	Yes	Near	Distant	0–5yrs	6–20yrs	>20yrs	No	Yes	No	Yes
Constant	0.531***	1.015***	0.877***	0.265	4.746***	0.375*	0.742***	0.367***	2.394***	-0.038	2.096***
Heritage values (HER)											
Bequest value	-0.279**	0.524	-0.240	0.123	-2.333*	0.203	-0.482***	-0.237*	0.264	-0.179	-0.123
Identity/sense of place	-0.328**	-0.379	-0.478***	-0.048	0.34	-0.125	-0.563***	-0.352***	-1.593***	-0.231	-0.199
Proximity/Inclusion	0.254**	0.258	0.355***	0.070	-1.869**	0.513**	0.305**	0.065	0.618	0.129	0.506**
Resistance to change	0.009	0.410	-0.073	0.229	-3.040*	0.449*	-0.149	0.225**	-1.521***	-0.012	-0.532*
Instrumental value	-0.053	0.046	0.014	0.073	0.27	0.151	-0.094	0.140	-0.600	0.123	-0.037
Tourism perceptions (TOUR)											
High positive effects	-0.212	-0.211	-0.303	-0.285	3.709**	-0.270	-0.213	-0.109	-0.93	-0.042	-0.772**
Low negative effects	0.086	-0.723**	0.021	-0.247	4.821***	0.417*	-0.220*	0.33	-0.609*	0.185	-0.516*
Development opps.	0.289**	-0.077	0.114	0.282	3.980**	0.300	0.021	0.108	0.586	0.262	-0.032
Community factors (COM)											
Gains of participation	0.704***	0.390	0.924***	0.465*	-3.538**	0.506	0.978***	0.474***	1.326***	0.331*	0.779**
Altruism & attachment	0.715***	0.793**	0.705***	0.556***	3.524**	0.245	0.831***	0.749***	0.924**	0.722***	0.750***
Conflict resolution & change	0.142	0.357	0.383***	0.180	2.372*	0.566**	0.319***	0.87	0.809***	0.087	0.458**
Responsibility & ties	0.210**	-0.021	0.264**	0.038	-0.070	-0.263	0.356***	0.133	0.532*	0.198	-0.067
R-squared	0.234	0.247	0.235	0.195	0.760	0.290	0.252	0.192	0.595	0.204	0.279

Note: This table presents the results of Equation (1) ($WTP_j = a + \beta_i HER_j + \gamma_i TOUR_j + \delta_i COM_j + e_j$).

^aSubsample clusters consist of respondents at Junior High or lower (Ur High), High School (High), and Diploma, Bachelors, Masters or higher (Higher) levels of education.

^bSubsample clusters consist of respondents who are Students, Part-time employees, Retired (PT), Full-time employees (FT), Unemployed and Housewives (UN).

^cSubsample clusters consist of respondents who either live in close proximity to (Near) or to remotely from (Distant) areas of high heritage tourism interest.

*, **, ***Significance at 10%, 5%, and 1%, respectively.

Table 5. Continued

Component factors	WTP									
	Gender		General education ^a			Relevant education		Employment status ^b		
	Males	Females	Jr High	High	Higher	No	Yes	PT	FT	UN
<i>Constant</i>	0.558***	0.780***	2.036	0.321**	0.992***	0.558***	2.166***	1.068***	0.697***	0.326
Heritage values (HER)										
<i>Bequest value</i>	-0.498***	0.212	2.194	-0.279	-0.304	-0.309**	2.208***	0.394	-0.555***	-0.261
<i>Identity/sense of place</i>	-0.663***	-0.089	-6.723*	-0.310	-0.732***	-0.330**	-0.196	-0.129	-0.912***	-0.073
<i>Proximity/Inclusion</i>	0.134	0.293*	0.983	0.215	0.337**	0.191*	0.366	0.205	0.100	0.519**
<i>Resistance to change</i>	-0.021	0.175	6.699*	-0.116	0.071	0.025	0.608	0.235	-0.083	-0.103
<i>Instrumental value</i>	0.107	-0.008	-2.864*	-0.257	0.103	-0.091	1.039***	0.451*	-0.092	-0.280
Tourism perceptions (TOUR)										
<i>High positive effects</i>	0.245	-0.759***	-16.774*	0.197	-0.321	-0.197	-0.380	-0.837**	0.153	-0.631*
<i>Low negative effects</i>	0.136	-0.242	-14.789**	0.015	0.413***	-0.058	-0.027	-0.274	0.210	-0.276
<i>Development opps.</i>	0.200	0.166	-0.941	0.275	0.11	0.135	0.738*	0.532**	-0.076	0.255
Community factors (COM)										
<i>Gains of participation</i>	0.435**	0.847***	17.939*	0.487**	0.898***	0.788***	-2.286***	0.869**	0.707***	1.036***
<i>Altruism & attachment</i>	0.891***	0.521***	13.249*	0.348**	1.094***	0.681***	0.588	0.031	1.210***	0.713***
<i>Conflict resolution & change</i>	0.155	0.498***	0.948	0.041	0.362**	0.303***	-1.613***	0.711***	0.332**	0.028
<i>Responsibility & ties</i>	0.113	0.296*	3.797*	0.375**	0.120	0.250**	-0.533	-0.270	0.307**	0.367*
<i>R-squared</i>	0.251	0.251	0.737	0.140	0.304	0.233	0.500	0.301	0.262	0.300

(continued)