EUROPEAN
HERITAGE LABEL

Student Name: Tommaso Fanin

Student Number: 499654

Supervisor: Frans Brouwer

Master in Cultural Economics and Entrepreneurship

Erasmus School of History, Culture and Communication

Erasmus University Rotterdam

Master Thesis

June 2020

Heritage makes me feel…European!

The cultural-social impact of European cultural heritage policy on its citizens

ABSTRACT

Over the years, the European Union has promoted a series of cultural policies to pursue several objectives, either social, societal, cultural, or economic. In particular, the implementation of cultural policies such as the European Heritage Label (EHL) has been done with the explicit intent to foster what can be defined as a Pan-European, supra-national identity, especially among young generations. This thesis wants to discover whether these types of policies have been truly effective in reaching the afore-mentioned goal. In particular, it aims to state whether the European Heritage Label has influenced citizens' European cultural identity. To do this, a mixed method has been chosen. Visitors from all 48 EHL sites have completed an online survey and a series of interviews have been carried out with national coordinators and referents of the EHL sites. The results demonstrate that the EHL initiative positively influences citizens' sense of belonging to Europe. Furthermore, important policy implications, such as the need for better coordination at the European level, have been outlined.

Keywords: Cultural Policy, European Studies, Cultural Diplomacy, Cultural Identity, Cultural Heritage

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1. Introduction

The definition of heritage is complex and dynamic. Its boundaries have sensibly expanded and weakened over time, including progressively more concepts, like the one of intangible heritage introduced by UNESCO with the *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* in 2003 (Rizzo & Mignosa, 2013). At the same time, the impact of cultural heritage has been recognised in multiple sectors, other than the cultural one. Heritage has been said to have multiple values: cultural, aesthetic, educational, environmental, social, historical, economic, etc. (Rypkema, 2008; Throsby, 2010). In particular, its socio-economic impact has been largely appreciated, drawing the attention of politicians. Over the last decades, heritage has become a useful tool to pursue political interests (Lähdesmäki, 2014). In this regard, the European Union (EU) has seen in cultural (as well as natural) heritage a useful "means to an end" for its policies of integration, image-making, education, governability, and economy (Vos, 2017, p.677; Lähdesmäki, 2014). Within the policy-framework, the monitoring and evaluation phase is of fundamental importance (Throsby, 2010). Nonetheless, no methodology to assess the cultural impact of these policies stands out over the others, and many are the tools that have been adopted (Maas and Liket, 2011). Hence, the thesis deals with a current, debatable topic.

The adoption of so-called 'soft-power' policies that make use of culture to attain specific goals is called cultural diplomacy (Mark, 2009). It has been regarded as a potentially powerful tool to establish the image, identity, and values of a country or, in the case of Europe, a union of them. Identity is indeed a complex concept and there is extensive academic literature from different fields of study that tries to grasp its meaning (Throsby, 2006; Klamer, 2016, Hagerty & Patusky, 1995; Hagerty, Williams, Coyne, & Early, 1996). For instance, the cultural identity of a country may be regarded as the shared system of values, symbols, and historical events that characterise it (Klamer, 2016). Currently, scholars research what kind of identity the European Union is trying to shape on the basis of its political rhetoric. In this sense, notable is the European controversial motto "united in diversity", alluding to the inner unifying power of Europeans differences and peculiarities (European Union website).

Despite the strategy remains unclear, the fact that the EU is interested in affirming a European identity, especially among its citizens, is explicitly stated in its policies (European Commission, n.d., 2018). It aims to establish Pan-European, trans-nationalist values among European citizens itself. The EU looks forward to strengthening the bonds among the endemically different countries of the union. To do so, and to compensate for the potential vagueness of the abstract European values, the EU cultural diplomacy has focused -among other things- on heritage. As a matter of fact, the EU has launched several initiatives over the past decade, namely: the

European Heritage Days, the European Union Prize for Cultural Heritage/Europa Nostra Award, the European Year of Cultural Heritage 2018, and the European Heritage Label (EHL). The latter project, started in 2013, consists in the selection of specific heritage sites within the European countries that have a historical-symbolic relevance for the European Union. These sites are listed and nominated as ‘European Heritage’. Currently, they amount to 48. As stated in the EHL guidelines for candidate sites (2019, p. 3): “The objectives of the European Heritage Label (EHL) are to strengthen European citizens’ sense of belonging to the European Union, in particular that of young people, based on shared values and elements of European history and cultural heritage, as well as an appreciation of national and regional diversity”. Through the analysis of citizens’ ‘sense of belonging’ to Europe, this thesis aims to see:

To what extent the European cultural project ‘European Heritage Label’ influences citizens’ sense of belonging to Europe?

In other words, the aim of this research is to assess the effectiveness of this specific European cultural heritage policy, i.e. the ability to reach their objectives. Specifically concerning the attainment of one of the goals the European Union is interested the most: to create a European identity and a sense of belonging in its citizens. This thesis hypothesises that this specific European cultural policy has indeed an influence on Europeans, contributing to shape their European cultural identity.

This research operates in the cultural policy framework. More specifically, it refers to the abundant academic literature on heritage, cultural identity, and European studies, in order to assess the impact European cultural policies on heritage have on cultural identity. Scholarly research on this specific subject is modest (Vos, 2017; Fage-Butler, 2018). The thesis may not only add to these novel studies, but it can provide an academically relevant estimation of EU policies’ effectiveness. So far, the EU itself has been the principal investigator of its policies, as it is important for policymakers to know whether current soft policies are effective, whether there is room for improvement and how. However, academic research may portray a different picture. A notable example in this sense is the research project ‘EUROHERIT - Legitimation of European cultural heritage and the dynamics of identity politics in the EU’ of the University of Jyväskylä, that carries one research specifically on the EHL policy (Čeginskas, 2019). In line with these studies, this research has verified the cultural and social impact heritage is said to have and contribute to the most recent academic literature on the topic.

The author has formulated the research question with the intent to discover to what extent cultural policies, and especially the ones of international parties (e.g. Europe, UNESCO), are effective. Furthermore, cultural heritage, its preservation, promotion, and diversity are among the author's study interests, as he believes heritage influences cultural identity. Finally, the author is concerned about the future of the European Union, in the light of an apparent compresence of both unifying and dispersing forces within it.

Besides the author's personal preferences, the thesis is relevant both in the academic and non-academic fields. Academically, it will stand as an example of empirical research in the study of cultural policies and heritage, from a cultural economic point of view. Non-academically, it will be useful for all the organisations involved in European policies and the EHL more specifically. As a matter of fact, the organisations managing the EHL sites and the European Commission may take this research into consideration. In general, this thesis will provide suggestions for further research on a topic which is difficult to study. Indeed, the author recognises the difficulty in measuring the effectiveness of a European cultural policy, both from a theoretical and a practical perspective. On the one hand, it is difficult to assess causality between European soft policies and the individual's sense of belonging to Europe. It may lack of both reliability and validity. Furthermore, time and means constraints may pose serious problems to the validity and reliability of the thesis. These complications have been overcome with the formulation of a research method that counts on high reliability characteristics. Indeed, the thesis has investigated the opinion of the visitors of EHL sites through surveys. The data collected from surveys have been analysed with the use of measures of central tendencies, and statistical calculations like paired t-test, Wilcoxon signed rank test, and ordinal logistic regression. Apart from general socio-economic variables (e.g. age, education, income, and gender), the specific variables considered are the degree of involvement in European projects, the sense of belonging, and the European identity. Eventually, the results have been interpreted by looking for specific patterns, trying to assess the presence of a correlation between visiting a EHL site and a stronger feeling of "Europeanness" (Fage-Butler, 2018, p. 2). To better understand the results provided by the questionnaire, which remains the primary research method of this thesis, a series of interviews have been carried out among primary stakeholders of the European Heritage Label. The opinion of professionals involved in the initiative are not only compared to the results of the questionnaire but are used to formulate grounded conclusions and practically useful suggestions addressing further academic research and European Heritage Label policy makers.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1. Cultural heritage

To understand what cultural heritage is and why there are several similar, but at the same time slightly different, definitions it is important to consider that, as Benhamou (2010, p. 229) remembers, cultural heritage is a "social construction". It is indeed its social dimension, hence society, to shape its boundaries (Amestoy, 2013). Consequently, as society keeps changing, so the concept of cultural heritage does. In particular, a progressive increase in the scope of what is meant by heritage, and more specifically by cultural heritage, has been noticed (Rizzo & Mignosa, 2013). A clear example of this trend is the UNESCO World Heritage List (WHL), a list to regulate the preservation and promotion of heritage considered of global value. Frey & Steiner (2013) notice how the number of heritage sites enlisted in the WHL has sensibly grown over time. In less than 50 years (the WHL has been introduced in 1972 with the *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*) it has collected 1121 sites over the whole globe, and it is expected to grow at an even faster pace. The reasons for this increase may be different, for its socio-economic relevance is widely recognised and appreciated by different stakeholders (Rizzo & Mignosa, 2013).

Nevertheless, the complexion of values entangled with cultural heritage has provided a plethora of definitions. Throsby (1997, p. 15) highlights the "social, historical, or cultural dimension" heritage has for a specific community. Still, other values can be mentioned: symbolic, national identity oriented, bequest, and economic (Benhamou, 2013). The different values linked to heritage have been analysed more in-depth in paragraph 2.1.3. For the moment, it must be remarked that, due to this complexion of values, it is relative to the social group who is defining heritage what embodies any of these values. In other words, different societies give different definitions of heritage. Taking once more the example of UNESCO, its *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (2003) recognised the importance to safeguard what is defined as intangible heritage (Cominelli & Greffe, 2013). While UNESCO officially recognised its importance only in recent times, Klamer, Mignosa, & Petrova (2013) notice how in other countries, like Japan, it has always been taken in high regard, especially by public policies. As this research focuses on the European dimension, it is advisable to mention what relevant public authorities regard as heritage. UNESCO (website) defines heritage as "the legacy of physical artefacts and intangible attributes of a group or society that are inherited from past generations, maintained in the present and bestowed for the benefit of future generations". Similarly, the European Commission (website, a) states that European cultural heritage is a "rich and diverse mosaic of cultural and creative expressions, our inheritance from previous generations of Europeans and our legacy for those to come". It must be noticed how European policies explicitly follows UNESCO guidelines in heritage definition and operationalisation. Indeed, UNESCO officially distinguishes (Pasikowska-Schnass, 2018, p. 2): "

- tangible heritage, composed of:
  - movable heritage such as sculptures, paintings, coins and manuscripts;
  - immovable monuments, archaeological sites and others;
  - underwater cultural heritage: shipwrecks, underwater ruins and cities;
- intangible heritage such as oral traditions, performing arts, crafts and rituals;
- natural heritage: cultural landscapes, geological, biological and physical formations;
- cultural heritage endangered by destruction and looting in armed conflicts"

Regarding cultural heritage in specific, the European Commission (website, a) says "it includes natural, built and archaeological sites, museums; monuments, artworks; historic cities; literary, musical, and audio-visual works, and the knowledge, practices and traditions of European citizens".

These definitions are general and vague on purpose. In addition to them, at every level, from local to regional, to national and international, specific policies define what falls under the definition of heritage (Rizzo & Mignosa, 2013). However, this heterogeneity among local public policies and vagueness in the international guidelines, that can be arguably considered necessary for an efficient organisation of cultural heritage, causes difficulties when studying it. Benhamou (2013) claims how missing data and differences among regions make comparative studies impossible. In this way, the author motivates the scarcity of academic research on cultural heritage. This position is debatable. Although it is true that comparative analysis is difficult to carry out and the overall validity of academic (or non-academic) researches in cultural heritage may be undermined, the importance heritage covers in our society stimulates research. Especially the growing interest in the socio-economic impact heritage may have, also thanks to tourism, draws the attention of several research fields (Klamer et al., 2013). Furthermore, academic interest in cultural heritage origins from public policy studies, of which this research is part. Heritage is entitled of public-good characteristics, which make it a source for public intervention (Benhamou, 2010). Public-good characteristics and other qualities have been extensively covered in the next paragraph (2.1.1.). What should be clear is that academic studies on cultural heritage, despite inherent complications, are thriving. In this regard, it is worth to mention the work of Rizzo & Mignosa (2013), Throsby (2010), Rizzo & Throsby (2006). These books may be considered academic milestones in the study of cultural heritage and policies from the point of view of cultural economists.

Cultural Heritage is one of the main concepts the thesis deals with. Indeed, research on the effects of European cultural heritage policies is inconceivable without introducing the broader context and academic literature this research aims to contribute to. This paragraph is an introduction to cultural heritage. It has shown how the definition of cultural heritage has changed over the years, through a progressively broader interpretation of it. The importance of society's perception has been highlighted. Within its wide-ranging domain, it is possible to distinguish between tangible and intangible heritage. Tangible heritage consists in everything material, concrete, and it can be further distinguished between movable and immovable heritage. Intangible heritage, instead, is the complexion of habits, rituals, customs, and traditions of a specific group of people. In the next paragraph (2.1.1.), cultural heritage has been analysed in quality of cultural good. After a brief section on the online dimension of cultural heritage (2.1.2.), its several values and far-reaching impact is assessed (2.1.3.). Finally, specific attention is given to cultural heritage in policy studies (2.1.4.).

2.1.1. Cultural heritage as cultural good: characteristics and consequences

A unique definition of cultural heritage is missing. Likewise, there is no specific definition of cultural good. In light of this, it might be useful to adopt the concept of cultural capital, introduced in the economic field by Throsby (1999) (and before by Bourdieu, in the sociological one). He defines it as the stock of cultural value present in a certain good. All goods presenting cultural value can be considered cultural goods. It has been mentioned how scholars individuate in heritage, among others, a cultural value. Therefore, cultural heritage allegedly falls under the domain of cultural goods. Being so, heritage presents characteristics common to many other cultural goods, like "uniqueness and their perception as merit goods", quality uncertainty, and demand revelation problems (Benhamou, 2010, p. 229; White, 2012). These characteristics have several implications, common to the majority of cultural goods. This paragraph deals with heritage characteristics and their consequences. In particular, public good qualities, externalities, information asymmetries, quality uncertainty, and demand revelation problems are covered.

Cultural heritage presents public good characteristics. In fact, it is in principle non-rival, i.e. the consumption of a visitor does not preclude the one of another, and non-excludable, i.e. there is no barrier preventing free-riders to consume it (Benhamou, 2013). Here, some clarifications are necessary. First, the concept of consumption hardly fits with heritage. On the one hand, a heritage site is not sensibly destroyed or consumed by visitors, or at least it should not be. Regarding intangible cultural heritage, deterioration by consumption seems even less likely to happen. Indeed, the consumption of intangible heritage goods do not preclude future consumption. On the other hand, the continuous flow of visitors (consumers), together with external factors, such as atmospheric agents, makes it vulnerable. Heritage is not unlimited in its use -or misuse. Consequently, some sort of rivalry is present, and consumers of today may prevent consumers of tomorrow to enjoy it. Furthermore, heritage sites have often spatial limitations, so that overcrowding can be considered a form of rivalry too. About excludability, it is not an intrinsic property of cultural heritage, but may be present. Entry barriers like tickets or other types of restrictions are often applied to heritage sites. Nevertheless, excludability cannot always be applied (Benhamou, 2013). The sight of a beautiful façade or a public monument cannot be limited from free-riding. Therefore, it is possible to consider cultural heritage a quasi-public good, being aware of the fact that pure public goods are generally rare. Heritage management must deal with these premises. In fact, public-good characteristics affect heritage preservation and provision and are a source of justification for public intervention (Benhamou, 2013).

A direct consequence of these characteristics is that heritage presents externalities (Benhamou, 2013). Externalities are economic spillovers that are not captured by market transactions. Indeed, heritage benefits not only those who actively pay to consume it. Those who do not wish to benefit from cultural heritage are anyway passively consuming and benefiting from it (Benhamou, 2013). Furthermore, the different non-monetary values related to heritage (cf. paragraph 2.1.3.) are hardly captured by the market either. Benhamou (2013) claims how these externalities can be potentially internalised, for instance through taxation. Nonetheless, it is hard to even estimate in monetary terms how much these externalities equals to. This is one of the strongest points in favour of public intervention on cultural heritage. The debate around cultural heritage and the legitimacy of public intervention is examined more in depth in paragraph 2.1.4. It is important, however, to see how debates on cultural policies originate specifically from the characteristics of heritage as a cultural good.

Another characteristic on which academics have oriented their studies is the information asymmetry related to heritage conservation and promotion (Rizzo & Mignosa, 2013). Information asymmetries arise when one of the stakeholders has less information compared to others or, as Noonan (2013, p. 349) defines it, when there is “uncertainty on one side of the market transaction”. This has strong consequences on what is known as the principal-agent problem, where indeed the principal has less information than the agent. Agents, in the case of cultural heritage, are those who take decisions and evaluate because of their superior knowledge, i.e. experts like art historians or archaeologists (Noonan, 2013). Experts are part of a complex system of certifiers that is fundamental in almost all markets for cultural goods. This is because the quality of cultural goods is uncertain. In other words, there is no clear way to assess objectively the quality (however the concept of quality is defined) of the good and, most importantly, the conditions to state whether something can be considered heritage or not. This is why every year progressively more 'goods' are recognised as heritage. The quality of these goods is derived indirectly in different, debatable ways. For instance, some cultural economists, and definitely many heritage experts, do not see in price a reliable indicator of quality. Quality certifiers are not solely expert opinions. UNESCO through the WHL, or Europe through the EHL, or single countries with its heritage policy, can be considered certifiers (as a matter of fact, these lists are often regulated by experts). Additionally, Holler & Mazza (2013) argue how information asymmetries and the whole resulting system of validation may suffer from rent-seeking activities and lobbying. It is important to be aware of the fact that governments have the opportunity to follow their own advantage through cultural heritage policies. Frey & Steiner (2013, p. 176) recognise how "the process of getting on the [World Heritage] List is subject to rent-seeking". Similarly, the European Union and other parties involved may conduct policies on cultural heritage for other, personal profits. Nonetheless, lobbying may not necessarily undermine economic efficiencies, and cultural heritage policies may still fully accomplish their purpose. In this sense, policy monitoring, evaluation and implementation must be considered fundamental.

Finally, demand revelation problems characterise most cultural goods' markets (White, 2012). On the one hand, it may be easier for a specific heritage site to know its demand than for new products, as the record of visitors can be considered a reliable indicator. On the other hand, methods to investigate demand like Contingent Valuation Methods (CVM), estimating the Willingness To Pay (WTP), are far from perfect (Noonan, 2003; Snowball, 2013). There is no flawless way to assess demand for cultural heritage. Demand revelation problems interest the public sector, as paragraph 2.1.4. will show (White, 2012).

This paragraph has highlighted the main qualities of cultural heritage. This is a necessary step to fix basic theoretical concepts that justify research on cultural heritage and cultural policy at large, as well as this specific thesis.

2.1.2. Heritage online and online visitors

Over the years, cultural heritage, and cultural products at large, have progressively adopted the use of new technologies in the phases of production, distribution, consumption, and conservation, sensibly changing them (Bakhshy & Throsby, 2012; Potts, 2014; Guccio, Martorana, Mazza, & Rizzo, 2016). According to the adoption of new technologies and their profound impact on the cultural sector, cultural policies have changed too (Bakhshy & Throsby, 2012).

Simultaneously, the academic literature on the matter has exponentially increased over the last two decades. The concept of “virtual museum” has been introduced even before the 21st century, and different handbooks on cultural economics are now partially or entirely dedicated to the topic (Schweibenz, 1998, p. 186, Henten & Tadayoni, 2011; Farchy, 2011; Paolini, Silvers, & Proctor, 2013; Navarrete, 2013; Borowiecki, Forbes, & Fresa, 2016). Despite the copious scientific research, the fast-changing development of new technologies tirelessly challenges previous assumptions.

This paragraph deals with the digitization of cultural heritage. After an overview of the principal changes that digitization brought in the heritage sphere, special attention has been given to the role and characteristics of online visitors. The aim is to reflect on whether online visits are either complements or substitutes of physical, on-site visits. This leads to a better understanding of the potential influence online visits may have compared to physical ones, and its consequences on the perceived sense of belonging heritage conveys. For this research, it is arguably necessary to define the consequences digitization (and especially the online dimension) has in both the cultural and the policy context, as the empirical research includes online visitors, i.e. people who have visited the EHL sites online. Therefore, it has been helpful to manage their data in comparison to the one of on-site visitors.

Next to an increasing demand for online content, more and more cultural suppliers are now innovating their offer through the adoption of online technologies (Bakhshy & Throsby 2012; Wang, Stash, Sambeek, Schuurmans, Aroyo, Schreiber & Gorgels, 2009). Because the online economy is expanding so rapidly, this should not be considered a single market. Indeed, different forms, or “qualities”, of cultural products originated from cultural digitization, resulting in “new demand curves” (Potts, 2014, p. 224). According to Guccio et al. (2016, p. 56), for heritage “digitisation means making heritage objects and services digital”. For the services, Bakhshy & Throsby (2012) recognise how common have been the use of web pages by museums to provide practical information and manage ticketing. “As for the objects, such a process entails some form of representation (or visualization) as well as description (or contextualization); thus, digitisation of heritage refers to the ‘object’ as well as to its documentation” (Guccio et al., 2016, p. 56). In this sense, the categorization reported by Navarrete (2013, p. 252) seems more comprehensive, distinguishing between “digitised goods”, “metadata” and “born-digital goods”. While the first two types of goods coincide with Guccio et al. (2016)’s ‘representation’ and ‘description’, the third is about those goods that are digital in nature. Nonetheless, in the case of the EHL sites and their online dimension, the first two categories are enough. Furthermore, the recent (April 2020) creation of a dedicated Facebook page for the European Heritage Label corroborates these theories and their validity to the EHL case (https://www.facebook.com/europeanheritagelabel/).

According to Guccio et al. (2016), the reason why supply and demand of heritage are profoundly changed by the online dimension is that rivalry and excludability of heritage changed. Indeed, online heritage has even more public goods characteristics than tangible, 'physical' heritage. It must be recognised as well that digitization diminishes, or even zeroes, production, distribution and consumption costs (Potts, 2014; Guccio et al., 2016; Marlow, Clough, & Dance, 2007). Focusing more on the consumption phase, which is the one theoretically more linked with visitors, digitization leads to some fundamental changes. About the audience reach, it broadens it, i.e. "capturing a larger share of the population already known to be audiences" (Bakhshy & Throsby, 2012, p. 209; Minghetti, Morelli, & Micelli, 2001; Guccio et al., 2016). Besides, it diversifies it, i.e. "attracting new groups of consumers that do not currently attend" (Bakhshy & Throsby, 2012, p. 209; Potts, 2014). Lastly, it 'deepens' it, i.e. "increasing and/or intensifying the engagement of audiences" (Bakhshy & Throsby, 2012, p. 209; Marty, 2007). For instance, in the Web 2.0 visitors interact more, actively contributing to the production phase of the good, which underlines how digitization also confuses the bonds between production and consumption phase (Wang, Stash, Sambeek, Schuurmans, Aroyo, Schreiber & Gorgels 2009; Potts, 2014).

As the audience reach of a heritage sites grows online, it seems important, then, to determine whether online visits should be considered complements or substitutes of on-site visits. Guccio et al. (2016, p. 58) recognise an "overlapping supply of two rather different cultural good[s] or service[s]". Apparently, online and on-site visits are not interchangeable. Marty (2007, p. 377) affirms that there is often a "complementary relationship between museums and museum websites", as on-site visitors are likely to complete their visit of the site online, and vice versa. Furthermore, this relationship is positive and should be strengthened by the cultural institution as it has been demonstrated how a good online platform leads to an increase in physical visits (Marty, 2007). This position is held also by Wang et al. (2009), who mention it as the 'virtuous circle'. The two goods are not substitutes but complements. Marty (2007) explicits also that an online visit to a museum cannot replace a real one. Hence, it seems that between the two experiences, the real visit should strike more visitors.

However, this opinion is not widely accepted and should be contextualised. Minghetti et al. (2001) recognises how born-digital heritage like virtual exhibitions does not have a correspondent physical site. Besides, Guccio et al. (2016) recognises that the relevance of the online visit majorly depends on the nature of the good which is digitized. In fact, online visits to archives and other documentation which is intrinsically less visual should be considered more similar to the physical one. In the specific case of the EHL sites, almost all awarded sites have a dedicated webpage. Even though there is no born-digital heritage good amongst them, the list presents archives, documents, museums, and archaeological sites, which means that the impact of online visits differs per site. In addition to this, the quality of the webpages is also various and further widens the influence online visits may have.

Next to these considerations, it is also important to take into account who are the online visitors. Charitonos, Blake, Scanlon & Jones (2012) demonstrated how an interactive online tool and its social engagement strengthen communication efficacy and positive collective experience in new generations. In other words, online platforms may be more efficient for younger generations.

To conclude, it is possible to affirm that the presence of an online dimension for cultural institutions should be considered fundamental. In the online sphere, competitive substitutes of cultural visits are increasing (Minghetti et al., 2001; Peacock and Brownbill, 2007). According to Wang et al. (2009), the digital convergence is likely to increase in the future. Therefore, "a poorly planned and badly designed museum website can undermine the museum's ability to connect with its visitors, before and after museum visits" (Marty, 2007, p. 356). On the contrary, a richer online dimension can generate both economic and cultural value for the heritage (Bakhshy & Throsby, 2012). Instead, what remains uncertain is the degree of influence online visits may have compared to on-site visits. Previous academic literature suggests that online visits have more influence if: the heritage in question has not a relevant visual dimension, the quality of the webpage is good, and the visitor is young. These assumptions have been compared to the results of the empirical research (cf. 4.2.4).

2.1.3. The different values of cultural heritage

Heritage -if preserved- may survive through epochs. It is the legacy inherited from history. Therefore, the past confers value to it. In addition, it is possible to recognise a heritage value related to the present and a value for future generations. The fact that heritage brings with it a multiplicity of values has been mentioned several times. This paragraph presents them, according to Throsby's (2010) classification. It is a clear, and arguably one of the most complete lists of values linked to heritage. Besides, Throsby's (2010) classification is taken as a model by most scholars (Rizzo & Mignosa, 2013). The reason why not only academics, but also the public and the private sector are interested in cultural heritage relies on the values heritage is said to have, and its far-reaching impact. Rizzo & Mignosa (2013) recognise how heritage perception has gradually shifted from a cultural good with intrinsic relevance, towards a tool serving the most disparate aims. Outlining them has enriched the research of an important background, crucial to understand on which basis

Europe chooses to adopt cultural policies to pursue specific objectives. In other words, it is important to justify the adoption of policies, as well as lobbying and rent-seeking practices, that interest the next paragraph (2.1.4.).

Throsby (2010) first differentiates between two macro-categories: economic values and cultural values. This differentiation is based on the recognition that heritage is a cultural capital, i.e. an asset that has -also- a cultural value. The economic value concerns heritage “as asset” and can be potentially converted into monetary terms (Throsby 2010, p. 7). The cultural value, instead, “is multi-dimensional, unstable, contested, lacks a common unit of account, and may contain elements that cannot be easily expressed according to any quantitative or qualitative scale” (Throsby, 2003, p. 279-280). The sense of belonging, the objective the European Heritage Label aims to strengthen, arguably falls in the latter category.

Economic value, then, is divided into three categories: use-value, non-use value, and beneficial externalities. Use-values represent the worth of directly consuming heritage. For instance, visiting a heritage site as well as working inside it are all use-values. These values are the easiest to capture because they are represented in market transactions. On the contrary, non-use-values are potential in nature and consist in the profit individuals gain as free-riders of the aforementioned heritage public-goods characteristics. These are divided by Throsby in three additional categories: existence value, option value, and bequest value. The existence value of a heritage site merely consists in the fact that it exists. The option value is the worth of having the possibility to, one day, consume the heritage site. While the bequest value is the value heritage has for future generations. This last value is especially highlighted in public policies whose aim is to preserve heritage assets. Lastly, beneficial externalities have been already mentioned among the characteristics of cultural heritage in paragraph 2.1.1. The beautiful façade of a historic building is enjoyed for free by everyone thanks to its non-excludability and non-rivalry. These “positive spillovers” are not captured by market transactions (Throsby, 2010, p. 111). Although not mentioned by Throsby, positive spillovers may entail other markets too. Cultural festivals and heritage sites usually are an economic spring for collateral markets, such as the one of hospitality. The principal methods adopted to measure the economic value of heritage are contingent valuation methods (CVMs), hedonic price models and cost-benefit analysis (CBA).

Regarding cultural value, Throsby identifies several aspects of it: aesthetic value, spiritual value, social value, historical value, symbolic value, authenticity value, and locational value. Aesthetic value is related to the beauty shown by the heritage. Spiritual value is related to sacralities and the importance a good may have for people with a creed. Social value relates to the importance the heritage has for a specific society or community. Historical values are given by the time a specific heritage good has existed. Although not the most important aspect of cultural value at large, it is surely the easiest to assess. The symbolic value is the capacity of a good to convey a specific message or idea. Throsby makes the example of the flag-raising monument in Arlington, Virginia, "that conveys a message about American military heroism" (Throsby, 2010, p. 113). Authenticity value is linked to the uniqueness and originality of the good. Finally, locational value is the worth of the heritage good by being where it is. Some reflections can be done around this classification. It must be noticed that aesthetic, spiritual, social and symbolic strongly depends on social factors. It is indeed society to define criteria of beauty and establish which objects convey which meanings. Furthermore, some value definitions seem to overlap. Indeed, sense of belonging can be considered both a social value, as it bonds together a community (in this case, Europeans), and symbolic value, as EHL sites should directly convey an idea of Europe. As cultural value is in general difficult to assess, it has usually been the task of experts to assess it. However, the impact of a policy that aims to convey social and symbolic values cannot rely merely on the opinion of experts for its measurement, but on the entirety of its stakeholders including the interested population.

It is interesting to present a further reflection on the concept of culture, and cultural value of cultural goods. Klamer (2003, p. 466) identifies in culture an "anthropological meaning" similar to the symbolic and social value of Throsby (2010), that characterises one community. He also recognises that many cultural policies assume that supporting culture (in the sense of cultural goods) strengthens the sense of belonging to the specific society whose culture refers to and makes the example of European policies to create a sense of Europeanness. However, he admits that "we actually do not know how the connection works" (Klamer, 2003, p. 466). It can be added that we do not even know if there is a connection. A possible solution may be found reflecting on property issues. Klamer (2016) argues with the idea of buying cultural goods. Indeed, he claims that when a cultural good is purchased, what is bought is not the actual good, but the access to it, and sometimes even the right of excludability. Thinking about tangible, immovable heritage, this idea can be understood better than with, for instance, a painting (tangible, moveable heritage). The key is that cultural values are not and cannot be captured by the economic transaction of buying heritage. At the same time, they are evident when some rights are denied to the proprietary, for example, the right to destroy it. Because, again, the proprietary only holds property rights on the economic values of the heritage, but not on the cultural ones.

2.1.4. Cultural heritage and cultural policy

The growing interest cultural policy has gathered in the last decades is reflected in the ever-expanding academic literature on the topic. Cultural policies have been progressively recognised as effective tools not just to blindly subsidy culture, but to effectively allocate resources within this sector in the best way, to meet specific goals. Even if the intervention of the public sector in the cultural one is source of debates between academics, heritage provision depends greatly on public finances in many countries (White, 2012; Blaug, 2001). This paragraph is important to contextualise the whole research, which is indeed about cultural policies on heritage. First, the debate around the legitimacy of public intervention is summarised. The concepts of market and government failure are presented, together with the public choice theory, the welfare theory, and related concepts. Second, the paragraph provides a review of the possible ways in which the public sector intervenes in the cultural one. Eventually, some examples of previous empirical research on cultural heritage policy are provided.

The principal reason why heritage is usually -especially in Europe- under public regulation relies on the concept of market failure, i.e. the inability of the sole market to allocate resources efficiently (Towse, 2010). The characteristics of cultural goods mentioned in paragraph 2.1.1. can be considered sources of market failure. In particular, the presence of public-good qualities, externalities, information asymmetries, and cultural values. Nevertheless, the main reason that stands for public intervention is the fact that cultural heritage, like any other cultural good, can be considered a merit good (Benhamou, 2010, 2013; Rizzo & Mignosa, 2013). The concept of merit good has been first introduced by Musgrave (1959, p. 13, from Ver Eecke, 2002, p. 702) with the name 'merit wants' and defined as goods that are "considered so meritorious that their satisfaction is provided for through the public budget, over and above what is provided for through the market and paid for by private buyers". Ver Eecke (2002) reminds the difference between this concept and the one of public good, as merit goods imply a public provision that goes against individual preferences. In this sense, the debate is between the legitimacy of merit goods, which has been contested by economists like Alan Peacock, and consumer sovereignty, i.e. where "consumers best understand their own needs and wants and demand goods accordingly" (Towse, 2010, p. 9). Merit goods are an exception. The question is, then, whether it is legit to speak about a cultural exception or not. Those in favour claim that cultural goods are considered less competitive than other goods in the market because of their specific characteristics (and especially for the Baumol's cost disease). Therefore, free-market regulation would fail to guarantee their existence (and the existence of cultural diversity), access, and quality (Throsby, 2010). Who is against the cultural exception argument remark the inefficiencies and market distortions caused, and the consequent risk to worsen the situation, according to the second-best theory (Lipsey, 1956). Most importantly, it has been said how information asymmetries -present in cultural goods- may lead to lobby and rent-seeking practices by governments. These are sources of "government failure", which is the government's inability to allocate efficiently resources (Towse, 2010, p. 270).

Despite the debate theoretically does not explicitly identify a winner, Blaug (2001, p. 132) observes how most academics are in favour of public intervention, "with only Grampp (1989), Sawers (1993), and Cowen (1998) as the right standing out against the rest". The whole debate refers to the theories of public goods by Samuelson, and the public choice theory of Buchanan and Tullock. Where in the first one the role of governments is to intervene to provide goods that have public goods characteristics, in the latter it is recognised that government intervention generates winners and losers (White, 2012). Art public support is controversial and debatable (Benhamou, 2013). However, Blaug (2001) reasonably suggests not to focus on normative economics' debates such as whether or not to allow public intervention, but on the extent the public should intervene.

The Economics of Cultural policies (Throsby, 2010) can be considered an important reference point to understand the general concepts of cultural policies. Public policies are the instrument of public intervention. They are the aims to ensure the existence, the access, and the quality of culture, and especially of cultural heritage. The possible options for public intervention on cultural goods are now explained. There are three main ways in which governments and public institutions can step in: direct expenditure, indirect expenditure, and regulation (Throsby, 2010). Direct expenditure is allegedly the prevalent one and consists in the provision of funds in the form of subsidies or grants, goods and services, and consumer assistance (e.g. sensibilization, vouchers). Indirect expenditure, instead, is usually associated with tax reductions and exemptions, to stimulate investments from the demand or reduce fiscal burdens for the supply. Finally, regulation is a non-monetary intervention that can promote or limit several aspects of the market for cultural goods (Throsby, 2010). For cultural heritage, the most typical form of regulation is enlisting, i.e. the act of registering a heritage good on a list. This is part of the so-called hard regulations, that comprehend lists as well as any other type of obligation, e.g. opening the heritage site for a minimum number of days per year. Being on a list can be desirable because it increases the symbolic value of the heritage site. However, enlisting also obliges who owns the site to follow specific rules and this can be seen as a market inefficiency to whom subsidies have to compensate (Benhamou, 2010). Indeed, enlisting has been considered as an incentive to apply for subsidies (Throsby, 2001; Benhamou 2010). Next to hard- there are soft-regulations, basically consisting of recommendations, conventions and alike. The UNESCO conventions of 1972 and 2003 are perfect examples of soft-regulation. Indeed, these are typical of international organisations, that have to use soft-power strategies to influence governments decisions. Nevertheless, governments have implemented hard policies with soft ones for some time. These type of soft policies aims to "getting others to want what you want”, conducting a diplomatic function (Ang, Isar, & Mar, 2015, p. 367). Cultural diplomacy is, then, the term adopted when a public entity like the European Union tries to align others’ will to its own through the adoption of cultural policies based on soft-regulation. Cultural diplomacy studies have been researched only recently, but scholars advocate for a great -sometimes potential- impact cultural policies may have (Mark, 2009). In light of this, it is now possible to contextualise the EHL policy. Despite the totality of all the EHL sites forms a list, the enlisting is on a voluntary basis. It is not imposed on the heritage site. It is an award conferred to applicant heritage sites that satisfy the requirement. Hence, the EHL policy is a form of soft regulation.

Empirical research on cultural policy on heritage has expanded in several minor branches of interest. Many scholars have focused on the effects of UNESCO WHL designation (Jimura, 2011; Yuksel, Bramwell, & Yuksel, 1999; Kaltenborn, Thomassen, Wold, Linnell, & Skar, 2013; Wuepper & Patry, 2017), on possible government failures and funds allocation (Bertacchini & Saccone, 2012; Guccio & Mazza, 2014; Kuhfuss, Hanley, & White, 2016), or specifically on policy evaluation and implementation, especially in European Studies (Gomes & Librero-Cano, 2018; Klamer, Petrova, & Mignosa, 2006; van der Ploeg, 2006, Vos, 2007). These previous studies are a precious point of reference for this thesis, especially for what concerns its methodology. For instance, the adoption of CVM techniques through surveys is common to several of these papers.

2.2. The EHL objective: cultural identity and sense of belonging

Among the different purposes that heritage serves, there is the formation of a cultural identity (Klamer, 2010). Indeed, it has been demonstrated how heritage has a social and symbolic value (Throsby, 2010). In this paragraph, a definition of cultural identity and sense of belonging is presented. For this research, the concept of cultural identity is important as the EU aims to foster social and cultural integration within the continent, promoting shared history, heritage, and values. The concept of cultural identity must be clearly defined and operationalised to better structure the whole research and, more specifically, the survey. The academic literature on the topic may help to individuate the indicators to look for when speaking about cultural identity. Alongside cultural studies, academic literature in the field of psychology and health studies has extensively investigated the concept of sense of belonging and can be considered helpful to further operationalise the concept. The studies of Hagerty, Lynch-Sauer, Patusky, Bouwsema, & Collier (1992) Hagerty & Patusky (1995), and Hagerty et al. (1996) have been a point of reference in recent academic studies around students’ sense of belonging (Hoffman, Richmond, Morrow, & Salomone, 2002; Stebleton, Soria, & Huesman, 2014; Jury, Aelenei, Chen, Darnon, & Elliot, 2019). Their theories have been adopted in this thesis too. After a proper definition of the concept of cultural identity, the paragraph continues on the specific idea of identity that the European Union is trying to promote among its citizens and its problematics.

Cultural identity can be defined as “the stories, history, expectations, artefacts, symbols, identities and values that a group of people shares”, in which one recognises himself (Klamer, 2016, p.8). In other words, it can be intended as the sense of belonging to a specific culture. Assman & Czaplicka (1995, p. 125) also notice the relevance culture has in the “specific character of a person”. The authors compare cultural identity with cultural memory, defining it as “a collective concept for all knowledge that directs behaviour and experience in the interactive framework of a society and one that obtains through generations in repeated societal practice and initiation” (Assman & Czaplicka, 1995, p. 126). Collective identity is built on the memory shared by the community. Both Klamer (2016) and Assman & Czaplicka (1995, p. 130) agree that cultural identity is evident in the division between “those who belong and those who do not”, i.e. between ‘us’ and ‘the other’. Moreover, to hand down this memory, it must be objectified and turned into history. Then, history is preserved by the “culturally institutionalized heritage” (Assman, 1995, p. 130). This justifies the premises of European cultural policies intending to convey identity through a systematic institutionalisation of heritage sites that embodies European history.

Nonetheless, this does not seem sufficient to generate a sense of belonging. Hagerty et al. (1992), Hagerty & Patusky (1995, p. 9) and Hagerty et al. (1996) argue how the essential features of the sense of belonging are “valued involvement”, i.e. the perception of being accepted, and “fit”, i.e. the perception of having characteristics that match the one of the community. Therefore, a shared history is not enough for sense of belonging to grow. Individuals need to feel welcomed by and similar to the members of the community. Kohli (2000) also underlines the importance of self-recognition and the recognition of the others in a specific group to form a social identity. For Hagerty (1996, p. 236), this is fundamental as it has a series of consequences clearly schematized in Figure 1.

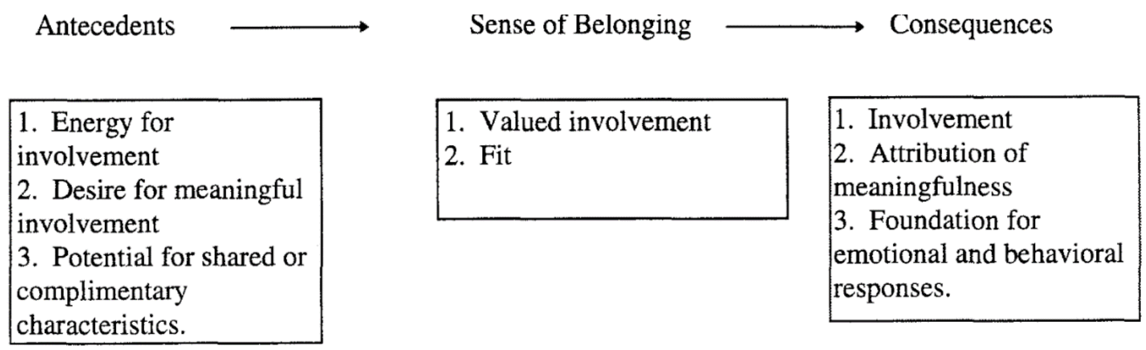

Figure 1 Sense of Belonging Model from Hagerty (1996, p. 236).

It is now possible to look at the specific case of the European Identity. It is out of the scope of this thesis to reflect on the necessity for the EU to foster a European identity, which is a hardly debated topic among scholars (Checkel & Katzenstein, 2009, Kohli, 2000). What is certain is that Europe aims to instil this feeling of Europeanness and constantly monitors it through the Eurobarometer. This annual survey seems to not only serve a monitoring function of the public opinion, but also to shape what is meant by European identity. The concept is indeed quite vague, and it is not clear what values it represents (Checkel & Katzenstein, 2009; Fage-Butler, 2018). The Eurobarometer could be a useful indicator of such values. In particular, the Standard Eurobarometer 89 (2018) reports that the first three personal values Europeans share are peace (45%), human rights (42%), and respect for human life (37%). These are followed by democracy (27%), individual freedom (24%), and equality (21%). Therefore, these should be considered the values and features common to all Europeans and that distinguish them, together with their shared history, from non-Europeans. Nonetheless, many scholars recognise a problem in the making of this European identity, that is the great diversity present within the Union (Kohli, 2000; Checkel & Katzenstein, 2009; Lähdesmäki, 2012). This inner diversity renders the concept of European identity controversial. The debate around the potential interference of nationalist sentiments with the supranational European identity finds supporters on both sides. Furthermore, Tatransky (2006) follows the opinion of many scholars saying that the importance given to European citizenship by Europeans has more to do with practical matters than cultural-identity ones. Contrarily, the Eurobarometer 89 (2018) shows how Europeans believe is culture, history and shared values to contribute the most in creating a sense of belonging to Europe. Finally, Lähdesmäki (2014) notices how different scholars consider urban and architectural characteristics a possible European minimum common denominator, at the basis of the European identity.

It is possible to conclude that the concept of European identity remains to a certain extent vague and debatable, especially because of the differences among European countries. However, all scholars agree on the fact that the EU is trying to exploit this situation, promoting a sense of belonging based on the shared value of respect, applied to its diversity. As Lähdesmäki (2012, p. 59) affirms: “The fundamental aim of the cultural policy of the European Union (EU) is to emphasize the obvious cultural diversity of Europe, while looking for some underlying common elements which unify the various cultures in Europe”. Indeed, the EU’s motto is “united in diversity” (European Union, website). As Sassatelli (2002) argues, both unity and diversity are not totally applicable to the EU, with the resulting adoption by the EU itself of an ambiguous identity. This “hybridity”, as Kohli (2000, p. 114) defines it, is an integral feature of the European identity. Morin’s *Penser L’Europe* (1987) is usually cited as one of the first to defend this European variety and to consider it a specific trait, a value, and the foundation of European unity (Sassatelli, 2002; Vos, 2017).

2.3. Specific studies on European cultural policies

Further narrowing the scope of the literature framework, there are significant attempts within the academic field that investigate the use the EU makes of cultural diplomacy, especially to convey a European identity (Sassatelli, 2002; Vos, 2017; Fage-Butler, 2018). In particular, the use of cultural heritage policies to foster a European cultural identity is not only assessed by the European documents which clearly state the goals of European cultural heritage policies (European Commission, 2018), but also by scholars like Lähdesmäki (Lähdesmäki & Mäkinen, 2019; Lähdesmäki, 2012, 2014, 2016), whose interest is in the rhetoric aspect of such policy documents. In this paragraph, the results of previous academic literature on the European cultural heritage policies is provided, with the intention to better contextualise and understand the EHL policy.

First, it is important to remember why the EU has, over the last decades, implemented a series of cultural policies. The reason relies on the alleged power of culture to reach several economic and social objectives, so that culture can be seen as a "means to an end" (Vos, 2017, p. 677; Lähdesmäki, 2016). One of these ends is the affirmation of a European identity. The choice to adopt specifically heritage, then, is motivated not only by heritage qualities (mentioned in paragraph 2.1.) but also by the fact that heritage is something that can be concretely individuated. Indeed, Lähdesmäki (2016, p. 772) affirms that the vagueness and abstractness of European values is embodied by concrete heritage sites through five specific strategies: "rewarding labels and awards to sites; particularising cities; emphasising historical monuments; creating new museums or exhibition spaces; and iconizing EU administrative buildings". Because of this abstractness, the heritage sites differ greatly in their characteristics and the criteria to select them are considered broad too (Lähdesmäki, 2016). However, scholars notice how this ambiguity is actually intentional (Sassatelli, 2002; Vos, 2011; Lähdesmäki, 2016). Indeed, "different nationalities may interpret 'Europeanness' or 'European' very differently" (Lähdesmäki, 2014, p. 415). Consequently, this vagueness opens to multiple interpretation, hence more inclusion. Defining specifically what is European with a top-down approach has been regarded as a limiting factor (Vos, 2017). On the one hand, EU cultural policies, and particularly EHL, highlight the shared values and history that goes beyond national borders (Lähdesmäki, 2014). On the other, diversity is also stressed as element to foster cooperation and unity among Europeans (Lähdesmäki, 2012).

To conclude, it must be mentioned that scholars are sceptical in the efficacy these cultural policies have had. Tatransky (2006) even claims how empirical research has demonstrated the failure of such policies.

2.4. The European Heritage Label

This section provides specific information on the European policy 'European Heritage Label', which is the case study of this research. It has been said how this policy is a form of soft regulation (see paragraph 2.1.4.). It is important to be aware of the details and practicalities of the policy, especially in terms of its specific objectives, to further shape a suitable research method. The following information has been taken from the *European Heritage Label Guidelines for Heritage Sites* (European Council, n.d.).

The European Heritage Label is an initiative promoted and fully organised by the European Commission. The policy has the explicit intention "to strengthen European citizens' sense of belonging to the European Union, in particular that of young people, based on shared values and elements of European history and cultural heritage, as well as an appreciation of national and regional diversity, and to strengthen mutual understanding and intercultural dialogue" (European Council, n.d., p. 3). It has been implemented in 2013, with the creation of a commission, called European panel, of 13 independent experts in charge to evaluate heritage sites to be listed and labelled as European Heritage. Each country can propose two heritage sites every two years. Currently, 48 sites among eighteen European countries are labelled. The EHL award is open to any kind of heritage, tangible or intangible, moveable or immoveable, or even natural. At the moment, there are 39 tangible immoveable sites, 6 tangible moveable sites, 2 intangible and 1 natural heritage site. The sites are eligible based on 3 criteria: the symbolic European value of a site, the project proposed to promote its European dimension, and the operational capacity to implement the project or work plan. European value is crucial. In the document (n.d., p. 5), this characteristic is further explained as presenting the following characteristics: "

(1) its cross-border or pan-European nature:

[...]

(2) its place and role in European history and European integration, and its links with key European events, personalities or movements;

[...]

(3) its place and role in the development and promotion of the common values that underpin European integration."

Point (1) gives importance to the intercultural dimension, i.e. that goes beyond single national culture, and point (2) to the historical one. It seems necessary to define point (3) more in detail, to explicitly fix what are the common European values. The document reports Article 2 of the Treaty on European Union, according to which: "the Union is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. The values are common to the Member States in a society in which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men prevail". These should be considered European values and have indeed found confirmation in the main shared values in the Eurobarometer 89 (2018).

A minimum eligibility requirement is the submission of a project. The project should be implemented when the heritage site receives the EHL. This must raise awareness on Europe, be educative, promote access through multilingualism, and take part in the EHL network, also thanks to ICTs. Most importantly, the project must be feasible and heritage applicants should demonstrate it. Hence, current EHL should have completed or be in the process of completing their project. While the first criterium addresses proper features of the site, the success of the project depends on the ability of those who manage the site. For this reason, EHL sites are constantly monitored to evaluate the effectiveness of the project. As a consequence, EHL policy potential pitfalls may also be the wrong selection of heritage sites, and the non-effectiveness of the project which, in any case, must be imputed to the EHL panel of experts and not to the owners of the site.

The most repeated concept over the whole document is the importance to focus on young generations and sustainability. Indeed, the EHL policy aim is to strengthen a sense of Europeanness. It is clearly stated how the EHL main objective is not the preservation of the heritage site. Instead, this is considered a minimum requirement. Furthermore, the EHL site can also be in other lists, e.g. WHL, and apply for external funds, since there is no funding budget for the candidate site, or for the EHL sites in general.

With these premises, it has been possible to effectively operationalise the theoretical concepts seen so far, in order to design the empirical research of this thesis.

2.5. Final discussion

This chapter has provided the necessary theoretical background to develop a solid research on the influence of the EHL on Europeans' sense of belonging to Europe. First, a theoretical overview on cultural heritage has been provided. A definition of cultural heritage has been given, together with an analysis of its most important qualities. The other academic field to inform this thesis is the one of cultural policy. The theories on the legitimacy of public intervention, on the scope of cultural policies and on specific policies for cultural heritage have been summarized. Furthermore, the concepts of sense of belonging and cultural identity needed a structure, that have been taken from previous research in the cultural and psychological fields. This has been applied to the specific case of the European identity. With these premises, it has been possible to report more in detail the specific studies on European cultural policies and their main conclusions. Eventually, a whole paragraph has been given to the EHL policy, its rules and functioning.

The alleged impact cultural heritage has on several sectors, and in specific the social impact, is used by the EU to instil and feed a sentiment of Europeanness among its citizens. This is done through a series of soft-regulation policies, of which the EHL is a perfect example. The effectiveness of this policy, however, is uncertain and must be evaluated. With effectiveness, it is meant the extent to which the policy succeeds in reaching its goals, i.e. in increasing the sense of belonging to Europe of European citizens. Based on this theoretical framework, it is possible to formulate the following research hypotheses:

(1) Visiting one or more EHL sites, and so participating to the EHL initiative, increases European visitors' sense of belonging.

(2) The more involved a visitor is in the EHL initiative, the greater will be the impact of the visit to his/her sense of belonging.

The hypotheses are motivated not only because they follow the logic of the policy, i.e. the European Heritage Label helps to shape a European identity in people's minds. It is also based on the outcomes of the 2018 *Open public Consultation* (OPC) promoted by the European Commission to evaluate the EHL effectiveness (European Commission, 2018). However, this survey can be considered insufficient to assess the effectiveness of the policy for different reasons -the statistically insufficient number of respondents, for instance- explained in detail in the next chapter.

The specific focus of the EHL policy on younger generations makes it possible to formulate a third hypothesis:

(3) The visit to an EHL site will affect more younger European visitors.

These hypotheses have been tested through empirical research, whose design is described in the following chapter.

3. Method

The aim of this thesis is to test the effectiveness of European cultural policies. In particular, the research investigates *to what extent European cultural policy on heritage influences citizens' European cultural identity*. The specific case of the European Heritage Label (EHL) is considered. This initiative aims to increase the sense of belonging to Europe and foster integration among its nations, with specific attention to the younger generations. Therefore, this policy can be considered successful if its implementation has reinforced citizens' Europeanness.

To test the effectiveness of the EHL, a combination of quantitative and qualitative research methods has been used. The initial intention was solely to conduct a quantitative research. This is because it is considered the most feasible method for different reasons. First, quantitative analysis can formulate conclusions based on data from a large sample, which is the closest possible representation of the European population. Second, being the results expressed in a quantitative way, they can be elaborated using statistical analysis (Bryman, 2012). Hence, it made it possible to either accept or reject hypotheses and, to a certain extent, compare results to other studies like, for instance, the 2018 *Open public Consultation* (henceforth OPC) promoted by the European Commission to evaluate the EHL. Nonetheless, due to the unforeseen outspread of the coronavirus COVID-19, which led to a forced closure of most if not all cultural sites in Europe, including all the European Heritage Sites, the possibility of scarce results from the quantitative research cannot be ignored. For this reason, qualitative research methods have been used too. The logic of this choice is driven by the fact that qualitative research may understand more thoroughly a phenomenon. On the one hand, the quantitative side of this research remains the primary method chosen to answer the research question, which wants to evaluate the potential presence of an effect and its extent. On the other hand, the qualitative contribution has assisted and helped in the interpretation of quantitative data. Furthermore, it has led to better grounded conclusions.

The research strategy chosen is, therefore, deductive. Deductive research is the most common one (Bryman, 2012). Starting from pre-existing theories, a series of hypotheses are formulated and tested empirically, in order to revise the starting theory. The existence of abundant academic literature related with Heritage and European cultural policies naturally led to this strategy, that aims to add meaningful information to the already existing academic literature.

3.1. Quantitative research strategy, design method

The thesis primarily adopts a cross-sectional research design. The cross-sectional research design implies the measurement of a multiplicity of cases in a single point time (approximately) to collect quantitative data which is operationalised in different variables to find "patterns of association" (Bryman, 2012, p. 58). The specific quantitative method chosen to collect data is a survey using self-completion questionnaires. First of all, it is important to say that a form of primary data collection has been chosen, as there are still no sufficient secondary data for this case study. Survey questionnaires are the most ideal option for this thesis since they are relatively cheaper to administer compared to qualitative methods like semi-structured interviews, both in terms of financial and time resources (Bryman, 2012). This is an important factor as financial and time constraints are an intrinsic limitation for a master thesis. Furthermore, the survey is the most efficient way to gather several primary data and it has been already used in the OPC, a factor that corroborates its validity. Self-completion questionnaires are convenient for respondents as they can decide how much time to spend on it and when to do it. This element is likely to balance the potential low response rate, which is the most critical weakness of surveys. Lastly, the reliability of the whole research benefits from a survey, since questions cannot be changed from one respondent to another and the entire questionnaire can be found in the thesis appendix (appendix A). For all these reasons, the survey questionnaire is currently the most common method used to investigate sense of belonging, which makes it a valid measurement tool (Jaitli & Hua, 2013; Stebleton et al. 2014; Jury et al., 2019).

Nevertheless, the survey method has several threats. As mentioned before, the most important one for this research is perhaps the risk of low response rates (Bryman, 2012). For instance, the OPC, whose period of data collection lasted over three weeks, has been able to collect only 103 responses (sensibly under the statistical threshold of 300). However, with the data collected it has been possible to see general patterns thanks to measures of central tendencies (e.g. mean, median, mode) and crosstabs that compare socio-economic factors (e.g. age, country of origin, gender) with responses to the questions concerning the sense of belonging to Europe. Using paired t-test, Wilcoxon signed rank test, and ordered logistic regression, it has also been possible to test the hypotheses formulated in the theoretical framework.

3.1.1. Sampling

The EHL policy aims to increase the sense of belonging of the European population. However, the EHL policy, implemented in 2013, is still not as popular as other European cultural policies (e.g. the European Capital of Culture), so that non-use values like existence value and option value of these sites may currently be of little regard for Europeans. Therefore, the population considered is the European visitors of EHL sites, and not the European population at large.

The European population is defined by all individuals that are citizens of one of the countries within the European Union. At the moment in which this research is carried on, the United

Kingdom (UK) is in the process of leaving the European Union (Brexit). Hence, the response of any UK citizen may be biased by the present circumstances. Nonetheless, UK citizens have been taken into account in the present research. In case of a consistent present of UK respondents, it will be interesting to notice potential patterns in UK respondents.

In other words, to complete the questionnaire the respondent must be European of nationality and must have visited at least one EHL site. The site can be visited either online or on-site. Initially, the population and consequent desired sample consisted only of on-site visitors. However, since all EHL sites have been forcibly closed, the author has decided to expand the research and consider online visitors too. This has been done to avoid a response rate below the threshold. Theory has adequately informed this research on the legitimacy of this choice, of the characteristics of visiting a heritage site online and the differences with visiting it physically (cf. 2.1.2.).

The sampling strategy has been partially snowball sampling and partially network-based sampling. Different directors of EHL sites have been glad to cooperate to the research sharing the questionnaire with their network (through their website, social networks and newsletter). Next to this, the author has promoted through snowball sampling the survey online. To maximise the response rate, no probability sample has been applied.

Although this has been done to meet a minimum threshold of 150 respondents, convenience sampling risks to generate serious sampling errors concerning the population representation. The sample of people that have visited an EHL site physically would have been probably different in terms of socio-demographic characteristics from the one resulting from this research. This possibility has been considered analysing the results of the survey. In particular, the socio-demographic characteristics of the sample have been compared to the ones of the OPC. In this way it has been possible to see to what extent they differ.

Since social distancing or quarantine are measures that have been taken by all countries in Europe over the empirical research timespan of this thesis, the administration of the survey online is the only viable distribution option. The author recognises the additional difficulty with online surveys in terms of response rate. Nonetheless, this type of sampling procedure has other benefits. Indeed, it has been possible to contact people that have visited the EHL sites in the past, an unattainable result otherwise.

3.1.2. Operationalisation of the concepts

The survey has evaluated the sense of belonging to Europe of participants through questions that evaluate a series of indicators. Here, the main variables used are explained and operationalised, i.e. turned from concepts into measurable variables that define this sense of belonging, and to the relative indicators of these variables. The OPC is a useful benchmark for the operationalisation process. Indeed, it provides a general framework for this research and guidelines for the research method. On the one hand, it is a useful source for internal and measurement validity (Bryman, 2012). On the other hand, the European Commission's survey presents several pitfalls and is relatively limited in scope, giving to this research the opportunity to cover them.

3.1.2.1. Socio-demographic variables

The socio-demographic variable 'age' aims to measure how old is the respondent in years. The variable has been operationalised as ordinal, with the following five categories: 0-14, 15-24, 25-39, 40-54, 55+. This operationalisation does not follow the one reported in the OPC, as its different categories are not clearly assessable. Instead, it approximately follows the one of the Eurobarometer 89 (2018), with which it can be compared. This increases the measurement validity. The 'age' variable is important not only for general knowledge, but also because the EHL policy underlines the interest in younger European generations. It has been possible to see whether this segment of the population is more, or less, influenced than others by the EHL (hypothesis (3)). On the one hand, younger generations do not have yet a structured cultural identity and may be more susceptible; hence more likely to be influenced by the heritage site. On the other hand, older generations, even if they are likely to already have a structured cultural identity, should be more conscious of the historical events that interested Europe. The historical relevance is a fundamental criterion to be eligible for the EHL. Moreover, older generations are the main visitors of these heritage sites according to the OPC or at least are the main respondents to its survey. For these reasons, it will be interesting to see if hypothesis (3) will be accepted or rejected.

The socio-demographic variable 'nationality' indicates the nationality of the respondent. The nominal variable has been operationalised among the 27 European countries, the United Kingdom and the 'Non-European country' option. The choice to measure nationality instead of residency is because an individual may identify him/herself more with its nationality rather than the country where is currently residing. Conversely, the OPC measured the country of residence. This variable may be useful to see from whose countries visitors are more sensitive to and involved in the EHL policy.

The socio-demographic variable 'gender' states the gender of the respondent. This variable may be useful for general knowledge and to see on which gender the EHL initiative has more influence. The variable has been operationalised into the categories 'male', 'female', and 'other'.

The category ‘other’ has been added to create a more inclusive range of gender choices. The OPC, in this regard, do not specify any statistic about the gender distribution of its sample.

The socio-demographic variable ‘education degree’ represents the maximum education level of the respondent. This ordinary variable has been divided in the following categories: ‘postgraduate degree’, ‘graduate degree’, ‘high school degree’, ‘no degree’. This variable is one of the most used socio-demographic variables in cultural economics’ research, as it has been seen how cultural products tend to be consumed mainly by people with higher education (Falk & Katz-Gerro, 2015).

The socio-demographic variable ‘level of income’ corresponds to the average income of the respondent. The income has been operationalised into an ordinary variable with the following categories: ‘<10000’, ‘10000<x<15000’, ‘15000<x<20000’, ‘20000<x<25000’ ‘>25000’, ‘I do not want to tell’. The values are meant in euros (€), per year. These categories have been decided according to Falk & Katz-Gerro (2015) findings on cultural participation in Europe which claims for a higher cultural participation among people with higher levels of income.

3.1.2.2. Specific concepts

The concept of involvement in the EHL initiative is important to differentiate to what degree the visitor is aware of the EHL or not, as this may affect further responses. The involvement has been measured by four variables: ‘number of EHL sites visited’, ‘type of respondent’, ‘awareness’, and ‘type of visit’. The number of EHL sites visited is a ratio variable that ranges from 1 (the site in which the visitor is in that moment), to 48 (the total number of EHL sites). According to hypothesis (2), it is expected that a greater number of EHL sites implies a greater sense of belonging to Europe. The type of visitors aims to measure if he/she is a ‘normal visitor’, or if it is involved in the European Union initiatives, either as ‘EU professional’ or as specific ‘member of the EHL initiative’. These categories are ranked based on the extent of involvement with the EHL policy, so that ‘normal visitor’ equals 1, ‘EU professional’ equals 1.5, and ‘member of the EHL initiative’ equals 2. In other words, the variable ‘type of visitor’ has been transformed into ordinal. Similarly, awareness is an ordinal variable ranging from 'completely unaware’=1, to ‘somewhat aware (general knowledge)’=1.5, to ‘totally aware (expert)’=2. Finally, the type of visit differentiates between ‘online’ and ‘on-site’ visits. This distinction is necessary to see whether there are any differences in the effect online visits have had compared to on-site ones.

To operationalise the concept of sense of belonging, specific academic literature from the psychological academic field has been taken into consideration (Hagerty & Patusky, 1995; Hagerty et al., 1996; Kohli, 2000). This is also meant to strengthen the validity of the research. Two different variables have been outlined: ‘valued involvement’, and ‘fit’. Valued involvement can be defined as the perception of being accepted. To measure this concept, a Likert scale measuring the degree of association with the EU has been used. The Likert scale used ranges from 0=not at all to 5=totally. Fit can be intended as the perception of having characteristics that match the ones of the community. Here too, the same Likert scale is likely to be appropriate.

The concept of European identity has been operationalised on the basis of the results of the Standard Eurobarometer 89 (2018) and the EU motto. The document reports the most important personal values according to Europeans. For this research, only the ones shared by more than 20% of respondents have been taken into considerations. The values are: ‘peace’ (47%), ‘human rights’ (42%), ‘respect for human life’ (37%), ‘democracy’ (27%), ‘individual freedom’ (24%), and ‘equality’ (21%). To this, the value of diversity is added. For each value, a Likert scale, ranging from 0=not at all and 5=totally, has measured the degree of association of the visitor with that specific value. Table 1 summarizes concepts, their description, the variables designed and its measures.

Concept	**Description**	**Variables**	**Measure category**	**Measures**
Socio-demographic variables				
Age	The age of the respondent.	Years	Ordinal	0-14, 15-24, 25-39, 40-54, 55+
Nationality	The nationality of the respondent	Countries	Nominal	Austria, Italy, Belgium, Latvia, Bulgaria, Lithuania, Croatia, Luxembourg, Cyprus, Malta, Czech Republic, Netherlands, Denmark, Poland, Estonia, Portugal, Finland, Romania, France, Slovakia, Germany, Slovenia, Greece, Spain, Hungary, Sweden, Ireland, United Kingdom, Non-European-Union country

Gender	The visitor’s gender	Gender	Nominal	Male, Female, Other
Education	The level of education of the visitor	Education degree	Ordinal	postgraduate degree, graduate degree, high school degree, no degree
Income	The annual income, in euros, of the respondent	Level of Income	Ordinal	<10000, 10000<x<15000, 15000<x<20000, 20000<x<25000 >25000, I do not want to tell
Specific concepts				
Sense of belonging	the perception of pertaining to a group	valued involvement	Ordinal	0<x<5, being 0=not at all and 5=totally
		fit	Ordinal	0<x<5, being 0=not at all and 5=totally
European Identity	the values of a European	human rights	Ordinal	0<x<5, being 0=not at all and 5=totally
		peace	Ordinal	0<x<5, being 0=not at all and 5=totally
		respect for human life	Ordinal	0<x<5, being 0=not at all and 5=totally
		democracy	Ordinal	0<x<5, being 0=not at all and 5=totally
		individual freedom	Ordinal	0<x<5, being 0=not at all and 5=totally
		equality	Ordinal	0<x<5, being 0=not at all and 5=totally
		diversity	Ordinal	0<x<5, being 0=not at all and 5=totally

EHL involvement	The degree of knowledge and awareness of the EHL initiative	Number of EHL sites visited	Ratio	1<x<48
		Type of respondent	Ordinal	Normal visitor=1, Member of the EHL initiative=1.5, EU professional=2
		Awareness	Ordinal	Completely Unaware=1, Somewhat aware (general knowledge)=1.5, Totally aware (expert)=2
Type of visit	If the visit has been online or on-site	Type of visit	Nominal	Online On-site

Table 1 Operationalisation of the concepts for the survey questionnaire.

Furthermore, additional variables have been made to indicate the level of 'Europeanness' and the degree of awareness of the EHL policy before and after the visit(s) (cf. 3.1.4.). This has been done in order to run specific statistical analysis to test the hypothesis.

3.1.3. Data collection

The survey has been created following both general academic principles and the OPC (Bryman, 2012; European Commission, 2018). It includes fourteen questions. While the first five questions relate to the aforementioned socio-economic variables, the latter ones investigate visitors' Europeanness. To distribute the questionnaire, all the organisations responsible for the management of the 48 EHL sites have been contacted for cooperation. Even though the questionnaire was first meant to be distributed over the different sites in different languages both printed and online, the forced closedown of all heritage sites limited the research to online distribution only. The online version has been developed with a software (Qualtrics) and is accessible via a QR code (figure 2).

Figure 2 The QR code linked to the online questionnaire

The self-completion questionnaire should be filled out by visitors after the visit of at least one site. In the distribution phase, respondents have been instructed about the necessity to visit at least one EHL site, either online or on-site before filling in the questionnaire. The link to the main webpages of all EHL sites have been provided as well. To reach the greatest number of respondents, the survey has been distributed in English, Italian, Spanish, French, Dutch, Portuguese, German, and Polish. According to Marlow et al. (2007), visitors -and more generally online users- prefer to operate with content in their native language, even if they know English.

The variables ‘awareness’, ‘valued involvement’, and ‘fit’ are measured regarding both the moment before the visit to the EHL site, and after. This way of collecting data is potentially problematic since responses about the moment before the visit may be biased by the visit itself, i.e. respondents may not remember clearly their opinion before the visit. However, this choice has been made, considering the other main options, for the following reasons. The main alternative option would have been to ask questions regarding the moment before the visit, right before the visit, and the rest afterwards. The main pitfall of this alternative is that respondents may have been biased in the second part of the questionnaire (after the visit), because of the first questions. They might also visit the EHL site differently as questions have been posed beforehand. Indeed, questions are not as distant observation, and may influence the visit effectiveness, which is what is aimed to be measured. Furthermore, response rates are likely to drop. Probably, these are also the reasons why the OPC (2018) has asked all the questions after the visit, like this research intended to do. The type of questions posed in the OPC are formulated in a way that the respondent has to state the difference perceived -in percentage terms- between before and after the visit, for several variables. This would have been a possible alternative too. Nonetheless, it has been preferred to split the questions in a ‘before’ and ‘after’ the visit for three main reasons. First, the respondent is unlikely to state a difference in percentage terms. Second, even if he could, he could not do it without knowing what the absolute values of before and after the visit are. Hence -third reason- it would be better to have the two absolute values that allow to run statistical analyses rather than the single percentages values, that only allow to describe central tendency measures.

3.1.4. Data analysis

With the resulting data from the questionnaires, it was possible to run statistical models to test the hypotheses (1), (2), and (3).

3.1.4.1 Test the hypothesis (1)

The hypothesis (1) is: “visiting one or more EHL sites, and so participating to the EHL initiative, increases European visitors’ sense of belonging”. Measuring the correlation between visit the EHL site and sense of belonging has been done in two ways.

The sense of belonging has been measured indirectly through a series of questions related to the variables of ‘valued involvement’ and ‘fit’. The dependent variable is the result of the formula (4). In this formula, the first variable is y(valued involvement). It stands for the degree of the perception of being accepted by the EU. It is an ordinal variable ranging from 0 to 5. The second variable is y(fit) and it is the result of formula (5). Y(fit) stands for the sum of the degrees of sharing the values defining the European identity multiplied by the parameter of the related value. Being the degree of value-sharing an ordinal variable ranging from 0 to 5, the variable y(fit) is also an ordinal variable, i.e. it has discrete values/it is not continuous. The parameters in the formula equal the percentage of people sharing the value based on the results of the Standard Eurobarometer 89. For example, ‘peace’ is the most shared value by 45% of respondents. Hence, its parameter is P=.45. This is done in order to give the correct relative importance to any value. It is important to notice that, in the Eurobarometer 89, respondents were allowed to choose more than one European value. Besides, not all values individuated by the Eurobarometer 89 have been considered, as specified in paragraph 3.1.2.2. So that it does not make sense to sum the value of the parameters individuated altogether and this does not, by any mean, necessarily give 1. To these values, the one of cultural diversity is also added, with a relative parameter CD=.5. This value has been arbitrarily settled considering the fact that diversity is the fundamental value on which the EU wants to base its culture. The parameters are explained in detail in Table 2.

In (4) it is possible to notice that the variable y(values involvement) is multiplied by the constant 2.46. This has been done in order to weight y(valued involvement) and y(fit) the same. In fact, the theoretical maximum of y(valued involvement) is 5, while the one of y(fit) is 12.3. To make them equal the value of y(valued involvement) must be multiplied by 2.46. In fact, 5*2.46=12.3.

The dependent variable calculated with formula (4) has a theoretical minimum of 0 and a theoretical maximum of 24.6 (the sum of the theoretical maxima of y(valued involvement) and y(fit) of 12.3). The dependent variable has been calculated for y_b, before the visit, and y_a, after the visit. The formulas (4) and especially (5) have been devised following the logic of the Hedonic price model. This model, first theorised by Rosen (1974), has been used to assign a price value to properties in the housing market, and it has also shown its usefulness in the Art market (Noonan, 2013). The Hedonic price model consists in deriving the value of a complex good from the sum of the relative values of its attributes (Noonan, 2013). For instance, the price of a painting can be calculated on the basis of its dimension, colours, content, age, or author. As demonstrated, the sense of belonging can be considered the complexion of multiple attributes or conditions, and despite it is not the price to be calculated, a similar approach to the one of the Hedonic price model seems to be adequate.

(4) y(sense of belonging)= 2.46*y(valued involvement)+ y(fit)

(5) $y(fit)= y_p*P+y_{hr}*HR+y_{rfhl}*RfHL+y_d*D+y_{if}*IF+y_e*E+y_{cd}*CD$

Parameter	Meaning	Values
P	Peace	.45
HR	Human Rights	.42
RfHL	Respect for Human Life	.37
D	Democracy	.27
IF	Individual Freedom	.24
E	Equality	.21
CD	Cultural Diversity	.50

Table 2 List of parameters used for formula (5) to calculate y(fit).

First, a one-tail paired t-test has been run. This type of test is used to determine whether the mean difference between two sets of observations for the same sample is zero. Hence, it adequately fits the research design of this thesis. The null hypothesis and the alternative hypothesis for this test can be written as follows:

H_0: $\mu_b=\mu_a$. The null hypothesis assumes the difference between means is zero.

H_1: $\mu_a>\mu_b$. The alternative hypothesis, in this case, assumes the mean difference (between after and before) to be positive.

However, this test has different assumptions. These are: the independence of the observations, the lack of outliers, the presence of an approximately normal distribution, and a continuous dependent variable. The first assumption is met, and the second and third are tested with histograms and boxplots. Regarding the fourth assumption, this is not met as the variable considered is not continuous. Nonetheless, academic literature on the topic has proved the validity of this parametric test also with non-continuous (discrete) variables (de Winter, Dodou, 2010; Vieira, 2016). Both authors acknowledge the same power for the parametric paired t-test and a non-parametric test, like the Wilcoxon signed rank test. The Wilcoxon signed rank test compares the average ranks of two dependent samples, like the paired t-test, but works also with ordinal data. It can be considered a non-parametric alternative of the paired t-test. Considering this, it has been chosen to test the hypothesis (1) both with the one-tail paired t-test and with the Wilcoxon signed rank test.

The sense of belonging has been also measured directly as 'European feeling', asking respondents to what extent they feel Europeans. This value (0-5) is the ordinal dependent variable. It has been calculated for y_b, before the visit and y_a, after the visit. Also for this, the one-tail paired t-test and the Wilcoxon signed rank test has been run.

It will be interesting to see potential differences between the direct and the indirect method of measuring sense of belonging. Indeed, people may answer differently if the question is posed directly or indirectly, hence differences in results are possible. Not to bias the questions measuring sense of belonging indirectly, the direct question has been posed at the end of the questionnaire.

3.1.4.2. Test the hypothesis (2)

The second hypothesis is: "the more involved a visitor is in the EHL initiative, the greater will be the impact of the visit to his/her sense of belonging". Measuring the relationship between involvement in the EHL initiative (independent variables) and sense of belonging (dependent variable) has been done with two ordered logistic regression analyses, respectively according to the way in which the sense of belonging has been measured (directly or indirectly).

As shown in Table 1, the involvement in the EHL initiative is given by three variables. The Number of EHL sites visited (ratio variable), the type of visitor (ordinal variable) and the degree of awareness (before the visit, ordinal variable) of the EHL policy. It has been chosen to use the degree of awareness before the visit, and not after, because what is of interest is the previous level of involvement of the respondent.

For both the direct and the indirect method to calculate the sense of belonging, the difference between the values of before and after the visit has been calculated. These differences are the dependent variables of the ordered regression analyses. Whether the sense of belonging has been calculated directly or indirectly, it has been measured with Likert scales. Despite being represented by numbers, Likert scales offer data at an ordinal level. Therefore, the gap between values may not be the same, i.e. the difference between 0 and 1 may not be the same as, for instance, the one between 4 and 5. Looking at the difference between values before and after the visit might be misleading. The numerical value of the difference is not strictly meaningful, as it is not in Likert scales. Nonetheless, it is important to account for this difference to see whether there is any correlation among the variables. Greater differences are still greater, even if it is not possible to know to what extent they are. In any case, the two differences, one calculated with the indirect method and the other with the direct one, must be considered two new variables. For the indirect method, the theoretical minimum and maximum of (4) are respectively 0 and 24.6. Hence, the difference between before and after (y_a-y_b) ranges from -24.6 to 24.6. For the direct method, the theoretical minimum and maximum of y(sense of belonging) are 0 and 5. The difference between before and after ranges from -5 to 5. Table 3 reports the dependent variables in detail.

Ordinal regression is a type of regression analysis that tests the relationship between one ordinal dependent variable and one or more independent variables that are either ordinal, interval or ratio. The null hypothesis and the alternative hypothesis for this test can be written as follows:

H_0: there is no statistically significant factor between the variables that influence the sense of belonging

H_1: there is at least one statistically significant factor between the variables that influence the sense of belonging

The ordinal regression has an important assumption that must be met: the assumption of proportional odds. This assumption states that the independent, explanatory variables have the same effects on the odds even with different thresholds. This assumption is going to be tested when the ordinal regression is run.

3.1.4.3. Test the hypothesis (3)

The third hypothesis is: “the visit to the EHL site will affect more younger European visitors”. Measuring the relationship between age (ordinal independent variable X) and the effectiveness of the policy has been done running a series of ordered logistic regressions.

First, the ordinal independent variable ‘age’ has been related to the calculated difference of awareness between before and after. As for hypothesis (2), the difference between two ordinal variables (‘degree of awareness before the visit’ and ‘degree of awareness after the visit’) is a new ordinal variable. It is important to take into consideration the same precautions specified for the new variable created in hypothesis (2). Since the ordinal variables ‘degree of awareness’ ranges from 1 (completely unaware) to 2 (completely aware (expert)), the new ordinal variable ‘difference of awareness’ has a theoretical minimum of -1 and maximum of 1. Table 3 reports the dependent variable in detail. The variable ‘difference of awareness’ is the dependent variable of an ordered logistic regression analysis (with ‘age’ as ordinal independent variable X).

Concept	**Description**	**Variables**	**Measure category**	**Measures**
Difference in sense of belonging to Europe	The variation of the sense of belonging perceived by the respondent after the visit, measured indirectly	Difference in sense of belonging measured indirectly	Ordinal	-24.6<x<24.6
	The variation of the sense of belonging perceived by the respondent after the visit, measured directly	Difference in sense of belonging measured directly	Ordinal	-5<x<5
Difference in degree of awareness	The increment in knowledge and awareness of the EHL policy	Difference in degree of awareness	Ordinal	-1<x<1

Table 3 Operationalisation of the variables to test the hypothesis

Furthermore, the ordinal independent variable ‘age’ has been related to the ordinal variables ‘difference in sense of belonging’ respectively measured indirectly and directly. These are the dependent variables of two ordered logistic regressions (with ‘age’ as ordinal independent variable X).

3.1.4.4. Other statistically relevant patterns

Thanks to the socio-demographic variables, it has been possible to run other statistical analysis and see, whether and where the policy has been more effective (from which EHL site the surveys come from), and to whom. This is important to elaborate meaningful policy suggestions. For the explanation of these measurements, see paragraph 3.1.2.1.

3.2. Qualitative method

The qualitative method used to better interpret the main quantitative results is semi-structured interviewing. Semi-structured interviews have been chosen over totally unstructured interviews because the intention is to better explain results for theory-based hypotheses, and not to elaborate a new theory. In this sense, semi-structured interviews have been prepared with slightly different interview guidelines depending on the interviewee role in the process of the European Heritage Label policy. In semi-structured interviews, the respondent can better contextualise her answers, and enrich them of details. To the interviewer, they give more flexibility, offering the option to develop some aspects and ignore others. Hence, semi-structured interviews are the best way to investigate the potential explanation of a phenomenon (Bryman, 2012). The Finnish project 'EUROHERIT- Legitimation of European cultural heritage and the dynamics of identity politics in the EU' specifically investigates on the European Heritage Label, and it has demonstrated the efficacy of semi-structured interviews in their publications (Čeginskas, 2019). For their expertise on the issue, the author has contacted by e-mail the project leader Tuuli Lähdesmäki for a consultancy about the content of the interview questions. The profitable exchange has enriched the interviews of questions about the potential of the online dimension for the EHL sites, a current topic not yet fully investigated by the EUROHERIT research team.

3.2.1. Sampling and data collection

The population of potential interviewees coincides with two main stakeholders of the EHL policy: national coordinators and directors -or responsible for the Label- of the EHL sites. These stakeholders have been selected for the following reasons. As mentioned earlier, it is better to investigate the opinion of visitors, that are the main stakeholders of interest of this thesis, with the survey tool, rather than with in-depth interviews. Indeed, interviews suits stakeholders of expertise in the field. The document *European Heritage guidelines for candidate sites* (European Council, n.d.) outlines three: the national coordinator, the site manager, and the panel of experts. Since the latter is unlikely to be easily reached, interviews have been addressed to the first two types of stakeholders. There is at least one current -and potentially more ex- national coordinator per country, and at least one contact per site. All their contacts can be retrieved from the European

Heritage Label webpages (European Commission website b, website c). In total, 31 present national coordinators and all 48 EHL sites have been contacted, which consists in the entire population of interest. The derived sample results from those who were willing to participate in the research. The interviews have been held online via video call or simple call. The transcription of all the interviews can be found in a separated file attached to the thesis. For those interviews that have not been conducted in English, a brief summary in English have been introduced.

3.2.2. Operationalisation of the concepts

The interview guidelines have been developed in three parts. The first part covers general information about the interviewee, such as his/her role, background, and experience. The second part follows the hypotheses formulated in the theoretical research, and asks questions related to those topics, such as the ability of heritage to convey values or the influence age potentially has on the visit. Finally, the last part concerns the overall efficiency of the EHL policy, its pitfalls and improvements. The interview guideline slightly differs between national coordinators and managers of the sites. To code the interviews, an open-coding strategy has been chosen. This process of coding identifies concepts and groups them into categories (Bryman, 2012). These categories in part were outlined previously, on the basis of the interview guidelines, and in part iteratively in the analysis of the interviews. Table 4 shows in detail the topics addressed in the interviews, the variables used to code the interviews, their explanation and example questions.

Concepts / topic	**Coding variables**	**Explanation**	**Question**
National coordinator's role	National coordinator's role	The detailed description of the role of the national coordinator. This might slightly differ among sites and countries.	• I understand that your role is to act as a bridge between organizations and the EU panel. can you tell me a bit more about your role and your tasks? • How much is the national coordinator involved in the project? Do you help the organization in the process (e.g. to better shape the

			project that the organizations have to plan)? • To what extent you keep contacts, or monitor the situation in the organizations afterwards?
National coordinator's background	National coordinator's background	The months, or years of experience of the interviewee in its role. The description of the interviewee background could be a useful resource to contextualise his/her answers	• Since how long you do this job? • What is your background?
Criteria for National Selection	Pre-selection criteria process	The description of the process and the criteria the national coordinator follow, which might differ by country	• How do you select the organisations to candidate them for the EHL (pre-selection phase of the policy)? / What are the criteria to select an organization to be a proper candidate for the EHL?
Criteria for National Selection and Online dimension	Pre-selection process and Online	The importance of the online dimension in the preselection process, which might differ by country	• To what extent you consider the online dimension of the site (e.g. website, social pages...) relevant for its eligibility? Why (not)?

Online dimension	Yes - Online; No - Online; Online - current situation	The opinion of the national coordinator about the potential of the online dimension of the EHL site.	• This situation of crisis caused by the virus outspread forced EHL sites to close. In your opinion, to what extent the online dimension of the EHL sites could be a resilient solution/ a potential resource for EHL sites in moments of crisis like this one?
Heritage connection with sense of belonging	Heritage connection with sense of belonging	The opinion of the national coordinator about the potential of heritage in conveying a sense of belonging.	• The EHL initiative aims to strengthen the sense of belonging to Europe. Do you think that heritage can effectively convey this sense of belonging? How?
EHL connection with sense of belonging	EHL connection with sense of belonging	The opinion of the national coordinator about the efficacy of the EHL policy	• So far, do you think the EHL initiative has been effective in reaching its goals? How and where do you notice that?
Label advantages	Label advantages	The goals the Label have reached so far	• Do you think it has reached goals other than the ones of the policy? If so, which ones?
European Values	European Values	A list of the values that constitute the European culture	• In your opinion, what are the values of Europe? Do those coincide with the one outlined by the Eurobarometer 89 (2018)?
National Values	Yes national values;	The importance of national values in	• For the eligibility of the sites, to what extent you consider

	No national values	the pre-selection process of the sites	important the presence of national values as well?
Age Influence	Pro - adults influence; Pro - young influence; Against - adults influence; Undecided if young or adults	Whether younger or older generations will be more influenced by a visit to an EHL site and the reason why	• In the EHL policy, great importance is given to younger generations, do you believe they will be more, or less influenced by this initiative after the visit to an EHL site? Why?
Policy improvements	Policy problems - multilateralism; Policy problems - multilingualism; Policy problems - site application; Improvements - network; Improvements - communication; Improvements - finances: Improvements - more actions	The problems the policy present and its potential improvements	• Do you have any final remark, suggestion, or pitfall that you see in this policy? For example, regarding the following aspects: a. multilingualism b. brand awareness c. process in general d. networking e. problems in practical implementation f. multilateralism • Could the EHL initiative be more efficient? How?

Table 4 Interview guide and code structure.

4. Results

The online questionnaire has been administered from the 17th of March until the 2nd of May 2020. In total, the questionnaire collected 223 responses. Despite the promising result, less than half of them (94) is fully complete, while most lack fundamental parts. In particular, 41 responses were left completely blank. The drop response rate has been previously acknowledged as a potential threat for questionnaires, especially if administered online. Nonetheless, this result is still higher than the OPC response rate (103 total responses, of which only 25% answered to all questions). Furthermore, not all hypothesis or questions require questionnaires to be fully complete. Instead, for several statistics it has been possible to account for a sample greater than 94.The number of valid responses, together with the interviews collected, may provide useful insights and answer the research question. In total, 10 interviews have been conducted, of which 8 via video call and 2 via mail. Due to the imposed social distancing and the fact that many interviewees were in different European countries, it was impossible to conduct the interviews in person. Unfortunately, the poor signal of the video calls has sometimes created problems. On the whole, 5 interviews were conducted with directors or referents of the EHL sites, and 5 with national coordinators. The even distribution of the two types of stakeholders among participants should guarantee a fair representation.

4.1. Descriptive analysis of the survey sample

The respondents to the questionnaire were 62 males (34.07%) and 120 females (65.93%). Hence, two-thirds of the respondents were females. About their age, respondents (N=181) belongs to the following categories: ‘55+’ (N=60, 33.15%), ‘40-54’ (N=53, 29.28%), ‘25-39’ (N=25, 13.81%), ‘15-24’ (N=42, 23.20%), and ‘0-14’ (N=1, 0.55%). Even if there is not an even distribution among age groups, there is not a group with a reasonably higher presence either. About their nationality, respondents (N=171) comes from 16 EU member states (after screening 3 responses from India, Brazil and Palestine). Most respondents come from Portugal (N=60, 35.09%), followed by Italy (N=54, 31.58%), Spain (N=20, 11.70%), France (N=14, 8.19%), Germany (N=7, 4.09%), The Netherlands (N=4, 2.34%), Poland and United Kingdom (N=2, 1.17%), Sweden, Slovakia, Luxembourg, Greece, Czech Republic, Cyprus, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Austria (N=1, 0.58%). Respondents mainly come from the South-Western part of Europe. Regarding respondents’ (N=182) level of education, 5 have ‘no degree’ (2.75%), 41 have a ‘high school degree’ (22.53%), 61 have a ‘graduate degree’ (33.52%), and 75 have a ‘postgraduate degree’ (41.21%), which means that most of them (N=136, 74.73%) have at least some university degree, confirming the theories of Falk & Katz-Gerro (2015). Respondents’ (N=182) income is quite evenly spread among categories. In particular, 34 earn annually ‘less than 10000’ euros (18.89%), 31 ‘10000-15000’ (17.22%), 26 ‘15000-20000’ (14.44%), 28 ‘20000-25000’ (15.56%), 36 ‘more than 25000’ (20.00%), and 25 respondents decided not to tell (13.89%). However, this specific result should not be taken in high regard because the questionnaire did not refer specifically to nett of gross income, which might create confusion among respondents, and because of the sensible differences in average earnings present among European countries.

Among respondents (N=138), 59.42% (N=82) visited at least one EHL site ‘on-site’, and 40.58% (N=56) ‘online’. Since the EHL sites were closed over the period in which the questionnaire has been administered, the ‘on-site’ respondents must have visited it in the past.

The distribution of visits among EHL sites is not evenly spread. The most visited EHL site is Sagres Promontory, in Portugal (N= 81), followed by The General Library of the University of Coimbra, the Imperial Palace in Vienna, and the European District of Strasbourg (N=22). This peculiar pattern cannot be easily explained. Most visitors of Sagres Promontory stated to be on-site visitors, so that they must have visited it in the part. A possible explanation is the popularity of Sagres as touristic attraction. Afterall, the second most visited site is the Imperial Palace in Vienna, which might be regarded as a highly touristic attraction too. Besides, the snowball sampling may have led to this uneven representation of the sites. The histogram in figure 3 shows the visit rate per site in detail. It is important to remember that respondents could state that they visited more than one site.

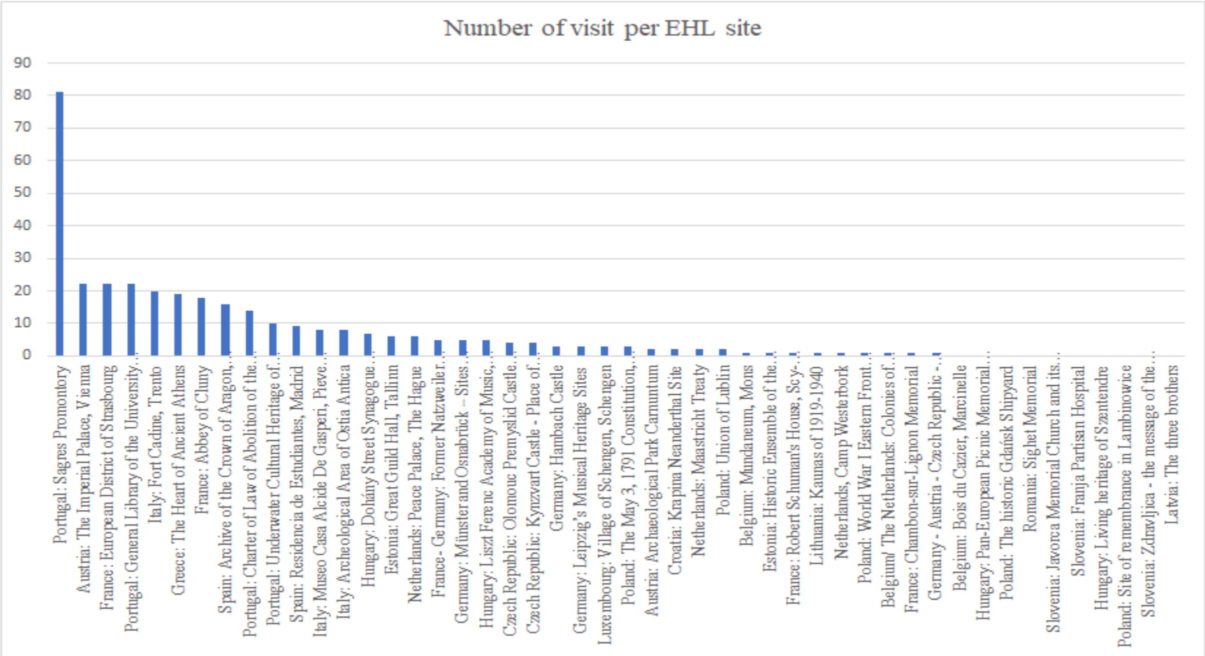

Figure 3 Histogram of the number of visits reported in the survey, per EHL site

In contrast with the OPC results, where more than half (51%) of respondents were in their professional capacity or on behalf of an organisation, 94.07% (N=127) of respondents to the online questionnaire are normal visitors, only 4.44% are EU professionals (N=6), and 1.48% are members of the EHL initiative (N=2). This is a promising sample as the survey is principally devised for 'normal visitor' stakeholders, while interviews are dedicated to the members of the EHL initiative.

4.2. Answering the research question

To what extent the European cultural project 'European Heritage Label' influences citizens' sense of belonging to Europe? The following paragraphs address the research question and related hypotheses formulated in the theoretical framework. Each paragraph refers to one hypothesis. The final paragraph provides further interesting results from both the online questionnaire and the interviews.

4.2.1. Hypothesis 1

The hypothesis (1) is: "visiting one or more EHL sites, and so participating in the EHL initiative, increases European visitors' sense of belonging". To test the hypothesis, two one-tail paired t-tests and two Wilcoxon signed rank tests have been run, comparing means calculated respectively in an indirect, and in a direct way (cf. paragraph 3.1.4.1). The two cases (indirect and direct way of calculation) have different sample sizes as respondents has answered more for questions used in the direct way (N=111) than the ones for the indirect way (N=94), that were more.

4.2.1.1. One tail paired t-test for the indirect method

For the one tail paired t-test, it is possible to see from the box plot in figure 4 that there is no outlier, and that the assumption of normality is met as mean (represented by the cross) and the median (the line in the box) are both approximately close to the centre of the box. Hence, it is possible to run the test.

Figure 4 Boxplot 1 for Y before and Y after measured indirectly.

As shown in Table 5, there is a significant difference between the sense of belonging measured indirectly before and after the visit to the EHL site (p=.000 < α=.05). In particular, it is slightly higher after the visit (M=18.99, SD=4.30), than before (M=17.91, SD=4.64), (p=.000), (N=94). The mean difference is M=1.08 (SD=2.37), CI [.60-1.57]. Therefore, it is possible to reject the null hypothesis and affirm that the visit to an EHL site increases the sense of belonging to Europe. It must be noted that, in general, the mean for both measurements, before and after the visit, is quite high. Indeed, the theoretical maximum is 24.60, so that M=18.99 is 77.19% of the theoretical maximum. About the validity of the indirect method, it is important to mention two factors. First, Cronbach's α=.98 shows excellent internal validity of the set of data regarding the questions indirectly measuring the sense of belonging. Then, interviews mostly confirmed the list of values chosen to measure the sense of belonging to Europe. Among the values tested in the survey, interviewees mentioned: 'democracy' (N=7), 'human rights' (N=8), 'freedom' (N=6), 'peace' (N=5), 'respect', or tolerance, for human life and the environment (N=4), and 'international law' (N=1). Therefore, almost all values selected have been confirmed to some extent by interviewees, which also added: 'shared history' (N=6), 'equality' (N=3), 'solidarity' (N=2), and 'diversity' (N=2).

t-Test: Paired Two Sample for Means		
	Variable 1	*Variable 2*
Mean	18,98893617	17,90681
Variance	18,54479456	21,56515
Observations	94	94
Pearson Correlation	0,86279078	
Hypothesized Mean	0	
df	93	
t Stat	4,432840826	
P(T<=t) one-tail	0,000013	
t Critical one-tail	1,661403674	
P(T<=t) two-tail	0,000025	
t Critical two-tail	1,985801814	

Table 5 One-tail paired t-test for 'sense of belonging' measured with the indirect method.

4.2.1.2. Wilcoxon signed rank test for indirect method

As shown in table 6, the Wilcoxon signed rank test confirms the results of the paired t-test (Z=-4.89; p=.000). The p-value is lower than α=.05. It is possible to reject its null hypothesis that the average signed rank of the two set of measurements is zero.

Ranks

		N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
Yafter - Ybefore	Negative Ranks	4[a]	17,13	68,50
	Positive Ranks	39[b]	22,50	877,50
	Ties	51[c]		
	Total	94		

a. Yafter < Ybefore

b. Yafter > Ybefore

c. Yafter = Ybefore

Test Statistics[a]

	Yafter - Ybefore
Z	-4,886[b]
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	,000

a. Wilcoxon Signed Ranks Test

b. Based on negative ranks.

Table 6 Results of the Wilcoxon signed rank test for the indirect method.

4.2.1.3. One tail paired t-test for the direct method

Regarding the direct method, for the one tail paired t-test, it is possible to see from Boxplot 2 that there is no outlier, and that the assumption of normality is met as mean (represented by the cross) and the median (the line in the box) are both approximately close to the centre of the box. Hence, it is possible to run the test.

As shown in Table 8, since the p-value (p=.080) is higher than alpha (α=.05), it is not possible to

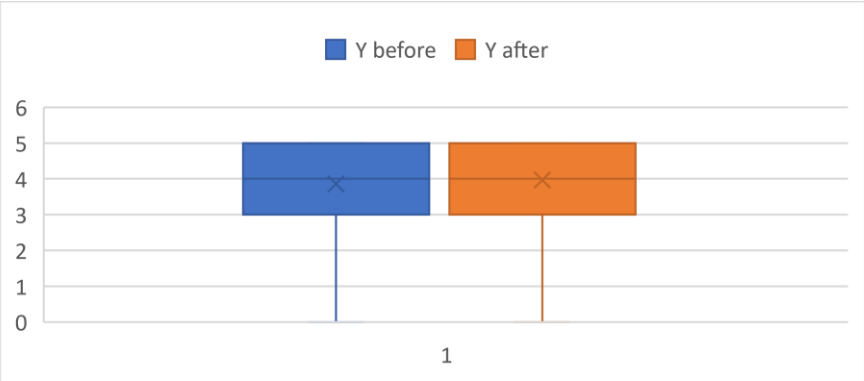

Figure 5 Box plot 2 for Y before and Y after measured indirectly.

reject the null hypothesis. The data related to the direct method, contrarily to the ones of the indirect one, does not provide any reliable answer to the research question with this sample (N=111). If we consider α=.10 (Z_{α}=1.28, central area=.80), also the one-tail paired t t-test for the direct method shows a higher mean (M=3.96, SD=1.18) after the visit than before (M=3.86, SD=1.07). The mean difference is *M*=.10 (*SD*=.74), CI [-.02 - .22]. Like the indirect measurement, the mean is quite high, equal to 79.20% (*M*=3.96) of the theoretical maximum (=5). It is also worth to mention that the percentages of the two means compared to their theoretical maximum are quite similar (77.19% ≅ 79.20%), corroborating the validity of the indirect method.

t-Test: Paired Two Sample for Means		
	Sense of Belonging After	*Sense of belonging Before*
Mean	3,963963964	3,864864865
Variance	1,398689599	1,136117936
Observations	111	111
Pearson Correlatic	0,789383843	
Hypothesized Mea	0	
df	110	
t Stat	1,414745122	
P(T<=t) one-tail	0,079983889	
t Critical one-tail	1,658824187	
P(T<=t) two-tail	0,159967777	
t Critical two-tail	1,981765282	

Table 7 One-tail paired t-test for 'sense of belonging' measured with the direct method

4.2.1.4. Wilcoxon signed rank test for the direct method

As shown in Table 8, the Wilcoxon signed rank test confirms the results of the paired t-test (Z=-2.15; *p*=.031). The p-value is lower than α=.05. It is possible to reject its null hypothesis that the average signed rank of the two set of measurements is zero.

Ranks

		N	Mean Rank	Sum of Ranks
yaftdir - ybefdir	Negative Ranks	7[a]	14,00	98,00
	Positive Ranks	19[b]	13,32	253,00
	Ties	85[c]		
	Total	111		

a. yaftdir < ybefdir

b. yaftdir > ybefdir

c. yaftdir = ybefdir

Test Statistics[a]

	yaftdir - ybefdir
Z	-2,152[b]
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	,031

a. Wilcoxon Signed Ranks Test

b. Based on negative ranks.

Table 8 Results of the Wilcoxon signed rank test for the direct method

4.2.1.5. Discussion and qualitative results

The two tests confirm the hypothesis (1) that visiting an EHL site increases the sense of belonging to Europe. The interviews corroborate this theory as well. Indeed, almost all interviewees (N=9) recognised the power heritage has in conveying a sense of belonging. Different examples have been brought in favour of this theory. Two interviewees, in particular, mentioned the recent disaster of Notre Dame in Paris to stress the connection people create with heritage sites. The referents of the Sagres Promontory, the site most visited by questionnaire respondents, noted how Sagres "during the dictatorship was largely manipulated with very nationalistic speech" (interview n°4), exactly for its power to let people identify with a specific culture. The words of the national coordinator for the Netherlands are worth to be reported (interview n°1):

"But the concentration camps I visited like you, as a youngster I visited those camps and I will never forget my first impressions. So when I walk on the ground of these sites I feel it is part of me, it is part of my own history because my parents or my grandparents etc… they experienced those horrors and those ehm... my parents had to flee for the war, like my grandparents, so if I see an African refugee or somebody from Syria, I think of my parents [...] So it comes very close to my heart and to my brain"

This reference to refugees is linked to what the Italian national coordinator claims, that heritage enhances a civic spirit. Instead, about the capacity of the European Heritage Label to convey this sense of belonging, some interviewees are more sceptical than others. On the one hand, 6 interviewees are convinced about the influence a visit to an EHL site may have, as the current director of the European District of Strasbourg, who notices that "people that does this visit has had more in my opinion the impression to be part of something bigger" (interview n°3). On the other hand, some are more in line with what the Polish national coordinator affirms (interview n°6):

"well, my feeling is totally different from what I observe. So what I do, I would totally agree with you that somehow it has a sense that through the cultural heritage the citizens of Europe can feel more European in a nutshell. But from what I am observing from four years is that that the value of title of European Heritage, or the brand of European Heritage Label is rather poor."

From the interviews, it results that the scarce notoriety of the European Heritage Label is indeed one of its main pitfalls. Nonetheless, it has been proven how visiting and getting to know one of these EHL sites increases the sense of belonging to Europe.

4.2.2. Hypothesis 2

The hypothesis (2) is: "the more involved a visitor is in the EHL initiative, the greater will be the impact of the visit on his/her sense of belonging". To test the hypothesis, two ordered regression analyses have been performed, respectively for the indirect and the direct method of measuring the sense of belonging to Europe.

4.2.2.1. Ordered logistic regression for the indirect method

About the indirect method of measuring the sense of belonging, table 9 summarizes the results of the ordered regression analysis performed (N=94; df=4, p=.749). It is possible to see that the p-value=.749 of the chi-square statistic of the final model is higher than α=.05, meaning that it is not statistically significant. In addition to this, R^2=.02, meaning that only 2% of cases can be explained by the model. The model does not improve the ability to predict the outcome. The Goodness-of-Fit table shows that the observed data are consistent with the fitted model. Indeed, the p-values for both Pearson's chi-square statistic and the chi-square statistic based on the deviance (p=1.000; p=1.000) are higher than α=.05. This means that the model predictions are valid. The model does not have explanatory power over this relationship. It might be that changes in one of the explanatory variables are not associated with changes in the impact of the visit to the sense of belonging (Y). The test of parallel lines, to test the assumption of proportional odds, also fails to reject its null hypothesis, since its p-value=.464 is higher than α=.05. Because of the aforementioned results, it is not relevant to report the specific parameter estimates.

Model Fitting Information

Model	-2 Log Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Intercept Only	138,764			
Final	136,838	1,926	4	,749

Link function: Logit.

Goodness-of-Fit

	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Pearson	98,418	206	1,000
Deviance	62,552	206	1,000

Link function: Logit.

Pseudo R-Square

Cox and Snell	,021
Nagelkerke	,021
McFadden	,005

Link function: Logit.

Test of Parallel Lines[a]

Model	-2 Log Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Null Hypothesis	136,838			
General	,000[b]	136,838	136	,464

The null hypothesis states that the location parameters (slope coefficients) are the same across response categories.

a. Link function: Logit.

b. The log-likelihood value is practically zero. There may be a complete separation in the data. The maximum likelihood estimates do not exist.

Table 9 Ordered regression analysis for degree of involvement and difference in sense of belonging, measured indirectly

In order to see whether the specific formula for the independent variable was influencing the result negatively, two one-way ANOVA tests have been done for ‘type of visitor’ (p=.623) and ‘degree of awareness before the visit’ (p=.935) (cf. Appendix B). For both tests, it is possible to see a p-value higher than α=.05.

4.2.2.2. Ordered logistic regression for the direct method

About the direct method, table 10 summarizes the results of the ordered regression analysis performed (N= 94, df=4, p=.517). The chi-square statistic of the final model is not statistically significant because its p-value=.517 is higher than alpha (α=.05). Moreover, R^2=.05 meaning that only 5% of cases can be explained by the model. The model does not improve the ability to predict the outcome. The Goodness-of-Fit table shows that the observed data are consistent with the fitted model. Indeed, the p-values for both Pearson's chi-square statistic and the chi-square statistic based on the deviance (p=1.000; p=1.000) are higher than α=.05. The model does not have explanatory power over this relationship. Therefore, even in the case of direct measurement of sense of belonging among visitors, no relationship between their degree of involvement and the influence visits have on their sense of belonging has been found. It is possible to reject the hypothesis (2) and affirm that there is no relationship between the degree of involvement of the visitor and the influence the visit has on his/her sense of belonging. The test of parallel lines, to test the assumption of proportional odds, also fails to reject its null hypothesis, since its p-value=.470 is higher than α=.05. Because of the aforementioned results, it is not relevant to report the specific parameter estimates.

Model Fitting Information

Model	-2 Log Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Intercept Only	22,037			
Final	18,785	3,252	4	,517

Link function: Logit.

Goodness-of-Fit

	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Pearson	3,191	8	,922
Deviance	3,555	8	,895

Link function: Logit.

Pseudo R-Square

Cox and Snell	,035
Nagelkerke	,049
McFadden	,029

Link function: Logit.

Test of Parallel Lines[a]

Model	-2 Log Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Null Hypothesis	18,785			
General	15,230	3,555	4	,470

The null hypothesis states that the location parameters (slope coefficients) are the same across response categories.

a. Link function: Logit.

Table 10 Ordered logistic regression for degree of involvement and difference in sense of belonging measured directly

4.2.2.3. Discussion and qualitative results

Quantitative data suggest that the degree of involvement of a visitor in the EHL policy does not affect sensibly the impact on their sense of belonging. A possible explanation might be the need to improve communication and promotion tools, which have been largely recognised among all 10 interviewees. Higher communication and future improvements in brand awareness are needed, and most interviewees (N=8) link this to organization problems at a European Level (ex-director of the European District of Strasbourg, interview n°10):

"I think it's such a pity that Council of Europe on one side and European Union on the other side had their own specific program without lots of means. So my proposal would be: Ok, let's merge together, let's bring our means in one unique label or brand or I don't know what. So that the sites have more visibility."

Next to this, the lack of financial resources for all sites and the absence of a common European fund are considered by 9 interviewees the other main problem of the Label. However, 2 interviewees acknowledge the existence of financial rewards for sites who win specific calls within the European Heritage Label network. The network is an initiative started by the sites themselves and do not even comprehend all of them, but 19 out of 48. This suggests once again that the primary problem is the lack of efficient, top-down coordination at the European level. The Italian national coordinator clearly explains the situation as follows (interview n°8):

"So the fundamental problem is that for this action [the EHL, ed.] both for coordinators, so at a national management level, and for the sites, so at a site management level, there are no specific funds. This is the huge problematic. As we know the European Union in the field of culture, for the principles of subsidiarity and proportionality, cannot impose to national states to emanate laws to support this action finances-wise. But what it could do and this is a lack at European management level, is to communicate it [the EHL initiative] more. Because until today the communication and the management are very limited"

Perhaps, better communication and a greater recognition of the Label among visitors would influence their sense of belonging to Europe.

4.2.3. Hypothesis 3

The hypothesis (3) is: "the visit to the EHL site will affect more younger European visitors". To test this hypothesis, a series of ordered logistic regressions have been performed.

4.2.3.1. Ordered logistic regression for difference in awareness

About the difference in awareness, table 11 summarizes the results of the ordered regression analysis performed (N=106; *df*=3, *p*=.074). It is possible to see that the p-value=.074 of the chi-square statistic of the final model is higher than α=.05, meaning that it is not statistically significant. In addition to this, R^2=.08, meaning that only 8% of cases can be explained by the model. The model does not improve the ability to predict the outcome. The Goodness-of-Fit table shows that the observed data are not consistent with the fitted model. The p-values for Pearson's chi-square statistic (*p*=.008) is lower than α=.05. This means that the model predictions are not valid. The model seems not to have explanatory power over this relationship. Because of the aforementioned results, it is not relevant to report the specific parameter estimates. Cronbach's α=.73 shows an acceptable internal validity of the set of data relative to the level of awareness. There is no evident relationship between age groups and difference in the level of awareness between before and after the visit to an EHL site.

Model Fitting Information

Model	-2 Log Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Intercept Only	28,379			
Final	21,440	6,938	3	,074

Link function: Logit.

Goodness-of-Fit

	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Pearson	11,777	3	,008
Deviance	5,371	3	,147

Link function: Logit.

Pseudo R-Square

Cox and Snell	,063
Nagelkerke	,083
McFadden	,045

Link function: Logit.

Table 11 Ordered logistic regression for age and difference in awareness

4.2.3.2. Ordered logistic regression for the indirect method of measuring sense of belonging

About the indirect method of measuring the sense of belonging, table 12 summarizes the results of the ordered regression analysis performed (N=94; *df*=3, *p*=.209). It is possible to see that the p-value=.209 of the chi-square statistic of the final model is higher than α=.05, meaning that it is not statistically significant. In addition to this, R^2=.05, meaning that only 5% of cases can be explained by the model. The model does not improve the ability to predict the outcome. The Goodness-of-Fit table shows that the observed data are consistent with the fitted model. Indeed, the p-values for both Pearson’s chi-square statistic and the chi-square statistic based on the deviance (*p*=.275; *p*=.532) are higher than α=.05. This means that the model predictions are valid. The model does not have explanatory power over this relationship. It might be that changes in age are not associated with changes in the impact of the visit to the sense of belonging. Because of the aforementioned results, it is not relevant to report the specific parameter estimates.

Model Fitting Information

Model	-2 Log Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Intercept Only	182,339			
Final	177,800	4,539	3	,209

Link function: Logit.

Goodness-of-Fit

	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Pearson	110,076	102	,275
Deviance	100,187	102	,532

Link function: Logit.

Pseudo R-Square

Cox and Snell	,048
Nagelkerke	,048
McFadden	,011

Link function: Logit

Table 12 Ordered logistic regression for age and sense of belonging, measured indirectly

4.2.3.3. Ordered logistic regression for the direct method of measuring sense of belonging

About the direct method, table 13 summarizes the results of the ordered regression analysis performed (N= 110, *df*=3, *p*=.623). The chi-square statistic of the final model is not statistically significant because its p-value=.623 is higher than alpha (α=.05). Moreover, R^2=.02 meaning that only 2% of cases can be explained by the model. The model does not improve the ability to predict the outcome. The Goodness-of-Fit table shows that the observed data are consistent with the fitted model. Indeed, the p-values for both Pearson's chi-square statistic and the chi-square statistic based on the deviance (p=.905; p=.845) are higher than α=.05. The model does not have explanatory power over this relationship. Therefore, even in the case of direct measurement of sense of belonging among visitors, no relationship between age groups and the influence visits have on their sense of belonging has been found. Because of the aforementioned results, it is not relevant to report the specific parameter estimates.

Model Fitting Information

Model	-2 Log Likelihood	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Intercept Only	36,130			
Final	34,365	1,765	3	,623

Link function: Logit.

Goodness-of-Fit

	Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Pearson	6,213	12	,905
Deviance	7,189	12	,845

Link function: Logit.

Pseudo R-Square

Cox and Snell	,016
Nagelkerke	,020
McFadden	,010

Link function: Logit.

Table 13 Ordered logistic regression for age and sense of belonging, measured indirectly

4.2.3.4. Discussion and qualitative results

In light of the previous results, hypothesis (3) is likely to be rejected. It is possible to affirm that age does not influence the impact the visit has on visitors, and younger generations are not necessarily more influenced by a visit to an EHL site. Similarly, interview results regarding who, between young and adults, should be more influenced by a visit to an EHL site, do not infer any definitive answer. The answer was based on the youngsters' opinion and experience. While in 6 interviews youngsters are preferred over adults, in the other 4 are adults to be preferred. Those who claim in favour of younger generations argue for their different, more European-oriented education, their contacts with other young Europeans, and their capacity to speak another language. These reasons are well summarised in the words of the Italian National Coordinator (interview n°8):

"Surely it is easier to speak with youngsters about Europe. […] For a series of reasons. First of all for the education they receive at school. If we think at 50, 60 years ago, the study of the language in schools maybe took place, of foreign language I mean, but it was something absolutely secondary, it was not considered that it could have been truly possible to learn a foreign language at school. Today, the study of languages, that I use [inaudible] all secondary school courses, at least in high school foreign languages are studied. So it is not unlikely to speak another foreign European language. Thing that put youngsters in a different position, of major potentiality of communication with other young Europeans. Then we think about exchange programs. [...]. You grow up with a different approach, and this makes you live Europe not as something far, lived as far but lived as closer. And so among youngsters it is not perceived as an enemy, it does not impose rules, or stops, as often can be for adult generations, but as an opportunity."

The importance to tell a story, and with the right media, is also recognised among interviewees, especially to grasp the attention of younger generations. Instead, those in favour of adult generations mention the fact that adults are usually more aware of the site they are visiting, hence can better understand the values the site transmits. The greater awareness of older generations is recognised by both sides, but interpreted differently (Polish national coordinator, interview n°6):

"we cannot imagine that somehow someone of Germany, where I have lot of friend in Germany could attack Poland. Yes this is something totally out of the sky for me while for my grandparents, they lived the Second World War and my grandfather said: remember it happened twice, it can happen third time."

In conclusion, it is not possible to give a straightforward answer to this question. Indeed, six interviewees admitted explicitly they do not know what the right answer should be. Perhaps, the director of the European district of Strasbourg is right when she says (interview n°3): "for me is not a matter of age".

4.2.4. Other relevant patterns

Despite the hypothesis (3) has not been confirmed, it is still possible to appreciate a difference in the percentage of degree of awareness among age groups before (Table 14) and after (Table 15) the visit. It is possible to see how in total the percentage of 'completely unaware' respondents decrease from 67.5% (N=77) before the visit to a 17.5% (N=20) (percentages are intended over the grand total). At the same time, it is possible to witness a sharp increase in the percentage of 'somewhat aware (general knowledge)' respondents, from 27.2% (N=31) to 71.9% (N=82), and 'totally aware (expert)' respondents, from 5.3% (N=6) to 10.5% (N=12). In general, the increase is present among all age groups, but it is worth to highlight the transition from 4.4% (N=5) of respondents for 'somewhat aware (general knowledge)' aged '15-24' and 2.6% (N=3) of those aged '25-39', to respectively 17.5% (N=20) and 11.4% (N=13), which is about four times more. This trend suggests that a visit to an EHL site generally increases the level of awareness among visitors.

Count of AWARENESS DEGREE BEFORE	Column Labels			
Row Labels	Completely Unaware	Somewhat aware (general knowledge)	Totally aware (expert)	Grand Total
0-14	0,9%	0,0%	0,0%	0,9%
15-24	17,5%	4,4%	0,9%	22,8%
25-39	11,4%	2,6%	0,9%	14,9%
40-54	17,5%	12,3%	0,9%	30,7%
55+	20,2%	7,9%	2,6%	30,7%
Grand Total	**67,5%**	**27,2%**	**5,3%**	**100,0%**

Table 14 Crosstab for degree of awareness before the visit to an EHL site, per age group

Count of AWARENESS DEGREE AFTER	Column Labels			
Row Labels	Completely Unaware	Somewhat aware (general knowledge)	Totally aware (expert)	Grand Total
0-14	0,9%	0,0%	0,0%	0,9%
15-24	3,5%	17,5%	1,8%	22,8%
25-39	1,8%	11,4%	1,8%	14,9%
40-54	6,1%	23,7%	0,9%	30,7%
55+	5,3%	19,3%	6,1%	30,7%
Grand Total	**17,5%**	**71,9%**	**10,5%**	**100,0%**

Table 15 Crosstab for degree of awareness after the visit to an EHL site, per age group

Relevant results interest the relationship between the type of visit (online/on-site) and the increment in degree of awareness before and after the visit. A Chi-square test has been used to see if there is a relationship between the two categorical variables 'type of visit' and 'difference in degree of awareness'. Its hypothesis can be written as follows:

H0: 'difference in degree of awareness' is independent of 'type of visit'

H1: 'difference in degree of awareness' is not independent of 'type of visit'

The Chi-square test (N=94; df=1; p=.005) of value 7.795 demonstrates that there is a relationship between type of visit (online or on-site) and difference in degree of awarenesss (Table 16). In particular, in the cross tab it is possible to see the counted values (next to the expected value is the null hypothesis of the chi-square test) were true, and the percentages of the counted values relatively to type of visit and increment in degree of awareness. The difference in degree of awareness registered assumed only 2 possible values: 0 (no increment after the visit), and .5 (an increment after the visit). The crosstab counts 6.4 online visitors with an increment in degree of awareness more than the expected. In other words, there are more online visitors (and less on-site) with an increment in degree of awareness than what they would have been if the two variables were independent.

onlineonsite * diffinawareness Crosstabulation

			diffinawareness		
			,00	,50	Total
onlineonsite	On line	Count	9	24	33
		Expected Count	15,4	17,6	33,0
		% within onlineonsite	27,3%	72,7%	100,0%
		% within diffinawareness	20,5%	48,0%	35,1%
	On site	Count	35	26	61
		Expected Count	28,6	32,4	61,0
		% within onlineonsite	57,4%	42,6%	100,0%
		% within diffinawareness	79,5%	52,0%	64,9%
Total		Count	44	50	94
		Expected Count	44,0	50,0	94,0
		% within onlineonsite	46,8%	53,2%	100,0%
		% within diffinawareness	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	7,795[a]	1	,005		
Continuity Correction[b]	6,633	1	,010		
Likelihood Ratio	8,024	1	,005		
Fisher's Exact Test				,009	,005
N of Valid Cases	94				

a. 0 cells (0,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 15,45.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Table 16 Results of the Chi-square test for type of visit and difference in degree of awareness before and after the visit.

The result seems controversial and goes against the theory (Marty, 2007). Besides, the site most visited is Sagres Promontory, which is a cultural-natural heritage site whose visual component is essential. The referents of the site have stated clearly in the interview how online visits cannot replace on-site ones for Sagres, especially for the modest quality of their website. All characteristics mentioned by academics to justify the impact of online visits are not present. However, most online visits reported are not related to Sagres promontory but are spread among different EHL sites. Besides, a possible reason for the higher online mean is that on-site visits recorded have been done in the past (because during the questionnaire time frame, the EHL sites were all closed), and not right before completing the questionnaire, as it is likely to be for online visits.

Upon suggestion of the head of the Finnish research team EUROHERIT on the EHL policy, the online dimension has been one of the main topics in all interviews. Interviewees have been asked about the importance of the online dimension of the site and its potential, especially in situation of forced closedown like the one EHL sites have experienced over the months of March and April 2020. In general, 9 interviewees recognised the importance of the online medium (the other one admitted not to know enough about the topic to express an opinion). The potential of online sources has been largely recognised for its immediacy and capacity to effectively communicate with young generations. Indeed, as explained in paragraph 4.2.3., telling a story with the right medium is fundamental to convey values. However, 6 respondents also recognise that, despite its importance, a developed online dimension is not the priority for the EHL sites. Indeed, all directors recognise that their presence online is “not enough” and could be improved, but to do that they would have to invest resources they do not have. In addition, 2 interviewees stress the fact that an online visit cannot replace a physical one. On the basis of the data collected, even if online visits might not be a perfect substitute of on-site ones, the survey shows its informative potential.

5. Conclusion

The thesis has performed a challenging theoretical and empirical research on the effectiveness of the European policy ‘European Heritage Label’. On the basis of its results, and particularly on the confirmation of the hypothesis (1), it is possible to argue the following: that the European cultural project ‘European Heritage Label’ influences citizens’ sense of belonging to Europe. Indeed, it has been noticed how the sense of belonging to Europe of visitors of EHL sites tends to increase after the visit.

This should be considered the main achievement of the entire research, whose birth originated from the acknowledgement of an anomaly. The adoption of a series of cultural initiatives by the European Union in order to create and reinforce a European feeling, whose bounds and characteristics are everything but delineated. The theoretical framework has provided a solid academic basis to interpret this phenomenon. Starting from the broadest perspective, it covered the most important themes about heritage related with this research. From its rapidly changing definition, to its widely recognised qualities and alleged property to transmit values. The socio-economic potential of heritage has been recognised by both politicians and academics, and this thesis recognises this capacity as well. Issues related to European cultural policies and the EHL policy in specific has been tackled as well. Moreover, the concept of sense of belonging, fundamental for the entire research, was derived from academic studies in the field of psychology, next to the cultural one. The theoretical foundations make it possible to design the empirical research. Two factors, above others, problematized this pivotal step. First of all, the fact that, despite the abundant academic literature found on the topic, no definitive method stands out over the others. The necessity to devise a method led to the development of, for instance, tailored formulas to measure indirectly the sense of belonging. These formulas should be considered another achievement of this thesis as they might be a potential resource, a point of departure for future research in this field. The second difficulty encountered was caused by the outspread of the virus COVID-19, with the consequent forced closure of the EHL sites, together with all other cultural sites in Europe. The accident led to the adoption of entrepreneurial strategies to conduct the research, mainly embodied by the use of a quantitative, qualitative mixed-method and the extension of the population to online visitors.

The research process has led to the successful collection of roughly 182 questionnaires and 10 interviews. The questionnaire response rate is sensibly higher than the OPC of 2018 instructed by the European Commission. Hence, this further achievement should be considered a precious data source out of the academic context as well. In other words, the research is important on both a practical and an academic level. The interviewees, notably the directors or referents of the EHL sites, have indeed expressed their interest in the results of the questionnaire, especially because it is seldom possible for them to run surveys due to resource constraints. Besides, from the interviews, it has been possible to delineate a series of practical problems of the policy and to reflect on its potential. For instance, the insufficient status of online tools recognised by interviewees is currently being improved through a major use of social networks. A Facebook page completely dedicated to the Label has been recently opened. In it, the Mundaneum, one of the sites whose referent has been interviewed, has lately concluded an online informative campaign for all the EHL sites. It comes without saying that future additional improvements in respect to the online dimension of the EHL sites and the policy at large are strongly suggested.

Another relevant policy implication emerged is the apparent inconsistent link between age and impact of the visit. No evidence has been found that differences in age influence how the visit to an EHL site is received. Likewise, the degree of involvement in the project, given by the type of visitor, the type of visit and the degree of awareness of the EHL, seems not to have any relationship with the extent to which visitors are influenced. As a confirmation of this, the experts interviewed reported opposite, sometimes controversial answers whether adults or younger generations should be the best audience to whom convey this European feeling. In light of this, the thesis cannot justify the special attention the EHL policy reserve to younger generations.

Furthermore, better coordination at a European level, especially in terms of communication, has been strongly encouraged. Different experiences emerged from one country to another, demonstrating inconsistency in the way they relate with the European Commission. Many directors and national coordinators felt they were left alone in the process of selection and after their election. More efficient means of communication and a stronger network among sites are the major future improvements for this policy. It must be also reported the idea of establishing a fund for the awarded sites, as it has been the most shared request among interviewees. Whether this strategy would be viable or not for the still relatively young EHL initiative, some sort of financial plan to support EHL site is strongly advised. The capacity of the site to tell a story, to effectively communicate to younger generations depends also on their financial capacity to implement modern communication tools online. Adequate means to promote the Label may establish a link between visitors' degree of awareness and impact of the visit, which has not been found.

Academically, the research confirms previous theory on heritage and on its capacity to transmit values. It corroborates the idea that the online dimension is a powerful resource for cultural heritage. While online visits may not substitute perfectly visits on site, they still perform a surprisingly competent informative role. Moreover, it found empirical evidence of the use of heritage as a policy instrument in line with the studies around the pro-European rhetoric of the EU.

The exploitation and, at the same time, valorisation of culture by the European Union to instil and consolidate a European sentiment among its citizens can be considered an effective strategy. If the intention of the European Union is to eradicate internal dissident forces, the presence of a common feeling, of a shared cultural identity, is necessary. The identification with Europe cannot stand solely on the recognition of the practical, socio-economic benefits it grants. Since the sense of belonging depends on how a person fits and is valuably involved in the community, much depends on the capacity of the European Union to tell and valorise an inclusive story. It has been demonstrated how heritage can nourish this narration.

While the thesis counts on the confirmation of the link between cultural visits and sense of belonging, it suffers of several limitations too. Due to the survey distribution exclusively online, the quantity and even more the quality of the responses fell. Moreover, the survey has been able to record only online visits and past on-site visits. Considering a survey with principally on-site visits right after their conclusion is likely to offer a different, and perhaps clearer, image. The ways in which the sense of belonging has been measured seems to be valid and reliable. Nonetheless, it must be recognised a lack of previous methodological studies measuring quantitatively the link between cultural identity and sense of belonging in cultural economics. Furthermore, the adoption of Likert scales poses difficulties in the way data have been elaborated, as they rely on a discrete scale. This thesis eagerly invites future research to experiment other ways to assess the sense of belonging, perhaps including the additional European values that have been individuated.

For reasons of feasibility, the thesis did not consider all European cultural initiatives. However, it will be interesting to run similar kind of researches for other cultural projects which, being the European Heritage Label the youngest, are surely more known by Europeans.

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Appendix A

Survey on the impact of European cultural heritage policy on its citizens

Please, fill in this questionnaire after the visit. It will help us gather precious information on your experience and the effectiveness of European Policies. The questionnaire is anonymous, it will take just <u>5</u> minutes.

Click the arrow button to start.

Q1 What is your **<u>gender</u>**?

○ Male

○ Female

○ Other

Q3 What is your **<u>age</u>**?

○ 0-14

○ 15-24

○ 25-39

○ 40-54

○ 55+

Q4 What is your **nationality**?

____

Q5 What is your **level of education?**

- ◯ no degree
- ◯ highschool degree
- ◯ graduate degree
- ◯ postgraduate degree

Q6 What is your level of income? (annual, in Euros €)

- ◯ less than 10000
- ◯ 10000 - 15000
- ◯ 15000 - 20000
- ◯ 20000-25000
- ◯ more than 25000
- ◯ I do not want to tell

Q8 Please, write the name of the EHL site you have visited.

____

Q16 You visited the site as

- ◯ On site
- ◯ On line

Q9 Apart from this one, which of the following EHL sites have you ever visited? Please, tick the box next to the site you have visited. Multiple answers are possible. The list is ordered by country, alphabetically.

- ☐ Austria: Archaeological Park Carnuntum
- ☐ Austria: The Imperial Palace, Vienna
- ☐ Belgium: Mundaneum, Mons
- ☐ Belgium: Bois du Cazier, Marcinelle
- ☐ Belgium/ The Netherlands: Colonies of Bevenevolence
- ☐ Croatia: Krapina Neanderthal Site
- ☐ Czech Republic: Olomouc Premyslid Castle and Archdiocesan Museum
- ☐ Czech Republic: Kynzvart Castle - Place of diplomatic meetings
- ☐ Estonia: Great Guild Hall, Tallinn
- ☐ Estonia: Historic Ensemble of the University of Tartu
- ☐ France: Abbey of Cluny
- ☐ France: European District of Strasbourg
- ☐ France: Robert Schuman's House, Scy-Chazelles
- ☐ France- Germany: Former Natzweiler concentration camp and its satellite camps
- ☐ France: Chambon-sur-Lignon Memorial

- [ ] Germany: Hambach Castle
- [ ] Germany - Austria - Czech Republic - Poland: Werkbund Estates in Europe
- [ ] Germany: Leipzig’s Musical Heritage Sites
- [ ] Germany: Münster and Osnabrück – Sites of the Peace of Westphalia
- [ ] Hungary: Dohány Street Synagogue Complex, Budapest
- [ ] Hungary: Pan-European Picnic Memorial Park, Sopron
- [ ] Hungary: Liszt Ferenc Academy of Music, Budapest
- [ ] Hungary: Living heritage of Szentendre
- [ ] Italy: Fort Cadine, Trento
- [ ] Italy: Museo Casa Alcide De Gasperi, Pieve Tesino
- [ ] Italy: Archeological Area of Ostia Antica
- [ ] Latvia: The three brothers
- [ ] Lithuania: Kaunas of 1919-1940
- [ ] Luxembourg: Village of Schengen, Schengen
- [ ] Netherlands: Maastricht Treaty
- [ ] Netherlands, Camp Westerbork
- [ ] Netherlands: Peace Palace, The Hague

- [ ] Greece: The Heart of Ancient Athens
- [ ] Poland: Union of Lublin
- [ ] Poland: The May 3, 1791 Constitution, Warsaw
- [ ] Poland: The historic Gdańsk Shipyard
- [ ] Poland: World War I Eastern Front Cemetery No. 123, Łużna – Pustki
- [ ] Poland: Site of remembrance in Lambinowice
- [ ] Portugal: Sagres Promontory
- [ ] Portugal: General Library of the University of Coimbra
- [ ] Portugal: Charter of Law of Abolition of the Death Penalty, Lisbon
- [ ] Portugal: Underwater Cultural Heritage of the Azores
- [ ] Romania: Sighet Memorial
- [ ] Slovenia: Javorca Memorial Church and its cultural landscape, Tolmin
- [ ] Slovenia: Franja Partisan Hospital
- [ ] Slovenia: Zdravljica - the message of the European Spring of Nations
- [ ] Spain: Archive of the Crown of Aragon, Barcelona
- [ ] Spain: Residencia de Estudiantes, Madrid

Q10 You visited this site as…

◯ Normal Visitor

◯ EU professional

◯ Member of the EHL initiative

Q11 How much were you <u>aware</u> of the EHL initiative <u>before</u> visiting the site?

◯ Completely Unaware

◯ Somewhat aware (general knowledge)

◯ Totally aware (expert)

Q12 ...and **<u>now</u>**?

◯ Completely Unaware

◯ Somewhat aware (general knowledge)

◯ Totally aware (expert)

Q13 To what extent do you feel <u>accepted</u> by the European Union? The term ‘accepted’ stand for the extent to which you feel involved, recognized and welcomed. Please, tick one of the boxes ranging from 0 (totally not accepted) to 5 (totally accepted)

	0	1	2	3	4	5
Before visiting the site	○	○	○	○	○	○
After visiting the site	○	○	○	○	○	○

Q14 To what extent do you share these values before and after visiting the site? The term 'values' stands for your priorities, what you believe important. Please, tick one of the boxes ranging from 0 (not at all) to 5 (totally)

	0	1	2	3	4	5
Peace - before	○	○	○	○	○	○
Peace - after	○	○	○	○	○	○
Human rights- before	○	○	○	○	○	○
Human rights - after	○	○	○	○	○	○
Respect for human life- before	○	○	○	○	○	○
Respect for human life - after	○	○	○	○	○	○
Democracy - before	○	○	○	○	○	○
Democracy - after	○	○	○	○	○	○
Individual freedom - before	○	○	○	○	○	○

Individual freedom - after	○	○	○	○	○	○
Equality - before	○	○	○	○	○	○
Equality - after	○	○	○	○	○	○
Cultural diversity - before	○	○	○	○	○	○
Cultural diversity - after	○	○	○	○	○	○

Q15 To what extent do you feel a European? Please, tick one of the boxes ranging from 0 (not at all) to 5 (totally)

	0	1	2	3	4	5
Before visiting the site	○	○	○	○	○	○
After visiting the site	○	○	○	○	○	○

Appendix B

Anova: Single Factor						
SUMMARY						
Groups	*Count*	*Sum*	*Average*	*Variance*		
normal	88	100,72	1,144545	5,922464		
professior	4	0,5	0,125	0,0625		
member	2	0,5	0,25	0,125		
ANOVA						
ce of Varia	*SS*	*df*	*MS*	*F*	*P-value*	*F crit*
Between (	5,392093	2	2,696046	0,475865	0,622885	3,096553
Within Gr(	515,5669	91	5,66557			
Total	520,959	93				

One-way ANOVA for ‘type of visitor’ and difference in sense of belonging measured indirectly.

Anova: Single Factor						
SUMMARY						
Groups	*Count*	*Sum*	*Average*	*Variance*		
unaware	63	71,43	1,13381	6,216137		
somewhat	25	25,54	1,0216	5,010014		
expert	6	4,75	0,791667	2,910417		
ANOVA						
Source of '	SS	df	MS	F	P-value	F crit
Between (	0,766069	2	0,383035	0,067006	0,935235	3,096553
Within Gr(	520,1929	91	5,716406			
Total	520,959	93				

One-way ANOVA test for ‘degree of awareness before the visit’ and difference in sense of belonging measured indirectly.