

Intangible Cultural Heritage as Symbolic and Emotional Capital: A Cognitive-Affective Analysis of Haikou Qilou Old Street

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Abstract: This study examines how the integration of intangible cultural heritage (ICH) and cultural tourism contributes to destination branding in Hainan, China. Taking Haikou Qilou Old Street—a National Historical and Cultural District featuring the country's largest cluster of Nanyang-style arcade architecture—as a critical case, we conduct a netnographic content analysis of 723 user-generated reviews posted on Dianping between October 2024 and February 2025. Using ROSTCM6, we implement word-frequency, sentiment, and semantic network analyses to reveal the structure of tourists' cognitive and affective images. Results show that cognitive perceptions are organized around four domains—architectural history, cultural/experiential engagement, culinary commerce, and tourism interaction—while affective responses are predominantly positive and are driven by immersive ICH activities and gastronomic rituals. A three-tier schema emerges in tourists' holistic image formation: ICH symbols → cultural attributes → experiential enhancement. Building on these insights, we propose strategies to strengthen multidimensional ICH symbolism, deepen multilayered experiential design, and coordinate multi-stakeholder collaboration to advance Hainan's destination branding. The study contributes a cognitive-affective mechanism for ICH-driven brand co-creation and offers actionable guidance for heritage-rich urban destinations.

Keywords: intangible cultural heritage (ICH), cultural tourism, destination branding, mutual empowerment, netnography, Haikou Qilou Old Street

1. INTRODUCTION

The integration of intangible cultural heritage (ICH) with cultural tourism has emerged as a pivotal strategy for reconciling heritage preservation with the transformation of tourism industries in the twenty-first century. Globally, international frameworks such as the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage emphasize the dual challenge of conserving heritage while ensuring its relevance in contemporary cultural economies. Within this context, the model of "ICH + cultural tourism" has been increasingly recognized as a means of revitalizing traditional practices while creating distinctive destination brands (Park, 2014).

In China, this approach has been institutionalized through the 14th Five-Year Plan for Cultural and Tourism Development, which explicitly advocates the alignment of ICH resources with evolving tourism consumption patterns. The establishment of the Hainan Free Trade Port (FTP) further highlights the importance of positioning cultural tourism as a pillar of global competitiveness, aiming to create internationally distinctive destination identities. This policy framework underscores a broader international imperative: heritage must not only be preserved but also translated into meaningful, immersive experiences that resonate with diverse audiences.

Haikou Qilou Old Street, a National Historical and Cultural District, exemplifies these tensions. Despite its century-old Nanyang-style arcade architecture and diverse ICH projects, the site faces persistent challenges of homogenized tourism products and insufficiently distinctive cultural narratives. These issues restrict the realization of the site's cultural-tourism potential and reflect broader global challenges of balancing heritage authenticity with commercialization, a concern echoed in heritage destinations from Barcelona's Gothic Quarter to Singapore's Chinatown (Richards, 2018; Henderson, 2011).

To address these gaps, this study adopts Haikou Qilou Old Street as a critical case. By analyzing user-generated content (UGC) from Dianping, China's largest lifestyle platform, the research examines how the synergy of "ICH + cultural tourism" shapes destination branding through tourists' cognitive and affective experiences. Employing content analysis and semantic network analysis, we uncover how tourists interpret, emotionally engage with, and co-create the symbolic meanings of ICH. The findings reveal a layered process of brand formation: (1) the cognitive recognition of ICH symbols, (2) the affective resonance of cultural narratives, and (3) the collaborative co-creation of meaning through participatory practices. These insights contribute both to theoretical debates on destination image formation and to practical strategies for enhancing ICH sustainability and competitiveness in heritage-rich contexts worldwide.

2. Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

Use Bookman Old Style font throughout the manuscript and single space in all paragraphs. Define abbreviations and acronyms the first time they are used in the text, even after they have been defined in the abstract. Do not use abbreviations in the title or heads unless they are unavoidable.

2.1 ICH–Cultural Tourism Integration in Global and Hainan Contexts

ICH tourism, as a quintessential form of cultural tourism, has received growing scholarly attention for its capacity to sustain heritage while enhancing destination attractiveness. Globally, scholars argue that integrating ICH into tourism not only revitalizes traditions but also deepens cultural immersion for visitors (Park, 2014; Smith & Akagawa, 2009). Such integration fosters experiential authenticity, strengthens place attachment, and cultivates positive destination evaluations (Timothy & Boyd, 2015). At the same time, however, concerns persist about the risks of superficial development and over-commercialization, which can erode cultural distinctiveness (Su & Teo, 2009).

In China, the integration of ICH and tourism has been widely explored as part of sustainable development strategies. For instance, Ouyang et al. (2021) demonstrate how scenic area reconstruction revitalizes ICH, while Yuan et al. (2021) highlight the role of ICH in enriching the cultural depth of destinations. In Hainan, however, tourism development has historically emphasized natural resources over cultural assets. Recent studies (Guo et al., 2023; Zhang, 2022; Yu et al., 2024) reveal persistent issues such as product homogenization and shallow cultural integration, which undermine the creation of distinctive destination images. Addressing these gaps requires a shift toward deeper, experience-driven models of ICH tourism that balance preservation with innovation.

Beyond the Chinese context, global scholarship has critically examined the tensions inherent in ICH-tourism integration. Key debates revolve around the negotiation of authenticity in the face of commodification (Cohen & Cohen, 2012), the risk of over-commercialization diluting cultural distinctiveness (Dioko, 2016), and the potential of co-creative practices involving tourists and communities in sustaining living heritage (Campos et al., 2018). These discussions provide a critical lens for analyzing the challenges observed in Qilou Old Street, framing them not as isolated issues but as part of a broader global discourse on sustainable heritage tourism.

2.2 Tourist Perceptions of Destination Image

Destination image remains a cornerstone concept in tourism studies, understood as the holistic mental representation of a place encompassing both cognitive evaluations (e.g., perceived attributes, cultural assets) and affective responses (e.g., emotional resonance, attachment). Seminal studies (e.g., Echtner & Ritchie, 2003; Styliadis et al., 2017) emphasize that destination image influences not only initial tourist decision-making but also post-visit behaviors such as satisfaction, loyalty, and recommendation.

Research has increasingly adopted a dual-dimensional perspective, distinguishing between the cognitive image—rational assessments of destination attributes such as cultural resources, facilities, and accessibility—and the affective image—emotional responses such as pleasure, belonging, or nostalgia (Hailin et al., 2010). Together, these dimensions shape a destination's symbolic identity and memorability (Kavaratzis & Hatch, 2013). For heritage tourism, the synergy of cognitive and affective dimensions is particularly salient, as visitors interpret physical symbols (e.g., architecture, rituals) through emotional engagement with cultural meanings (Xin et al., 2016).

2.3 Theoretical Integration

As China's only tropical island province, Hainan is endowed with both abundant natural resources and a rich array of ICH. Yet, its destination branding faces dual challenges: intensifying homogenized competition and insufficient cultural distinctiveness. Leveraging ICH as a strategic cultural resource offers new pathways for differentiation and sustainable competitiveness.

To analyze this process, the present study integrates two complementary theoretical perspectives: the cognitive–affective model of destination image and the mutual empowerment framework of ICH and tourism. The cognitive–affective model suggests that destination image is constructed through rational evaluations (cognitive dimension) and emotional responses (affective dimension), which jointly shape holistic perceptions. At the same time, the empowerment framework emphasizes the reciprocal relationship between ICH and tourism: tourism revitalizes ICH through broader dissemination and economic support, while ICH enriches tourism by enhancing cultural depth and distinctiveness.

Bringing these frameworks together, this study proposes that cognitive recognition of ICH symbols anchors the functional identity of the destination by structuring distinctive symbolic capital. In addition, affective engagement with ICH practices transforms this identity into symbolic meaning, generating emotional capital through immersive participation and cultural resonance. Finally, collaborative co-creation among tourists, local communities, and institutions links cognition and affect into a dynamic process, reinforcing both brand distinctiveness and cultural sustainability.

This integrated lens contributes to theory by proposing that cognition and affect are not merely parallel dimensions but sequentially layered processes, mediated by experiential depth. Furthermore, conceptualizing ICH as both cognitive and emotional capital enriches understandings of heritage tourism, demonstrating how it simultaneously supports functional distinctiveness and symbolic resonance.

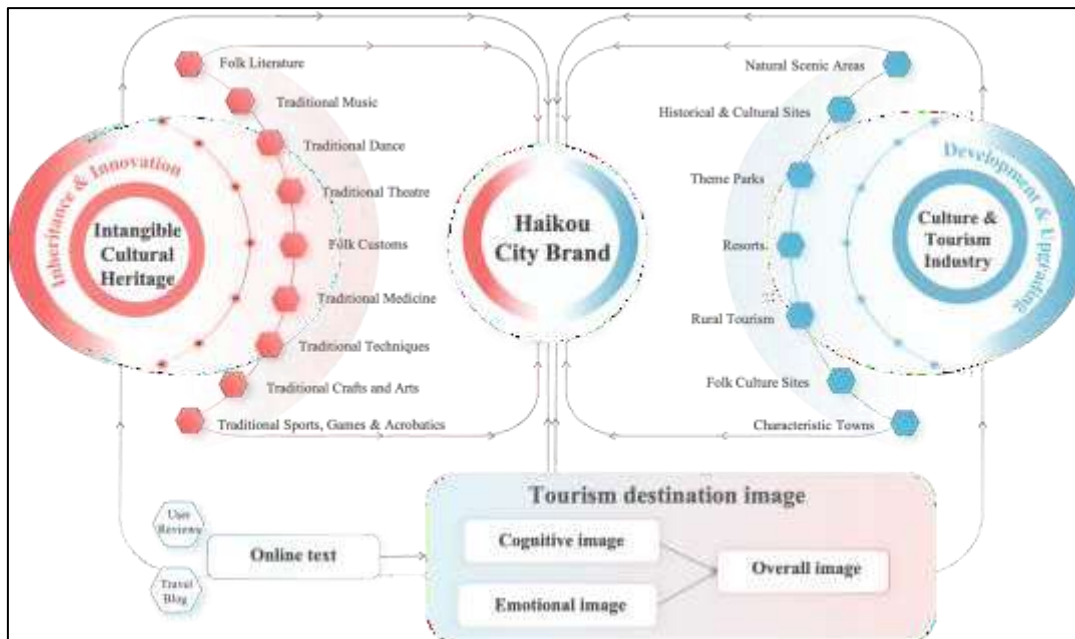


Figure 1. Research Framework of the Study

3. Research Design

3.1 Case Selection

Haikou Qilou Old Street has become a must-visit landmark in Hainan, functioning as both a cultural and historical emblem of the province. Recognized as one of China's inaugural "Top Ten Historical and Cultural Streets," it hosts the country's largest and best-preserved Nanyang-style arcade architecture complex. Its architectural hybridity—blending Eastern and Western elements with distinct Nanyang influences—embodies a dual cultural identity that combines material spaces with humanistic narratives. This makes the street a fertile ground for ICH preservation and revitalization.

The site integrates more than 20 ICH projects, including Hainan coconut carving, Qiong opera, and Li brocade. These are showcased through both institutional platforms, such as the Haikou ICH Exhibition Hall, and commercial venues, such as experiential workshops and craft stores. Together, they form the "Qilou ICH Museum Cluster," an innovative model combining "ICH Workshop + Tourism Experience."

Nevertheless, the site also faces challenges: tensions between authenticity and commercialization, homogenization of commercial spaces, and the proliferation of "Instagrammable" consumption spots. These issues underscore the complexities of achieving sustainable mutual empowerment between ICH and tourism. Accordingly, Qilou Old Street represents an ideal case for examining how ICH–tourism integration contributes to destination branding in Hainan, offering insights relevant to both heritage conservation and tourism development.



Figure 2. On-Site Photographs of Haikou Qilou Old Street

3.2 Data Collection

Tourist perceptions were examined using user-generated content (UGC) from Dianping, one of China's largest lifestyle service platforms. A mixed strategy of automated web scraping and manual collection was adopted to extract reviews containing the keyword "Haikou Qilou Old Street." Dianping was chosen for three main reasons. First, with its extensive user base and high engagement, Dianping provides abundant, first-hand tourist reviews. Second, the platform integrates attractions, dining, accommodation, and transportation, allowing for analysis of how the site interacts with surrounding tourism ecosystems. Third,

reviews are subject to consumption verification, manual audits, and algorithmic screening, which help reduce fraudulent entries.

The data collection period was restricted to October 2024 (post-National Day Golden Week) – February 2025 (post-Spring Festival), aligning with Hainan's peak tourism season. After cleaning the dataset by removing duplicates, advertisements, and irrelevant texts (e.g., symbols, emojis, or non-Chinese characters), and normalizing synonyms, (e.g., "Qilou" and "Arcade Street" were standardized to "Qilou Old Street"; "zaobacu hotpot" and "fermented vinegar hotpot" were standardized to "zaobacu"), 723 valid textual reviews remained for analysis. The data cleaning process followed strict rules: (1) removal of exact duplicates; (2) elimination of posts containing explicit commercial links or contact information deemed as advertisements; (3) replacement of emoticons and emojis with their core semantic meaning (e.g., [heart] denoted as "love," [thumbs up] as "satisfactory") for sentiment analysis, while non-semiotic symbols were deleted.

3.3 Methodology

This study employed a combination of content analysis and semantic network analysis to systematically transform unstructured online review texts into structured insights. First, Using ROST Content Mining 6 software, reviews were segmented into words and phrases. High-frequency terms were extracted to identify salient cognitive attributes of Qilou Old Street. To enhance reliability, two researchers independently reviewed the word segmentation results, with intercoder agreement exceeding 90%. Discrepancies were resolved through discussion.

Second, tourists' affective evaluations were classified into positive, neutral, and negative categories, with sentiment intensity was further categorized into low (0-10), moderate (11-20), and high levels (>20) to capture the strength of affective responses. These thresholds were adopted based on the built-in classification algorithm of ROSTCM6, which calculates intensity scores from sentiment dictionaries and syntactic patterns, and are commonly used in UGC sentiment analysis studies.

Finally, co-occurrence matrices of key terms were generated to map conceptual linkages between cognitive and affective dimensions. Visualizations of the semantic networks were produced to identify hierarchical structures in tourists' holistic destination image.

By integrating these methods, this study provides a comprehensive examination of tourists' cognitive image (rational evaluations), affective image (emotional engagement), and holistic destination image, offering robust empirical grounding for theorizing ICH-driven destination brand co-creation.

4. Findings and Analysis

4.1 Cognitive Image of Haikou Qilou Old Street

The word segmentation and frequency analysis produced a list of high-frequency terms (top 30 shown in Table 1), which were further visualized in word clouds (Figures 3–7).

Table 1 High-Frequency Terms in Tourists' Cognitive Image of Haikou Qilou Old Street

Rank	Term	Frequency	Rank	Term	Frequency	Rank	Term	Frequency
1	Old Street	686	11	Style	168	21	Street	94
2	Haikou	546	12	Photography	125	22	Scenic Spot	81
3	Architecture	486	13	Feeling	116	23	Lively	78
4	History	327	14	Place	115	24	Local	77
5	Hainan	272	15	Various	111	25	Tourism	70
6	Culture	251	16	Tourist	102	26	Pedestrian Street	69
7	Characteristic	247	17	Block	100	27	Shop	68
8	Nanyang	219	18	Unique	96	28	Experience	62
9	Snack	199	19	Ambiance	95	29	Strolling	61
10	Cuisine	181	20	Delicious	94	30	Suitability	59



Figure 5. Word Cloud of Predominant Terms in Cultural and Experiential Contexts

Thirdly, Culinary and Commercial Dimension (Figure 6). Keywords such as snacks, cuisine, coconut, and delicious highlight the prominence of local gastronomy. Iconic foods like zaobacu (糟粕醋, fermented vinegar hotpot) and coconut chicken emerged as key attractions, while terms like authentic and affordable signal tourists' functional assessments of quality and value.



Figure 6. Word Cloud of Predominant Terms in Culinary and Commercial Contexts

Fourthly, Tourism and Interaction Dimension (Figure 7). Terms like experience, performance, and sightseeing emphasize recreational engagement. Infrastructure-related terms (e.g., shuttle buses, electric vehicles) indicate functional evaluations, while references to lightscapes and sculptures point to technology-enhanced immersive experiences (e.g., AR/VR integration).



Figure 7.
Word Cloud
of

Predominant Terms in Tourism and Interaction Contexts

These attributes illustrate how tourists perceive Qilou Old Street as a multidimensional cultural space where architecture, heritage, cuisine, and social practices converge.

4.2 Affective Image of Haikou Qilou Old Street

Tourists' affective perceptions constitute a critical component of their holistic travel experiences. To examine tourists' perceptions of Haikou Qilou Old Street's destination image, this study extends beyond the cognitive dimensions discussed earlier to explore their subjective affective evaluations. Sentiment analysis was conducted on UGC texts from Dianping using the ROST tool, with results summarized in Table 2. Notably, positive sentiments dominate (65.79%), followed by neutral (18.9%) and negative (15.31%) evaluations.

Table 2. Analysis of Tourists' Overall Affective Image of Haikou Qilou Old Street

Sentiment Category	Count	Percentage
Positive Sentiment	275	65.79%
Neutral Sentiment	79	18.9%
Negative Sentiment	64	15.31%
Intensity Distribution of Positive Sentiment		
Intensity Level	Count	Percentage
Low (0-10)	122	29.19%
Moderate (11-20)	73	17.46%
High (>20)	80	19.14%
Intensity Distribution of Negative Sentiment		
Intensity Level	Count	Percentage
Low (0-10)	46	11%
Moderate (11-20)	13	3.11%
High (<20)	2	0.48%

Specifically, positive affective responses are primarily derived from three types of experiences: (1) immersive cultural encounters, such as Qiong opera performances, ICH exhibitions, and hands-on activities within ICH museums; (2) spatial experiences rooted in historical and architectural settings, including Nanyang-style arcades and commemorative archways; and (3) distinctive culinary engagements, such as laoba tea. The ICH-based culinary ecosystem of Qilou Old Street, closely intertwined with everyday social interactions, emerges as a central touchpoint for emotional resonance. Local gastronomic practices—including laoba tea, spicy soup rice (latangfan), and qingbuliang (a traditional herbal dessert)—function not merely as gustatory markers but also as ritualized expressions of local lifestyles. These experiences enable tourists to participate in the city's vernacular rhythms and to embrace its "slow-paced" cultural atmosphere, thereby fostering a stronger sense of belonging to Hainan's place-based heritage.

Neutral evaluations are predominantly associated with functional attributes of the tourism experience. Tourists frequently acknowledged satisfactory aspects such as transportation accessibility, pricing fairness, and basic service provision. However, these assessments were often limited to surface-level recognition, lacking deeper emotional or cultural engagement. While visitors recognized the presence of ICH elements,

their participation tended to remain observational rather than immersive, resulting in restrained affective resonance.

Negative perceptions center on three recurring issues. First, the over-commercialization of the area—manifested in the prevalence of generic chain stores and “Instagrammable” beverage shops—was criticized for diluting the street’s distinctive Nanyang cultural character. Second, infrastructure deficiencies, such as traffic congestion, parking shortages, and inadequate restroom facilities, contributed to dissatisfaction and diminished overall visitor experiences. Third, superficial ICH engagement was noted, with some tourists expressing frustration that heritage elements were reduced to decorative backdrops for photography, lacking contextual interpretation or opportunities for meaningful interaction. These criticisms suggest that without authentic and participatory experiences, the affective value of ICH is easily undermined.

4.3 Holistic Destination Image of Haikou Qilou Old Street

To gain a comprehensive understanding of tourists’ perceptions, this study further employed semantic network analysis, mapping the interrelationships between cognitive and affective elements of Qilou Old Street. The resulting network reveals a hierarchical, three-tier structure in tourists’ cultural perceptions: ICH symbols → cultural attributes → experiential enhancement (Figure 8).

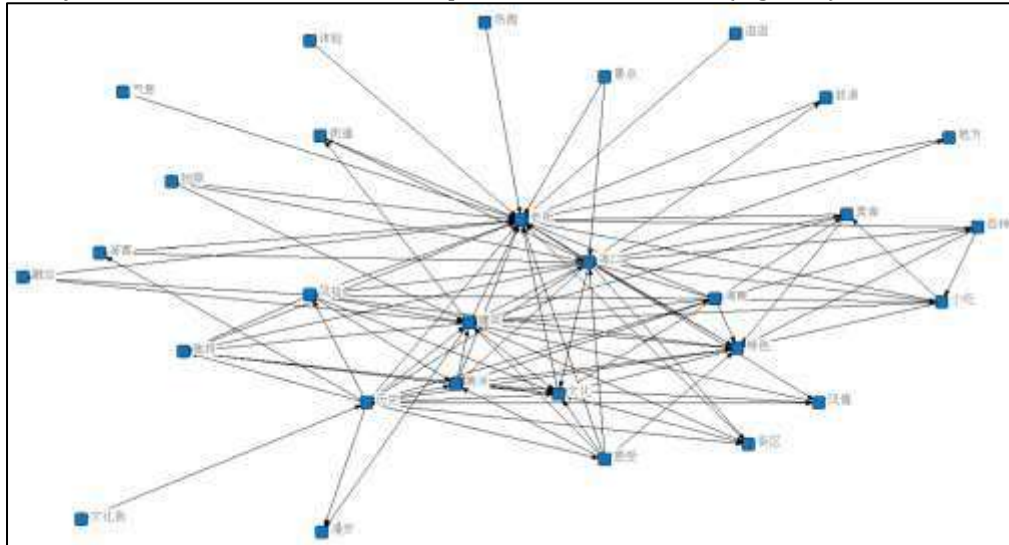


Figure 8. Semantic Network Analysis Diagram

At the center of the network, geographic and spatial identifiers—such as “Haikou” and “Qilou”—anchor tourists’ recognition of the Nanyang-style arcades as tangible carriers of local ICH. These terms serve as the primary cognitive markers through which tourists identify and differentiate the destination, providing the functional basis for subsequent cultural interpretation.

The intermediate layer encompasses terms such as “style,” “architecture,” “characteristic,” and “culture,” reflecting tourists’ direct impressions of the street’s cultural identity. These nodes link material structures to symbolic meaning, demonstrating how architectural forms, historical narratives, and cultural practices collectively inform the perceived uniqueness of Qilou Old Street. This layer bridges tourists’ cognitive recognition with affective engagement, emphasizing the role of heritage as both an educational and interpretive resource.

The outer layer includes terms related to experiential engagement—such as “tourist,” “tourism,” “photography,” “cuisine,” “snacks,” and “interaction.” These elements represent the multisensory, participatory aspects of the visit that enhance emotional resonance. First-time visitors, in particular, prioritize immersive encounters with local customs, culinary practices, and interactive activities. The integration of architectural uniqueness, gastronomic diversity, and cultural performances collectively enriches the holistic tourist experience.

This layered schema demonstrates how tourists progressively construct meaning during their visit. The process begins with cognitive recognition of ICH symbols, extends to cultural interpretation through architectural and heritage attributes, and culminates in multisensory experiential engagement. This hierarchy underscores the dual function of ICH in shaping both the functional and symbolic dimensions of destination branding. By facilitating a continuum from tangible recognition to affective immersion, Qilou Old Street exemplifies how heritage can drive co-creation of destination image, balancing preservation with active visitor participation (As shown in Figure 9).

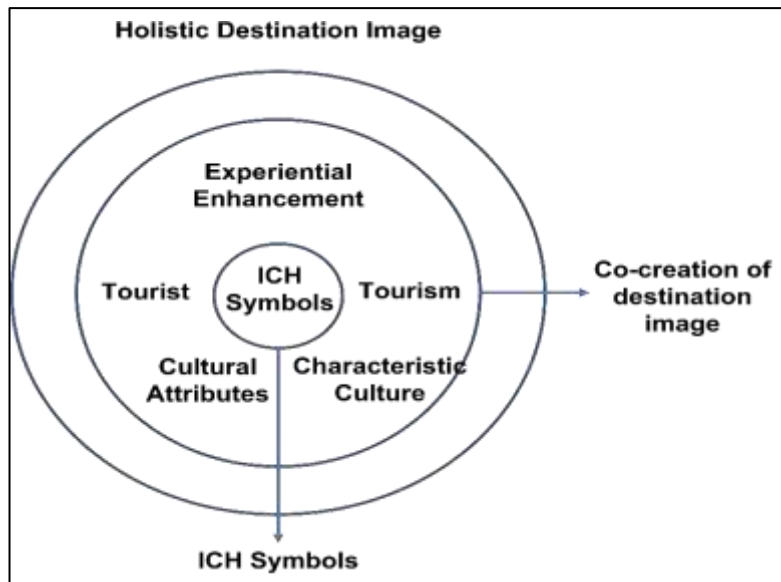


Figure 9. Holistic Destination Image

5. Conclusions and Discussion

5.1 Conclusion

This study employed user-generated content (UGC) analysis to examine how Haikou Qilou Old Street, as an ICH-driven cultural tourism destination, is cognitively and affectively perceived by tourists. Drawing on the cognitive-affective model of destination image, the findings indicate that the site's cognitive image is structured across four dimensions—architectural heritage, cultural experiences, culinary commerce, and tourism interactions. Affective engagement is primarily generated through ICH immersion, though its depth is constrained by over-commercialization, infrastructural limitations, and superficial cultural staging. Semantic network analysis further reveals a layered process of holistic image construction, progressing from ICH symbols (core) to cultural attributes (intermediate) and finally to experiential enhancement (peripheral). This sequential layering demonstrates that ICH functions simultaneously as cognitive capital, anchoring functional distinctiveness, and emotional capital, catalyzing symbolic resonance. Collectively, the study confirms that ICH not only enriches destination distinctiveness but also enables brand co-creation through interactions among tourists, communities, and institutions.

5.2 Theoretical Implications

By contextualizing our findings within broader heritage tourism scholarship, the study gains comparative relevance. The cognitive-affective layering observed in Qilou Old Street echoes the importance of experiential depth found in cases like Barcelona's Gothic Quarter, where historical sites gain meaning through interactive engagement [3]. However, unlike heritage districts that primarily leverage tangible heritage (e.g., Singapore's Shophouses, which emphasize architectural aesthetics and multi-ethnic history), Qilou's distinctiveness lies in the seamless integration of intangible practices (culinary rituals, craft demonstrations) within the architectural fabric, making ICH the core of both cognitive and affective image formation. Conversely, the challenges of over-commercialization and superficial staging mirror concerns raised in studies on Shanghai's Tianzifang [7], suggesting a common predicament for rapidly developed cultural districts in China. Our study advances this discourse by pinpointing how deep, participatory ICH experiences can serve as an antidote to homogenization, a insight applicable to similar heritage-rich destinations striving to balance commercial viability with cultural authenticity.

Building on these observations, this study contributes to destination image theory by unpacking the sequential relationship between cognition and affect. First, it advances destination image theory by conceptualizing cognition and affect as sequentially layered processes rather than parallel constructs. Cognitive recognition of heritage symbols anchors a destination's functional identity, while affective engagement transforms these symbols into cultural meaning. Experiential depth thus mediates the cognition-affect relationship, offering a more dynamic account of image formation.

Second, the study advances cultural tourism scholarship by demonstrating the dual roles of ICH resources. As cognitive capital, ICH structures place identity through distinctive symbolic markers. As emotional capital, it forges affective bonds through participatory and immersive experiences. This duality explains how ICH simultaneously supports functional distinctiveness and symbolic resonance, offering a nuanced perspective on heritage-based tourism development.

Third, the findings illustrate that destination branding is not a unidirectional process imposed by institutions, but a dynamic, multi-actor negotiation. Tourists, ICH inheritors, governments, and institutions jointly shape brand meaning through narratives, practices, and participatory experiences. Evidence from UGC analysis further demonstrates that tourists actively contribute to symbolic storytelling, reinforcing the notion that destination branding emerges through collaborative co-creation rather than top-down projection.

5.3 Practical Implications

The study also offers several practical insights for heritage tourism development and governance. First, establish standardized Qiong-branded signage and interpretive systems (maps, guidebooks, AR/VR QR codes) to enhance recognition of ICH elements. This builds a multidimensional symbolic system that clarifies cultural identity while encouraging exploratory “heritage treasure hunts.”

Second, develop youth-oriented thematic routes combining architecture, workshops, and gastronomy, supported by gamified tools, such as “ICH passports”. Promote accessible culinary packages and live craft demonstrations (e.g., coconut carving, Li brocade weaving) to foster hands-on, emotionally resonant experiences.

Third, the policymakers should regulate commercialization, upgrade infrastructure, and subsidize ICH enterprises. For scenic managers, differentiate tourism offerings by embedding ICH in site planning and product design. ICH inheritors can lead workshops and narrate heritage stories to tourists. As tourists, they can engage in co-creation through digital storytelling campaigns (e.g., “#MyICHExperienceAtQilou”), supported by responsive feedback systems. Universities should collaborate with scenic area to develop interpretation programs, train volunteers, and co-create cultural-creative products. The integrated theoretical-practical framework suggests a developmental trajectory: Cognitive Recognition (symbol systems) → Affective Resonance (immersive engagement) → Collaborative Co-creation (multi-stakeholder governance). This pathway transitions Qilou Old Street from a static heritage exhibition into a living heritage ecosystem. Embedding ICH into Hainan’s urban branding strengthens both its destination competitiveness and its cultural sustainability, offering a replicable model for other free-trade and heritage-rich regions.

5.4 Limitations and Future Research

Despite its contributions, this study has several limitations that suggest directions for future research. First, the findings are based on UGC from a single platform (Dianping), which may reflect platform-specific user demographics and communication styles. Future studies could adopt multi-platform or cross-cultural comparative approaches to capture more diverse perspectives.

Second, while content analysis and netnography provide rich qualitative insights, they cannot fully capture causal relationships between ICH engagement and destination image formation. Follow-up studies could employ mixed methods, such as surveys or experimental designs, to quantitatively test the mechanisms identified here.

Finally, this study primarily examined tourist perspectives; future research should integrate voices from other stakeholders—including local residents, ICH inheritors, and policymakers—to construct a more holistic view of co-creation processes. Such multi-stakeholder analyses would deepen understanding of how power relations, institutional frameworks, and community agency shape the sustainability of ICH tourism.

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