

Economic and Cultural Values and their cross-impact in the Touristified Urban **Environment in Historic Cities**

Case Study: Cam

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HERILAND Project



- Coordinated by Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam (NL).
- Other participating universities:
 - » Bezalel Academy of Arts & Design, Jerusalem (Israel);
 - University degli Studi Roma Tre (Italy); Democratisation
 - » Göteborgs University (Sweden);
 - » Newcastle University (UK);
 - » Technische Universiteit Delft (NL).

- »The Spatial Turn
- » Digital Transformation
- » Shifting Demographies and Contested Identities
- » Changing Environments













State of the Art (the general context)

- Globalization and economic aspects of cultural heritage
 - Travelling becomes more accessible
 - Historic preservation changes its character
 - destination revitalization
 - job creation
 - cultural stewardship
 - small business incubation
 - Housing
 - tourism
 - Heritage as cultural capital



Tourism as a tool generates economic benefits for locals, contributes to cultural and natural heritage, and enhances the overall well-being of the host community (Moscardo, G., and Murphy, L., 2014).

State of the Art (red flags)

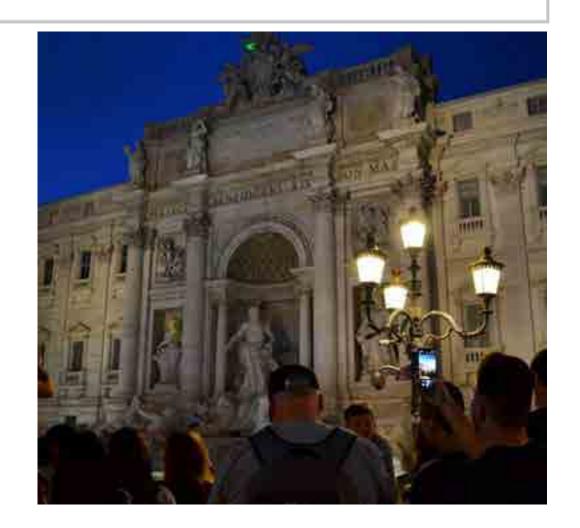
- Tourism challenges sustainability goals and stresses the environment;
- It endangers cultures, inevitably leading them to the loss of their unique character;
- Economic sectors are substituted by tourist activities;
- The cost of life for residents increase;
- The quality of life or residents decrease;
- The urban space is commodified and standardized.



Over tourism is the impact of tourism on a destination, or parts thereof, that excessively influences perceived quality of life of citizens and/or quality of visitors experiences in a negative way (UNWTO, 2018).

State of the Art (tourism in historic cities)

- Historic cities in Europe massively influenced by the progress of the travel industry
- Promoting urban tourism, as a multiplier on the local economy
- Tourism as a major economic activity and a source of revenue
- The gradual transformation of urban areas
 - altered sense of place
 - loss of human scale
- More vulnerable cultural heritage
- Commodified cultural capital turned into a mass product



State of the Art (hypothesis and research question)

The diversity of stakeholders in a touristified environment conditions the change of values of cultural heritage and causes the transformation of sense of ownership and belongingness to the place. It results in the decline of the authenticity of the place, and consequently commodification of heritage for the space users that substitute locals (that in this case are supposed to be same day/ overnight visitors of the place).

- What is Economic and Cultural Value Comparison in the Touristified Urban Environment in Historic Cities?
- What patterns of changes can be observed based on the comparison?

- Past decade and rapid development of Tourism in Rome
 - Predominance of tourism in strategies starts in 1990s
 - 1993-2008- left wing leadership that favours neoliberalist style government in urban planning and tourism policies
 - New PRG 2008 in favour of the above mentioned values
 - "Historic Centre" changes into a "Historic City"

- New tourism model and increase of visitors in Rome
 - Low budget airlines opperating in two airports of the city
 - Online platforms for booking trips without a mediator
 - P2P businesses and accomodation

Touristification in the historic centre of Rome



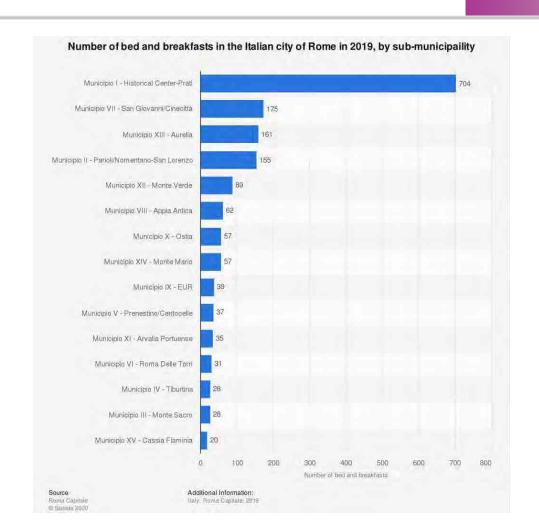
Airbnb talking over the historic centre of Rome Illustration elaborated by the author based on Airbnb data

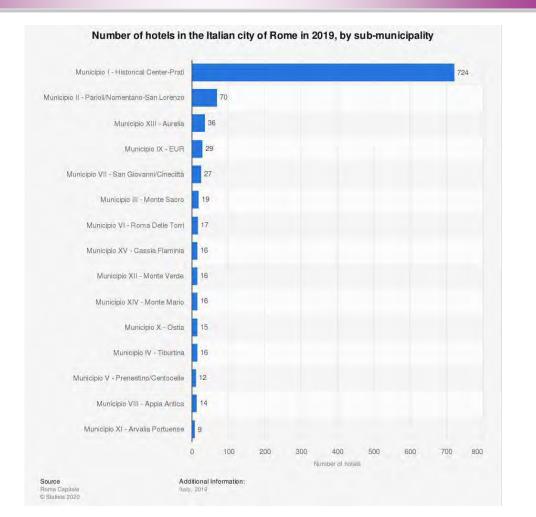
Host of AIRBNB

- 9900 hosts receiving guests in 2015
- € 5,500 Average annual earning
- 50 number of nights booked in a year on average per ad
- 758 000 guests arriving in 2015
- Average overnight of 3,7 per guest
- €93M income received by local families
- € 400M Estimated guest spending at commercial activities

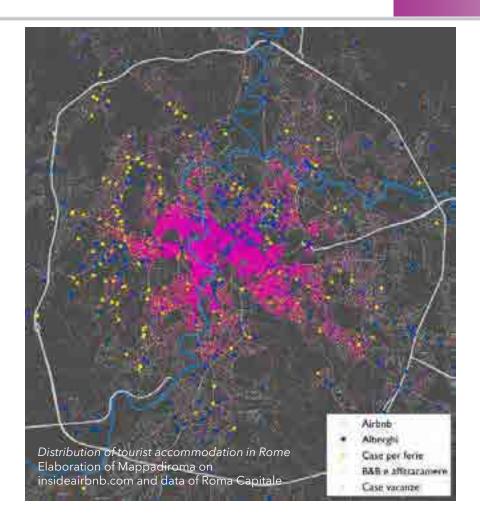
Source: Fattore sharing: l'impatto economic di Airbnb in Italia, aorbnb, 2016

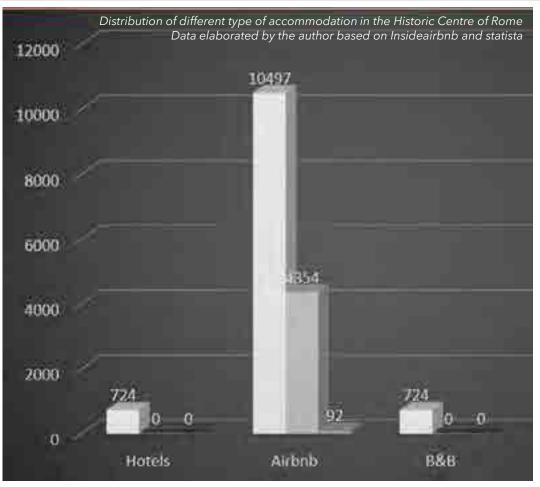
Touristification in the historic centre of Rome



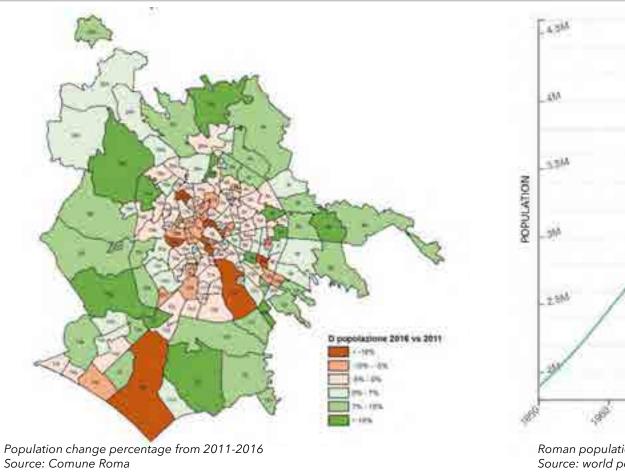


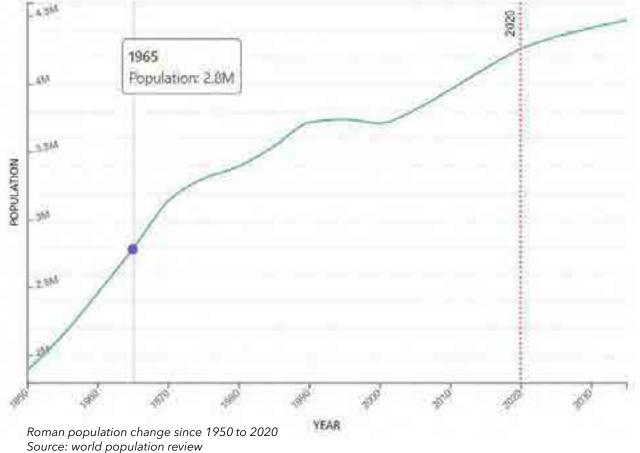
Touristification in the historic centre of Rome





Touristification in the historic centre of Rome

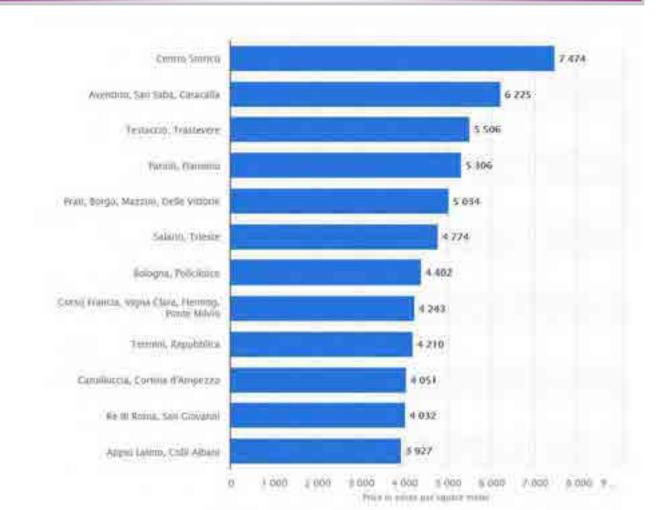


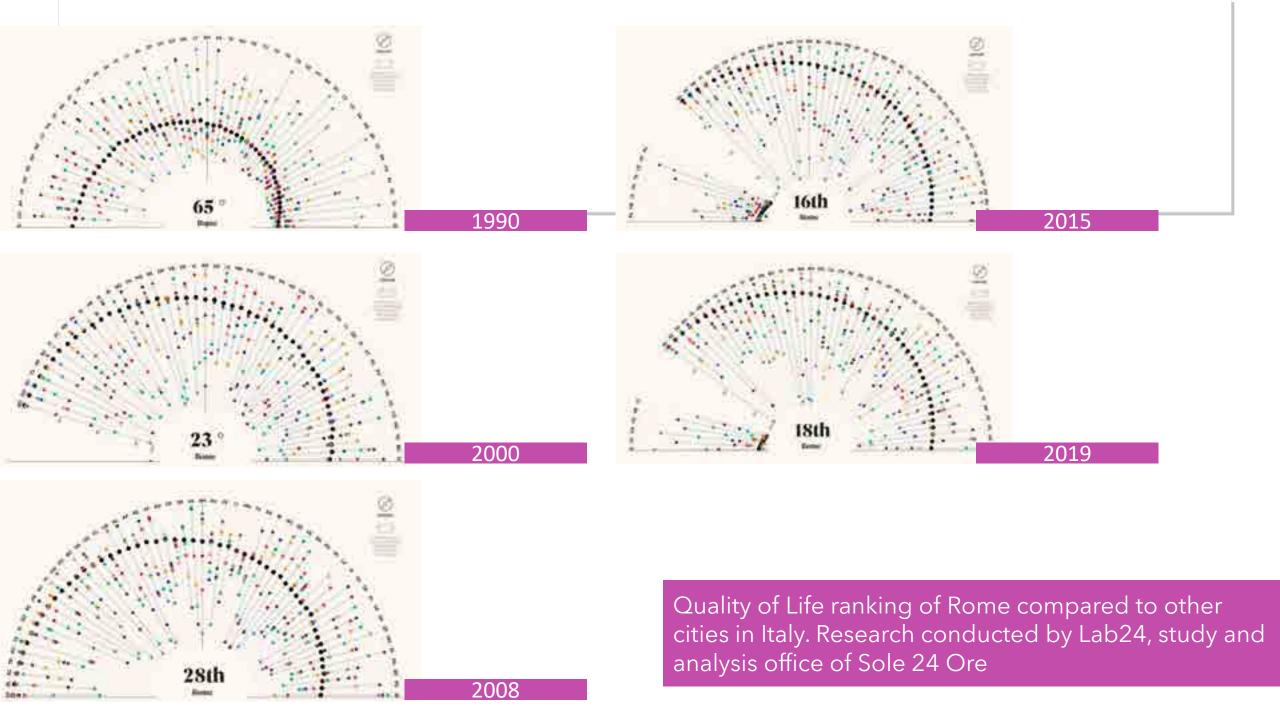


Touristification in the historic centre of Rome

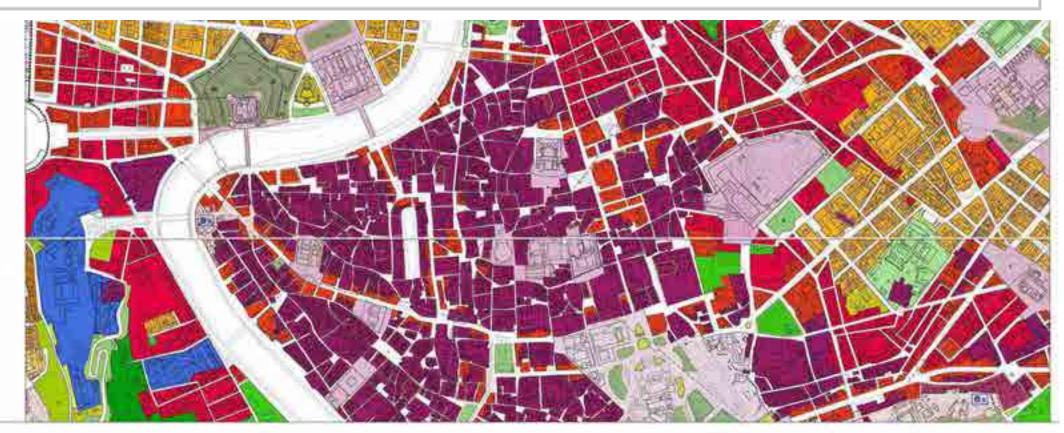
Average price for residential real estate for sale in selected areas of the Italian city of Rome as of September 2020

(in euros per square meter)





State of the Art (the case study Campo Marzio)



10-IV 10-I 11-IV 10-III 10-II 11-III 17-IV 17-I 18-IV

2.05

Comune di Roma Dipartimento alle Politiche della Programmazione e Pianificazione del Territorio – Roma Capitale Ufficio Pianificazione e Progettazione Generale PIANO REGOLATORE GENERALE

PIANO REGULATURE GENER Ordina and Danie Waggleet

Sistemi e Regole

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State of the Art (a brief overview of the research area)

Environmental Analysis



Pantheon Source: M. van Heemskerck, 1530s.

Hülsen/Egger 1913-1916







Fontana di Trevi Carlo Antonini, 1780



The Piazza Navona, Source: 'Vedute di Roma' (Views of Rome) 1760-1778

Giovanni Battista Piranesi

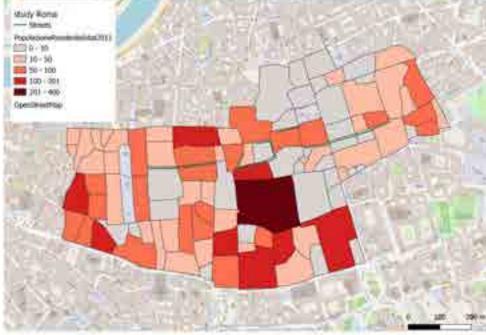
State of the Art

(a brief overview of the research area)

Environmental Analysis

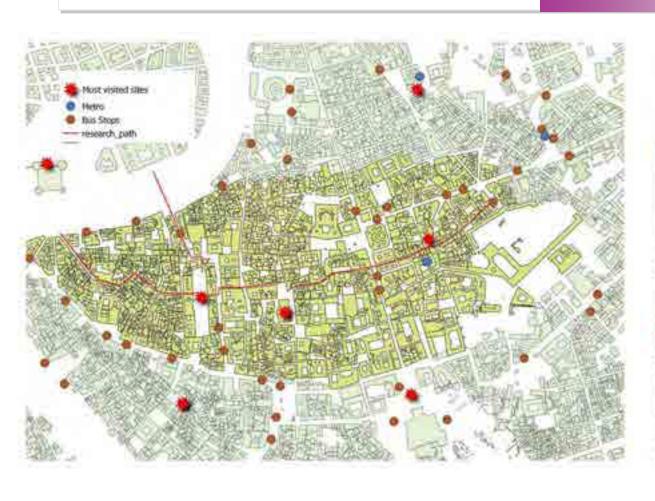
Name	Real estate price 2020 (euro per sq.m.)	Density (Commune Roma 2015)	Population (2011)
Sant'Eustachio	7300	11623,22	1962
Colonna	7350	7850,5	2111
Trevi	7350	4228,6	2327
Parione	7300	13271,41	2572
Regola	7100	10153,65	3238
Ponte	6900	11276,26	3596
Campo Marzio	7100	6646,25	5860
Pigna	7450	52045,56	10737

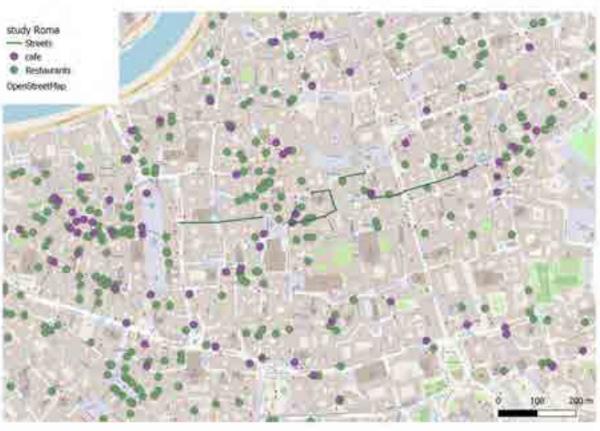




State of the Art (a brief overview of the research area)

Environmental Analysis



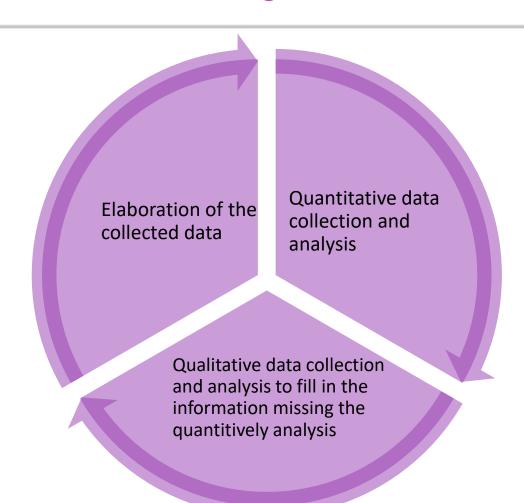


State of the Art (a brief overview of the research area)



Research Methodology

(explanatory mixed methods design (Creswell, J.W. & Plano Clark, V.L. (2011))

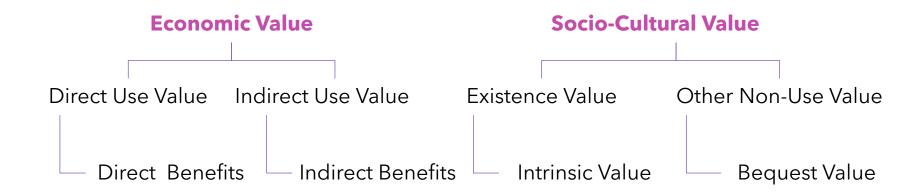


Research Methodology (research objectives)

- To respond to main research question of What is Economic and Cultural Value Comparison in the Touristified Urban Environment in Historic Cities? the following <u>sub-questions</u> must be addressed:
 - 1) How has the legal ownership of the study area changed since the 1990s, when Tourism became widely accessible industry for travelers?
 - 2) How has the building occupancy classification changed since the overtake of Mass Tourism?
 - 3) How has the economic value of the place changed?
 - 4) How have the socio-cultural values of the community changed?
 - 5) How have these changes influenced the quality of life in the historic center of Rome?
 - 6) Can cost-benefit analysis be conducted based on the competition between economic vs. sociocultural changes?
 - 7) What is the relation between economic and socio-cultural changes and how they affect each other?

Research Methodology

(Serageldin's economic valuation framework (1999))



Serageldin's economic valuation model elaborated by the author

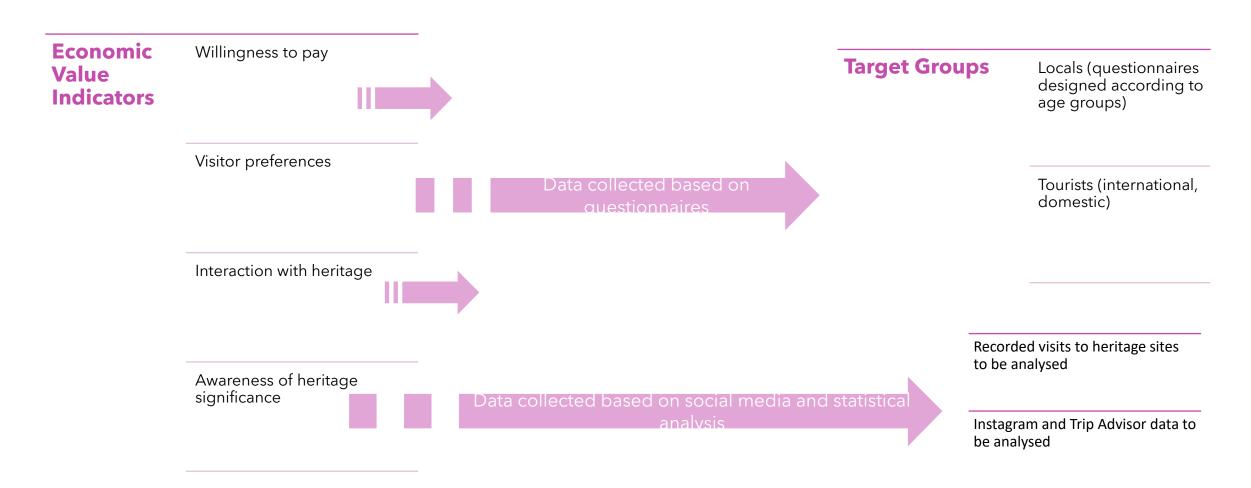
Research Methodology

Mapping Heritage Economics for Spatial Analysis in Historic City (Cores Christian Ost, 2012)

Cultural Value Indicators	Willingness to pay	Economic Value	Real estate market related	Property values
		Indicators		Rental values
				Vacancy rate
				Housing affordability
				Number of sales
	Visitor preferences		Tourism related (direct)	Admission fees
				Number of visitors
				Monument carrying capacity
				Number of guides
				Consumer satisfaction
	Awareness of heritage significance		Tourism related (indirect)	Souvenir sales
				Average time spent
				Tourist expenditures
				Number of hotel nights stayed
	Interaction with heritage		Related to impacts on the local	Fiscal revenues
			economy	_ Jobs in cultural sector
				Heritage-related events
				Loval growth
				Quality of life index

Research Methodology (data collection)

Economic Values



Research Methodology (data collection)

Cultural Values

					Tentative	Istat
Economic	Real estate market related	Property values			sources	Commune di Rome
Value		Rental values				Statista
Indicators		Vacancy rate				Agenzie Entrate
marcators		Housing affordability		,		Immobiliare.it
		Number of sales				Il Sole 24 Ore
	Tourism related (direct)	Admission fees		Data to be sell numbe	collected based on t	the ticket
		Number of visitors		Data ba	sed on the tour ope	ratory registry and local
		Number of guides		museun	n registry	
		Consumer satisfaction			b be collected basec or feedback forms.	l on trip advisor rating and to
	Tourism related (indirect)	Souvenir sales		Data to	pe collected pased	on the interviews of souveni
		Average time spent				
		Tourist expenditures		Istat and statista	data	
		<mark>ae Air</mark> bnb, booкing. t data	.com,			
	Related to impacts on the	Fiscal revenues		Agenzia delle e	entrate	
	local economy	Jobs in cultural sector		Istat, Roma Ca	pitale statistics	
		Heritage-related events	N A	lunicipality.		
		Loval growth		lunicipality		
		Quality of life index		50le 24		

Research Outline

	Chapter Name	Description	Status/Period
1.	Introduction	Purpose of the research/ methodology/ literature review	September-November 2020 √ Will be reviewed and edited throughout the research process.
2.	Urban Transformation of Rome Since 1883	Historic review of urban transformation of Rome since the first PRG in 1883	May-August 2020 ✓
3.	Tourism as a strategic tool in Rome's urban policies	 In-depth analysis of urban policies adopted since the 1990s Highlighting key changes in the urban fabric and social structure based on the new policies and regulations Tourism statistics illustrating the change 	January- March 2021
4.	Change of socio-cultural value of urban heritage in the context of mass tourism and commodification (Case Study-Campo Marzio)	 Environmental analysis Stakeholder analysis Define attributes of social and cultural values of the urban heritage (historic, aesthetic, scientific, spiritual, symbolic, social). Based on the attribute list, create surveys and interview questions for stakeholders Divide target groups into tourists (domestic and international) and Romans (commuters, local inhabitants, permanent uses of the space). Divide the Roman community according to age Identify, how heritage value changed for the interviewees since 1990s. Analyse change of values based on the increased number of tourists and modified urban environment to meet their needs. 	September- November 2021

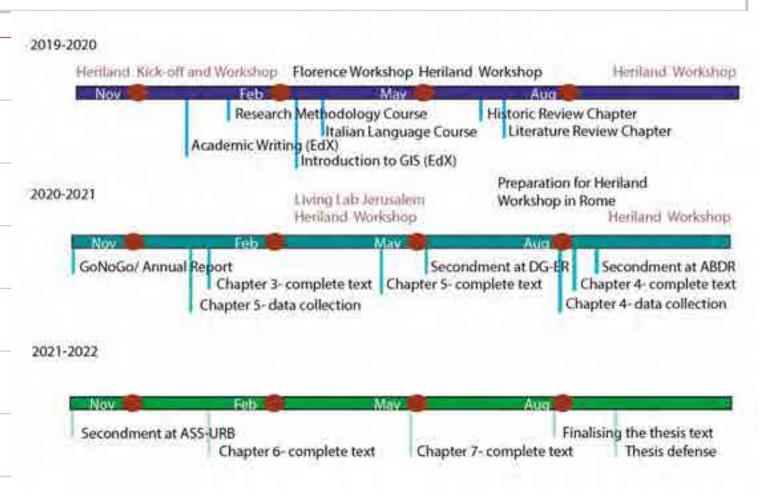
Research Outline

N.	Chapter Name	Description	Status/Period
5.	Change of economic value of urban heritage in the context of mass tourism and commodification (Case Study-Campo Marzio)	 Choose date markers (e.g. 1993, 2000, 2008, 2015, 2019) Use the market price method to identify prices on real estate and tourism facilities during the high season of the given years. Compare the results to illustrate changes that have taken place Having identified the gradation of the price of heritage, use choice modelling/choice experiment method to estimate the economic value of urban heritage. 	April- August 2021
6.	The interdependence of socio-cultural and economic values of heritage in the context of mass tourism and commodification (Case Study-Campo Marzio)	 Based on the previous two chapters that assess socio-cultural and economic values of urban heritage, make a comparison of the two. Observe how or if cultural values change when economic values change. Find interdependence of the two values. 	January- April 2022
7.	Sustainable tourism model for the historic centre of Rome	 A concluding chapter summarizing and discussing the results of the research as a whole It will include a suggested model based on the conducted research and its outcome. 	May-August, 2022

Research Plan

Thesis Chapters

- 1. Introduction
- 2. Urban Transformation of Rome Since 1883
- 3. Tourism as a strategic tool in Rome's urban policies
- 4. Change of socio-cultural value of urban heritage in the context of mass tourism and commodification (Case Study-Campo Marzio)
- 5. Change of economic value of urban heritage in the context of mass tourism and commodification (Case Study-Campo Marzio)
- 6. The interdependence of socio-cultural and economic values of heritage in the context of mass tourism and commodification (Case Study-Campo Marzio)
- 7. Sustainable tourism model for the historic centre of Rome



Thank you!

Any questions?



Figure 1: Detail from the map Rome antiqueSource: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1900 – From the collection of Archivio Storico Capitolino

Urban Transformation of Rome from its first General Regulatory Plan until today

This chapter aims to review the important historic events that influenced urban changes in Rome since the beginning of the 20th century. It focuses on key events that acted as catalysts that influenced major transformation in the urban structure of Rome (more specifically in the historic centre of the city).

Constructing Roma Capitale, a secularized, Italianized, modernized city in place of the medieval city of the papacy, had been critically challenging for the Italian state since 1870 (Arthurs, 2012, p.53). Once a capital of an empire and the centre of the world and later a focal point of Christianity and papacy, Rome met the 20th century as a recently inaugurated capital of the Kingdom of reunited Italy with a population of only 200 000 and with the first Regulatory Plan designed by the Chief Engineer Alessandro Viviani (Piano Regolatore 1883) (Kostof, 2016, pp. 316-317). Controversial changes that emerged at the end of the 19th century and are known as the period of "building fever" ("febbre edilizia"), lead to urban shifts (Costa, 1991, p. 273). These changes provided important public facilities to connect the historic centre to the new urban expansions, building bridges, the polyclinic, the central court (construction started in 1889 and the building was inaugurated in 1911), the grand monument of Vittorio Emanuele II (construction started in 1885, the monument was inaugurated in 1911

on the 50th anniversary of the reunification of Italy, the construction finally completed in 1925) as well as new housing projects (Piccinato, 2006, pp. 213-214). Over the 25 years of its existence, the 1883 plan was largely implemented, above all for the forecast of new neighbourhoods. Many "off plan" settlements have also been built. In many cases these were conventions, even large ones, which the City Council approved and which were later inserted as variants in the Plan (Insolera, 2011, pp. 64-68).

New Prime Minister - Giovanni Giolitti (served in office five times on and off from 1892 to 1921), and Ernesto Nathan - the mayor of Rome (in office from 1907 to1913), the first of his predecessors who did not belong to the land-owning part of the society, lead the newly born capital to positive changes. Giovanni Giolitti played an important role in the transformation of Italy from agricultural to an industrial country. The issues, such as elementary education, public health, limit construction, land use monopoly and speculation, were tackled while bringing forward the question of social housing and supporting citizen participation. Edmondo Sanjust, Chief Civil Engineer of Milan was commissioned to create a new regulatory plan of Rome. The Urban Plan of 1909, considered the best of all from other Modern Rome's plans (Kostof, 2016, pp. 325-327, Insolera, 2011, pp. 103-113).

The plan referred to an area of approximately 5,000 ha, roughly coinciding with the area included within the railway belt. It was envisaged for a population increase of about 516,000 inhabitants, which meant the doubling of the resident population. The new neighbourhoods that would host the population extend for about 1,290 ha; the average territorial density, therefore, was around 400 inhabitants (higher in neighbourhoods built with the "fabbricato" type, lower in "villini" type¹) (Insolera, 2011, pp. 49-50).

Unlike in the previous plans, the 1909 plan, attempted to minimize the need to traverse the historic centre, defined as the "elegant part" ("parte elegante") of the city, expending and defining new public transit lines. The demolition plan of some areas kept in place was to guarantee the east-west connections between the Ludovisi district and the new Mazzini district, as well as between Piazza Venezia and Porta Maggiore (Cecchini, 2013).

¹ A rudimentary zoning plan was described by three types of housing: **Fabbricati (multifamily midrise)**: height maximum 24m (it later became 28m in 1914 and 30m in 1923), **Villini (low-rise)**: Raised ground floor plus two floors with detachments on all sides (minimum 4 m) and green soil treatment; "The space cultivated in the garden" must have been "no less than three times the total area of the building" (Reg. Spec. Art. 8). In other words, the covered area of the building is ¹/₄ of the land. The third type of housing was **Giardini**, or luxury garden residences.

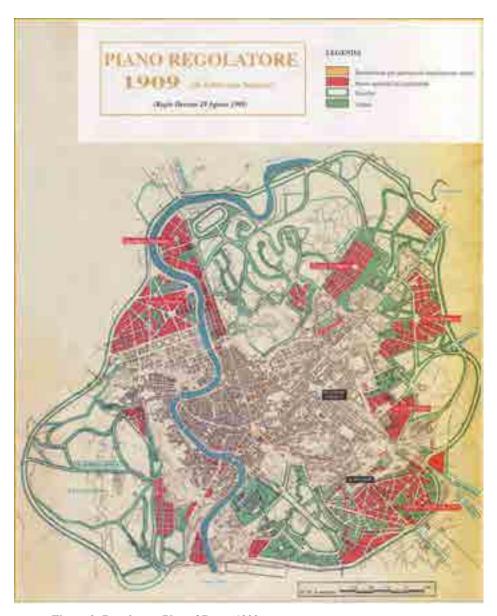


Figure 2: Regulatory Plan of Rome 1909 Source: Scenari, risorse, metodi e realizzazioni per città sostenibili

The connecting infrastructure between the new districts that were to accommodate a population equal to what had already inhabited in the city, was constituted by the large ring road (60m of width and 25km of length). The new arteries ramifying from the large ring would serve the neighbourhoods and secure the connectivity of the local roads. The neighbourhood road system was then studied in order to compose the design of blocks, the systems of squares and the alignments, the alternation between built spaces and green spaces, considering the spatial composition and morphology of places. It is also important to mention that the Plan of 1909 was the first to recommend public parks at a large scale (Insolera, pp. 89-101).

Shortly after the adaptation of the new plan, the 1911 exposition followed to celebrate 50 years of nationhood of Italy. Rome was supposed to once again prove its role as the capital of a great nation. The venues of the exposition were organised across a vast area, starting in the vicinity of the Villa Borghese, traversing the newly constructed iron bridge across the Tiber. Specially designed for the exposition, the new buildings ("demonstration housing" projects), bridges, and the National Gallery of Modern arts remained as a legacy of the event. Unfortunately, the time of progressive mayors of Rome was short. The unimplemented and imposed urban plans had become casual, while Fascism made the final destructive hit to the city (Kostof, 2016, pp. 327-328).

World War I (1914-1918) was devastating for Italy, as an ally of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Germany. The country was not prepared to receive over a million wounded soldiers in need of housing and employment. The socio-political and economic backdrop of the post-war period gave Mussolini a great opportunity to seize power. After capitulating Rome in 1922 he started implementing his new fascist urban policy that was to reimagine the Eternal City as a metropolis of a new empire (Kostof, 2016, pp. 328-329). Mussolini viewed planning as a tool to propagate romanità in the citizens. In this program of his, il Duce saw himself as a new emperor who would revive the glory once celebrated on the territory of Italy. On the way towards creating an "ideal city" and restoring the imperial Rome, Mussolini obliterated a huge part of the old city (though it is noteworthy that quite a few changes he implemented were already foreseen in the earlier master plans of the city). He aimed to fulfil the unrealized goals set for Rome since the unification (Arthurs, 2012, pp. 50-52).

The national government was put in charge of assuming the costs of the renovation of the urban fabric of the capital, as the Mussolini cabinet believed that the city itself was not strong enough economically (Arthurs, 2012, pp. 53). In 1925 Rome's civic government was replaced by the Governatorato, an administration whose governor was appointed by the state. This way the regime received direct control over the capital's administration (Kallis, 2012, pp. 51-52). The person who led Rome through the Fascist transition was the chief agent of the Governatorato- Antonio Munoz, who acted as an inspector general of the Fine Arts and Antiquities administration. From 1929 till the end of the regime, Munoz represented the Governatorato's definitive authority on Rome's architectonic heritage directly implementing the Fascist party's orders (Vidotto, 2006, pp. 178-179).

The government that was aiming to transform Rome into a modern city presented a new regulatory plan in 1931, which stated several principal goals for the capital:

- 1. Creating a hygienic city, removing areas that degraded the city by "centuries of decadence";
- 2. Excavating the imperial Rome, systematizing the archaeological sites with vistas and reorganising traffic flow in a way that they would marry with the political propaganda of the regime.
 - 3. Repopulating the Roman Campagna.

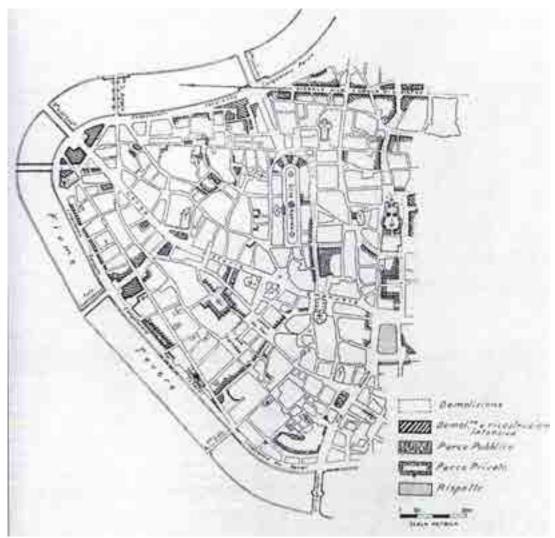


Figure 3: Planimetry of the Renaissance quarter attached to the regulatory plan of 1931 Anonimo | Fonte: P.R.G. Piano Regolatore Generale del Comune di Roma – 1931 Source: Archi DiAP

Mussolini's policy, known as sventrimento or clearance for the historic centre was nothing more than a violent eviction plan. Having hygiene as an excuse, the working-class neighbourhoods were demolished in the vicinity of important ancient monuments or in the areas where il Duce was planning to implement his new grand boulevards. He claimed that these places were dangerous and unhealthy for children. While his "liberation" plan was on, thousands of families were displaced, having their homes destroyed (Insolera, 2011, pp. 140-

145). Mussolini's intentions were perfectly demonstrated in the following three major projects of his: The Mausoleum of Augustus, Via dell'Impero, and Via della Concilazione. He "liberated the surrounding of the mausoleum from the families whose homes and workshops located in an "unsanitary neighbourhood" and moved them to poorly built new neighbourhoods outside the city walls. While desperately looking for the proof of resemblance between imperial Rome and the empire of his own, Mussolini obliterated the rest of the historic fabric that stood in his way. After having the mausoleum cleaned from the medieval additions its solitude became so unbearable that il Duce had Ara Pacis moved from its original place to the area between the mausoleum and the Tiber. The new government office building was constructed to block the view of the remaining medieval fabric (Kostof, 2012, pp.329-333).

The second project of via dell'Impero (currently via dei Fori Imperiali) was inaugurated in 1932. The construction of this grand avenue demanded the eviction of about 2000 people from medieval and Renaissance buildings to the cheap housing outside the walls (Kostof, 2012, p. 330). Via dell'Impero, the recently excavated archaeological area (the Markets of Trajan, Velian Hill the area excavated, 80 per cent of which was reburied under the avenue) and the newly installed office of Mussolini at Palazzo Venezia once again stated the grandeur and eternity of Rome and the Fascist empire (Vidotto, 2006, pp. 185-191).



Figure 4: The Via dei Fori Imperiali during the construction according to Mussolini's plan of urban restructurization Source: Unidentified Author/Alinari Archives, Florence/Alinari via Getty Images

The third project of via della Concilazione was realized to connect Piazza S. Pietro and Castel Sant'Angelo. After having clarified relations between the Vatican and the state with the Lateran Pact in 1929, Mussolini got the freedom to act upon his vision. In 1936

demolition of medieval and Renaissance buildings (displacing about 5 000 residents), so-called spina, started. The boulevard that was completed in 1939 was to illustrate the union of the church with Rome. The name of it (the Street of Reconciliation) openly stated that the Vatican and the state have come to the peaceful terms with each other. St Peter's basilica was represented as another imperial monument, artificially isolated on the Piazza, providing a visual focus for pilgrims (Kostof, 2012, pp. 333-335).



Figure 5: Detail from Nolli map of 1748 showing the Borgo area Source: Berkley Library, University of California

During the Fascist regime, twelve suburban housing quarters (borgate) were constructed to house the evicted refugees of the historic city centre. The cheap housing that was built quickly and poorly (case rapidissime) ironically used some construction materials taken from the demolished medieval and Renaissance quarters. Being placed in a hostile environment, the communities that used to sustain themselves with occupations practised for centuries were left handtied to practice what they were trained for. Social imbalance raged in the Eternal City, where rich and wealthy Romans were comfortably accommodated in the historic city and the poor were banished to isolation in slums (Kostof, 2012 pp. 33-335, Insolera, 2011).

Another project of Mussolini that evoked changes in the city was the EUR' 42 project and the exposition of art, science and work. Ignoring his PRG 1931 il Duce chose south of

Rome to construct his ideal Fascist city. Imitating ancient Roman orthogonal plan, Mussolini kept resonating the romanità of his new empire. The implementation of the plan started in 1937. When Italy joined the Nazi forces in 1940, the exhibition was cancelled. Later in 1943 EUR was abandoned, as allied forces bombed the city. The construction that resumed in 1950 has transformed the area into one of the Roman suburbs. Fortunately, Rome's urban fabric survived intact. The consequences of the war caused Italy strong damage. Though the northern part of the country was living the Economic Miracle from 1950 to 1963, the capital was struggling to recover. Unemployment and economic crisis were devastating and the housing crises was reaching its peak, leaving thousands homeless (Kostof, 2012, pp. 339-340).

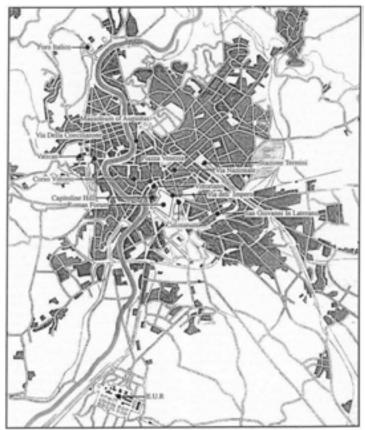


Figure 6: The major changes wrought in the fabric of Rome by Liberal and Fascist regimes plus some other major sites.

Source: Agnew, John "Impossible Capital"

Traditionally, regulatory plans that mostly remained on paper and were always a matter of speculation, was useless in practice. Nonetheless, the new regulatory plan was initiated in 1947, but it would take another 15 years to have it approved. Till then, the Mussolinian regulatory plan remained in place. The first draft was presented in 1955 by the Technical Drafting Committee (Comitato di Elaborazione Tecnica). The main concept of the plan was

to shift the central functions to the eastern part of Rome alongside the main axis of the road (Sistema Direzionale Orientale). The goal was to discharge the centre from heavy traffic and provide an alternative for the concentric growth of the land values. The PRG of 1962 that was enacted in 1966, had become of a little use. The anticipated growth the regulatory plan should have regulated had already taken place. The rent control that was imposed in 1947 was lifted in 1966. This caused the rents to rise and the Romans were once again forced to move to new urban neighbourhoods outside the city walls. With the restriction of the development in the centre in place, the citizens were drawn to the periphery. As property value in and around the city centre went up, developers started searching for cheaper land outside the planning zones, constructing highly dense speculative units, mostly lacking necessary amenities for the inhabitants. The historic city centre was being treated as a museum, not touching the historic urban fabric, while the scarcely available residential was being used as a hotel space for governments, institutions and corporations (Sanfilippo, 1993, pp. 366-388, Piccinato, 2006, pp. 219-220).

While these changes were taken place, Rome won a bid in 1955 to host the 1960 Olympic Games that would affect the city's development. The Games were to re-establish Italy's international image after the disgrace of WWII and boost its economy. This event was an opportunity to attract tourists to Rome and to modernise the infrastructure. The National Ministry of Public Works, the Roman Comune and the Italian Olympic Committee were put in charge to oversee the project. With the national investment, a number of important infrastructure works were implemented. Foro Italico and the EUR were chosen as the main venues for the event. The landowners in the north-west part of the city were satisfied. One of the biggest of them was the Società Generale Immobiliare (SGI) the major shareholder of which was the Vatican. With the support of FIAT and Italcementi, Vatican was brought to the board (between the year of 1952 to 1958 the company's landholdings were expended from 675 to 963 hectares) (Martin, 2017, pp. 65-67).

Nevertheless, altogether 34 sports venues were used for the Olympic games. Organisers made use of not only specialized sports facilities, but arranged events at historic and archaeological sites, such as the Basilica of Maxentius for wrestling, the Baths of Caracalla for gymnastics, the Via Appian for athletics and marathon, the Via Cassian for cycling and individual road race, and the Arch of Constantine for athletics and marathon

finish line. Venues outside Rome were also used for other sports events (Cassar, 2013 pp. 179-180).

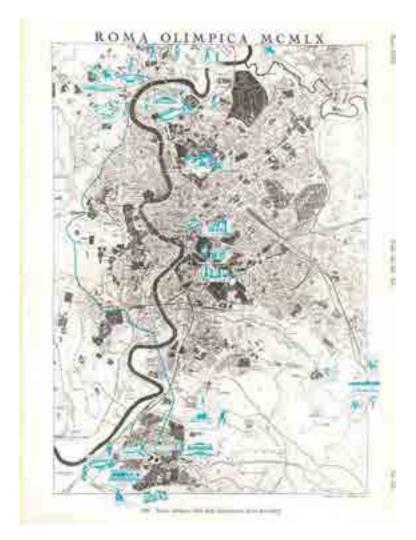


Figure 7: Map of Rome with the venues of the Olympics 1960 Source: frutaz, Le Piante di Roma, tavola 655

New high-speed roads were constructed to provide smooth connection between the sports venues. Metropolitan that opened in 1955 and the expanded bus lines were getting ready to carry numerous visitors from the central part of the city to the EUR. The housing needs were to be met according to the following scheme: the athletes and public employees would be placed in housing specially built in the Olympic Village; the officials and escorts who were not staying in the Olympic Village would be accommodated in hotels or private houses; journalists would be placed in religious establishments; judges would stay in colleges; managers of international federations and members of the International Olympic Committee would be accommodated in high category hotels (Organizing Committee of the

Games of the XVII Olympiad, 1960). The City of Rome and the Provincial Tourism Board were put in charge to manage the traditional tourists' accommodation and other needs. Other infrastructures, such as water, electricity and sewer system have been upgraded. New international airport (currently Leonardo da Vinci Airport) opened before it was fully completed especially for the Olympic Games. Historic monuments have been cleaned and restored. This event turned out to be a changing year for the Eternal City. Rome got an opportunity to be reintroduced to the world, receiving thousands of visitor (Cassar, 2013, pp. 171-172, p. 182).

Tourist statistics during the event perfectly illustrates its scope and importance for the image of the city and of the country in general. From August 25 to September 11 196 986 visitors were counted, with an average of 60 000 persons per day. 10 per cent of them were athletes, other officials, journalists, etc. Because a number of visitors would be staying in nearby towns and some of would not have been surveyed, the actual figure of the people who attended the event must be significantly higher. The ratio between domestic and foreign tourists was 1:3 (49,243 to 147,743) (Cassar, 2013, pp. 173-178).

This key event in the history of the 20th century Rome provoked series of social and political issues. Though the country was being promoted like a renewed, democratic republic, very little social changes were taking place. The corruption was a huge problem. The clientelist political elite that was especially strong in Rome, on the other hand, still supported the remaining Fascism metastases. The transformation of the city's infrastructure and the road network did not consider the needs of the capital and its citizens (Organizing Committee of the Games of the XVII Olympiad, 1960). The project of the Olympic Games was implemented without any logic behind planning. It once again proved that the events that were taking place were the analogy to what had been happening for years with endless political trade between big landowners and the businesses of the real estate. It seemed like already complicated processes were getting harder to control.

In 1969 the rent control was reinstalled throughout the country, but the damage had already been made. Thousands of families that were already evicted from the city centre were in deep suffering, having fled to the periphery, usually living in illegal borgate. City centre that was inhabited by 370 617 Romans in 1951, had shrunk by 129 000 over ten years (this

tendency continued and according to the municipality data, the population of the centre was 90 000 in 2011) (Insolera, 2011, p. 285).

Besides the housing problem, infrastructure was another big issue. Till the very 1970-1980s, most of the important piazzas were serving as a parking lot. One metro line operated in the city starting from 1955 to 1980. The second line was only added in 1980 to connect southeast suburbs and Prati district. Termini was the nod of interchange, putting more pressure on the city centre. On August 1, 1968, no parking regulation has been put in place for half of the city centre. It was to be followed from 7am-10am and 3pm-5pm on 422 streets with a total length of 68 kilometres. It aimed to prevent the commuters who worked in the area to take up parking spaces for the whole working day (Insolera, 2011, pp. 278-279). It is important to mention though that the bus lines and metropolitan have made it easier for Romans to commute. The transportation development in the vicinity of the historic centre causes protest in some of the well of citizens who inhabited the area. Opening of the metro station of Piazza di Spagna was one of the cases. They believed the accessible and cheap mean of transportation would allow the sub-urban youth to invade the city (Kostof, 2012, p. 344-345).



Figure 8 Piazza Colonna, 1960s Source: Archivio Storico Fotografico ATAC STP 7057

In the late 1970s, Rome was preparing for a long-expected conservative restoration project to be launched in the historic centre of the city, to be executed by public funds. During the city conference on the problems of the urban planning, the councillor at Palazzo

Braschi Vittorio Ghio Calzolari announced the news. Rome was preparing to restore and reuse in full respect of the original structures of existing built heritage. On the backdrop of dripping of speculative restoration, which has transformed residential buildings into luxury accommodation or offices, with the consequent expulsion of the inhabitants into the suburbs, with huge expenses for the community, enormous social costs, congestion vandalism, a massive increase in urban gigantism and unauthorized use. From the 1960s to 1980s the population of the historic centre had almost halved decreasing from 370 000 to 167 000 inhabitants caused by the restructuring of private real estate that has taken over housing, professional offices, commercial offices, credit and insurance offices. To accommodate the above-mentioned spaces, more than 42 000 dwelling rooms had been destroyed. A census that had been taken on the municipal properties where the restoration was to be carried out, degradation and underutilization process took over: some properties were downgraded to the previous owners, while the municipality paid high rents for private individuals for schools and services. A field analysis in several districts in the historic centre showed the conditions of the buildings where 33 per cent of the houses were without water, 11 per cent had external water, 86 per cent were without central heating, 80 per cent were unhealthy due to high humidity. No money had every been spent do take care of the above-mentioned problems in the area by the municipality. Importantly, 80 per cent of the offices in the city were concentrated in the centre (Cederna, 1977).

Political instability created many drawbacks for the country's development. From 1945 to 1981 the Democratic Party was controlling the national government through coalitions. Nine prime ministers of this party were in charge of Italy from 1953 to 1960. It was the time of unrest, with a number of protests and demonstrations about the problems of housing and public services. These were the people who had not benefited from so renown Economic Miracle of Italy. Italy was yet to experience more tension. At the end of 1960s, the Neo-Fascists aimfully tried to destabilize the government, using targeted violence, bombing banks, train stations, governmental buildings and historic monuments. Ironically, these acts were blamed on the leftist students. The following ten years, known as anni di piombo (years of lead) was extremely violent. The terrorists got so far that they kidnapped and killed Prime Minister Aldo Moro in Rome. This situation required special treatment. To secure safety, the armed military guards were protecting government offices, banks, museums and churches. After 30 years of centre-right control of the government, the centre-left came in power in the

municipality in 1976. They aimed to legalize irregular neighbourhoods. Safeguarding historic parks were also part of the plan. One of the other important initiatives would be proposed but only approved as part of the law for Roma Capitale in 1990. The major objectives of the bill included the construction of archaeological park of the Fori Imeriali and transfer of management activities out of the historic centre to the eastern suburbs (Insolera, 2011, pp. 297-311).

The 1980s was a period of profound changes, public administration that had governed Italian cities for almost a century had started to decline. The progressive transfer of prerogatives from the public to the private sector took shape during those years. On the one hand, the municipal administration continued the preparation of public building programs, trying to start the recovery of public heritage in the historic centre; to build the first sections of the Tiber river park and the Roman coast. However, some projects had gradually lost their incisiveness and effectiveness: the systematic emptying of public privileges in the area was witnessed (Insolera, 2011, pp. 313-314).

Meanwhile, Rome suffered from overall retreating, caused by a series of violent cases, massacres and organized crimes, intertwined with occult powers. The most noteworthy of them are: the attack on Pope John Pole II in St. Peter's Square on May 13, 1989; the mysterious disappearance of Emanuela Orlandi, a daughter of a Vatican employee, on June 22, 1983; a year earlier, Roberto Calvi, the president of Banco Ambrosiano was found hanging under the bridge of London's Blackfriars; a powerful Sicilian banker Michele Sindona, whose interests crossed with the Vatican bank was arrested in New York in 1980 (Extradited to Italy, he died in prison on March 22, 1986). The hegemony of Magliana gang carried on from the 1970s through 1980s to achieve total domination over the Roman underworld. Political violence was not the only problem for the capital at the time. The Jewish quarter was attacked and a two-year-old Jewish boy Stefano Teche was killed on the street. On December 1985 a Palestinian group assaulted a company of Israeli flag inside the Fiumicino airport. There were 13 victims, one hundred injured and three terrorists were killed by the police (Insolera, 2011, pp. 315-317).

The city had dramatically changed by the time the Left came back to power in 1993. The new season of urbanism of Rome started by electing Mayor Francesco Rutelli on December 8 (Boccaccio, 2000). The old city plan that foresaw the increase of the population up to 4,5 million, proved useless as the inhabitants never exceeded 2,8 million. Urban traffic

problems were raising due to intensive usage of private cars and with only one metro line functioning out of the planned four. Once again, the preparation of a new plan was slow. As a first step towards a plan, a scheme that intended to exclude the non-urban areas from development was adopted in 1997 (Piccinato, 2006, p. 221).

Rome, a dual city, playing the role of capital of Italy and the catholic capital of the world, had been challenged multiple times on political, social and religious levels. The end of the 20th century was no different. On the backdrop of the numerous corruption scandals, known and the collapse of partitocrazia (that hit the two political parties in particular: Christian Democrats and Italian Communists), the Holy Father of the Catholic church John Paul II declared the year 2000 to be a Holy Year on November 10, 1994. Rome was once again to host a huge religious event that would challenge the city on multiple levels. During the years that lead up to 2000, the leftist city council and the Vatican were collaborating closely. The capital was becoming a demonstration space of not only spiritually, but also commercially minded Church. The extreme influence of the Vatican on the secular matters of Rome, such as the involvement in changes of the city's urban fabric to the impact of pilgrims and tourists on the heritage sites, became the reason of controversial discussions in politicians, media and citizens (McNeill, 2003, p. 536-637).

The public expenditure plan was officially approved by Commissione per Roma Capitale in 1996 for the preparation of the Great Jubilee, though it would be modified, and downsized a few times to meet the deadlines and the amount of allocated public funds. The final version of it contained 800 projects and the realization period was from 1996 to 2000 and was mostly financed by state funds (Law n. 651/1996) (Benevolo, 2003, p. 10-12).

From 1,88 billion euros invested in infrastructural, environmental and social work for Rome and Lazio, 750 million euros were spent on logistics and transportation (projects aiming to improve the mobility, develop metropolitan road, railroad and parking areas, the motorway city-ring, Fiumicino-Airport, and railroad of Viterbo-St.Peter, the renewal of "Termini" station, the implementation of a central road tunnel in Lungotevere Sassia, the parking of Gianicolo, the musical Auditorium; the other projects aimed to strengthen local and urban railroads and emergency infrastructure), 275 million euros on the cultural event and cultural heritage, 235 million were spent on urban maintenance, 230 million on hospitality and 85 million euros were spent for media and communication activities (Benevolo, 2003 p.3; Il Sole 24 Ore, 2015).

The key economic expansion caused by the Jubilee was, of course, tourism. Total arrivals in Rome in 2000 reached 24,5 million pilgrims (though the estimations that were being made, had expected to receive 33 million tourists) and according to the data provided by the Vatican, Catholics who met Pope John Paul II during public audiences, religious ceremonies and Sunday Angelus passed 8.5 million. The tourism performance increased by 42 per cent. Hospitality facilities (including hotels) received 78,747 million arrivals. International visitors increased by 8.3 per cent while Italians increased by 6.7 per cent. The capital that received about 30 million incomers, showed an increase of 23 per cent compared to the previous year. Pilgrims and tourists generated 1 billion more money than in 1999 (about 6.5 billion euros in 2000) (II Sole 24 Ore, 2015).

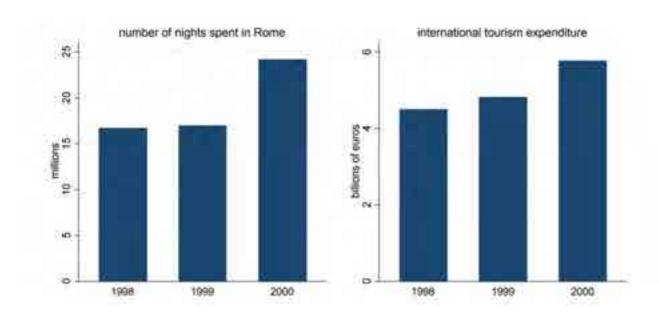


Figure 9: Tourism effect in the year of the JubileeSource: Graphs elaborated by Raffaello Bronzini & Sauro Mocetti & Matteo Mongardini based on the ISTAT and Bank of Italy data

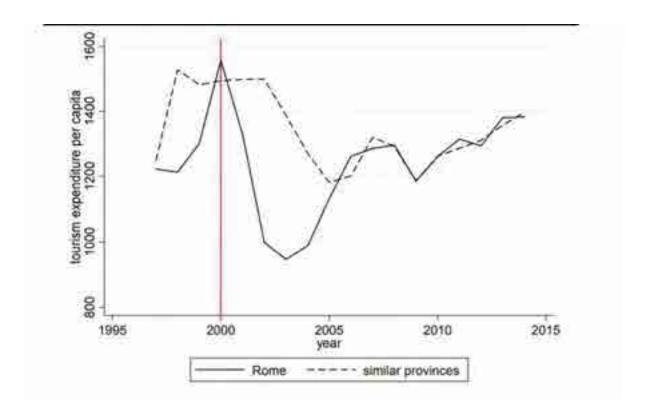


Figure 10: Tourists expenditure

Source: Graphs elaborated by Raffaello Bronzini & Sauro Mocetti & Matteo Mongardini based on the ISTAT and Bank of Italy data

As Romans were starting to dislike increase number of tourists, the great event of the Holy Jubilee 2000 was feared by many and so it remained controversial. The predominance of tourism in the strategies for relaunching the city started in the 1990s and lasted till the end of the century. The aim was to meet the competition of becoming a leading attraction for visitors, as well as for foreigners and workers. During 1993 to 2008, under the leadership of the left-wing Mayors, Francesco Rutelli and Walter Veltroni, the neoliberalist style of government were favoured in urban planning and tourism strategies and policies (Gemmiti, 2019, pp. 7-8). Consequently, the new Master Plan of Rome adopted in 2008 aimed to relaunch the city's economy and its competitiveness on the international market through fundamental changes of spatial organization and creation of balanced economic activities and distribution of functions. Tourism was envisioned to hold the central part in the plan and promote visibility and attractiveness of the metropolitan system in the time to come (Ciccarelli, 2012, pp. 56-58). Another important change made in the process of creation of the Master Plan of Rome was to replace the concept of "Historic Centre" with the one of "Historic City". It allowed the expansion of the concept of historicity to a wider territory, including the parts of the city that also had historic quality (Gasparrini, 2001, pp. 93-107).

The new tourism model that allowed cost reduction, easy access of information, diversification of the products and no necessity of a mediating tour operator company to organise the trip, has made the travel to Rome easier. The online platforms of short-term rental of tourism accommodation as a recent phenomenon have become very popular in major Italian cities. In several cases the government has tried to regulate its growth, considering its impact on availability and prices of real estate as well as the conflict of sharing space between tourists and residents. In Rome, in just a few years, the accommodation rent on Airbnb exceeded 30 000 from single rooms to entire apartments, with a total number 116 000 beds, several thousand higher than those available in hotels in the city (mapparoma, 2019). The map below illustrates the distribution of tourism accommodation in Rome. It shows how the historic centre has been invaded by hotels, B&B and most widely by Airbnb. With the profitability of P2P businesses, the increase of real estate price and the disturbance of tourist flows in the historic neighbourhoods, the process of touristification has gradually progressed.

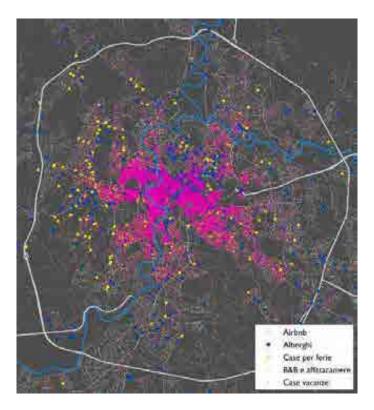


Figure 11: Tourism accommodation distribution throughout Rome Source: #mapparoma27

Romans, who have experienced eviction from their natural living environment many times, have been destined to another wave of exclusion once again. The historic centre of Rome, with the increased number of tourists, has slowly become a commodified product for the attraction of guests who excitedly visit the city as a curated "museum", rather than a living place. Funding restoration work for the heritage sites has become a matter of prestige for the brands such as Tod's, Fendi, Bulgari and Valentino, on one hand, but how much is invested in preserving the livelihood of true Rome, not just the material fabric of the monuments? The city that once was desperately trying to maintain its romanità is being under the risk of losing its identity to fit the tourist demands. Sharing Rome between Romans and tourists is the fact to be faced in the 21st century, while the challenge is to sustain a fair balance.

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Problem Statement

Globalization and its economic effects have been widely debated. Because of the complexity of the phenomenon, more attention has been directed to its economic rather than cultural aspects (Ahmad, 2013). While the process has provided favourable opportunities for many, it has also endangered cultures, inevitably leading them to the loss of their unique character and creating conflicts on the local level. It has been peculiarly accurate when alternative models of change have been forced on traditional communities (UNESCO, n.d.).

In the 1980s when consumption of cultural goods became easier, travelling was brought within the reach of many. This process facilitated successful maintenance, interpretation and safeguarding of heritage. Historic preservation changed its character by focusing on destination revitalization, job creation, cultural stewardship, small business incubation, housing, tourism, etc. (Rypkema, 2005). Due to its intrinsic value¹, tourism, as a significant tool of Globalization, has led to commodification and standardization of cultures and heritage. Direct tourism revenues and foreign investments have become the primary economic focus (Farid, 2015). As an effective instrument for socio-economic and cultural development for many travelling destinations, tourism growth has challenged places to meet sustainability goals and minimize negative effects on the environment (UNWTO, 2018). In many cases, adverse impact on host communities, on their lifestyle and longstanding traditions have been unavoidable. Cultural influence has been expressed in the overuse of heritage sites and outspend of its capacity (Montanari, 2010).

Europe, where cultural tourism has predominantly occurred in historic cities, has been massively influenced by the progress of the travel industry (García-Hernández, 2017). The gradual transformation of urban areas strongly altered the sense of place and caused the loss of human scale in many cities and towns during the last decades (Bianca, 2015). With the accessibility of destinations cultural, historic and human quality to the tangible and intangible heritage has become more vulnerable, commodified and turned into a mass product, to sell and buy for a minimum price and little value.

After the introduction of neoliberalist ideology and the global spread of capitalism, the process of commodification of cities as a whole gradually took place. The transformation of traditional tourism model, on the other hand, has challenged the urban environment and raised discussions about the costs and benefits generated in the sector. Excessive pressure of tourists on the local environment has caused

¹ Francis-Lindsay (2009) argues that the "intrinsic value", often ignored by societies strongly depended on tourism, represents and innate worth of heritage that belongs to the country's cultural identity. She claims that

this value defines how people see their past and how they can share their cultural heritage (tangible and intangible) to improve visitor experience.

tension between visitors and inhabitants. The growth of Airbnb and other P2P platforms has turistified residential areas and has caused the eviction of local communities from their natural living environment (Garcia-Ayllon, S, 2018). Low-cost flights, inadequate regulations in places regarding means of travels and accommodation and mass tourism have disturbed communities, affected the environment and decreased the value of destinations. The less disturbing and more sustainable quality tourism has surrendered to fast tourism. Through tourism, the culture as a process has been transformed into the culture as a product (Richards, 1996). Besides, commercial activities impose the risk of damage to historic resources through physical destruction caused by tourist use (Ho and McKercher, 2004). Nonetheless, the attempts to preserve these resources, by denying socio-economic development, can doom a place to economic impoverishment (Yang et. al. 2010). Therefore, finding a balance between urban heritage conservation and tourism management can be crucial for socio-economic and cultural development.

According to Rypkema, cities to remain competitive on the 21st-century economic market there are Five Senses to keep in mind: the sense of place, the sense of identity, the sense of evolution, the sense of ownership (not referring to legal ownership, but a feeling of an "individual stake" by the local citizens), and lastly, the sense of community (Rypkema, 2003). To be able to practice the above mentioned five senses of competitive cities, heritage and tourism managers and urban planners will have to mitigate risks that cultural globalization imposes. While the transformation of localities is the socio-cultural impact of the phenomenon (Miller, 1995), conserving identity of a place without commodifying it is a challenge.

To respond to the issues that globalization, accessibility of travel and fast tourism imposes on urban heritage, the thesis aims to examine What is the Impact of Commodification of Urban Heritage as a Tourist Product on the Sense of Ownership of the place. The research hypothesises that the conflict of interests of heritage communities conditions the change of values towards tangible and intangible heritage and results in the loss of Sense of Ownership and belongingness to the place. It results into the decline of the authenticity of the place, and consequently commodification of Heritage for the community that is the main user of the place (that in this case would be tourists/visitors of the place).

The research aims to create a model that will be able to suggest how *economic* and *socio-cultural* values of heritage can be influenced by mass tourism and find the interdependence between the two variables.

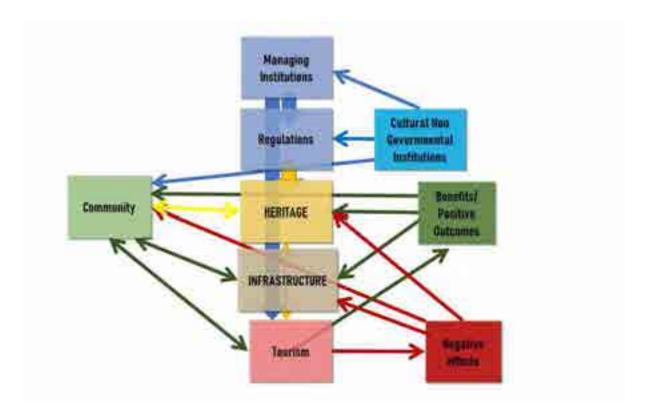


Illustration 1. Mind map of Mass Tourism environment and the relations of research variables.

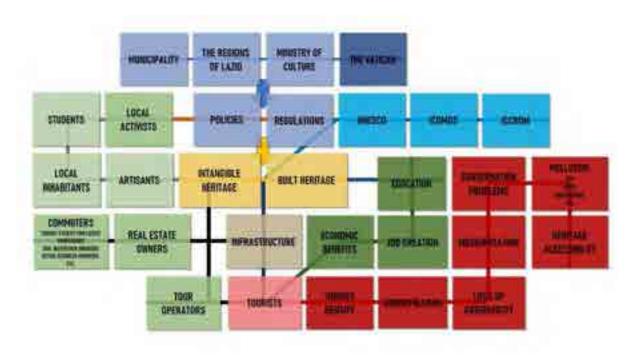


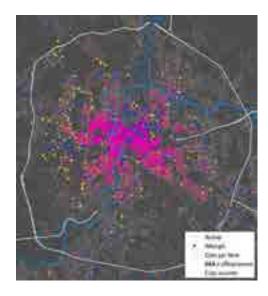
Illustration 2. A mind map that can be used as a model for presenting how change of each variable effects other variables.

Case Study: Rome (Historic Centre)

Rome has been attracting visitors for centuries. Its historically layered cultural heritage has always caused interest in travellers. Events promoted hundreds of years ago have boosted tourism in the Eternal City. One of such events is the Holy Jubilee that was first celebrated in the 14th century and was established by Pope Bonifacie VIII (Dickenson, 1999). Still celebrated today, the Jubilee generates high income for the city, though puts a lot of pressure on its infrastructure. An organised way of travelling that can be considered a predecessor of Mass Tourism started in the 19th century when an English entrepreneur Thomas Cook created travel packages and organised visits to cultural sites in most of the European cities, including Rome (Black, 1997). Since then tourism industry has rapidly grown and has gained an important place in the economic development of Italy. The predominance of tourism in the strategies for relaunching the city started in the 1990s and lasted till the end of the century. The aim was to meet the competition of becoming a leading attraction for visitors, as well as for foreigners and workers. During 1993 to 2008, under the leadership of the left-wing Mayors, Francesco Rutelli and Walter Veltroni, the neoliberalist style of government were favoured in urban planning and tourism strategies and policies (Gemmiti, 2019). Consequently, the new Master Plan of Rome adopted in 2008 aimed to relaunch the city's economy and its competitiveness on the international market through fundamental changes of spatial organization and creation of balanced economic activities and distribution of functions. Tourism was envisioned to hold the central part in the plan and promote visibility and attractiveness of the metropolitan system in the time to come (Ciccarelli et al. 2012; Gemmiti 2008). Another important change made in the process of creation of the Master Plan of Rome was to replace the concept of "Historic Centre" with the one of "Historic City". It allowed the expansion of the concept of historicity to a wider territory, including the parts of the city that also had historic quality (Gasparrini, 2001).

The new tourism model that allows cost reduction, easy access of information, diversification of the products and no necessity of a mediating tour operator company to organise the trip, has made the travel to Rome easier. The online platforms of short-term rental of tourism accommodation as a recent phenomenon have become very popular in major Italian cities. In several cases the government has tried to regulate its growth, considering its impact on availability and prices of real estate as well as the conflict of sharing space between tourists and residents. In Rome, in just a few years, the accommodation rent on Airbnb exceeded 30 000 from single rooms to entire apartments, with a total number 116 000 beds, several thousand higher than those available in hotels in the city (mapparoma, 2019). The map below illustrates the distribution of tourism accommodation in Rome. It shows how the historic centre has been invaded by hotels, B&B and most widely by Airbnb. With the profitability of

P2P businesses, the increase of real estate price and the disturbance of tourist flows in the historic neighbourhoods, the process of touristification has gradually progressed.



Elaboration of Mappadiroma on insideairbnb.com and data of Roma Capitale

An important feature that adds up to the pressure on the city is the fact that Rome is the capital of Italy and also of all Christendom. It is a junction of the country's politics, administration, diplomacy, culture and religion. The diversity of stakeholders creates the conflict of interests between locals, NGOs, public authorities, businesses, artisans, tourist organisations, the Church and the Mafia. This conflict takes places on a different special scale from the perspective of each above-mentioned stakeholder (Montanari, 2010). The multiplicity of parties interested in the 'ownership' of the place creates complication and confusion. The process of touristification that causes socio-economic changes of structure, evokes constant questioning of who has the right on urban heritage and how by whom and for whom should it be conserved.

To better elaborate on the above-mentioned issues, there are the following questions to explore:

- 1) How has the legal ownership of the study area changed since the 1980s, when Tourism became widely accessible industry for travellers?
- 2) How has the building occupancy classification changed since the overtake of Mass Tourism?
 - 3) How has the economic value of the place changed?
 - 4) How have the socio-cultural values of the community changed?
- 5) How have these changes influenced the quality of life in the historic centre of Rome?

6) Can cost-benefit analysis be conducted based on the competition between economic vs. socio-cultural changes?

A brief methodological outline of the research

Environmental scanning (analysing existing literature, studying policies and regulations in place, collecting existing statistical data) will be used as a first step to collect and analyse already existing data about the research area. Open data is available on the websites of Citta' Metropolitana di Roma Capitale, Comune di Roma Open Data, Data.gov.it and Istat. Additional necessary data can be requested at the Agenzie Entrate of Rome. Besides, research conducted by L'Agenzia per il controllo e la qualità dei servizi pubblici locali di Roma Capital in 2015 and the annual analysis of Sole 24 Ore about the quality of life in Italy will be used for the environmental analysis.

To analyse the value of cultural heritage, I am considering to use Hedonic Pricing Method (Anglin and Gencay, 1996; Blomsquist and Worley, 1981; Janssen and Soderberg, 2001), by identifying the characteristics of the heritage and the urban environment and then use regression analysis (Schroeder, Sjoquist, et. 1986; Skiadas, Bozeman, 2019) to build a function that can predict how the value would change in the absence of the environmental service.

To study the socio-cultural value of the place, I consider to use ethnographic approach (Low 2002, Kent 1984) by conducting interviews with local inhabitants, political officials, business people and thoroughly analyse the historic, artistic, educational and other values of the place.

To test my hypothesis according to which the conflict of interest of heritage communities influenced by Mass Tourism that lack in communication, conditions the change of values towards tangible and intangible heritage and results into the loss of Sense of Ownership and belongingness to the place, I aim to create a digital model that can demonstrate that as individual values change, the relation towards the sense of ownership of the place, and consequently to the whole environment, changes. To do so, I consider using GIS and Python to analyse the information and to create the assessment tool.

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