THE QUALITY OF PUBLIC SPACE AND TOURIST SPECIALIZATION PHENOMENA: THE HISTORICAL CENTERS OF FLORENCE AND FES

Massimo Carta*

* University of Florence, Italy, Department of Architecture. Email massimo.carta@unifi.it

Abstract

The paper aims to contribute to the knowledge of a phenomenon (observed by urban planning scholars and others for decades) that takes place in the spaces of some peculiar cities: the growing tourist specialization of the historic core of the cities of art (*città d'arte*) or of historical centers recognized and protected by international organizations like UNESCO.

Is interesting a specific focus on the mutation of public space as a consequence of tourist pressure in these urban fabrics: they often possess an exceptional morphological value and a stratified landscape meaning. The changes triggered by tourist pressure also affect other aspects, be they of economic, social, demographic or functional nature: summing up, we are witnessing the progressive specialization of these spaces and their physical separation from the not touristic city. How can we deal with this progressive construction of urban precincts where growing streams of tourists are sent?

What are the possible answers, the adaptations, the strategies that must be put in place to attempt to positively direct the energies and resources that come from masses of people wishing to directly access the beauties of this cities, but who by their own number they risk to compromising the same quality of the places they visit? The paper will deal with these topics by comparing the research contexts of Italy (Florence) and Morocco (Fez)

1. Heritage, tourism and some consequences

In 1996, D.F. Wallace was commissioned by the Harper's Magazine a report on luxury cruises, which he wrote with his unsurpassed mastery (Wallace, 1996). The title (*A funny thing that I will never do again*) partially restores the atmosphere captured by Wallace of that trip: together with the caustic and disarming photos of Martin Parr (Nicholson, 2002), these are the images that well describe the *figure* of the contemporary tourist, in its many aspects, also in its intrinsic violence.

From tourism, from the dynamics that it triggers, from the energies that it moves and from which it is moved, this writing begins. Growing tourism pressure is a phenomenon that has numerous undesirable effects. The dynamics of gentrification (Lees, 2006) are combined with the almost mining exploitation of the historical and artistic heritage; actions to adapt to tourism industry encourage specialization and consequently lead to separation, falsification and commodification. This, in some places, is the circle to break, even as a way to increase the resilience of these contexts, that is their ability to positively adapt the changes of their center

to economic and social evolutions, so as to preserve their material and immaterial heritage. This is the declared purpose of the UNESCO action: the protection and transmission to future generations of the artistic, historical, cultural and naturalistic heritage. But often, among the aims of the candidacies for UNESCO heritage, it's included the intention to make the places more attractive for tourists: so, although UNESCO does not certify the places for their tourist appeal, but for their testimonial and patrimonial value, the two aspects coexist.

We will consider as case studies two very different cities that are today in a different stage of "touristization": the center of Florence, the famous Italian *city of art*, cradle of the Renaissance, and the center of Fez, an ancient Moroccan Arab city, one of the most important centers of the Islamic religion. We will analyze the situation from the point of view of the quality of public space, which must be carefully studied also with regard to the following aspects: the interaction between tourist pressure and the need for conservation promoted by UNESCO, and the fact

Fig. 1: The appearance of one of the highly specialized tourist areas in Florence, Italy (ph. Massimo Carta)

that these contexts must necessarily be considered in the respective metropolitan areas.

These are areas in which the transformations induced by tourism are evident in the historical urban fabrics and in the public space of the ancient centers, but also determine changes within the respective metropolitan areas. The change in the tourist market and the policies that encourage it, for example, determine adaptations in the facilities of transport infrastructures (ports, airports, motorways and highways, parking system, buses and urban trams etc.), or in hotel facilities, in the short-term rental market, in the provision of facilities and *loisir* (theme parks, specialized shopping centers for tourists, events).

These changes are also made possible by the enormous importance assumed by digital platforms, such as AirB&B, Trivago, Tripadvisor, Booking etc., which allow great efficiency in finding non-traditional accommodations for tourists and an extreme difficulty of regulation for the public actor (Sussan & Acs, 2017).

In these places, the needs of transformation are in conflict on the one hand with the need to protect and preserve the built heritage (which often has a special status as a monumental artistic heritage, as in the cases we are dealing with), on the other with the need to preserve the mix of functions of the public space, guarantee of urban quality (Secchi 2005). In the places analyzed, to different degrees, the processes of gentrification act causing the loss of the same social and economic environment that has allowed the creation and conservation of both physical and immaterial values appreciated by tourists. This is a classic *vicious circle*, the results of which have been observed in many places, comparable to the almost mining exploitation of the patrimonial elements of a place rich in history and culture, an exploitation that does not provide for its reproducibility (Magnaghi, 2010).

In different places, at different scales, the same tendency can be seen in touristic location: homologation, homogenization and loss of peculiar aspects of the places, change in the "traditional" visual-perceptive codes, increase in the polarization of the tourist phenomenon on an urban scale, pervasive micro-transformations in building, appropriation of public spaces by compact masses of tourists (Bellini & Pasquinelli, 2017).

We assist in the construction of equipments, spaces and functional codes for the better functioning of tourist flows, which cause a whole series of consequences:

o   a sort of tourist *alienation (Vidon, 2018),*
o   the creation of unsatisfactory, unbalanced, often intrinsically unjust housing situations (Franzidis, 2012)
o   the creation of true and proper urban precincts in which tourist flows are oriented (Hayllar, Griffin, & Edwards, 2008).

The identity value of historical centers of Florence and Fez was promoted by the respective local governments through a process of valorization, with proposals for the *Tentative list* and finally with the registration on the UNESCO list. International studies on heritage turism (Garrod & Fyall 2000) critically analyze the impacts it generates, in the first instance on historical urban areas, without neglecting changes in social, demographic and economic structures.

The more than 600 sites recognized globally by UNESCO as a World Heritage Site, consisting of urban areas, are a significant field of study. As is known, in fact, to the recognition of Word Heritage by UNESCO it frequently corresponds to the increase in the attractiveness of the sites, on which the tourist presences increase, and this induces transformations that often contradict the objectives of the unesco to protect the local heritage, to guarantee the conservation of the heritage for future generations (Beschaoush 2000; D'Eramo 2017; Gonzalez-Tirados 2011).

The vision of the historic city that emerges from the Unesco perspective, although this is not the declared position of the organization, is often very specialized and oriented towards "museification". These side effects cause doubts in relation to the fact that the UNESCO approach really protects the sites considered *heritage* or rather further the sustainability of the contexts concerned (Caust & Vecco, 2017; Pikkonen, 2012). The "spatial justice" (Soja 2010; Marcuse et. al. 2009), a paradigm of contrast to the processes of separation, polarization and social exclusion in the metropolitan area, takes on a central role in defining principles that should integrate UNESCO's conservative vision: the concept of heritage protection cannot ignore the social and economic protection of citizenship, which we investigate from the point of view of public space.

The trend is the creation of "protected" areas where tourism specialization can be total, or where profit can be maximized according to the speed and standardization of touristic use. In these areas the codes of conduct are fixed, the perception of one's role as tourists is strong, the local society clearly perceives this role, isolating it, taming it, making it safe and even confining it into precincts.

It is a gradual transfer to some areas of the city of the way cruise ships are experienced: users remain within specific fences, which is equivalent to experiencing extremely specific, safe and standardized, though also unpredictable, social and travel experiences, as D.F.Wallace tells us. This also implies the tendency of tourist accommodation to be located, where possible, close to tourist areas, if not inside them: in short, "on board".

2. Florence: the evolution of the historic center in a tourist district

The city of Florence has an important position in the history of art, architecture and urban design, and even radical and substantial changes to its body have been a constant in its long evolution (Fei, 1995). Starting from the formation of the Italian state, its evolution underwent a sharp acceleration (Fanelli, 2002), with radical transformations of the center to make it suitable to play the role of Capital of the Kingdom. In recent times, starting at least since 1948, its urban structure has become an extensive metropolitan area, which has gradually included the three provinces of Florence, Prato and Pistoia (Giorgieri, 2010). In this evolution, the ancient center, first surrounded by walls, then after their demolition by a system of roads, has become transformed, becoming a well-defined part of a more extensive and complex system, which has continued to change, even for traumatic events. The second world war with the consequent destruction and reconstructions, and the flood of 1966 that strongly changed the socio-economic situation and the distribution of functions in the city (Budini Gattai, 2016), were traumatic passages for the city that caused substantial and widespread changes. Even more recent phenomena, such as those caused by the impact of the establishment of a public mass university system in Florence since the 1970s, have led to changes in the concept of residentiality in the historic center (Cascone & Sciuto 2016). But it is

perhaps the pressure of tourist presence that has changed the face of the city over the past 30 years.

Recognized by UNESCO as a *world heritage* in 1982[1], the historic center of Florence has long been an international tourist destination, since the days of the *grand tour*, which forced the best European society to visit the city at least once in a lifetime (Black, 2003; De Seta, 1989).Today, the municipality of Florence (380,000 inhab) is part of a Metropolitan area of about 1 million inhabitants, itself a Metropolitan City, and its historic-artistic center has about 65thousand residents in about 550 hectares. The positive impact of tourism on the economy of the city is undoubtedly clear: in 2018[2] the municipality of Florence collected more than 42 million euros of royalties from the taxation of tourists.[3]

2.1 The affirmation of "tourism precincts" in Florence.

The particular configurations of some specific urban spaces (for example the presence of historical urban tissues, exceptional architectures, famous monuments, museums, as in the case of Florence and Fez), combined with particular contextual conditions (accessibility, security, attractiveness, notoriety …) determines the massive presence of tourists in some cities, which tends to concentrate and to modify certain areas of the city itself. The tourists recognize these places from the density of visitors, from the signs, equipment, types of goods sold, among other things. The inhabitants of the cities themselves necessarily change the experience they have of these places, the perception of places that tend to be specialized for tourist use, and from which they are often excluded.

To verify these statements, we carried out direct surveys on the public spaces of the historic center of Florence, investigating the spatial conformation of

the "tourism precincts": their configuration within the historic center and the various elements that compose them. The main references are the survey to "inform residents' perception of tourism policy" carried out by the Center for Tourism Studies and ETOA[4] which involved 3,000 residents[5] and, for his methodological interest the text of Hayllar, Griffin and Edwards (2008) which defines the tourist enclosure[6].
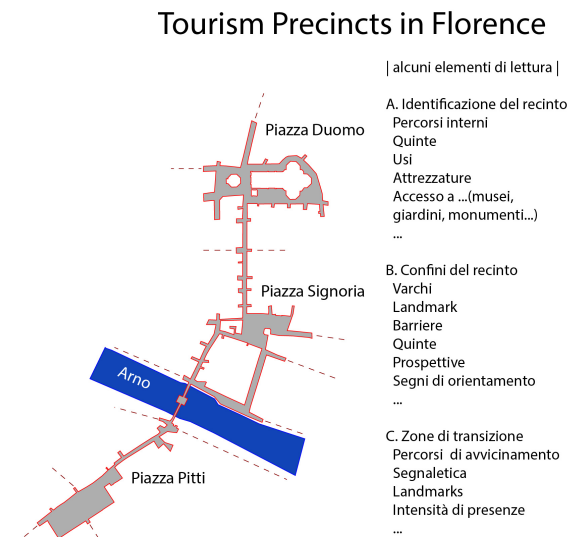
Tourism Precincts in Florence

Fig. 2: A mapping of the places with greater tourist use on the center of Florence, Italy (Massimo Carta)

Our survey and the shooting campaigns started in Florence in 2017 and continues today periodically; has produced a series of photographic images, taken at different times of the day, of the week and of the year, images that accompany the collection of data at the local level.

In fact, to try to understand who the users of these "fences" are, we must refer to the different data that quantify the tourist phenomenon in Florence. Around 40,000 visitors[7] pass through the

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[1] http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/174/documents
[2] The collection of the Collect and Remit from Airbnb for 2018 stands at 6 million and 803.460 euro, as can be seen from the data of the Budget of the municipality of Florence for 2018. From the tourist tax (a tax that concerns those who stay in Florence) 42.335.381 million are cashed, and 16.07% come from the Airbnb platform, with a monthly average of about 550 thousand euros. Source: Ufficio stampa comune di Firenze.
[3] Source: municipality of Florence
[4] "From the data (…) it emerges that the Florentines, due to the high number of visitors, no longer frequent 72 streets, squares and areas of the city: in the first three positions stand Piazza Duomo, Via Calzaiuoli and Ponte Vecchio" (p.4);

[5] Cfr. www.firenzerisponde.it/index2.php.
[6] "Urban tourism precincts are defined by their particular patterns of architectural design, layout, attractions and the overall configuration of the physical elements that help to forge a particular sense of place ". The tendency to "monofunctionality" of these spaces is powerful and growing; even, «if tourism is considered as an industrial activity, tourism precincts may be examined as industrial complexes» (p.115).
[7] The data on tourism contained in this paragraph are taken from the study of Ottonelli, Pavarin 2016 except as otherwise specified in the note.

entrance of one of the many museums in the historic center on an average day. If Italian tourists reach Florence mostly by car (78.5%) or by train and stay in the city for an average of 2 nights, tourists from abroad (mainly from the USA) land at the airports of Pisa (which saw an increase of + 447.33% from 2000 to 2016[8]), Florence and Bologna, and stop in Florence on average for no more than 3 nights.

The so-called "hikers" who visit Florence during the day without staying overnight are mostly cruise ship passengers (we can imagine D.F.Wallace among them!)) who increased by 122% from 2003 to 2016, around 15,000 per day even though they are mostly concentrated in the months between April and October, for a total of 5.5 million people a year. The 376 hotels, the 772 bad & breakfast and other regularly registered facilities, the thousands of apartments and studios, also obtained in basements and attics scattered in the historic center to obtain temporary tourist beds, are managed mainly with online platforms such as AirBnB (11,262 hosts, of which 8,198 in the historic center only!) or Booking.com (Booking.com has grown from 1,765 to 3,675, of which the apartments are 2,700), these beds have a good annual occupancy rate. For some of these activities, the growth is constant: from 2014 to 2017, announcements on Airbnb have increased from 5,700 to 8,887 of which 84% are entire apartments. Almost 40% of the wealth brought by tourism is linked to the turnover for the overnight stay of tourists. About 800 million euros a year, a considerable amount compared to the total annual income of the 94 museums placed in the historic center (51 million euros).

What was initially born as a sharing economy soon turns into an important speculative market on a global scale that associates tourism with apartments taken from the residential permanent function (Wachsmuth et al., 2018). In Florence there are over 12,000 commercial activities that are based exclusively on tourism: leather craft shops, or bars, sandwich bars and restaurants, small shops of furnishings and drinks, etc.

All this has an impact on the metropolitan scale. If the strong presence of tourists affects private and public activities, car rental and taxis, parking lots, car pooling and bike sharing, and even the retail sale of

many goods and the procurement of these goods, it is increasingly interested in the municipal tramway system, the regional airport and port systems, also contributing to the percentage of mass crowding of regional or national trains. In Florence, for example, the incoming tourist buses are on average 160 per day (more than 58,000 per year), carrying 2,200,000 tourists, the vast majority of whom visit the historic center. There are also 325 pass per day granted to the other buses, many of which escape the count, and which are linked to the tourist economy.

All these activities employ approximately 19,000 people who work in tourism, including accommodation, commercial activities, travel agencies and guides. All this has an obvious impact on public space. The economic turnover can be estimated at over 2 billion euros a year, divided into the various items of expenditure: accommodation (37.4%), catering (14.9%), goods and services (11.4%) and clothing and accessories (11%). In the policies that govern the future of Florence, we cannot see a change of trend with respect to the growing affirmation of tourist specialization. The temporary residence, in addition to the tourists mentioned above, also increases due to other factors, such as short-term workers, or resident foreign students. For example, the offer of over 50 North American higher education institutions present in Florence determines the presence of about 8000 student visitors (see Association of American College and University in Italy programs, AACUPI), whose behavior in the public space is comparable to that of most tourists.

3. Fez: the creation of the "ancient"medina

In the Arab world, also, many cities present strong transformation of public space that oscillate between the degradation of historical settlement structures, the consolidation of new centralities and the expansion of informal neighboods. A particular context, which helps us to deal with peculiar aspects of the impact of global tourism on public space, is the Moroccan one, with the examples of Fez[9]. It is due to the increased pressure on the building heritage typical of past decades, now in sharp decline (Royaume du Maroc, 2016), to the lack

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[8] Data on mobility and tourism in Tuscany are taken from CST Florence (2017) based on Assoaeroporti data

[9] Massimo Carta is member of the DarMed Research Unit established in 2018 at the DIDA of Florence, and is a lecturer

at the *Ecole Euro-Méditerranéenne d'Architecture, de Design et d'Urbanisme de Fes* in Morocco: in that context he carries out research on changes in Mediterranean urbanization.

of maintenance of the buildings by a population that is not very equipped in economic, cultural and mastery of construction techniques, to the almost total inaction of the public intervention (Istasse, 2012), if the physical degradation or the changements of the many *medinas* in Morocco represents the main and most urgent problem to date (ONU et al., 2003; Royaume du Maroc, 2016).

Compared to the Italian case, where the historical centers and their governance and design, at least starting from the *Carta di Gubbio* (ANCSA 1960), have been the object of a growing attention, in Morocco there is a striking lack of systematic studies on most of the aspects concerning the transformation of public space in the Medinas[10]: from the current morphological conformation of historical urban fabrics, to the characteristics and methods of use of public spaces; from the practices and representations of the inhabitants, to the set of spatial modifications created by the frequentation of the Medinas by tourists and new residents. But the stratification of interventions that have significantly modified this historical structure during at least half a century remains largely unexplored: the need to fully integrate the intervention and safeguard programs of the Medinas in the municipal urban planning emerges, with a specific attention to the transformations of the building heritage linked to the adaptation to the touristic economy. We apply these arguments to the context of Fez, a city comparable to Florence due to the importance it has in culture (it is one of the most important sacred places of the Islamic religion), due to the size of its historic center, to the dynamics of growth and transformation to which it has been subjected in the past and to which it is still subject.[11] And, of course, Fez is included in the UNESCO list starting from 1981 (enlisted in 1980, number 170, while Florence is number 174).

In the Moroccan national history, the city played an important role: the cradle of the movements for the independence of Morocco and the head of the conservative social forces within the new state for the declaration of the French protectorate (1912) Fès was the capital of the country. It has changed its role through a double geopolitical process: the transfer of

power to the monarchist modernist nationalists and the growing importance of the cities of the Atlantic coast, Casablanca and Rabat. Fez has gradually found itself to be an incomplete metropolis (Gisotti & Carta 2017), the capital of a region with limited resources, with a poorly integrated urban structure, strong socio-spatial disparities and a rapidly increasing periphery, which grew by 61.5% between 1990 and 2010 (Royaume du Maroc 2016).

Tourism Precincts in Fez

Figure 4: A mapping of the places with greater tourist use on the center of Fez, Morocco (Massimo Carta)

In addition to the *Medina*, at least two types of urban fabrics are recognizable in this area: the "ville nouvelle" and the contemporary "ville en périphérie" (Carta and Gisotti, 2017). The "fabric" of the Ville Nouvelle is the result of French planning (1912/1956), the result of a "planned contrast" (Brace Taylor 1980), which tended to physically separate the local and European populations to offer them last a modern, healthy, green, ample space (Gillot 2014; Jelidi 2012). The urban explosion that began in the 80s of the 20th century subsequently generated urban fabrics without any unity, with a great heterogeneity of morphologies and the proliferation of signs of degradation and very strong disparities such as the "bidonville" (Le Tellier 2009).

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[10] For the physical-spatial aspects of Fès, the morphological studies of Stefano Bianca (2000) represent a seminal text for the understanding of the urban structure of the Medina, while those of Titus Burckhardt (1992) and Revault, Golvin and Amahan (1985) rise of scale investigating the type of the court house in relation with the Muslim religion, Sufism and the relative value system.

[11] Furthermore, the municipality of Fes has been twinned with that of Florence since 1961, on the initiative of the mayor La Pira, then renewed by the mayor Leonardo Domenici in 2006 and by the mayor Dario Nardella in 2017.

Urban planning has not been able to govern this transformation: both the SDUF of 1980 (*Schéma directeur d'urbanisme de la ville de Fès*) and the SDAU

heritage, [and] a persistent lifestyle, knowledge that (...) is renewed despite the different effects of the evolution of modern societies". This balance is

Fig. 3: In the medina of Fes in Morocco, the signs of tourist pressure in the public space of the souk are still not very evident (Ph. M. Carta)

of 1995 (Schéma Directeur d'Aménagement Urbain), have oriented only a small part of impetuous urban growth of Fez.

Thus, what was previously "the" city, began to be the "old city": the Medina, in its apparent fixity, has been overwhelmed by metropolitan growth, it is one of the largest in the Islamic world, easily identifiable, well recognizable, also due to the many green areas that surround it. The Medina of Fez has a great variety of architectural forms and of urban landscapes: *Fes El Bali*, the oldest part, covers about 220 ha; the later added part, *Fes Jedid*, or "New City" covers about 60 ha. The two parts of the cities, added together, host about 200,000 inhabitants in 1981, which suffered a constant decline, and at the 2014 census they numbered about 70,000 inhabitants, out of about 1,200,000 in the whole Wilaya (municipality) of Fes.

Following the ICOMOS recommendations of 1980, the Medina is inscribed, as has been said, on the list of Unesco heritage. The motivations tell of "an amazing architectural, archaeological and urban

precarious today: Unesco warned in 1995 against the hypothesis of the demolition of large parts of the Medina with plans for penetrating streets in historical fabrics, later fortunately abandoned, and in 2003 against the covering of the river Oued (Balbo, 1992) seen with great disfavour for Unesco, but partly realized. The state, given the vulnerability of the site, adopts a Medina Development Plan in 2001 by the new municipal agency ADER Fees (Agency for De-densification and Rehabilitation of the Medina of Fez). However, the dynamics of transformation do not stop: in its periodic evaluations Unesco itself expresses concerns and pushes for a careful preservation of the social fabric of the Medina, which sees (Unesco 1998) the lowering of income levels and the lower social inclusion of its inhabitants.

Also to try to oppose these dynamics, Unesco supports the project of the World Bank for the recovery of the Medina (1998). Meanwhile, the urban fabric has already undergone phenomena of building densification (in fact some traditionally unobstructed spaces such as gardens and vegetable

gardens within the walls were occupied by schools and small buildings, Mcguinness and Mouhli, 2013) and depopulation. In this context, it is not surprising that the growing presence of tourists is seen very positively by local and national authorities, which have implemented policies to determine a progressive growth of temporary presences. At what price?

3.1 Towards tourism precincts in Fez

The data (Observatoire du Turisme 2014 and 2015) confirm the growth of Fez as a tourist destination, in the top 5 places of national tourist destination. The Medina has a strong attraction, both for religious tourism (Nazarena Lanza 2014) and for temporary events such as the Festival de Fès des Musiques Sacrées du Monde, which has also begun to involve the real estate economies, becoming one of the factors that led to the restructuring dynamics of existing buildings (McGuinness & Mouhli 2013): also, structural changes of the *patio houses*, not evident from the public space, but appreciable by observing the transformed terrace roofs.

In recent years, there has been a strong public investment in the airport, and the low-cost airline Ryan Air regularly connects Fez with the European continent. Fez is not immune to the use of internet platforms such as AirB & B, which has caused so many changes in the body of Western historic centers (Crommelin, 2018). Following the same procedure carried out for Florence, we are currently conducting an investigation into the change of public spaces in the more touristy area of Fez, or in the souks: there is a radical reinterpretation of public space, which manifests itself in different ways:

o   changes in the most current historical buildings to adapt them for seasonal and tourist use,
o   difficult change of use destination in the most precious and monumental buildings, whose peculiar morphology (*patio house*) is badly adapted to radical changes of internal distribution needed to adapt them to tourist residences,
o   frequent abandonment of the less valuable historical urban fabrics (which are not very adaptable to new lifestyles) followed by collapses and fires,
o   coverage of market-streets (*souks*) with an architectural model of roof of dubious

authenticity; the covered roads tend rapidly to specialize totally in the tourist functions, homogenizing the public space, in terms of materials, lighting, users,
o   use of mimetic and non-native construction techniques (reinforced concrete and steel beams then covered with camouflage materials),
o   dissemination of functions in the historical core of the Medina, distributed essentially along the main crossing axes (*highlighted in figure 2*), which become themselves "precincts" from which the tourist usually does not move away, due to the physical conformation of the around, the difficulty in orienting oneself in the labyrinthine structure of the Medina, and for a widespread perception of insecurity (poor lighting, absence of commercial functions, bad smells, presence of abandoned or unsafe buildings, etc.),
o   gentrification of many of the traditional residences, to transform them into *ryad* or b&b,
o   tendency to neutralization of the most peculiar characteristics of the trade, especially of food, which in the medina has very strong connotations regarding the smell, the presence of live animals slaughtered on the spot, the poor hygienic conditions in general.

4. Conclusions: against the excessive tourist specialization of public space

So, also in the light of the above considerations, how is it possible to deal with this progressive construction of specialized *fenced areas* in which increasing flows of tourists are concentrated? What are the possible answers, the adaptations, the strategies that must be put in place to attempt to positively direct the energies and resources that come from masses of people wishing to directly access the beauties of this cities, but who by their own number risk to compromising the same quality of the places they visit?

The question on what types of governance tourism should have, in particular taking into consideration the impact on the physical structures of the city and its public spaces (streets, squares, alleys, parks, small open spaces, places of social relations, also considering the diversity between an exquisitely Western city like Florence and the typically Arab one like Fez), in its multiple forms and

its various impacts on the territory are much discussed (García-Hernández, De la Calle-Vaquero et al. 2017). But, beyond the rhetoric of tourism development, it seems that the so-called "undesirable effects" caused by the tourist impact tend to be minimized and to be managed through some guidelines that often remain vague and not very incisive (see the same guidelines and UNESCO regulations)[12]. Despite the awareness of the pressures that tourism and his economy exert on the *città d'arte* or even on more fragile historic centers, the responses of public policies that attempt to structure an overall governance of the phenomenon, are rare and often weak. Addressing the issue of changes related to the impact of different types of tourism on public spaces, even in very different places, obliges us to face at least the following topics.

4.1 Keep the memory, preserve the tradition, moderate gentrification

It is necessary to carefully consider the conflict caused by the perception of "tradition" and the perception of the impacts of the tourism economy on urban form and quality. Although often in this conflict emerges what Bauman has called "retrotopia" (2017), a sort of nostalgia for places that have never existed, the antinomy between the different visions of the heritage of historical centers is evident: around the world there is a growing conflict between tourists and long-term residents, as the behavior of short-term residents (under 3 years of residence) is often equal to that of some categories of tourists (Mead, 2019).

Even in the observed cases it has different declinations. There is the perception that the inhabitants have of the context in which they live, the perceptions of the property owners, the central government and the local administration and there is the perception of UNESCO, and of foreign tourists.

In places like Fez, where global tourism pressure (including religious tourism which grows like other types of tourism although it has different characteristicsis, (Carboni & Idrissi Janati, 2016; Chih, 2016) is a more recent phenomenon, the approach the protection expressed by the local government is

in fact oriented to the conservation of the only well known and important monumental elements, while ordinary buildings are completely ignored by public policies, unless it is a question of managing the problems of public safety.

This phenomenon has already been observed, for example, in some places where the need to create *nationalistic rhetoric* has led to "isolating" some monuments from their urban fabric, for example some mosques surrounded by the urban fabric in the medina[13] (Rabbat 2016).

Often punctual interventions on monuments subtract certain functions from public use, as happened for example in Fez with the restoration of ancient fountains, recovered as purely "ornamental" objects, deprived of running water (Navez-Bouchanine 1996), or in Florence, with the closure of many semi-public lodges with gates and bars to prevent people from staying there (Marella, 2015). The effect produced everywhere is to consolidate the antagonism between the *elites* (which on the one hand feed a misunderstood and instrumental tradition) and the weaker inhabitants (who on the other nourish a growing resentment towards the "old and beautiful stones" of the historical centers). In many contexts, it is the lower social classes that use public spaces, which populate them and use them to increase the quality of their urban experience (Secchi 2013).

In this sense, we still need to work on the concept of generalized, horizontal, integrated heritage, on the model of the most advanced studies of which Florence is, in some respects, a virtuous example, and in which UNESCO could play an important role. For example, promoting the awareness of the need to recover the quality of living for the *ordinary* places of the cities of art, spreading this idea through universities and schools of architecture, or the various institutions that deal with heritage and urban planning (e.i. in Morocco, *the Institut du Patrimoine* and the *INAU*).

4.2 Increase the *mixité*, against specialization

The recurrent theme is the keeping of that *mixitè* that makes the cities those places of wealth and

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[12] Cfr for Florence, the guidelines:
http://www.firenzepatrimoniomondiale.it/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/linee-guida-spazio-pubblico_Centro-Storico-UNESCO_2014.pdf, and for Fez, the documents: http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/170/documents/

[13] It was the theme of the conference held at the Florence Department of Architecture by prof. Nasser Rabbat, March 27, 2019, entitled "Heritage, Colonialism and Identity in the Arab World".

democracy as we know them, given that the historical centers can still be defined "cities" (Bailly, 2016). In fact, one of the problems is to maintain a certain share of the resident population in the centers, to ensure that the image (and the functioning) of a living city is also held. Access to the residences implies a housing policy for the different metropolitan areas as a whole, not only in the historical centers affected by tourist phenomena.

It is necessary to act through an active government and control of the real estate market linked to short-term rents: targeted taxation and fiscal controls, limits to rental periods, condominium regulations. Different ways of living could coexist in the centers, returning to the original spirit of digital tools like AirB&B[14]: this platform boasts collaborations with some municipalities scattered around the world, in an attempt to control the negative impacts of the private tourist rental market on the residential sector (Nieuwland & Van Melik 2018).

The use of more sensitive and better calibrated web platforms, which better respond to the mutual needs of tourists and local communities and administrations, can help to correct some distortions of the sharing economy (cfr. https://fairbnb.coop).

Ensuring the conditions of housing is not easy, in the absence of effective tools on the part of municipalities to guide a very aggressive market such as that of tourist rentals. Residency is also a measure of prevention and conservation. The real estate in its physical integrity does not seem at risk for example in Florence, but the residential desertification and the single tourist functionality could damage the buildings, protected by the UNESCO regulation.

It is certain that it is not possible to change the "nature" and the use of buildings by pretending to maintain their shape and quality. For example, changes to the internal distribution of apartments to adapt them to touristic use, in the various contexts we have discussed involve changes: apartment splits with reduced area *per apartment*, increases in density, opening windows on the roofs, need to adapt toilets and air conditioning systems, etc.: all this has begun to leave its mark on the terraced buildings in Florence, and on the public spaces that they determine.

4.3 To connect, not separate

Specific transport and service policies could help increase residency in tourist areas: to better connect the historic center with its metropolitan area, to make possible a rapid crossing of the center, could encourage residency. The need to consider the metropolitan dimension of the contexts concerned, such as in Florence (Magnier & Morisi 2018), whose historical center is interested in macro substitution and specialization phenomena, is considered in any speech on the historic center.

The most recent manifestations of tourist transformations become evident in metropolitan contexts with strong dynamism: for example, it is necessary to consider how the Firenze-Prato-Pistoia metropolitan area is something completely new, just as the transformation that we see in the historic center of Florence: the two transformations are closely interrelated. An example is the "I Gigli", a big shopping mall: on 29 May 1997, when it opened, it was the largest Italian shopping center, today it is the one with the largest number of visitors, with an average of 18 million per year[15]. The historical-artistic center of Florence is exposed to transformations that are the result of the change in the organization of world tourism, but also of a parallel and radical transformation of the urban forms and of the powerful metropolization that has invested the Florentine plain since 1950, of which the *I Gigli* shopping center is a symbol.

To govern the tourist phenomenon implies recognizing its invasiveness and pervasiveness, and treat it as a phenomenon of concentration and functional specialization (Metz, 2002) it is necessary to decide, after having carried out studies and simulations, which is the system of the arrival of tourists to the historical parts of the metropolitan areas.

It would perhaps be necessary to make their arrival slower and more progressive, widening in some way the tourist areas, integrating them with more traditional (or richer) residential areas: it is necessary to consider the intensity of tourist use of other areas of the historic center, identifying or recognizing areas with "prevalent tourist use" , areas within which the percentage of attendance, services, monuments or attractions is very high.

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[14] Cfr. http://www.airbnbvsberlin.com/

[15] According to the press area of its website: 8 million more people than tourists per year in the historic center of Florence, which has 10 million.

Consequently, appropriate equipment, regulation and constant monitoring must be introduced.

Choices such as that of establishing a pedestrian area in Piazza Duomo in Florence was in fact a decision that did not considered the consequences of the fast "landing" of tourists and of the establishment of this pedestrian area, for example on the city mobility system. It is not absurd to think of limiting pedestrian areas, as it would be to investigate the possibility of assign areas with a predominantly tourist function in places located on the axis of approach of tourists to the center, for example by articulating bus stops and interchange stations with the rail mobility system, to slow down the flow, to intercept a part of it and divert it to less crowded destinations.

Within these pedestrian areas, "corridors" must be provided, for example, to make it possible for ordinary citizens to pass slowly through them by bike. From this, follows a careful consideration of the pedestrian areas and the accesses to the museum system, because the possibility of conflict with other "systems": the university and research systems, training and health care systems, the articulated and difficult management of "events" such as Pitti-Uomo and others show in Florence, the various religious and musical Festivals organized with great success in Fez, etc.

4.4 Keep the inclusive and *open* nature of public spaces

The outward signs of the tourist specialization of the public space are multiplying: vertical and horizontal signs, temporary and removable equipment, drink dispensers and refrigerators, specialized and standardized street furniture, outdoor spaces, everything tends to turn into a direction that, although not expressly, encourages specialized tourist use of the public space. Commercial licenses are also regulated in some way by the free market; but we must try to encourage greater mixité, at least to avoid total specialization.

Florence and Fez, cities in which more economies must be encouraged to settle in the center, to counter specialization, which in the long term impoverishes the same tourist experience. By virtue of the combination of building transformation factors highlighted above, we are witnessing profound changes in public space, and knowledge, integration, first of all at a social and symbolic level,

are the directions to follow in urban planning and design, so that the historical and social heritage possessed and reproduced in historical centers can become a lever of greater spatial justice.

The strategies and means to guarantee this broad concept of protection and enhancement of heritage can be synthesized in a series of integrated policies in which the conservation of the built environment is combined with the strategies of economic and social development and the control of the negative effects of increased in tourism (Magnaghi 2005). It could be a combination of policies for social housing, sustainable mobility, redistributive taxation, public transport, waste disposal policies, cultural event planning policies, museum location, policies for better distribution of food districts, up to renegotiation of condominium regulations. The problem is very complex, and the answers to be given must be composite.

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