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Heritage, Consumption and Content: Case Histories?

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Abstract Heritage is more easily communicated, reached and talked about in the digital age, a time in which the spreading of transport opportunities have eased and developed cultural tourism and CH tourism. But has this situation led to a more open dialogue between visitors and local stakeholders, to ensure the destinations' heritage conservation and, generally speaking, their sustainability? Global English content extracted through a period of six months from three reputed content 'curation' platforms and the leading tourism community TripAdvisor about five Italian destinations – Bergamo, Catania, Matera, Siena and Trieste – seem to show that local stakeholders do not necessarily put the Web to good use to ensure their heritage conservation and, in the long run, their destinations' sustainability.

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Keywords Digital. Tourism. Heritage.

1 Heritage and Tourism in the Digital Age

Heritage is more easily communicated, reached and talked about in the digital age.[1] Has this led to a more open dialogue among people and heritage? Or has it simply boosted consumption?

The main current human activity involved in this question is tourism. As it was authoritatively observed, it is no exaggeration to say that, throughout the world, heritage and tourism have become inextricably linked and

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[1] The combination has become even clearer after the Charter on the Preservation of the Digital Heritage (`http://goo.gl/6FaZwC`) was delivered by UNESCO in 2003. Implications were thoroughly discussed at the 2012 UNESCO conference *The Memory of the World in the Digital age: Digitization and Preservation*, where the potential role of digital in preserving the whole spectrum of heritage – not only previously digitized content or legacy information technologies – was underlined.

mutually dependent upon each other (Salazar, Zhu 2015).

From the point of view of local communities and destinations' management, the question is crucial. If the visitors' identities do not interact with the destinations' identities, heritage is neglected – literally – and won't be preserved.

2 Tourists, Heritage and Consumption

Thanks to the development of transport opportunities – and a long period of peace in Europe – cultural tourism and CH tourism have specifically and significantly grown throughout our continent in the last decades. Particularly relevant to the question, the development of transport opportunities has meant that masses of tourists move abruptly, quickly and somehow randomly across Europe.[2]

Tourists do not necessarily have any distinct idea of the heritage they come across in the destinations they are visiting. "Although heritage tourism is described in many different ways, it is important to remember that, in the end, it is a consumerist practice" (Salazar, Zhu, 2015).

This is true in urban tourism, too, particularly suitable for short breaks enjoyed through low-cost airlines. People leave home for two or three days, take a stroll and have a meal in a foreign town they haven't really heard about before, but which is struggling – often after private investments and public culture initiatives – to secure their cash and maintain its own welfare.

> In the 1980s the continued growth of Culture 2.0 saw the rise of (cultural) tourism as an economic sector in cities. […] In the 1990s there was growing investment in cultural space to stimulate consumption and create jobs, based on the concept of cultural capital as a source of value in the symbolic economy […]. The consolidation of Culture 2.0 systems in cities saw synergies developing between cultural investment and tourism production. (Richards 2014, 27)[3]

Frequently, urban tourists don't interact with locals, engage in a dialogue with them or accept the interaction proposed, if any. What those tourists may think they are practicing – i.e. cultural tourism and CH tourism – frequently results in mass consumption. Basically, tourists may be less

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2 See, for instance, the official European statistics on tourism at `http://goo.gl/bAAkTt`

3 A distinction is placed here among Culture 1.0, where culture is a "by-product of industrial growth"; Culture 2.0, where culture is 'an industry' on its own; and Culture 3.0, where "culture is a source of new value(s)".

"boring"
◉○○○○ Reviewed July 28, 2015
This was very expensive to get in, a bit dull and boring, totally extravagant. Lots of steps and walking
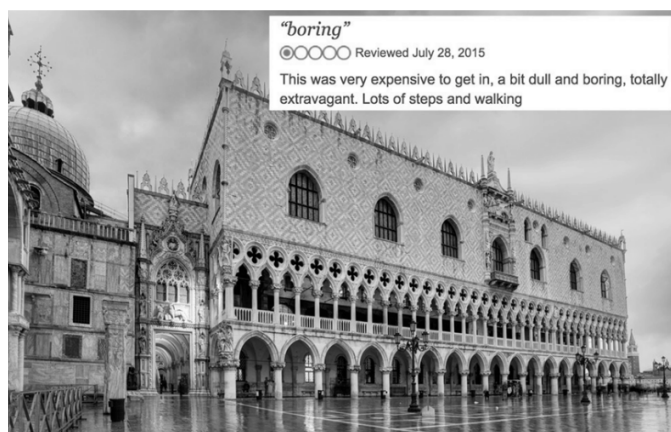
Figure 1. Venice, Doges' Palace as reviewed at TripAdvisor on July 28, 2015

attracted by heritage than by cheap flights and destination branding.

> Major challenges [...] include the basic problem of reaching a much more diverse and diffused consumer market. [...] Internet does not provide an immediate solution to this problem, because people can only find productions of which they are aware, and they tend to search for experiences they are already interested in. [...] We are no longer dealing primarily with high culture, but also with popular, everyday and street culture. (Richards 2014, 32)

3 Misinterpretation of Cultural Landmarks

This mix of cheap flights and destination branding can lead to severe misinterpretation of cultural landmarks – which may become a problem for both visitors and local stakeholders. Places that are not efficiently intermediated are no longer understood, and places that are not understood may become obsolete. In the long run, this decline runs the risk of intertwining with sustainability issues.

> Another reason for the lack of sufficient safeguards to protect the values of heritage properties is to be found in an underdeveloped understanding, and therefore lack of appreciation, of the heritage value of precious cultural or natural resources by both local communities and tourists. (Salazar, Zhu, 2015)

Some relevant cases have been recently identified (figs. 1-2) in what is considered the biggest tourism community worldwide today: TripAdvisor.

Figure 2. Venice. Rialto
Bridge as reviewed at
TripAdvisor
on April 11, 2015
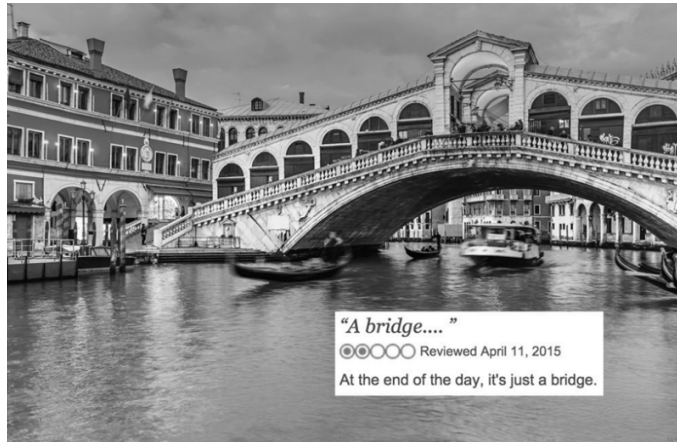
> The size and importance of TripAdvisor can hardly be overvalued. As the
> world leading business magazine has stated, around 260m people visit
> the site each month to read some of the 125m reviews. [...] It is such
> a good example of a network effect that it is the subject of a Harvard
> Business School (HBS) case study. (*The Economist*. August 9, 2014)

The role of TripAdvisor in registering – or generating – global common
sense[4] about destinations and their brands shouldn't be underestimated
either.

> New ways of collaboration and social networking have become a global
> trend in tourism. The implications of the increasing significance of so-
> cial networks and the rise of networked organizations and individuals
> are profound. Since 2009, the WH Center has an agreement with Tri-
> pAdvisor. The traveller website provides technological and financial as-
> sistance and develops an online outreach and awareness-building cam-
> paign focusing on conservation and community involvement at World
> Heritage destinations. TripAdvisor asks its 45 million monthly visitors to
> contribute reviews and opinions about the condition of World Heritage
> across the globe, to vote on the places they want to protect most, and
> to encourage donations. (Salazar, Zhu 2015, 252)

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4   As Alaimo and Kallinikos (2015) conclude their research on CH consumption, "social
media's main innovation [is] the capacity of encoding the everyday and storing its data
footprint into flexible and granular data fields".

4   CH Tourism and Local Stakeholders

Cultural tourism and CH tourism are supposed to ensure the conservation and the interpretation of cultural resources, as well as the authenticity of visitors' experiences.

> Tourists are believed to search for 'authenticity', a quest that reflects the desire for genuine and credible cultural construction and representation in diverse heritage contexts [...]. Indeed, many tourists are eagerly looking for 'authentic' heritage, which can be as varied as untouched nature, a traditional indigenous performance, or a private community space or ethnic festival. However, authenticity means different things to different people. (Salazar, Zhu 2015, 244)

Cultural tourism and CH tourism may produce bad feelings and tensions among the stakeholders involved, inasmuch as they impact on communities. Recent academic contributions that this paper refers to, as well as an ongoing discussion among leading heritage managers in Italy,[5] underline the role played by local communities – either actually or potentially – in maintaining, developing and interpreting the heritage.

> The desire for authentic experiences can conflict with expert and professional understandings of what it means to be authentic, especially because tourists may not always wish to be confronted with the reality on the ground. (244)

> Conventional producers [from the traditional cultural tourism industry] will increasingly need to deal with the new cultural intermediaries [...]. They will also need to choose strategies relative to the new producers and intermediaries [...]. They will also need to find ways of plugging into new disperse segments of 'uncontrolled explorers' in cities [...], who will be using new creative tourism tactics and 'guerrilla tourism' [...]. The tourism industry, local authorities, couch-surfing hosts, local guides, creative venues, Internet platforms and local citizens in general have all become part of the tourist system. (Richards 2014, 32-3)[6]

What local stakeholders do, or don't do, in order to keep their heritage available to themselves and the visitors, and ensure its sustainability, is

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[5]   Two recently published books, Cecchi (2015) and Volpe (2015), provide useful reference to this point.

[6]   Not by chance, Vasile, Surugiu, Login, Cristea (2015) conclude their interesting research observing that the main challenge from the supply side is to consider a deeply revising of the consumption model of CH products

increasingly reckoned to be crucial.

> Sustainable tourism development entails the adoption of planning strategies to mitigate the negative impact of tourism without sacrificing its benefits. [...] Sustainable tourism development requires a long-term partnership with local stakeholders. (Salazar, Zhu 2015)

In short, local communities are now considered more responsible than tourists for the survival of their territorial identity and the conservation of their heritage.

5 Methodology

In order to begin understanding what local communities may be doing to keep their heritage available to themselves and the visitors, this research has adopted the point of view of digital communication in tourism.[7] Although certainly not conclusive, this approach has the advantages of accepting the Web as the most used and most measurable communication environment globally available, and gathering UGC[8] on a relatively mass scale.

Global English UCG about five Italian destinations (Bergamo, Catania, Matera, Siena and Trieste) was identified through three reputed content curation platforms (ExpressCurate, Scoop.It and StumbleUpon) and the leading tourist community, TripAdvisor, between November 29, 2015 – the day a presentation of this research was held in Venice during the *Cultural Heritage. Scenarios 2015* conference – and July 31, 2016. The resulting content data gathered throughout the period of six months have been quantified, and classified under two main criteria: whether they concern the heritage, and whether they were locally produced.

Admittedly, the first criterion is questionable, also because the idea of ICH can be paradoxically stretched to include nearly everything touristic as heritage. Though further discussion on this problem would be welcome, the thresholds in this research were 1) whether the subject of a tourist review appears to make sense in terms of heritage – in other words, no hotel or service station was selected as such[9] – and 2) whether it is geo-

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[7] The author has longed belonged to the to the IFITT (`http://www.ifitt.org/`), which has produced a considerable amount of research in the field since 1994.

[8] In short, scholars agree that UGC is any form of media that was created by users of an online system or service. Interestingly, it is reckoned that the first massive creation of UGC was performed by TripAdvisor by attracting tourism reviews from the general public in the year 2000.

[9] See further, under 5.2 and 6.5, some intriguing exceptions found in the TripAdvisor data.

located or, according to the tourist vulgate, it is a POI.

The choice of Bergamo, Catania, Matera, Siena and Trieste has mainly depended on the author's personal experience in tourism management. These towns, anyway, are all provincial capitals and middle-sized cities of art – ranging from 53,000 inhabitants (Siena) to nearly 300,000 (Catania) – where tourism plays a role in the local economy, but it's not the main source of local welfare.

The issue whether these five towns can be seriously considered to be case histories – a matter raised by the question mark closing the paper's title – may look redundant or pedantic. It underlines, however, the subjectivity of the selection and, as mentioned further, the limitations of the research. On the other hand, a reasonable criterion to justify the choice of three of these towns is the role played in tourism communication by designated cultural capitals.[10] Indeed, Matera will be a European Capital of Culture in 2019, while Bergamo and Siena were Italian nominees for this role. As for Catania and Trieste – a proudly Northern and a proudly Southern town – they are both seaside destinations, rich in distinctive POIs rooted in centuries-old histories, and belonging to a Regione a Statuto Speciale, i.e. an Italian region enjoying some political autonomy and special public funding (in tourism management, too).

The sampling described above, though clearly incomplete and obviously disputable, nonetheless appears to be fair, reasonably representative, and most of all scalable in future research.

5.1 Content Curation Platform

Disconcertingly, the examination of some leading content curation platforms has proved pointless. Taking the names of our five Italian urban destinations as keywords or navigation starting points for ExpressCurate, Scoop.It, and StumbleUpon between November 29, 2015 and July 31, 2016 produced no significant results. Pictures, videos and reviews posted by travel professionals (or professionals-to-be) regularly turned up on the author's monitors, almost invariably focused on the country rather than on individual destinations. No locally produced material, instead, was ever picked up in this research, and no assessment on the role of local stakeholders was therefore possible.

The reasons of this outcome may certainly be investigated. A theory by the author is that algorithms adopted by global content curation platforms are not primarily developed to offer helpful suggestions about Italian second-level destinations or, in other words, a global approach in content

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10   As mentioned above, according to Richards 2014.

curation is not set to deal with provincial towns, interesting as they may be.

Another theory, however, may suggest that most digital content produced about tourism is not focused on heritage, perhaps because it is predominantly meant to attract a mass audience. Instead, "research has shown that visitors to heritage sites are usually better educated, bigger spenders, travel in groups, and have average or higher than average incomes" (Salazar, Zhu 2015).

5.2 TripAdvisor

Conversely, searching TripAdvisor for UGC concerning Bergamo, Catania, Matera, Siena and Trieste delivered plenty of material – possibly too much to be worth considering under a reasonable benefit-cost ratio. In fact, most of the reviews took into account a limited number of POIs. For instance, searching TripAdvisor for the 'Things to Do' category under Bergamo identified 94 POIs, making for 12,004 reviews, while the 30 most popular POIs in Bergamo (i.e. those gathering the highest number of TripAdvisor reviews) were enough to make for 11,276 reviews.[11] Limiting the analysis to the 30 most popular POIs for each of the five towns seemed therefore a viable solution, enough to guarantee reliable results.

Further analysis in the criteria used shows that the TripAdvisor 'Things to Do' category may include items which are not POIs. This happens, among our five chosen Italian towns, in the cases of Catania, Matera and Siena.

Given the experiential nature of tourist behaviours, categorizing a bike excursion, a wine tour or a cooking class as a 'Thing to Do' is quite reasonable. However, analysing this sort of non-POI 'Things to Do' from an objective point of view – or from the point of view of a destination manager – raises at least two problems: 1) Non-POI 'Things to Do' tend to belong to the world of ICH, per se hardly measurable,[12] and 2) TripAdvisor deals with lists of several "Hiking & Camping Tours" or "Wine Tours & Tastings" exactly as with a single church or street or museum. What's numerically even worse, TripAdvisor lists the same business under different 'Things to Do' in the same town,[13] making any possible calculations totally unreliable.

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11   When a TripAdvisor user reviews a previously un-reviewed POI – or adds a new POI to the TripAdvisor list, and reviews it – that POI boasts a review. If no more reviews flock in, the tourism popularity of that POI is debatable. Still, it makes for a POI and a review in the TripAdvisor world.

12   The Mediterranean diet, clearly involved in wine tours or cooking classes held in Siena, is recognized by the UNESCO as ICH.

13   For instance, the 'Italy Unfiltered' business located in Siena is listed under 'Wine Tours and Tastings', 'Private Tours' and 'FoodTours', each time adding to the figure of the total

6 Results in Five Italian Destinations

In the following tables (1 to 5), which refer to the five towns selected, all the 30 most popular 'Things to Do' are duly reported along with their figures, but the names of the ~~non-POI 'Things to Do'~~ are ~~strike through~~, and their figures – though published – not considered in any other calculation. Similarly, these figures are not considered in table 6, where results of the research are summarized.

For each of the 30 most popular 'Things to Do' reviewed in the five destinations, tables 1 to 5 report the TripAdvisor evaluation in terms of 'stars' – actually a quite rough one. Curiously, a cooking class in Siena deserves a higher evaluation than any heritage place in Catania, Mount Etna included. The lack of consideration for contexts, needs and tastes is blatant, yet consistent with the situation in which the average TripAdvisor users find themselves when asked to click a number of stars between 0 and 5.

After two columns declaring the main TripAdvisor category to which every 'Thing to Do' belongs,[14] and the total number of reviews found, distinctions are drawn between reviews from different origins – visitors vs. local stakeholders[15] – and whether they were posted recently, i.e. during the six months in which this research was conducted. Two final columns discriminate reviews posted in English by local stakeholders from those by residents in Italy, underlining that global English is now closed to be a *lingua franca*.

To help determining whether the rate of posting accelerated or slowed down in the last six months, the dates of the first TripAdvisor review of a POI for the five destinations follow. Bergamo: March 19, 2007. Catania: April 18, 2003. Matera: October 18, 2011. Siena: April 17, 2007. Trieste: June 2, 2009. Generally speaking, it is apparent that the rate of posting tends to increase in time.

6.1 Bergamo

Data for Bergamo reveal a correlation between the number of reviews recently posted by local stakeholders and two relatively recent events. The Accademia Carrara art gallery reopened after restoration works on April

presences of the 'Italy Unfiltered' business as a listed TripAdvisor 'Thing to Do'.

14   A set of more detailed sub-categories is also used. For instance, 'La Città Alta' in Berf gamo is not only a 'Sight & Landmark' but also, more specifically, an 'Historic Site' and an 'Architectural Building'.

15   To state the origin of a review, only declared identities were considered. TripAdvisor users who didn't declare an Italian residency were not considered Italians, and those who didn't declare to be from the town itself were not considered local stakeholders.

23, 2015,[16] and a campaign is currently on supporting the nomination of the Venetian Walls – the Cinta Muraria di Bergamo, according to TripAdviesor – as a component of a candidate UNESCO Heritage Site encompassing the "Venetian Works of defence between 15th and 17th centuries".[17] Reviews about this two POIs have increased in number more than for any other Bergamo 'Things to Do' in the last six months, showing that TripAdvisor has mirrored participation from locals.

However, reviews in Italian for these two POIs have grown more than those in global English. Perhaps the reopening of the Accademia Carrara – an undisputable gem in terms of history of art – has not been really noticed outside Italy yet, while reviews by locals do not appear to be meant to attract potential visitors from abroad.

Table 1. Number of reviews on TripAdvisor about the 30 most popular POIs in Bergamo on July 31, 2016,'Recent' meaning posted between November 29, 2015 and July 31, 2016

POI Name	Evaluation	Category	Total Reviews	Reviews in Italian	Recent Reviews in Italian	Recent in Italian by Locals	Reviews in English	Recent Reviews in English	Recent in English by Italians	Recent in English by Locals
La Citta Alta	5	Sights & Landmarks	3960	2183	609	60	812	205	12	4
Piazza Vecchia	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	1081	628	161	44	181	45	2	1
Funicolare Bergamo Alta	4,5	Scenic Railroads	1039	617	142	23	205	45	5	1
Basilica di Santa Maria Maggiore	5	Sights & Landmarks	954	461	155	22	191	67	5	2
Cattedrale (Duomo) di Bergamo e Battistero	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	485	229	48	5	104	26	2	1
Cinta Muraria di Bergamo	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	477	339	93	31	39	12	2	1
Cappella Colleoni	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	399	236	54	9	59	11	0	0
Campanone o Torre Civica	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	363	195	51	8	64	17	0	0
Funicolare di San Vigilio	4,5	Scenic Railroads	297	132	10	3	68	5	0	0
Galleria dell'Accademia Carrara	4,5	Museums	278	211	93	33	25	6	2	2
Museo di Scienze Naturali 'E. Caffi'	4,5	Museums	223	176	41	12	22	2	0	0
Rocca di Bergamo	4	Sights & Landmarks	219	130	18	0	28	6	1	6
Castello di San Vigilio	4	Sights & Landmarks	174	77	26	8	41	20	2	0
Fontana Contarini	4	Sights & Landmarks	142	69	27	5	20	10	0	0

16 See under http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1533.

17 See under http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/5844/.

Table 1. Number of reviews on TripAdvisor about the 30 most popular POIs in Bergamo on July 31, 2016,'Recent' meaning posted between November 29, 2015 and July 31, 2016

POI Name	Evaluation	Category	Total Reviews	Reviews in Italian	Recent Reviews in Italian	Recent in Italian by Locals	Reviews in English	Recent Reviews in English	Recent in English by Italians	Recent in English by Locals
Monastero d'Astino	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	130	119	56	20	5	1	0	0
Lavatoio di Citta Alta	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	117	66	43	12	17	10	0	0
Cittadella di Bergamo	4	Sights & Landmarks	102	50	12	1	7	1	0	0
GAMeC	4	Museums	90	72	28	6	5	5	0	0
Meridiana Monumentale del Palazzo della Ragione	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	88	54	16	1	9	9	1	1
Torre del Gombito	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	80	39	7	1	17	5	0	0
Teatro Donizetti	4,5	Theaters	74	71	7	0	5	0	0	0
Parco della Trucca	4	Nature & Parks	71	64	21	9	2	1	1	1
Il Sentierone	4	Sights & Landmarks	68	55	28	15	1	1	0	0
Chiesa di San Michele al Pozzo Bianco	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	68	50	15	5	6	1	0	0
Social Theater of Bergamo	4,5	Theaters	63	56	3	0	2	0	0	0
Orto Botanico di Bergamo Lorenzo Rota	4	Nature & Parks	56	28	5	0	15	4	0	0
Palazzo del Podesta	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	49	30	4	0	5	2	0	0
Torre dei Caduti	4	Sights & Landmarks	45	25	4	1	2	2	0	0
Monumento al Partigiano	4	Sights & Landmarks	44	33	9	4	2	0	0	0
Palazzo della Ragione o Palazzo Vecchio	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	40	15	10	1	7	5	0	0

Source: TripAdvisor data, recorded and processed by the author between November 29, 2015 and July 31, 2016

6.2   Catania

The global fame of Mount Etna shines through in the TripAdvisor data for Catania, where local stakeholders appear to cooperate in the promotion of their heritage more than in any other destination analyzed in this research.

The Monastero dei Benedettini seems to benefit particularly from its mixed role as a former convent and as a current university campus: every question asked through TripAdvisor to the Monastero managers is promptly answered in public, and every positive review is thanked in due time – an unusual behaviour in Italian social networking management of public resources.

The number of non-POIs items – nature, wine and sports – among the 'Things to Do' underlines the experiential side of tourism in Catania.

Table 2. Number of reviews on TripAdvisor about the 30 most popular POIs in Catania on July 31, 2016,
'Recent' meaning posted between November 29, 2015 and July 31, 2016

POI Name	Evaluation	Category	Total Reviews	Reviews in Italian	Recent Reviews in Italian	Recent in Italian by Locals	Reviews in English	Recent Reviews in English	Recent in English by Italians	Recent in English by Locals
Mount Etna	4,5	Nature & Parks	5406	1960	502	76	1840	424	11	4
[Nature & Wildlife Tours (12)]		[Non-POIs]	4512							
[Hiking & Camping Tours (12)]		[Non-POIs]	2149							
Piazza Duomo	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	1747	961	263		364	92	4	2
Monastero dei Benedettini	4,5	Museums	1104	825	202	56	166	22	3	2
Duomo di Catania	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	857	457	101	15	174	39	2	0
[Wine Tours & Tastings (3)]		[Non-POIs]	775							
Giardino Bellini	4	Nature & Parks	699	433	71	15	155			
Aci Castello	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	614	403	79	18	103	16	0	0
[4WD, ATV & Off-Road Tours (5)]		[Non-POIs]	586							
Museo Storico dello Sbarco in Sicilia 1943	4,5	Museums	488	322	47	16	134	27	1	1
[Day Trips (1)]		[Non-POIs]	432							
Parco Archeologico Greco Romano	4	Sights & Landmarks	404	151	36	4	135	39	2	0
Museo Civico Castello Ursino	4	Museums	388	244	71	5	79	18	2	1
A' Piscaria Mercato del Pesce	4,5	Shopping	356	232	42	6	57	8	0	0
Fontana dell'Amenano	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	325	189	59	9	52	24	3	0
Piazza Universita	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	284	165	35	7	39	6	1	1
Palazzo Biscari	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	252	178	41	6	27	4	0	0
Via dei Crociferi	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	221	151	40	14	28	10	3	2
Teatro Massimo Bellini	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	213	114	10	3	54	6	2	1
Palazzo degli Elefanti	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	148	45	25	2	43	29	2	0
Orto Botanico	4	Nature & Parks	117	66	13	6	31	8	0	0
Basilica Collegiata	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	109	63	15	3	13	3	0	0

Table 2. Number of reviews on TripAdvisor about the 30 most popular POIs in Catania on July 31, 2016,
'Recent' meaning posted between November 29, 2015 and July 31, 2016

POI Name	Evaluation	Category	Total Reviews	Reviews in Italian	Recent Reviews in Italian	Recent in Italian by Locals	Reviews in English	Recent Reviews in English	Recent in English by Italians	Recent in English by Locals
[Ski & Snow Tours (1)]		[Non-POIs]	106							
[Air Tours (1)]		[Non-POIs]	106							
Chiesa della Badia di Sant'Agata	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	97	55	24	9	15	9	1	0
Chiesa San Benedetto	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	83	51	11	3	17	2	0	0
Via Etnea	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	80	41	38	7	15	14	2	1
Museo del Cinema di Catania	4,5	Museums	77	60	14	2	10	2	1	0
Cappella Bonajuto	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	45	34	14	4	4	4	1	1

Source: TripAdvisor data, recorded and processed by the author between November 29, 2015 and July 31, 2016

6.3   Matera

As in Catania, a penchant for experiential tourism is apparent here – though veering towards the cultural side. An 'Aqvaworld Bluwellness Family Club' and an 'Eldorado Ranch' are reviewed among ravines and cave churches (understandably, comments on this two latter POIs come mostly from locals.).

No review in English was recently posted by any local stakeholder.

Table 3. Number of reviews on TripAdvisor about the 30 most popular POIs in Matera on July 31, 2016
'Recent' meaning posted between November 29, 2015 and July 31, 2016

POI Name	Evaluation	Category	Total Reviews	Reviews in Italian	Recent Reviews in Italian	Recent in Italian by Locals	Reviews in English	Recent Reviews in English	Recent in English by Italians	Recent in English by Locals
Sassi di Matera	5	Sights & Landmarks	6733	5170	1410	11	909	173	9	0
Casa Grotta di Vico Solitario	4,5	Nature & Parks	640	513	161	2	69	11	0	0
[Sightseeing Tours in Matera (10)]		[Non-POIs]	603							
Palombaro Lungo	4	Sights & Landmarks	489	448	157	2	26	6	2	0
Cripta del Peccato Originale	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	479	422	30	3	38	1	0	0
Casa Noha	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	438	365	153	4	60	25	0	0
[Cultural Tours (13)]		[Non-POIs]	376							
Church of Santa Maria de Idris	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	327	240	69	2	39	13	0	0

Table 3. Number of reviews on TripAdvisor about the 30 most popular POIs in Matera on July 31, 2016

'Recent' meaning posted between November 29, 2015 and July 31, 2016

POI Name	Evaluation	Category	Total Reviews	Reviews in Italian	Recent Reviews in Italian	Recent in Italian by Locals	Reviews in English	Recent Reviews in English	Recent in English by Italians	Recent in English by Locals
Parco delle Chiese Rupestri di Matera	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	307	227	33	0	50	2	0	0
Parco della Murgia Materana	4,5	Nature & Parks	267	113	105	3	35	15	2	0
Cattedrale di Matera	4	Sights & Landmarks	218	146	86	2	35	11	0	0
Sassi in Miniatura	4,5	Museums	201	153	47	0	23	5	0	0
Chiesa rupestre di Santa Lucia alle Malve	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	197	149	42	0	25	11	0	0
Musma	4,5	Museums	194	141	34	2	37	6	0	0
[Photography Tours (2)]		[Non-POIs]	190							
Aqvaworld Bluwellness Family Club	4,5	Sport Complexes	185	185	88	17	0	0	0	0
[Movie & TV Tours (1)]		[Non-POIs]	181							
San Giovanni Battista	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	165	130	57	0	13	4	0	0
Chiesa rupestre di San Pietro Barisano	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	139	108	27	0	11	2	0	0
Casa Cava	4,5	Theaters	111	93	15	0	14	1	0	0
Chiesa del Purgatorio	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	95	60	21	0	17	7	0	0
Chiesa di Madonna delle Virtu	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	94	59	21	0	21	6	0	0
Museo Laboratorio della Civilta Contadina	5	Museums	91	84	23	0	5	2	0	0
Museo Archeologico Nazionale Domenico Ridola	4,5	Museums	87	61	17	2	17			
Chiesa dei Santi Pietro e Paolo	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	76	49	24	1	6	2	0	0
Eldorado Ranch	5	Sights & Landmarks	66	55	16	4	9	5	0	0
San Francesco d'Assisi	4	Sights & Landmarks	65	37	21	0	7	2	0	0
Museo Nazionale d'Arte Medievale e Moderna	4	Museums	49	35	9	0	4	2	0	0
Jazzo Gattini - Centro Visite	4,5	Visitor Centers	26	25	15	1	1	1	0	0
Convicinio Di Sant' Antonio	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	26	19	19	0	4	3	0	0

Source: TripAdvisor data, recorded and processed by the author between November 29, 2015 and July 31, 2016

6.4 Siena

The Piazza del Campo in Siena is the most popular of all the TripAdvisor POIs considered in this research.

Reviews in English by Italians are exceptionally numerous, if compared with data from the other four towns. Also, they appear to be better balanced among different POIs than anywhere else, possibly showing a dominant global approach in Italian visitors to Siena, or a high number of English speakers who have settled here.

Table 4. Number of reviews on TripAdvisor about the 30 most popular POIs in Siena on July 31, 2016

'Recent' meaning posted between November 29, 2015 and July 31, 2016

POI Name	Evaluation	Category	Total Reviews	Reviews in Italian	Recent Reviews in Italian	Recent in Italian by Locals	Reviews in English	Recent Reviews in English	Recent in English by Italians	Recent in English by Locals
Piazza del Campo	5	Sights & Landmarks	6893	2920	834	21	2010	413	14	4
Siena Cathedral	5	Sights & Landmarks	6371	2110	562	26	2309	420	10	4
[Wine Tours & Tastings (13)]		[Non-POIs]	4909							
[Food Tours (6)]		[Non-POIs]	2130							
[Sightseeing Tours (20)]		[Non-POIs]	1602							
Torre del Mangia	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	1563	786	214	3	397	96	3	0
Biblioteca Piccolomini	5	Libraries	1107	550	143	4	281	73	7	1
[Cultural Tours (3)]		[Non-POIs]	1105							
[Private Tours (13)]		[Non-POIs]	954							
Centro Storico di Siena	5	Sights & Landmarks	827	264	183	7	218	69	2	0
[Cooking Classes (2)]		[Non-POIs]	804							
Cripta del Duomo di Siena	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	670	278	53	2	217	37	2	0
Palazzo Pubblico and Museo Civico	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	518	206	40	2	178	38	2	1
Battistero di San Giovanni	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	512	230	51	1	132	29	1	0
Basilica di San Domenico	4	Sights & Landmarks	410	176	39	0	110	21	0	0
Museo dell'Opera Metropolitana	4,5	Museums	349	135	19	1	101	23	2	0
Complesso Museale Santa Maria della Scala	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	312	156	39	2	90	24	3	0
Casa di Santa Caterina	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	304	144	29	0	65	30	2	1
Facciatone	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	237	135	82	7	43	25	2	1

Table 4. Number of reviews on TripAdvisor about the 30 most popular POIs in Siena on July 31, 2016

'Recent' meaning posted between November 29, 2015 and July 31, 2016

POI Name	Evaluation	Category	Total Reviews	Reviews in Italian	Recent Reviews in Italian	Recent in Italian by Locals	Reviews in English	Recent Reviews in English	Recent in English by Italians	Recent in English by Locals
Basilica di San Francesco	4	Sights & Landmarks	232	126	31	0	36	13	1	1
Fonta Gaia	4	Sights & Landmarks	225	80	40	1	37	26	0	0
All'Orto de' Pecci	4,5	Nature & Parks	203	158	26	5	22	5	1	1
Pinacoteca Nazionale	4	Museums	178	74	13	1	52	9	2	1
Piazza del Mercato	4	Sights & Landmarks	174	75	12	0	32	7	0	0
Scuola di Cucina di Lella	5	Sights & Landmarks	85	10	3	2	68	9	1	1
Fontebranda	4	Sights & Landmarks	85	46	17	0	12	4	0	0
Cappella di Piazza	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	83	25	3	0	17	8	1	0
Palazzo Chigi Saracini	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	75	57	18	1	6	3	0	0
Sinagoga di Siena	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	73	24	5	0	31	8	0	0
Basilica di Santa Maria dei Servi	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	71	37	6	1	9	3	0	0

Source: TripAdvisor data, recorded and processed by the author between November 29, 2015 and July 31, 2016

6.5 Trieste

Signs of changing habits in tourism behaviour are apparent in the TripAdvisor data for Trieste. The Kleine Berlin – a group of tunnels built by the German army during WWII, now managed by volunteer guides – has attracted much more reviews than the Roman Theater or the Old Town itself. A couple of Escape Rooms, intentionally designed to keep visitors far away from local heritage, deserve the same number of evaluation 'stars' as the wonderful Piazza Unità open to the sea.

Table 5. Number of reviews on TripAdvisor about the 30 most popular POIs in Trieste on July 31, 2016

'Recent' meaning posted between November 29, 2015 and July 31, 2016

POI Name	Evaluation	Category	Total Reviews	Reviews in Italian	Recent Reviews in Italian	Recent in Italian by Locals	Reviews in English	Recent Reviews in English	Recent in English by Italians	Recent in English by Locals
Piazza dell'Unita d'Italia	5	Sights & Landmarks	3792	2930	851	90	498	143	13	2
Miramare Castle	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	2936	2126	545	53	474	257	17	4
Opicina Tramway	4,5	Transportation	1175	832	355	62	214	80	7	2
Civico Museo della Risiera di San Sabba	4,5	Museums	776	677	193	27	64	16	4	3
Cattedrale di San Giusto	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	572	408	140	13	81	32	2	0
Golfo di Trieste	4,5	Bodies of Water	504	392	97	21	39	7	1	0
Molo Audace	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	405	332	104	28	32	8	3	0
Canale Grande	4	Nature & Parks	381	199	85	10	93	44	2	0
Barcola	4,5	Nature & Parks	325	247	63	23	43	8	1	1
Museo Revoltella	4,5	Museums	323	227	44	11	66	14	2	1
Castello di San Giusto	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	273	174	61	5	61	15	1	0
Chiesa Serbo Ortodossa di San Spiridione	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	265	172	61	11	47	23	4	0
Carso Triestino	5	Nature & Parks	238	200	57	24	13	4	2	1
Kleine Berlin	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	225	211	77	39	6	5	3	2
La Foiba di Basovizza	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	222	208	40	7	6	2	0	0
Strada Vicentina	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	216	172	56	22	16	8	3	2
Teatro Romano di Trieste	3,5	Sights & Landmarks	185	99	37	4	44	23	0	0
Citta Vecchia (Old City)	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	158	99	17	7	37	6	1	0
Faro della Vittoria	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	158	139	35	5	8	1	0	0
Val Rosandra Reserve	4,5	Nature & Parks	149	124	13	9	15	2	1	1
Museo Ferroviario di Trieste Campo Marzio	4,5	Museums	146	120	29	8	10	2	0	0
Escape Rooms	5	Room Escape Games	143	125	77	33	18	13	1	1
Museo Civico di Storia Naturale di Trieste	4,5	Museums	108	91	25	7	10	3	0	0
Centrale Idrodinamica	5	Sights & Landmarks	103	91	50	20	7	7	4	2
Viale XX Settembre	4	Sights & Landmarks	100	74	26	15	11	7	0	0
Civico Museo Sartorio	4,5	Museums	77	52	8	6	14	2	0	0

Table 5. Number of reviews on TripAdvisor about the 30 most popular POIs in Trieste on July 31, 2016

'Recent' meaning posted between November 29, 2015 and July 31, 2016

POI Name	Evaluation	Category	Total Reviews	Reviews in Italian	Recent Reviews in Italian	Recent in Italian by Locals	Reviews in English	Recent Reviews in English	Recent in English by Italians	Recent in English by Locals
Borsa Vecchia	4	Sights & Landmarks	69	40	17	1	7	4	0	0
Chiesa di San Nicolo dei Greci	4,5	Sights & Landmarks	62	42	20	3	8	6	1	0
Civico Museo d'Arte Orientale	4,5	Museums	60	51	10	5	7	2	1	0
Civico Museo della Guerra per la Pace	4,5	Museums	56	51	17	7	4	1	0	0

Source: TripAdvisor data, recorded and processed by the author between November 29, 2015 and July 31, 2016

7 Conclusions

Results show that the numbers of TripAdvisor reviews about heritage POIs posted by local stakeholders in Bergamo, Catania, Matera, Siena, and Trieste are – when compared with those posted by visitors – very low (Table 6) both in Italian and in English. This brings to the conclusion that the considered samples of local communities do not care much for the Web in order to ensure the sustainability of their heritage and, in the last instance, of their own towns as tourist destinations.

Table 6. Number of reviews on TripAdvisor about the 30 most popular POIs in Bergamo, Catania, Matera, Siena, and Trieste on July 31, 2016, 'Recent' meaning posted between November 29, 2015 and July 31, 2016, and their percentage

Total Reviews	Reviews in Italian	Recent Reviews in Italian	Recent Reviews in Italian by Locals	Reviews in English	Recent Reviews in English	Recent Reviews in English by Italians	Recent Reviews in English by Locals
72,914	42,304	11,921	1,344	15,422	3,784	219	74
100%	58.01%	16.34%	1.84%	21.15%	5.19%	0.3%	0.1%

Source: TripAdvisor data, recorded and processed by the author between November 29, 2015 and July 31, 2016

Assuming that an analysis of digital communication in tourism can measure the 'amount of heritage' in the web presence of a destination, the answer to the question whether the destination stakeholders and managers of these Italian towns care enough about the sustainability of their destination is negative. In short, consumption tends to prevail on sustainability.

In fact, reviews which appear intentionally posted to provide visitors with useful information and hints of heritage interpretation are few and far between. An instance follows.

> One of the most beautiful piazzas. My husband and I live in Siena six months a year. This is one of the most beautiful piazzas in Italy. The great Palio di Siena is run here twice a year. Please come in the morning, laze around and then leave...the late afternoon and evening are for

the locals. Do not bring food or drink into the Campo. This is a sacred place for the Senese and should not be despoiled.[18]

This entry is particularly interesting, as it provides a good example of what some scholars mean when talking of 'para-locals', i.e. global people who have moved and gained local knowledge.

> In many cases, because of the need to communicate with foreign tourists, these 'locals' are actually para-locals – expats, migrants and other mobile intermediaries who are able to negotiate the communication gap between the global and the local (Richards 2014, 32).

Similarly helpful reviews, however, are posted by local stakeholders in local language, too.

> La maestosità del vulcano (in realtà questa recensione non è di un turista ma di un appassionato e amante del monte Etna).
> Abito a Catania e ogni volta che sono libero salgo in montagna in MTB perché questa è la mia passione!!per me non c'è niente di piu stimolante di una discesa in downhill dal salto del cane o di una traversata a quota 2990....mt.ma la cosa più bella e interessante è fare una passeggiata in famiglia o in mtb sulla pista altomontana che attraversa la sommità del vulcano a quota 1500 / 1800.... esperienza assolutamente da fare a tutti i turisti[19]

Instances of misinterpretation of cultural landmarks were found here and there. One of the most irritating concerns the Fonte Gaia in Siena. "Niente di particolare, ci passi, la vedi ci fai una foto, ma niente di più…".[20]

7.1 Limitations and Future Research

Limitations in this research concern criteria applied to identify heritage POIs, the choice of Italian urban destinations considered, and the number of POIs for each destination. Also, a more sophisticated way of comparing percentages between the numbers of reviews from visitors vs. local stakeholders could apply, by taking into account official figures of tourists vs. residents.
Future research may keep recording the relevant data, categorize the

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18   TripAdvisor, Siena, Piazza del Campo, April 15, 2016, under `https://goo.gl/jgGkbG`.

19   TripAdvisor, Mount Etna, July 14, 2016, under `https://goo.gl/yltmn8`.

20   TripAdvisor, Fonte Gaia, April 3, 2016, under `https://goo.gl/ubwlL2`.

reviews also in terms of sentiment and, when possible, of market segments, as well as broaden the spectrum of sources beyond TripAdvisor – representative as it may be.

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