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Articles

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The current issue of the Athens Journal of Tourism (AJT) is the second issue of the sixth volume (2019). The reader will notice some changes compared with the previous issues, which I hope is an improvement. An effort has been made to include papers which extent to different fields connected to Tourism and Hospitality, and will further promote research in the specific area of studies.

Gregory T. Papanikos, President
Athens Institute for Education and Research

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The **Center for European & Mediterranean Affairs** organizes the **13th Annual International Conference on Mediterranean Studies, 6-9 April 2020, Athens, Greece** sponsored by the Athens Journal of Mediterranean Studies. The aim of the conference is to bring together academics and researchers from all areas of Mediterranean Studies, such as history, arts, archaeology, philosophy, culture, sociology, politics, international relations, economics, business, sports, environment and ecology, etc.You may participate as stream leader, presenter of one paper, chair a session or observer. Please submit a proposal using the form available (https://www.atiner.gr/2020/FORM-MDT.doc).

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- **Dr. Yannis Stivachtis**, Director, Center for European & Mediterranean Affairs and Director & Professor, International Studies Program Virginia Tech – Virginia Polytechnic Institute & State University, USA.
- **Dr. Gregory T. Papanikos**, Honorary Professor, University of Stirling, UK.
- **Dr. David Philip Wick**, Professor of History, Gordon College, USA.

Important Dates

- Abstract Submission: **31 August 2019**
- Acceptance of Abstract: 4 Weeks after Submission
- Submission of Paper: **9 March 2020**

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Important Dates

- Abstract Submission: **29 April 2019**
- Acceptance of Abstract: 4 Weeks after Submission
- Submission of Paper: **13 May 2019**

Academic Member Responsible for the Conference

- **Dr. Valia Kasimati,** Head, Tourism, Leisure & Recreation Unit, ATINER & Researcher, Department of Economic Analysis & Research, Central Bank of Greece, Greece.
- **Dr. Peter Jones**, Co-Editor, Athens Journal of Tourism & Professor of Management, University of Gloucestershire, UK.

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Priceless or Bankrupt: Problems and Prospects from a Built Heritage Conservation Perceptive

By Johari H.N. Amar[*] & Lynne Armitage[†]

Heritage conservation today is recognised one of the oldest philosophies in the field of built environment aimed at creating a sustainable management system for historic buildings, sites and monuments. At the root of its theory, policies and practices lies the belief that cultural built heritage is a priceless asset. Unfortunately, some argue it is a bankrupt metaphor. The concept of pricelessness has failed persistently to protect places with important historical and cultural values from being demolished by way of neglect. Built assets may frequently receive appropriate listing or other statutory protection until such time as a conflict arises with what are considered the more mainstream values of capitalist societies, generating a tension often relieved, by the desecration and loss of the heritage asset. From this perspective, this paper explores the term priceless in relation to (i) its influence on heritage conservation and changing built environment (ii) how the concept can be employed more synergistically with the behemoth of economic development to achieve a more positive outcome for the community. A critical review of the literature and an empirical analysis of data collected from focus group studies conducted in Australia and Tanzania. It was found that heritage sector stands to lose far more without a paradigm shift that generates a balance between justifying new development at the expense of priceless, irreplaceable built heritage. The paper suggests that heritage practitioners need to more effective methods for assessing the values of cultural built heritage. The originality in this paper is its new perspective on pricelessness in light of understanding the impacts on sustainability in built heritage conservation.

Keywords: *Built Heritage Conservation, Economic Sustainability, Environmental Sustainability, Social Sustainability, Environmental Sustainability.*

Introduction

Built heritage conservation is the study of understanding the nature and management of historic buildings, monuments and sites using *heritage science*. According to Kennedy (2015), heritage science synthesises the knowledge of sustainable development with building conservation philosophy and practice – which have developed through the centuries (Amar 2017) and evolved with the changing built environment. In order to encourage positive long-term outcomes, heritage stakeholders involved in the decision-making sphere undertake a rigorous conservation process to ensure that their principles are aligned to those in cultural heritage documents (Henderson and Nakamoto 2016, Australia ICOMOS 1979). These include: heritage legislation, charters and recommendations implemented at the local, state/territory, national and international levels (Amar 2017, Labadi 2013, Mason 2008). Today, cultural heritage conservation encompasses different

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approaches to mitigate the impacts associated with transformation of the authenticity and integrity attached to built heritage values, and its relevance to both current and future generations (Staniforth and Lloyd 2012, Cane 2009).

One example of the ways in which this is already occurring, as detailed by Mason (2008), is the integration of economic discourses with built heritage conservation. It describes the protection of historic environments from the two perspectives of public good and private good. The conceptual basis for *public good* lies in social expression of historic fabric in terms of diversity, identity and individuality (Allen 2012). On the other hand, conservation economics is conceptually related to managing built heritage inventory while creating, but not limited to, '*construction jobs, returning under-utilised buildings to the tax rolls, attracting heritage tourists and maximising the use of* [its] *existing infrastructure*' (Allen 2012: 11). Thus, for over a century, heritage research including that by Jokilehto (1999) demonstrates how different conservation philosophy - preservation, restoration, reconstruction, rehabilitation - provides systematic integrated approaches that find balance between public and private discourse.

Despite such great effort, Amar (2017) argues that historic buildings, monuments and sites still suffer deterioration and demolition by way of conscious neglect. This has been (i) some heritage actors often abandoning built heritage that does not provide economic/financial value (Mason 2008) and (ii) when communities feel that, as noted by Jokilehto (1999: 14), '*there is a serious risk of being deprived of it*'. However, as the above two factors bring the discussion back to built heritage being a private and public good, this discourse is incomplete. As for the most part, the discourse has shifted the focus to '*heritage is priceless*' (Mason 2008: 304), a metaphor that the heritage sector regards as being understood as a unified framework for the conservation of cultural built heritage that conflicts with the behemoth of social, economic and environmental development (Amar 2017).

While, numerous academic and community groups — for instance the National Trust of Australia and English Heritage — have discussed this topic in depth over the last 30 years, it is unclear why the heritage sector has by and large ignored exploring the many ways that *heritage is priceless* can be used to guide the decision-making or alleviate its implications in their search to achieve heritage sustainability. To get an idea how priceless is a big problem, the British Parliament (2006: 32) notices that it is unrealistic to expect people to actively conserve their priceless built heritage for the benefit of the community or nation without financial assistance. Despite all efforts made by heritage practitioners and researchers to make conservation sustainable, there is a historical resistance from owners and developers, which is rooted in monetary value. From this standpoint, Section 2 presents a critical review of the literature, followed by methodology in Section 3 detailing the research approach and data collection. Section 4 provides a discussion of findings from the critical literature review and data analysis while Section 5 finishes with a conclusion including remarks for future study.

Literature Review

In its broadest sense, *priceless* shares a lineage of over two millennia lineage with the Latin word *Antinous* with unknown etymology, meaning *inaestimabilis* (not estimable) in Latin (Osborne 1999). In classical antiquities, *Antinous* is linked to a debated age of the *Antoninus* with their quest to establish a new religion on Antinoopolis (Vout 2005), a sacred city created of marble temples, monuments and colonnades for spiritual endeavour (Ewald and Noreña 2010). According to Riggs (2012), citizens were given special privilege to allow a social lifestyle of beauty and harmony, including tax-exemptions, child allowance, security and triumph of classical architecture. This period of Greek Roman civilisation marked the institutionalisation of value into cultural, spiritual and social structures. However, it was not until the 16th century that the Latin *inaestimabilis* took on its modern meaning of 'too precious' to set value on (Waite 2012). In 1733, a compiler of antiquity collection, sculptor Agostino Cornicchini, referred Cardinal Albani's priceless and worthy inventory as *Antinous* (Haskell and Penny 1998).

Today, its narration is greatly shaping contemporary institutional arrangements - public, private and community - impacting the many aspects of sustainable development outcomes. Bartelmus (2008) expresses a helpful way to understand priceless as an ethical principle to observe heritage and environmentalism as a necessary tool to account for the externalities caused by built environment activities. This is a notable principle endorsed by the World Commission on Environment and Development's central tenet, '*development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs'* (WCED 1987: 44). Although priceless intent is deceptively simple, its aspects of environmentalism and heritage have become two defining challenges of the 21st century (Bartelmus 2008). Each has its emotional adherents often opposed by the construction and development industry (Hussein and Armitage 2014). It threatens to undermine the corporate and non-corporate effort of an inert capitalism agenda in the built environment, both contemporary and heritage. The latter, heritage and specifically built heritage, is the main focus of this paper.

When discussing cultural built heritage, Amar (2017) for example, indicates most heritage stakeholders find it difficult to define this significant concept with the questions of 'what is price' and 'what is priceless' when assessing heritage values. In the study '*Priceless: The myth of fair value'*, Poundstone (2010) holds that value of an object needs to be translated numerically and then communicated to others so as to ascertain an emotional response based on the cost-benefit analysis. As Zelizer (1994: 08) puts it - '*priceless itself surrenders to price.*' In the heritage sector, a recent article by Zancheti (2016) proposes that appreciation and protection of built heritage assets will increase if value assessment moves from the moral principle of priceless and includes price. Whilst the heritage sector finds cost-benefit analysis useful, Bandarin and van Oers (2012) discuss that its applicability is lacking in terms of what is included and what is left out in the conservation of cultural built heritage. More broadly, this fits with the sector's tensions wrapped up in theoretical justification pertaining to assessing pricelessness of heritage value typology (Amar 2017). Thus, this increases the chance of

demolition by neglect of historic places and, in turn, makes economic, environmental and social sustainability unattainable as discussed below.

The Economics of Built Heritage Pricelessness

Except for cultural heritage assets, Irons and Armitage (2011) and Mason (2008) explain that economists are capable of allocating scarce goods, services and other resources in a market efficient frontier paradigm since they morally consider such assets are priceless goods to human kind. Putting a dollar value for the purpose of improving their conservation efforts does not preclude commodification of historic buildings, monuments and sites to the highest bidder (Zancheti 2016). The objective is simply to gain an understanding of what the importance of their *use* and *non-use values* are to society (Irons and Armitage, 2011) so that policy and decision-makers can create appropriate efforts for sustainable conservation (Amar et al. 2017). After all, de la Torre and Mason (2002:03) states: '*It is self-evident that no society makes an effort to conserve what it does not value*.' Heritage values are created from the interaction they have with individuals and groups in a society rather than emanating from the historic asset itself. This illuminates the perception taken by heritage practitioners against built assets from the industrial revolution and modernisation and their deprivation of societies' historic assets at the dawn of the 20th century (Jokilehto 1999).

Heritage researchers argue that built heritage assets, because they are considered priced and priceless (Navrud and Ready 2002), tend to be overused or vandalised and destroyed thereby resulting in their demise (Owley 2015), This is apparent in Zanzibar Stone Town, where efforts of protecting and preserving unique heritages have aided destruction by way of the neglect of several historic buildings including the House of Wonders (Beit-Al-Ajaib) built in 1896. A landmark building celebrated for being the first modern house with mixed European and Middle Eastern architecture, installed with electricity in Zanzibar and an electric lift in East Africa (Figure 1). In fact, such problems created a need for economic valuation in which cost-benefit incentives are set to reduce damages and motivate sustainable approaches in built heritage conservation (Bandarin and van Oers 2012, Mason 2008). Similarly, a pragmatic view by Jokilehto (1999) implies that understanding the significance of use and non-use heritage values, as each have specific goals and objectives, is critical to stakeholder efforts directed towards sustainability in the conservation of cultural built heritage.

And, of course, one would argue about non-use values (understood with reference to socio-cultural and even spatial contexts) that cannot be captured by a market price, yet are protected by national and international heritage legislation, regulations and charters (de la Torre and Mason 2002). Typically, a decision for built heritage conservations is not only made by the responsible authorities, but also under rigorous assessment of the cost-benefit ratios of heritage intervention (Amar et al. 2017). This implies weighing up a plan for preservation and use of a heritage asset against the willingness to pay or accept its management costs - cultural built heritage costs the society funds to manage it (Throsby 2007). In this frame, Zancheti (2016) conceives that continuing to

ignore the relationship between use and non-use values in the conservation process will leave cultural built heritage to decay and ultimately in ruin. As demonstrated, Amar (2017) maintains a bottom line should be established to find a balance between the two types of values. Giannakopoulou *et al*. (2017: 157) on the other hand, suggests '*all these values embodied in cultural heritage need to be translated into monetary values.'*

Figure 1. *Collapse of Beit Al Ajaib Due Poor Maintenance and Heavy Rains*

Source: © Archives of Michuzi 2016.

In the economics of historic conservation, Amar (2017) reveals that assigning a tradeable price to use values attached to heritage assets in the markets is based on the assumption of private good (individualism) versus public good (collectivism). Essentially, this premise represents economic valuation framed by maximisation of net benefits of cultural built heritage to users (Mason 2008). Within this framework, not surprisingly, the owner(s) of the 159-year-old heritage listed Corkman Irish Pub in inner Melbourne (Figure 2), demolished this historic property overnight in February 2017 to allow a new development of a 12-storey apartment block project (Lucas 2017). Viewed from a privately good context, the incentive for its conservation was weak, because users were no longer able to use either socio-cultural values or economic values.

The alternative option might have been for the owner to leave the historic building in the state of disrepair until its demolition by way of neglect, unless it was protected based on the notion of a public good. The local council response was penalty of AU$ 200,000 to the owner after a strong backlash from the community. This is a lost cause of both use and non-use values. Hence, Zancheti (2016: 57) concludes that some heritage stakeholders prefer to be persuaded by the monetary value at which heritage assets are priced, rather than just appreciating its priceless socio-cultural values.

Figure 2. *Before and After Demolition of Corkman Irish Pub*

Source: © State Library of Victoria 1957 (Left) and Gloria Kalache ABC New 2016 (Right).

The Environmental Perception of Built Heritage Pricelessness

Cultural built heritage and environmental sustainability have been topics of interest both nationally and internationally since the dawn of the Industrial Revolution. Environmental sustainability is defined by Ekins (2011: 637, 8) as '*maintenance of important environmental functions*' used to maintain and generate welfare whose '*loss would be irreversible*' and '*cannot be substituted by any other function*.' In the realm of heritage studies, Albert (2015) considers this perspective lies at the heart of UNESCO's 1992 recognition of the concept of *historic urban landscape.* It entails cultural built heritage as integral to understanding ways in which the natural environment is used to create urban and regional domains, by which societies express their social and economic values. According to Amar (2017), these built heritage values represent tangible evidence of humans and their use of natural resources to create a legacy which directly or indirectly is a source of human welfare. Heritage assets generate welfare by promoting local development thereby attracting investment in heritage tourism that creates employment and reinforces a community's sense of belonging and identity.

From an environmental sustainability view, Albert (2015) argues that built heritage assets are not only fragile and rare but are also priceless because they are limited, and their inventory is of limited extent. In contrast, De Graaf et al. (1996) views the concept that priceless values of natural or cultural heritage assets make people underestimate their benefits for conservation and planning of land use development. As a result, theories to explain different ways to protect the pricelessness of built heritage from socially and economically changed conditions are plentiful, but environmentally verifiable methods have been elusive. Amar (2017) notes that until the late 20th century no reference to built heritage was contained in environmental legislation, let alone how aspects of historic fabric related to policies aimed at reducing environmental problems like excessive use of natural resources, global warming and pollution (Irons and Armitage 2011). However, some studies detailed by Ruuska and Häkkinen (2014) and Australian Government (2012), Creyts et al. (2007) and Subramanian (2007) have shown how global construction projects are estimated to consume

about of 42% of energy use, 40% of raw materials, 25% of water, 12% of land use and 40% of atmospheric pollution annually. This then encouraged stakeholders in the built environment to integrate initiatives of historic conservation, (adapt and re-use) into new construction and development projects (Minner 2016).

Research in the construction sector suggests considerable efforts are put into development projects focusing on non-recoverable energy embodied in heritage assets (Minner 2016). The use of construction material such as those used for historic buildings, reduce adaption and refurbishment cycles and lead to reduced carbon dioxide and greenhouse gas emissions into the atmosphere which, if not controlled, result in climate change, natural disaster and land use change (Hu 2017). Further, Albert (2015) associates these impacts with material deterioration of built heritage and migration problems which Hall et al. (2016) identifies to be central for changes of future socio-economic policy in many countries' urban and regional development plans. Indeed, the simple solution to avoiding such problems is to include the value of embodied energy in the historic fabric into the environmental policy (Hu 2017). Clearly as Amar (2017) states, things are not that simple as built heritage conservation has not made progress in reducing the negative growth in the built environment. The problem is that price and priceless are viewed as two sides of the same coin in environmental sustainability. One view is that cultural built heritage should not be subjected to any form of valuation because its benefits to the environment are obvious and incalculable. The other, according to Armitage and Irons (2013), is the failing of the assessment of its environmental benefits by monetary metric makes internalisation of trade-offs and allocating of resources efficiently difficult.

An example of such an ethical dilemma is presented in a project conducted by Pullen and Bennetts (2011) on a 100-year-old Unley Villa in Adelaide, Australia. The renovate/extend scenario was estimated to save 26% of future life cycle emissions with an average saving on costs of 10% compared to the demolish/re-build scenario. Pullen and Bennetts (2011) conclude 10% is not a sufficient incentive to engage historic conservation however conservation can be viable, if the 26% life cycle emission savings is supported by energy use concession. Upon reflection, the environmental sustainability concept is not about 'what is price' or 'what is priceless', it's about a conservation discourse that cultural built heritage, if taken care of, synergistically drives investment growth and environmental changes to achieve positive outcomes for the current and future generations (Amar 2017). One last approach driving environmental sustainability is the antecedent of infinite and zero efforts and its limited scope in the practice of historic conservation. Rizzo and Mignosa (2013) perceives 'infinite value' and 'priceless' as synonyms meant to ensure zero efforts are made to alter or adapt the original fabric which makes effective and efficient conservation impossible. Take, for example, the current condition of the historic Zanzibar Stone Town. In between zero and infinity, however, Rizzo and Mignosa (2013) provide a wide range of choices which sustainable development seeks to narrow to appropriate conservation approaches; e.g. preserve, restore, adapt and reconstruct. Socio-cultural values, discussed in the subsequent section, are used as

a starting point to discuss a conservation approach capturing economic and environmental sustainability of built heritage.

The Social Perception of Built Heritage Pricelessness

It is sufficiently clear that applying economic and environmental dimensions to built heritage can fortify sustainability (Hribar et al. 2015). Equally, frameworks for sustainable development at different institutional levels have come to recognise this contribution by levelling it in antithesis of the conservation principles (Mason 2008). However, Amar (2017) argues one of the most important challenges of the application to repair, restore or adapt historic fabric pertains to the local urban and rural planning regulations. Albert (2015) states the challenge relates to local towns/communities undergoing the process of urbanisation as the consequence of construction and development projects occurring at the discretionary power of local authorities responding to market/community demand. For example, the fifteen storey Mantra Wings Hotel in Surfers Paradise sits on the Pink Poodle Motel's site after its demolition in 2004, but its neon sign which is listed on the Queensland Heritage Register in 2005 for its unique intangible values has been moved several times on its original Gold Coast Highway plot (Armitage and Burgin 2015). However recently it was relocated locally to Fern Street in response to the Gold Coast City Council's infrastructure development for the 2018 Commonwealth Games.

In this précis, the form of this extreme conservation brings into discussion the relevancy of sustainability and society to the authenticity and integrity of built heritage values. The good news is there are many public and private organisations in different countries now using rhetoric associated with *social sustainability* to strike a balance between historic and contemporary built environment (Yung and Chan 2012). Heritage and social sustainability are intimately linked and as such help societies to comprehend social-cultural systems (Hussein and Armitage 2014), which are not self-evident but are intangibly constructed by a relationship between people and their natural and built environment (Amar 2017). Despite this belief, Yung and Chan (2012) observe that social sustainability is the least quantifiable and most complex pillar of sustainability in the built heritage context. This is so because its idea is rooted in *pricelessness* (Albert 2015), as further shown by Yung and Chan (2012), propelled from an aspect of sense of place, identification and belongingness embedded in the built environment, which after a period forms historic environment. Thereby, Hribar et al. (2015) proposes that intangible values attached to the authenticity and integrity of cultural built heritage cannot be envisaged outside social sustainability. Perhaps at this stage it makes sense to define *social sustainability.*

Social sustainability refers to values in which the wellbeing of the current and future generations is safeguarded by '*recognising every person's right to belong to and participate in as a valued member of his or her community'* (Castillo et al. 2007: 41). This definition is underpinned by the idea that built environment communicates meaning between individuals and groups that share

similar social-cultural backgrounds. For example, colonial urban development was led by 'master/slave' design dividing European colonies into three settlements of white, Indigenous and others with better, poor and somewhat different living qualities, respectively (Amar et al. 2016). Its legacy still poses social consequences today, as in former colonial like Tanzania where much of the historic landscape was removed after the country's independence because of its representation of painful and recent memories relating to racism, oppression and segregation. Amar et al. (2016) specifies that Indigenous people, in countries like Australia, find it difficult to belong to a historic and modern built environment as their socio-cultural wellbeing is excluded in the decision-making processes. However, those adhering to white supremacy and Neo-Nazi ideology (Schofield 2014) hail such places as a tribute and invaluable heritage, therefore refusing the renaming of places dedicated to colonial governors (e.g. Lachlan Macquarie in Australia) or memorial statues (e.g. Theodore Roosevelt in the USA). Hence, individual and collective memories attached to cultural built heritage are what define its pricelessness.

From this perceptive, social sustainability is bound by the past, present and future memories of individuals and groups who share common experiences and wellbeing of a built environment. Yung and Chan (2012) claim social sustainability is a powerful symbol of traditional heritage value cores to historic conservation. Yet again, Amar et al. (2016) argues, its view on pricelessness may impede sustainability in built heritage management. In the above case, colonial built heritage can be categorised as both of 'great value' and 'no value' context. While Tanzania succeeded in wiping out colonial fabric as no value to its social sustainability (Amar 2017), this aspect of heritage dissonance has just begun in the Australian and American conservation of cultural built heritage. In the absence of strong social sustainability values there will inevitably be uncertainty in historic conservation (Yung and Chan 2012) as its values will be subjected to pressures from the economic and environmental spheres often leading to demolition by way of neglect (Mason 2008). Of emerging concern is the new heritage discourse of digital conservation. This adds to the corporate sector's incentives to deplete built heritage assets quickly as they can be reproduced in 3D computer models in support of smart cities (Albert 2015). This is a whole new discourse of social sustainability, fabric and built heritage conservation, but not one which is the focus of this paper.

Methodology

This methodology of this study is based on qualitative research as adopted for the doctoral thesis, entitled '*Conservation of cultural built heritage: an investigation of stakeholder perceptions in Australia and Tanzania*' completed in 2017. This method is considered as the most appropriate method for this study because of its utilisation of social inquiry (Denzin and Lincoln 1998), and case study approach in which a focus group is embedded to capture the unique ideas from participants in a social study (Yin 2009). So, a critical

review of the literature was undertaken to explore the term *priceless* and its influence on built heritage conservation. Then, four focus groups conducted in Australia and Tanzania brought together participants representing a variety of professional backgrounds and education, as well as those from higher decision-making positions. These included archaeologist, manager, advocate, historian, landscape planner, conservator, town planner, curator, policy advisor and engineer, all of whom are working in the heritage sector. In total, twenty-six respondents were selected from, and participated in, the New South Wales, Brisbane, Dar es Salaam and Zanzibar focus groups.

The purpose of the focus groups was to generate new insights by addressing the question: 'what drives conservation of cultural built heritage', and therefore this empirical study devoted itself to three key themes posed as follows:

- Knowledge about the conservation of cultural built heritage
- Perception of significant heritage values including an aspect of pricelessness
- Motivation and barriers for implementation of a sustainable management system.

The data acquired were coded and analysed based on the emerging design method by Strauss and Corbin (1997), a technique that allows open coding for the generation of new categories that were not initially anticipated in the planning stage of a research project (Bourque 2004). QSR NVivo^{TM} 2010 was used to identify categories with a view to inform and present how *pricelessness* of built heritage assets can be employed more synergistically with the behemoth of economic development to achieve a more positive outcome. To ensure validity, both data and investigator triangulation were implemented in analysis, presentation and interpretation.

Findings/Results

Four categories of findings relating to priceless, sustainability and conservation of cultural built heritage emerged from what participants expressed during focus group discussions. The analysis indicated these key categories would be unlikely to materialise without knowledge from theories, policy and practice active within the heritage sector and related heritage literature. Each category of key findings is presented and discussed in the following sub-sections.

Built Heritage, Sustainable Conservation, Fluidity

When asked about the meaning of *built heritage and conservation,* a common response was the two terms were understood to have shared a discursive meaning over the last century. However, following the process of industrialisation and urbanisation at the turn of the 20th century, many heritage stakeholders changed the assessment of built heritage assets from *pricelessness* underlined by 'rarity or antiquity' to 'value-based' centred on cost-benefit analysis. One example offered

by a participant during focus group discussions: *Built heritage is an antiquity. There is no price for an antiquity because any amount of money you try to put on it is small compared to the value.*

From respondents' perspectives, changes in value belief systems combining with a need to commodify heritage assets have continued to undermine conservation efforts. Participants further noted: *People don't value it in terms of place-making and identity and social cohesion* because any '*talks about heritage conservation have competing investment agendas'* thus '*if its monetary value is not viable, heritage assets won't be protected properly.'* Given the plurality of built heritage conservation, it is impossible to give one set of meaning that encapsulates what it meant over a century ago and perceived in centuries to come. These findings are in line with the research conducted by Lähdesmäki (2016: 04) who describes cultural built heritage as '*an ambiguous and fluid concept'* because in the course of transformation of its implicit value, many other explicit factors – sense of place, identity, and belonging – have profound influence on the creation of cultural meaning and its expression on the changing built environment.

As a consequence of a fluid revolutionary process, Albert (2015) and Mason (2008) elaborate that various types of discourse for historic conservation have gained prominence considering the interdisciplinary nature of its stakeholder groups from the public, private and community sector. Even though heritage stakeholders have a shared understanding of built heritage conservation, Bandarin and van Oers (2012) describes existence of divergence stakeholder perceptions stemming from the social, economy and environment process related to sustainability. Hence, the phrase 'heritage is priceless' may have a slight different meaning as a result of cultural diversity and changing built environment of the community it is facing. That is, what is considered priceless in one community may not necessary be considered is priceless in another. The best approach to this conservation barrier, as presented by another participant, is thought to consider the three aspects of historic fabric: '*environmental sustainability, economic sustainability and social sustainability*.'

Economic Sustainability, Built Heritage Conservation, Power

In the previous section, study participants established that the diverse perception of stakeholders greatly affected the assessment of significant values related to and embodied in historic fabric. Participants observed that whenever sustainability and conservation of cultural heritage is mentioned the debate then is dovetailed into an '*economic argument, as well as all the other private versus public ownership issues.'* In this context, one set of responses was related to issues surrounding the property/land rights setting with significant built heritage assets and the public sector's right to exercise power over the use of private properties inscribed in the heritage register. Participants believed that survival or depletion of heritage assets on the changing built environment is central to management of its use and non-use values. They suggested that public good analogy should lie at the heart of private rights.

As reported by Amar (2017), more than 90% of heritage assets are privately owned in Australia and Tanzania.

> *The NHC* [National Housing Corporation] *who today own buildings in Dar es Salaam but also in other towns, plays quite a vital role because they hold so much of the built historic fabric in their hands… which is essentially public and to a certain degree should be considered as a public good as well.*
> *A public motivation is, in a sense, government on behalf of the community imposing those controls that require important places to be kept.*

On the other hand, the second set response in relation to private rights is the notion of highest and best use within which the market approach to built heritage conservation operates. Heritage stakeholders need to rationalise heritage conservation in economic terms. As one participant states, '*the main driver at the moment is economic viability'* for both private and public goods. The aim is to resolve stakeholder tensions associated with non-monetary (priceless) and monetary (price) benefits of historic conservation, respectively. Some participants further discussed that economic viability is key to accomplishing two goals. First, it enables private owners motivated by profit to receive economic benefit from their heritage assets. Second, it ensures the economics of built heritage conservation induces all heritage stakeholders to appreciate the unique values and significance of their historic environment. Here are examples of focus group responses:

> *Heritage preservation does not need to stand in contradiction to development. The individual's got a right to manage their own heritage property, make a profit out of it and look after it.*

The debate on public and private good, if put into heritage management systems, could balance between economic sustainability and conservation principles of cultural built heritage. On the other hand, Mason (2008) mentions perceiving built heritage as *good* is an attempt to quantify its *pricelessness,* albeit in different discourse and assessment processes, and with different conservation outcomes, often to the disadvantage of losing the authenticity and integrity of built heritage values. Some participants believe that this is where the dilemma between heritage sustainability and economic conservation exists. As established by the following quote:

> *What we have done is to try to enthuse and show people potential… but in major projects, time is money, particularly for developers, and they want certainty. So if you can be quite clear about requirements for approval processes… they can choose to actually say: that's not what we want to do, we're going to fight you about that or this is what we need to do to get the approval through as quickly as we can.*

Environmental Sustainability, Built Heritage Conservation and Core

During focus groups, the study participants identified that environment sustainability in combination with economic sustainability gives shape to the built heritage conservation. The term *environmental sustainability* was described as a reduction of ecological footprint through resource management, protection and restoration. It was reported by participants that demolishing particularly functioning historic buildings and monuments can create disturbances to the built environment and associated systems. Unfortunately, application of the principles of ecology to built heritage is being used as a tool for politicians who want to stay in power and, as a result, efforts for conservation are directed towards natural heritage including forestry and reserve parks.

> *You're dealing with politicians who want to stay in power - they won't list any privately owned heritage properties. So, you've got lots and lots of trees on the heritage register.*
> *Quite often the emotion comes into it when a significant place is under threat, when the place is not under threat, emotions don't come into play because it's just part of the landscape.*

Participants raised concerns that cultural built heritage is viewed as a cultural landscape made up of both structures and natural features society wishes to preserve and bequeath to future generations. As a result, the heritage sector finds itself applying an environmental-economic approach in which cost benefit analyses are incorporated into decision-making to achieve the intended sustainable outcome of historic conservation. To many, and in consideration of Section 4.2, economic rationalisation always transcends because its associated values are perceived to have a range of potential benefits as opposed to ecological values, which cannot be exchanged in the market. Another related environmental issue in the heritage sector is climate change: the majority of respondents argued that stakeholders downplay its impact on the materiality of historic fabric because heritage assets are not core to the built environment.

> *Ecological aspect is very clearly and plainly there ... then money, of course, becomes a huge factor and always built heritage values have to compete with the real estate market.*

Focus group discussion so far is limited in its recognition of the ability of benefits that environmental sustainability has to offer to historic conservation, in particular ecological values, or pricelessness. It was made clear by participants that people are not fazed by this sustainability pillar unless its framework somehow estimates its monetary value or facilitating a fundamental shift of stakeholder perceptions of ecological values attached to the authenticity and integrity of built heritage. Indeed, one exception as expressed by practitioners is to articulate social factors as core to built heritage's environmental and economic sustainability.

Attachment, Social Sustainability and Built Heritage Conservation

Focus group discussions revealed varying views about the extent to which social values ought to be included in built heritage conservation. First, participants identified that the feeling of ownership and identity, along with safety and security, are associated with individuals' view of themselves. Participants also highlighted that these intangible values are learned from social exchanges with family and community members and then transmitted to reinforce future generations. These tangible aspects are then expressed on built environment to create an intangible character. Focus group results' further identified that social value, in both its tangible and intangible aspects, is important to community well-being and development.

> *The last aspect is the social sustainability, this is where there has been successful conservation… of built heritage or priceless antique is valued from history, an emblem or brand of the society.*
> *In terms of Zanzibar Stone Town* [World Heritage List], *we see building with styles of architecture, doors, these tangibles, but the design of doors and buildings is a skill, an intangible because - you can touch the door but not the skill.*

Secondly, participants across all focus groups recalled their struggle in assessing the social values of intangibility. For one, heritage legislation categorically mentions tangible aspects making conservation of priceless social values – cultural, spiritual, historical, traditional craftsmanship and emotional attachment – which are placed on, but cannot be seen on, landscape which is legally very difficult. Considering above sections, private owners and politicians use this legal loophole to call for cost benefit analysis to evaluate sustainability in built heritage conservation. This is nostalgic of the priceless and price debate.

> *Heritage legislation largely focused at physical conservation and doesn't deal with the broader aspect of heritage, which still exists.*
> *Politicians speak about their beliefs on built heritage conservation, but at the end of the day they have to compromise* [private owners].
> *The Antiquities Department recommends preservation of priceless historic structures, but the Ministry of Land, the Ministry of Natural Resources, and Tourism suggest demolition of built heritage.*

With changing political regimes, directions towards heritage conservation change as well. The Howard era in Australia, for example, was a period where the government positively promoted a particular sense of self a lot of it built on classic iconic-supporting Anglo European views of the world. Following the current migrations of people across nations, immigrants from non-western countries do not know the social value of fabrics existing in their neighbourhood. However, the Tanzanian focus group felt that built heritage conservation is determined by its relevance to the culture and emotional attachment to the historic fabric of the

surrounding population. Participants mentioned that demolition of built heritage assets, which took place in the late 1960s through to the 1980s, was due partly because people didn't want to be reminded of colonialisation. Focus group examples include: '*defining heritage is sometimes controversial especially if it is related to colonial history and slave trade history*' and as a result people would actually say '*I'll never visit an Arab palace museum as is not part of my culture.*'

It was further agreed that social values need to be fluid at this time where new generations are moving towards having large new buildings instead of conserving existing historic environments. However, participants added further clarification to ensure that stakeholders recognise the need to actually inherit the truth rather than a made-up version: it is important to maintain the integrity and authenticity of a place. One suggestion offered was that the heritage sector could utilise 3D technology to archive heritage assets that are on the verge of extinction. The House of Terror in Budapest was given as a prime example of one building that had been retained and is now the Hungarians' focal historical point for people to remember the previous authoritarian regime.

Discussion

A critical issue arising from the findings is that if the phrase 'heritage is priceless' remains unaddressed by the heritage sector, it may have either constructive or damaging effects. Examination of both literature and data has highlighted the three constructive and damaging effects that priceless has in built heritage conservation. The role is to help reinforce a sense of identity and belonging, so that individuals and groups in a social community can be able to say that this is what makes tangible environment a place of significant importance. For example, the first Government House of Australia built in 1788 and demolished in 1845 to allow construction of a multi-storey building, is now illustrated on site at the Museum of Sydney. It was a wish of local, state and federal stakeholders to return this irreplaceable building which marked the beginning of the history of colonial settings and well-being in the development of Australian built environment - making its socio-cultural values priceless. Considering societal well-being, this is where the notion of priceless presents damaging effects, in particular emotional attachment. In European colonies, and including Australia and Tanzania, they were designed to not only exclude identities of Indigenous, but were also to make sure their living standards were abhorrent built environments (Amar 2017). For example, the planning laws and building codes in Tanzania specifically required natives to build 'negro huts' made of mud and thatched roofs with a pit latrine, as opposed to European buildings for 'whites'. Today, this historical environment is perceived as sustaining the horror and brutality of colonial society, but not a priceless one. As a result, many historical monuments are being defaced in Australia and demolished in Tanzania.

An alternative approach to avoiding negative social sustainability externalities would be to inscribe historic places into the heritage register, charging entrance fees and government incentives as well as educating people of the importance of

keeping the history intact. The upkeep of the listed activities requires monetary funds as discussed previously, this is where priceless and price aspects of built heritage assets wrangle. In their own right, both priceless and price, argue that they are as much about conserving the authenticity and integrity attached to built heritage values, as they are about advocating the highest and best use of these assets. As an example, the Tanzanian Government recently demolished TANU house under the umbrella 'reconstruction', a building where revolutionary meetings for independence for the country were held in the 1950s to 1960s – on its plot now sits a modern building with green glass walls representing the colour of the political party. Apart from the Pink Poodle example presented earlier, another example that deserves an honourable mention is the valuation of the Great Barrier Reef. Deloitte Access Economic (2017) reported that the $56 billion valuation included the quantified estimates of environmental and ecological functions but not its unique traditional values of the Traditional Owners. This shows how priceless and price have layer-upon-layer of value conflicts: socio-cultural versus environmental-economic, preserve versus adapt, old versus new, tradition versus technology – and the list goes on. Therefore, at some point in time, heritage stakeholders would be forced to choose either priceless or price as a base approach to their decision-making process for built heritage conservation.

The literature review, empirical data analysis and the findings have demonstrated there are distinct limitations to the applicability of 'built heritage is priceless' in the Australian and Tanzanian heritage sectors. However, whilst it does not demonstrate the absolute primacy of its role in the decision-making for built heritage conservation it does identify it as a significant factor that has been somewhat overlooked to date. First, the notion *priceless* is commonly discussed in relation to abstract heritage values, where the heritage sector assumes that stakeholders from different generations and diverse cultural groups are to share a belief of its contribution to a nation's identity and representation of their right to socio-cultural, economic and environmental well-beings. Second, the underlying meaning of built heritage pricelessness is influenced by, and responded to, stakeholder perceptions constructed from their knowledge and experience. At a more fundamental level, the phrase '*heritage is priceless*' can play critical and instrumental effort to resolving problems between sustainable conservation and the economic development to achieve a more positive outcome for the community (Zancheti 2016). While meaningful contributions about '*heritage is priceless*' have already been made (Mason 2008), the heritage sectors are only at the beginning of drawing on the phrases paradigm in order to advance an understanding of sustainability and conservation of cultural built heritage in combination with the profound transformation now taking place in the built environment.

Conclusion

Through both a review of the literature and reporting of empirical research, this paper has provided some useful insights into the discussion of the frequently

conflicting perceptions of built heritage when viewed as being either priceless or monetised/priced. After considering the conflicts and confrontation resulting from heritage practitioners' frequent powerlessness to protect places of significant community value in the face of dominant private ownerships aspirations for development led financial benefit, it has been argued that a more clearly articulated role for the practitioner would contribute to strengthening their contribution to protection of built heritage assets. Whilst this research has made progress towards informing this discourse, further study into aspects such as historic credit or other forms offset will provide opportunities to enhance the role of heritage practitioners to benefit both private owners and broader communities in Australia and Tanzania.

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Literature Reads the City: Italian Writers Facing the Changes of Milan during the Italian Economic Boom

By Dino Gavinelli[*] & Giorgia Schiappadori[±]

In the second post-war period in Milan different kinds of urban, industrial and productive regenerations were started. These innovations were developed in the following decades and laid the basis for a new dynamism, which is still a key characteristic of 'the most European city in Italy'. The urban landscape has progressively been reshaped thanks to innovative territorial policies, and the inhabitants of Milan have seen deep changes in their city. These spatial dynamics have inspired the literary production of some Italian writers, in particular during the period between the Sixties and the Seventies, an extremely prolific period for cultural life in Milan. Prose writers as Luciano Bianciardi and poets as Vittorio Sereni and Alda Merini witnessed the transformations of those years, the industrial growth, the strong economic development and the new Milanese cultural scene. The purpose of this work is to highlight how these literary creations can be a useful source, not only because of their undisputed artistic value, but also because they recreate social, historical, geographical, architectural and urban events of those days. In addition, they can help us to understand the urban context and the Milanese landscape during the Italian economic boom.

Keywords: *Milan, Literature, Economics, Geography, Regeneration, Vittorio Sereni, Alda Merini, Luciano Bianciardi.*

Introduction

Since the end of 1950s and up to the first decade of 1960s, Milan had a huge development of many productive sectors, a period known as "economic miracle". After this time, which had a big influence on social and economic Milanese life, an intense deindustrialization occurred, since the 1960's and up to the 1980's. It led to a development of: the tertiary sector; service activities; enterprises and, in particular, of the fourth sector. Economic globalization, the spread of information and the new society of culture have started, since 1990's, various decomposition and re-composition processes inside the city. These ones reinforced the interdependences of networks and flows, calling into question political and settlement balances of all these spaces inherited by history. Therefore, Milan has known in the last decades the industrial decline and its restructuring, in a progressive productive transition towards service and fourth sectors, while the neo-liberalism and the globalization were taking hold (Bonomi and Abruzzese 2004, Molinari and Pietta 2009).

Urban landscape has suffered from these causes and has been involved in difficult architecture disposal, abandon and restoration processes of urban structures and working spaces. Furthermore, the new spaces for leisure and

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personal time have given their contribution to change the new Milanese urban landscape. Milan has become a complex and problematic city during the years: the landscape is divided between the inherited legacy of the past and the new changes of the production cycles. This evolution gives hope, concern, foments a cultural debate, encourage geographic analysis and gives sparks for a large literary production (Anceschi 1952, Ferretto 1968, Collot 2005). Yet, we could wonder how it happened? How a city has passed from the ruins of the Second World War to be the Italian metropolis, which also hosted Expo 2015, demonstrating to be the "most European city" of this country?

The complexity of these questions is so powerful that needs many looks and competences to be answered. The "Milanese urban matter" crosses many fields of knowledge and finds some representations not only in geographers' works, but also in the lyric poem and poetry of many Milanese narrators (Fortini 1977, Rosa 2004). Great writers such as Vittorio Sereni, Alda Merini and Luciano Bianciardi, chosen among the wide range of writers we could mention, were able to describe in their amazing works, the spatial dimension of Milan. They were sensitive about understanding and describing Milanese transformations of their years.

In this essay, we are analysing the feelings and the sensibility of the three authors to let the readers know how poetic and narrative texts can give useful information to understand the social and territorial transformations that have occurred in Milan in the last decades and we are collecting the most significant geographers' lucubration about this theme. Literary productions about the history of the Lombard capital city will be narrated and compared in this essay to promote a geo-literary reflection about the past and the present of the city of Milan.

Territorial "Decomposition" and "Recomposition": Between Geography and Literature

The reconsideration of the organisation of the city has nurtured a wide geographical debate about the future of the metropolitan area of Milan. The Lombard capital and its urban region are a heterogeneous, social, economic, anthropologic, linguistic, cultural, symbolic, conflictual scenario, a complex product projected by humanity (Gonzales 2007, Bolocan Goldstein 2009, Gavinelli and Morazzoni 2012).

Changes and processes in action put in question the concepts inherited by the past of "spatiality" and "scales": both the geometric-areal ones (formalized during the modern era and thanks to the rationalist approach), and those humanistic and postmodernist ones (of the last decades) (Gavinelli 2010).

Globalization also generated a reticular "spatiality", in which traditional space-temporal territorialisation forms (country, regions, not urbanised areas, cities, urban networks and metropolis, with their borders and floods of people and goods) and their material and immaterial manifestations (places, landscapes, cultures, technologies, resources, perceived and lived spaces, existential values, representations, and narrations) decomposed and composed again on new basis, in a delicate and dynamic balance of permanence and transformation, reality and

narrations, interaction between local and global (Castells 1984). In all these cases, Milan with its possible temporal, spatial declinations, its concrete and symbolic values (urban network, metropolitan area, real and described landscape, social relations and working places, leisure and touristic spaces), its transformations, results a paradigmatic and crucial joint in the decomposition and composition processes of the wider territory which surrounds the city itself.

It often happens that the new polarisation, events, public spaces, suburbs, challenges of the quality of urban life, giving a temporary limit, impose a deadline, a purpose for future. Changes must be accelerated and increased, and they are described by geographer sometimes, and felt by authors in other cases. All these transformations, the appearance of hybrid forms to use urban spaces, the innovative mixture among residential, productive and leisure areas, define outlines spaces, which can be multifunctional, "porous", "fluid and liquid" places, which attract geographers' analysis and writers' narrations (Bauman 2006, Bonomi and Abruzzese 2004, Champion and Hugo 2004, Perulli 2007). That said, the result is a marked sensibility about: changes; spatial and temporal discontinuity; new styles and models of urban life; the conservation of material and immaterial city property; the architectonic quality; the mix of aesthetic dimension and of the morphological and functional one (Scaramellini 1993, Scaramellini 2011).

Milan and Its Last Decades' Changes

A wide public discussion has been fomented by the new city spatial organization. In this geographical and extra-disciplinary debate about the future of the metropolis as an extended human product, Milan and its urban region reveal themselves as a heterogeneous territorial, social, economic, anthropologic, linguistic, cultural, symbolic scenery. It is difficult to understand the real boundary lines, always moving, with infinite forms and typologies variations (Gonzales 2007, Bolocan Goldstein 2009).

In this situation, to better understand how to move inside the Milanese complex processes of spatial transformation, the first path to follow could be the one offered by the significant changes of the last thirty years in the requalified industrial areas. This process emphasises continuity with the "Fordist past" on one side, through the redefinition of the enterprises localization, and the importance of the new restoration urban policy on the other side. Restoring, recycling, reusing, regenerating, are the new gestures realized also because of the lack of an urban overall strategy, which should be codified in a coherent, urbanistic and unitary urban-planning (Bolocan Bonfantini 2007).

It has often happened that the industrial patrimony has been enhanced not only as a group of values to be maintained, yet, also as a cultural heritage to be used to reach the economic and physical city rebirth, in particular by single politic or economic parties. The structural decline of the industrial sector has left an impressive and austere inheritance, and the urban environment suffers from these infrastructures that divide with visible boundaries residential parts, factories and urban forestry.

These industrial abandoned areas could be considered as "functional islands" with rigid boundaries, physical separations as walls or gates, squares and track lines, which have favoured industrial time and space for a long period. Given this, we can affirm that this kind of division has also favoured capitalism needs above society needs, excluding leisure and outdoor activities from the employees' daily life.

Many elements coming from this Fordist era are still visible in Milan, and they have already been narrated by many geographers and writers (Dalmasso, 1972, Corna Pellegrini 1985). These places are "vacant urban spaces", untouched by the dynamic and the daily rhythm of the city, they represent the productive abandonment, the "architectonical waste", ruins created by humans.

Restoring and recovering these places means that we could have a new asset to count on, and it has happened in the last decades, in particular because of private interests. In many cases, private help has been more useful than state administration in this urban transition, to trigger structural local development processes and to start a new way of tourist enhancement (Amendola 2003, Mastropietro 2013).

A second path to move among the complex processes of Milanese transformation is provided by political analysis, which let us understand how Milan wants to provide for the economic development and also for a growth of cultural sector, tourism, leisure and creativity. New projects among public and private parties, local and global factories, have led to a reshape of the urban morphology in many parts of the city. The most enhanced sectors that have converted many marginal and declassed areas in rising spaces, have surely been: fashion, design, culture, leisure, education, finance, new technologies, tourism. Social substitution, building requali-fication and a new "morphologic" design validate gentrification, urban branding and marketing, as for the historic renovated neighbourhoods of "Porta Genova-Savona-Tortona", "Isola", "Garibaldi-Repubblica", "Ticinese", "Rogoredo", "Bovisa", "Bicocca", "Via Ventura" and "Lambretto". In Milan, this process has not been planned; it has spontaneously grown, as a result of personal, aesthetic, individual choices. Institutions and development companies intervene subsequently, attracted by money and power. This growing space complexity, this new events and actors, make difficult to evaluate the real value given to culture, creativity and arts, not only in Milan, but in every regenerated city (Morazzoni De Ponti 2011).

These described paths interlace themselves in many cases, increasing each other and becoming a fundamental component of theoretical projects, in progress or already done, in the urban or suburban areas (Bolocan Goldstein 2009). These projects have been started not only to recover, recycle and re-functionalizing abandoned industrial areas, but also to direct the image and the narration of a renovate city in the productive and residential networks. Realizing these activities also means that some addresses and common evolutionary lines can be identified. These "plans" have been done in relation to the big strategies to revamp some areas in a sustainable way.

Furthermore, sometimes these projects don't allow discovering completely all the procedures, the involved sectors, the delicate financial and administrative

balance, the private and public role, the "third sector" moves and the involvement of voluntary work in responding to territorial needs. Moreover, is not so easy to understand the link between profitability and social components: private enterprises, in the majority of cases, not only give financial support, but also cultural and social help, giving a precious "know how" and their technical, financial, organizational experience.

Enterprises hand down their knowledge from production to social level, creating positive synergies between these worlds that too often have been separated, in particular in the Milanese area. Hence, the attempt to describe, in this essay, the novelty and the discontinuous elements of cultural renovation in public and private spaces that have been put in place since the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty first century can not be exhaustive. We should study them again in the coming years. Physical, symbolic, permanent or temporary changes of the last decades have become the visible part of a renovated and wider planning, which takes into account the opportunities of global markets, the needs to have a new urban image and the city's economy.

Milan has to overcome this dualism of "enterprise-city", exploiting every kind of events. Therefore, the city has started significant transformations in its urban experience, through: the creation of new skyscrapers and immense shopping malls; the demolition of parts of traditional buildings; the creation of international and national spaces and symbols; the repositioning of the city inside the global network.

Vittorio Sereni

Vittorio Sereni was born in 1913 and died in 1983. During his life he has been a teacher in high school before the First World War, and then was hired by Pirelli, one of the greatest Milanese enterprises. Afterwards, he became executive in Arnaldo Mondadori publishing house, since the last years of 1950's. He was the poet of the "pain of living", writer of the human condition; he has always been menaced by the sense of emptiness. Narrator able to catch "the absurd" and write it down through verses and lapidary words: "seeing that nothing, nothing has really changed anything" (a); "the existence repetition"; "the colour of emptiness"; "nothing, nobody, in no other place" (b) (Sereni 2014a, b).

Following the hermetical guide of Eugenio Montale, Sereni redeemed the human condition of emptiness only for some instants, because reality is characterized by an eternal return of situations, it only leaves few moments of lucidity and fullness, or, more often, some moments of sensitiveness that allow us to escape from repetition and monotony. Sereni became a sort of guardian of these little moments. He has not written so much, just because he wanted to catch fragments, inspirations, he narrated the fate, the magic of some breathless instants. The writer often spoke about a world characterized by "the absurd", finding particular situations only sometimes, only in some places (Collot 2005).

In this way, his most wise and important poetry collection called "*Human instruments"* (1965) narrates a veteran's history (the story of his life) in Milan,

after the Second World War. This city, capital of the technological civilization of that period, appears as the epicentre of the larger Italian transition from a premodern condition towards the reconstruction, the industrial development, the third sector and the fast urbanisation. All these transformations have changed the rural landscape in a more complex panorama, with its urban and productive areas between the '50s and the '70s.

His total commitment and his direct confrontation with reality contradictions, constituted the main structure of his deep poems, which show the neo-capitalist industry and society after the Second World War, and lead us to meditate on the past. He denounced the end of hopes and of values; he criticized the agreements done after war, which frustrated the resistance against Nazism and Fascism. With this in mind, Sereni described another important writer, Umberto Saba (1896–1981). Saba was enthusiast about Italian politics and once he wandered through Milanese cafés saying "Damn, Damn!" against those ungrateful Italians who, in a delicate moment for their country, had voted for right parties, behaving as a woman who "unaware or not, fatally injured us", as Sereni wrote in his masterpiece. And again, his work "*Human instruments*" describes Milan in its daily life of that time, in its antithetical landscapes, with its factories working at a spanking pace and its places of social exclusion, of boredom.

Many of his poems record the fast and tumultuous urban Milanese transformations, as in a travel diary, he wrote about his tram rides throughout the city (*The sleep*), describing the congested main roads (*Corso Lodi*) or the secluded, narrow roads. He lived in one of these streets, Via Scarlatti, near the Central station, the main entrance to the city for thousands of people who have come to Milan seeking fortune in the economic Italian capital city. Via Scarlatti in his poems is a sort of pacific oasis, among the noise and the congestion of the streets around the station. Here, the poet narrated about his daily life and his peaceful place, as he wrote in "*Via Scarlatti*" poem. These same feelings were felt by Luciano Bianciardi and Alda Merini too: Milan has got hidden places which still today become refuges for its inhabitants.

Thanks to these verses, he showed the daily life dynamism and its multifaceted aspects. Interest is immediate for anything changing and for the immediacy of time, for the unloved society. Although, analysing his poetry nothing really has a sense and the most evident colour is "emptiness", world has always been changing and Sereni was interested in its new panorama, its new individuals, new things and passions on the earth's surface that mislead people with their presence. On this double literary register is designed "*Another Birthday*", which close his last poetic collection, "*Variable Star*" (1981). Vittorio Sereni in this poem is in a pub, in Milan suburbs, looking at the San Siro stadium, silent and illuminated by the sun, witness of a finished championship. Another football season is over, and people are impatiently waiting for another season to come, during next autumn. The large square is empty as a metaphor of his waiting for a new energy, for new illusions helping him to face the true of life, challenges that come toward him as impetuous waves. "*Another birthday*" is inspired by times, situations and spaces taken from reality (as the football agenda, the pub, San

Siro neighbourhood with its square and stadium) but also by meditation, the sense of life and its value.

We can foresee that Sereni has gone beyond the certainty of his strong position about inhabits and values of his time, searching for the real humanity over the economic interest, far from situations, things, spaces, in particular far from the empty ones (Renard 1991).

Luciano Bianciardi

Luciano Bianciardi was born on 14th of December 1922 in Grosseto and died in Milan on the 14th of November 1971. He was not just a writer, but also an essayist, a journalist, a translator, a passionate narrator of Italian life of his period. Although he belonged to the Milanese cultural élite of '50s, he has always taken position against the new "rules of the game" introduced by the "economic boom", which changed not only the capital urban landscape, but also the Milanese social landscape.

The land transformation and the socio-cultural changes are narrated in his books, and tells about how television has gradually substituted radio; about dialects mixing while people was resettling from a region to another; about southern centres emptying while northern centres were being invaded by newcomers.

The historical geographical references in his texts are extended to the labour culture, also called "popular culture" or "subculture". The idea is that they are extended to a sort of "subordinated" and "subservient" proletariat. Yet, the reader can also find pages in which some forms of resistance to a "mass culture" are studied; these forms are composed by a set of phenomena created by the "boom" and indicted by left-wing intellectual, accused of trying to replace proletarian cultural roots with consumerism.

Bianciardi spoke out against the above society that belonged to the "economic miracle", denouncing injustices in a book collection, which mix fantasy with non-fiction. Arrived at the publishing house Feltrinelli in Milan, in 1955, he started accusing the great contradictions of the "economic boom". He published two autobiographical inspired works: the first one was by Feltrinelli, entitled "*The cultural work*" (1957), in which he ironically narrates the education of a provincial intellectual during the '50s; the second by Bompiani, entitled "*The integration*" (1960), in which a man of culture is engulfed by a big city, by an industrialized world that upsets and overwhelms him.

These two autobiographies culminate in his masterpiece, "*It's a hard life*" (1962). In this book he expresses all his anger and anguish towards the world of the "economic miracle" which has enriched and devastated Milanese society and territory. This novel narrates about people who live in inhuman and degrading conditions, in the urban alienation; this state leads to live in a continuous nausea caused by pollution, wasting money and food, searching for a *status quo* given by fashion and richness. Citizens approved by society are considered negatively, as if

they were identical puppets, only interested in money and not able to see the negative effects of this society.

Today, these themes are current topics and help us to better understand the political, economic and socio-cultural decadence of our days, through an open-eye approach. Society easy illusions, the cultural and socio-territorial problems described are given by all these changes that made the "economic miracle" possible. All these items play a fundamental role and erase the remains of rural and agricultural values. The feeling of being squeezed by the system and its fundamental tendency to anarchy were the main causes of his dismissal from Feltrinelli, prelude of a more and more descending literary production and of his increasing alcoholism that will bring him to his self-destruction.

Also in "*It's a hard life"* the protagonist let his anarchic side fall asleep, as if the city were a soporific that anesthetized rebellion instincts, that makes people fall into line. The observation of the described urban spaces is a possible way to understand protagonist's feelings: his growing degree of estrangement is directly proportional to his presence in the city, in the historical city centre before and in the grey periphery after. The described urban geography of his novel reflects the characters' interiority. Buildings, bars, roads and other city's elements disappear through the fog, which renders everything indistinct, as the protagonist's purposes disappear along the way. Citizens live as they were in a sort of "collective trance", part of an indistinct mass, a shapeless flood of humans.

Only in certain places, like at the "*Osteria*" in Via Lanzone, in Brera neighbourhood, he manages to discover again the beauty of simple things, kept alive by few citizens. Outside Brera, the city is hostile, composed by soulless neighbourhood in which there is no sympathy. Even among the workmen at the Central Station he cannot find friends or fellows, because everyone fights against the others, everyone is selfish. The flattening has become apathy, habit and frustration.

Milan becomes an emblem of indifference. It's the city of the heightened consumerism, of people losing identities, becoming only consumers. The modern metropolis opposes to the disappearing rural reality: fields becoming offices, places in which spiritual dehydration goes up to the highest levels. People's interior geography reflects outside, the foggy weather. Fog seems to suffocate everyone and everything, losing ancient values, tradition and culture, the past human and artistic heritage will not come back anymore, leaving us among glass buildings which still today represent profit and unsustainable consumerism (Rosa 2004, Bernini et al. 2016).

Alda Merini

Another famous writer of the Milanese contemporary life is Alda Merini. Unlike Bianciardi, she was born in Milan, the 21st of March 1931, and she spent the main part of her life in this city, where she died on the first of November 2009. She is known in particular as a poetess; she had many troubles due to her schizophrenia and misadventures. Her frequent hospitalization, her husband in

Taranto, some travels is the only reasons why she has left the city sometimes, physically or mentally.

Milan is often described as a woman able to feed many people from the whole world, appearing a cosmopolitan centre, but also an insensitive and cold city. Here and there, "Bianciardi's Milan" survives, among Brera and the "Navigli", and Alda proposed these places again in a feminine perspective, some years later.

It's impossible to compose an Alda's complete biography, her poetic production is so broad that only the part published by "Pulcinoelefante" edition is composed by more than 1100 titles. Some of her most famous works are: "*The presence of Orfeus*" (1953)[1]; "*Roman wedding*" (1955)[2]; "*Afraid of God*" (1955)[3]; "*You are Peter*" (1961)[4]; "*Destined to die. Old and new poems*" (1980).[5]

Many of her poems were composed at home or in her neighbourhood as at "Caffè Chimera", attended also by other famous writers. The poetess has lived since 1986 until 2009 in "Ripa di Porta Ticinese" 47, accumulating inside her house works, thoughts, poems written on the wall with her lipstick, paintings, photos, heaters and fans. Alda completed her life hosting cats, friends and a homeless nicknamed Titan (official website: www.aldamerini.it).

Her home became a meeting place and a privileged place for her poems; other narrated places are these ones around the "Navigli": Vico dei Lavandai, Saint Christopher Church, the Darsena, in a love-hate relationship for a city that she felt deeply inside her, but that she could not recognize anymore because of its fast mutations. The poetess was confined in a mental hospital, the "Paolo Pini", among the indifference of many citizens. When she came out, she gave us a new strong, rational and lucid vision of life and of her beloved places.

Relationship between narrative and the city has often been neglected, yet novels by Sereni, Bianciardi and Merini are always useful to talk about a metropolis still able to attach with its history, its neighbourhoods, its real soul. These authors described a city composed by taverns, artisans, workmen, by an industrious daily life, by a society and a landscape which progressively change, by great men and by everyday people. Alda Merini narrates about a city changing and growing: from the war period, towards modernity, from poverty to luxury, from generosity to profit, losing past values and symbols. Milan is the example of this change, which comes until nowadays. Poems and novels become history books, which allow us to reconstruct the most particular aspects of the past and current urban landscape (Raboni 1976, Ramat 1976, Rosa 2004).

Conclusions

In this article we have gathered references by three main Italian authors (Vittorio Sereni, Luciano Bianciardi, Alda Merini) considered to be significant in

[1]Merini A (1953) *The presence of Orfeus*, Milano, Ed. Schwarz.
[2]Merini A (1955) *Roman wedding*, Milano, Ed. Schwarz.
[3]Merini A (1955) *Afraid of God*, Milano, All'insegna del Pesce d'Oro.
[4]Merini A (1961) *You are Peter*, Milano, Ed. Lunario.
[5]Merini A (1980) *Destined to die. Old and new poems*, Poggibonsi, Lalli.

order to rebuild the rapid and profound changes happened in the socio-economic fabric and in the environment of Milan since the second post-war period (Gavinelli 2012, Gaccione 2013, Bigatti and Lupo 2014). Their literary works let us perceive not only the most macroscopic aspects of a city that has intimately and radically redesigned its urban landscape during the last decades, driven by reconstruction, economic boom, modernisation, technological development and globalization, but also to carry out a more intimate and detailed geographical narration.

In this narration we are able to observe the urban districts daily life, the material and immaterial pressure between the past and the present of the city, the doubts about Milan future, which, starting from being a regional and national centre, opens itself to an international urban competition (Bernini et al. 2016).

Reading the works of Sereni, Bianciardi and Merini allows us to detect their deep attachment to an urban territory, which is perceived in its most intimate evolution, in its deepest cultural fervour. Their poetry and prose productions demonstrate how the geographer, in his effort to rebuild the spatial reality and its evolutions, could draw on literary works in order to better seize the complexity and the development of territorial processes. (Tissier 1992, Casari and Gavinelli 2007, Bédard and Lahaie 2008).

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Towards an Anthropological Insight of Sustainable Tourism

By Maximiliano Korstanje[*]

"The tragedy of the commons is involved in population problems in another way. In a world governed solely by the principle of dog eat dog – if indeed there ever was such a world- how many children a family had would not be a matter of public concern … it is a mistake to think that we can control the breeding of mankind in the long run by an appeal of conscience…"
(Hardin 1968: 1246)

This essay review discusses to what extent tourism transforms environment as a vehicle towards development. Not only we review some of the specialized literature in sustainability issues, but also proposes a clear explanation why in spite of efforts to expand poverty relief, things came out worse than planned. This happens because sustainability as it was designed in the cabinet of tourism experts, is based on rationality which is the perverse core of capitalism. Citing Ingold`s outcomes unless society passes from a dwelling to relational perspective, the problem of global warming is far from being solved.

Keywords: *Ecology, Tourism, Global Ecology, Pollution, Capitalism, Mobilities.*

Introduction

Tourism surfaced in the mid of twentieth century as a combination of different factors, which were integrated into the consolidation of global material forces. These forces not only accelerated the process of globalization, but also the technological background for the rise of modern tourism (Towner 1985, Ousby 1990, Gassan 2008). In the western imaginary, the quest of novelty and escapement occupied a central position and most certainly, it cannot be limited to the tourism industry. In fact, leisure travels, adventures, and discoveries played a leading role in the configuration of an archetypical character which is enrooted in ancient myths, legends and stories. As Krippendorf puts it, tourism can be understood as an ancient rite of passage which revitalizes the psychological frustrations (Krippendorf 2010, Thirkettle and Korstanje 2013). This suggests that tourism is adjusted to the local environment as well as the economic matrix of each society. The point was originally formulated by Jafar Jafari (1990, 2005) when he thought his four platforms model (advocacy, cautionary, adaptancy and scientific platforms). With the benefits of hindsight, Jafari was concerned on the effects of tourism over the environment. Centered on the concern, tourism exploits local resources, it is necessary to implement programs of protection that leads the community to take coactive policies towards sustainability. Although from its

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onset, tourism and sustainability were inevitably entwined, no less true is that the Academy does not agree to what extent tourism industry fosters environmental protection or simply mutates towards a new way of economic exploitation over local communities. In this respect, some voices argue that tourism, when it is regulated by the government, leads towards economic prosperity and fair wealth distribution. For other scholars, instead, tourism affirms the center-periphery dependency. This conceptual paper summarizes the problems and limitation of sustainable tourism as it has been adopted in Latin America. The economic-centered paradigm focuses exclusively on the profits of the tourism industry, as well as its material benefits. Not surprisingly, the world is divided into two sides, the sustainable and unsustainable economies. This opened the doors towards a new division of labor where some global southern economies as Brazil, Argentina, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand take the lead in sustainable issues while the Global North rejects the possibility to reach consensus to reduce the greenhouse gases. This novel form of dependency reminds that industrial nations have further capacities to emit further quotas of greenhouse gases in comparison to agrarian economies. This work discusses critically to what extent the idea of sustainability reinforces a long-dormant discourse oriented to legitimate the interests of the ruling elite. The goals of the work are twofold. Firstly it summarizes the history of heritage and its intersection with the colonial rule. Secondly, the figure of the relational perspective is introduced for reaching a fresh alternative reading on the problem of sustainability (Korstanje 2018).

Jafar Jafari and the Four Platforms

As stated in the earlier section, Jafar Jafari was originally concerned about the impacts of the tourism industry in the environment. He coins the term "scientification of tourism" to denote the manipulation and rationalization of local resources within certain objectivity which is functional to efficient planning. To put the same in his terms,

"The purpose of this theoretical work is to provide retrospective and perspective view on tourism's scientific journey. More specifically, the aim is to identify some of the past conditions that have helped tourism to assume its present scholarly dimension and depth; to sketch the formation of this landscape of knowledge to selectively extract from this context emerging central socio-economic issues; to suggest research crossroads for advancing in new frontiers; to sample the richness of the state of knowledge … that in turn can guide present and future planning and operation of this diverse mega-industry. Conceptually informed and practically enriched sustainable strategies, now rooted in this body of knowledge, can and will benefit those directly and indirectly involved in tourism.." (Jafari 2005: 28).

Emulating a cyclical logic, Jafari toys with the belief that tourism gradually evolves in four distinguishable stages. The advocacy platform signals to the economic benefits and advantages generated by the tourism industry and foreign investment in the local communities. Stakeholders often can enrich the local

economy when foreign and local investors coordinate efforts in the generation of fairer wealth distribution. After the 60s decade, however, some critical voices interrogated on the so-called material benefits tourism supposedly brought (Jenkins 1982, Mbaiwa 2005). In view of this, a new cautionary platform alerted on the negative effects of the tourism industry in the local environment. Contamination, pollution, poverty among many other maladies led specialists and policy-makers to question the idealized vision of tourism. A third platform is born in the middle of the 80s decade, which is termed as "adaptancy platform". This position weights the advantage and disadvantage of the industry stressing in the ethical responsibility of stakeholders to protect the local resources. Jafari goes on to write, "The prescribed strategies have variously been known as agro-tourism, appropriate tourism, community-based tourism, controlled tourism, cottage tourism, cultural or ethnic tourism, ecotourism, farm tourism, green tourism… the list is still growing with no tourism even named as an alternative by itself". In general, the adaptancy platform argues that the forms are community centered, employ local resources, are relatively easier to manage, are not destructive benefit host and guest groups alike, and even improve communication between them (Jafari 2005: 31).

The three above-mentioned stages paved the ways for the emergence of a scientific perspective which crystallized into a purer form of evolution – independent from any subjective viewpoint. The other platforms were occupied in the study of tourism through its direct and indirect effects in the environment, but rather "the scientific platform" rested on the principle of objectivity as more evolved and superior form of knowledge. Jafari ponders "the scientification of tourism" as a path towards a climate of professionalization, which associated with scientific research, helps policy-makers in their decision making processes. Jafari acknowledges that tourism should be studied as a well-integrated system whose parts harmonically worked together and interconnected. He was convinced by the belief that the tourism industry - as well as the scientific platform - accompany local communities towards a climate of prosperity and sustainability.

"The above discussion on the four platforms, the transformative forces or catalyst, the text, and context of these in structuring and shaping training and education efforts and outlooks, provide informative retrospective and ongoing insights on tourism – both as a realm of concepts and as a field of operations. This may now be coupled with a fresh insight beyond the present scholarly footholds and operational matters, toward scientific and developmental horizons ahead" (Jafari 2005: 38).

The intersection of tourism and sustainability was not only present in the early Jafari´s texts but also was adopted by his followers as a doctrine of the discipline to date. Although Jafari clarifies that each stage is not unilateral nor evolutive but also alternates with others his supporters singled out his legacy in the following axiom: when tourism is adopted by local communities a synergy of local and external forces converge. This convergence invariably should prosper in a democratic atmosphere. The rich (developed) nations have the obligation to help under-developed economies. In so doing, tourism channels the local and financial resources to create a sustainable industry that alleviates poverty. While rich

countries often manage the financial assets to protect the earth, pour nations adopt the precautionary platform" in order for their resources not to be degraded. In Jafari´s development, the center-periphery dependency is not tackled off and little attention is paid on the role of international organizations as the World Bank and IMF. As Esteva brilliantly observed, the IMF and World Bank supposed that the indiscriminate loans will bring development to the world. The development theory not only failed in its mission of poverty relief but in some conditions, it aggravated the dependency of the third world. When the development programs failed to boost local economies, their exegetes alluded to the cultural factor as an illustrative explanation that speaks us of the incompatibilities of non-western cultures to embrace "the western rationality". Social maladies such as internal conflict, political instability and even corruption were highlighted as the main causes that impeded the development of some non-western nations. Once again, culture is ideologically invoked to divide the world in two. The dichotomy civilized-uncivilized cultures set the pace to a "developed-undeveloped" typology (Esteva and Prakash 1998, Sachs 1997, Esteva and Babones 2013, Pieterse 2000).

The Theory of Development Explained with Clarity

In a valuable investigation entitled Development and Social Change, P. McMichael (2012) reminds the intersection of colonialism and development as a barrier towards genuine changes to achieve a fair distribution of wealth. Instead of focusing on the protection of the state, as it has been formulated by development theories, globalization emphasizes on "free-market" as the ideological conduits of politics. The protection of interests of global powers consists not only in securing the food production (in the south) to be exported to North but also in the set of loans to keep "the market integration". The key factor of neo-liberalism is "governance", which means the coordination of NGOs by accessing information and material resources to fulfil the gaps left by "failed-states". Today, corporate outsourcing is the crucial point Market used to determine the contours of states. His main thesis is that Europe, by the introduction of "colonialism", established an ideological background for legitimizing their submissions to its overseas colonies. The exploitation of the non-European "Others" had a pervasive nature. The process of decolonization, centuries later, witnessed the rise of demands of the periphery in order for central powers to allow an autonomous government. The rights of democracy became in a universal claim. McMichael explains that imperial powers alluded to the theory of "development" to maintain the old colonial borders. Now violence sets the pace to financial dependency (McMichael 2012). The WWII (Second World War) end conjoined to Truman's administration led the United States to implement a wide range credit system to save the world from Communism. This program mushroomed to become in the development theory. However, this financial aid brought modification in the system of agriculture to more intensive methods. This ruined the condition of farmers who were pressed to migrate to larger urban cities. Furthermore, the imposition of new borders post-WWII forced many ethnicities to live with others under the

hegemony of nation-state. This resulted in a lot of ethnic cleansing, conflicts and warfare that obscured the original ends of financial aid programs issued by the IMF or World Bank. Undoubtedly, the inconsistencies of the World Bank in administering the development-related programs not only were admitted but also it woke up some nationalist reactions in the non-aligned countries. To restore the order, a new supermarket revolution surfaced: globalization (McMichael 2012).

This stage, characterized by a decentralized production, undermined the barriers of nation-states globalizing investments in those countries where working condition were more convenient for capital-owner. In this vein, two alarming situations were found. An increase in the unemployment and the decline of unionization in the North was accompanied by the arrival of international business corporations seduced by the low-cost of workers in the South. Last but not least, the problem of ecology was not a minor issue. Ecological emergencies accelerated by global warming not only ruined many agrarian economies but provoked a wider forced-migration as never before (McMichael 2012).

From the Ecocide to the Sustainability of Tourism

In a seminal book, which entitles Ecocide: a short history of the mass extinction of species, Franz Broswimmer calls the attention on the idea of progress, which lead Occident to a technological background that materialized a rapid transformation of the environment. However, as he puts it, this career towards progress was possible thanks to the introduction of an obtrusive technique that created a real "ecocide". His argument says that westerners are enmeshed into a paradoxical situation. While lay-citizens overtly declare their concern for pollution and environmental degradation, fewer courses of actions are systematically taken without mentioning that no efforts to reduce the greenhouse gases are concreted. Broswimmer conceptualizes the relations of humankind with nature in three stages. The first facet is marked by the appearance of language (60.000 millions of years ago). Secondly, the economic shortage moved to homo-sapiens to expand their presence across the world (13.000 B.C.). The industrial revolution cemented the hegemony of Western civilization and its rationality over other forms of knowledge. In so doing, the technological breakthrough made from this world a safer place but at a high cost. Mankind constructed a cultural bubble which inserted separated from nature, which was ideologically conceptualized as a mere resource to be commodified, processed and sold in the liberal market (Broswimmer 2002). The ecocide results from the excess of rationality which subordinates the nature to the logic of capitalism, as Broswimmer adheres. Spanish philosopher Adela Cortina argues convincingly that the ethics of consumption are doomed to the failure since citizens are insensitive to the Other´s suffering. Under what basis the future is important for mankind when really the well-being of their members passes without serious attention?

In this vein, Cortina proffers a moral reformation to accelerate the necessary changes towards a more sustainable planet. As she notes, each person develops a threshold of desirability which expresses its comfort. Ordinary people are often

accustomed to following standardized practices and behaviour which impede the real change. Hence, the climate change far from being considered as a serious threat seems to be commodified and offered in form of a great spectacle (Cortina 2003). Jean Baudrillard termed this as "the Spectacle of Disaster" in his different works (Baudrillard 1995), while Naomi Klein dubbed it as "the doctrine shock" (Klein 2007). Both positions reflect the same issue. The sense of risk which is mediatically imposed to the audience speaks us of a near future, which never takes the room in reality. From the future, the imperative rests on the axiom that a new cultural entertainment industry, which combines an extreme psychological fear with the needs of exception, commoditizes the other´s pain in forms of spectacles (Korstanje 2016). This begs a more than interesting question, is tourism part of the solution or the problem?

Bob McKercher (1993) lamented that the western rationality, as well as the obsessions of policy-makers for the precautionary platform, would engender further risks that place the tourist system in jeopardy. Per McKercher, this obviously happens because ecology appears to be a concept very hard to grasp. In the name of ecology or sustainability, weak economies are subordinated to the interests of the stronger ones. It is important not to lose the sight of the fact that financial programs fostered by IMF (International Monetary Fund) and World Bank have failed, but a new eco-friendly wave emerged to re-educate to the next generations to keep a reasonable dialogue with nature (Taylor and Carson 2010).

From this viewpoint, dessert or limited resources zones need from ecology to gain attractiveness and of course, in doing so tourism plays a crucial role. Sometimes the underdevelopment is considered as a lack of planning and training. Education not only solves many problems in the adoption of sustainable tourism but also allows improving the coordination of different stakeholders' interests (Farrell and Runyan 1991, Jollife 2005, Hipwell 2007, Stubbs and Cocklin 2008, Muller and Weber 2008, Contini et al. 2009). In addition, Skanavis and Giannoulis (2010) claim that Greece would have not adopted a strong pro-environmental policy to encourage tourism. Particularly, there would be no vision aimed at integrating environmental interpretation with the practitioner's practices. These scholars consider that accurate and effective interpretation of ecology, as well as monitoring, entails positive impacts for the community (Skanavis and Giannoulis 2010). Equally important, the already-established literature suggests that neither the precautionary nor advocacy platforms did the correct thing in the struggle against climate change. Instead of regulating as the main option, It is necessary to find a new segment of tourism, as "cultural tourism or creative tourism" as new forms of sustainable consumption (Okello and Yerian 2009, Mamadi 2004, Hjalager 2000, Tsaur et al. 2006 Ambrosie 2010). The consumption should not be divorced from the necessary (natural) background to perform it. To put the same in other terms, tourism commoditizes nature (which is sublimated in the tourist-gaze) compromising the natural resources. The ecological dilemma reminds two important things. On one hand, these natural resources may be very well replicated whether a sustainable way is widely adopted. On another, without an environment there is no tourism (Bramwell and Lane 1993, Gossling 2000). To some extent

exegetes of sustainable tourism emphasizes on the importance of an accurate diagnosis, which should be adjusted to what each community needs.

In a recent book, for example, three authoritative voices in the theme as Michael Hall, Stefan Gossling and Daniel Scott suggest that tourism is not good or bad, but a simple instrument which should be oriented to promote local welfare. Since today "global warming" seems to be one of the most urgent problems, western should tackle, remains in academy certain myopia to understand the urgency of this slippery matter. As the main threat of capitalist societies, "global warming" not only may affect seriously the global trade among nations but the economic resources as well. What should policy-makers do in this respect? Occident urges to exploit its current technology to monitor the effects of global warming, reminding that a more efficient adaptive response should be prioritized as a policy of the state. They, authors, understand that capitalism as well as its system of production cannot be abandoned. Therefore the needs of adaptation is of paramount importance in the planning process. The global warming for Hall, Gossling or Scott, does not mean a direct result of the expansion of capitalism, but a glitch to fix. What they ignore, is that "global warming" was produced by the same cultural values (as rationality) they defend.

Needless to say, the above-noted argument is shared by countless scholars in the fields of tourism sustainability. One of the main obstacles tourism-related scholars may not overcome is related to the excess of trust in technology and rationality as vital factors for a solution. Secondly, sustainability as a cultural project excludes the presence of humankind from the territory to be protected. Humans, in the post-capitalist ideology, are not part of nature but external administrators who through their rationality can identify and reverse those risks or problems that jeopardize the environment (Korstanje 2018). This is exactly the dilemma of the theory of governance, which holds the thesis that authorities should find the correct steps and policies to intervene in the territory in order for the organic image of the destination to be preserved. Although there are some glitches, which in a climate of contingency, may emerge, the western rationality -supported by the current technology- obtains a rapid solution. To set an example, by adopting new sources of energy the problem of climate change can be finally overcome (Dinica 2009). Over the recent years, some scholars doubted on faith in technology reminding that climate change often recreates the conditions to an irreversible situation. Paradoxically, the precautionary principle learned us that while some risks are easily neutralized other more dangerous surface. The climate change has arrived to say, in which case, humankind debates between intervening directly the causes or simply emulating some adaptive measures (Becken 2008, Weaver 2011, Scott and Becken 2010). McGranaham (2011) exerted a radical criticism on these two stances because –as he thinks- the ecology-related research associates to the profit-maximization which is proper of the private market. Secondly, the current ecological paradigm shows no fewer problems to understand or situate human presence. In the protected parks, the human presence is limited or prohibited. Third, humans often dissociate what they overtly say and finally do. This was probed in some works oriented to study the dominant discourse in tourists about "the future of climate change". While tourists were seriously

worried about the future of the planet, they did not start any concrete step to change the situation (Becken and Hay, 2007, Scott et al. 2012). In a recently-released book, Tzanelli (2019) clarifies that scholars need to dissociate mobilities design and the mobilities justice. While the former signals to the fabrication of destinations through the cinematically-inspired stimulation, the latter refers to its real or imagined consequences and effects. To some extent, mobilities justice may be understood as the possibilities each citizen to reach "an appropriate mobility capital". As the first entry in this philosophical debate, she introduces the neologism "atmospheric attunement" to frame not only the scholars´ cosmologies which lead them to multisensory interpretations of reality (scientific paradigm) but the countless ways subjects move through their affective world (subjectivity). While lay-people want the material benefits of tourism, less tolerant they are to the produced shifts in our local environment. It is important not to lose the sight of the fact that cities concentrate human and capital factors in a form of "*phantasmagoric factory*" at the time the countryside is symbolically re-elaborated as a romantic form of sublimation which helps the alienated citizen to redeem itself through consumption. As Tzanelli puts it, the efforts put to avoid the environmental degradation says little on how the beautiness as a concept is culturally constructed. Given the problem in these terms, West has a problem to understand the different "Other". Based on a critical reading of the post-colonial literature as the main theoretical framework, Tzanelli calls the attention that the expression of discontent (against tourism) should re-classified in three distinguishable forms: a) epistemic misalignment, which mainly located in post-colonial territories, combines an adaptive behaviour with a combative attitude; b) hostipitality which connotes a hostile position against strangers ritualizing a type of new ethnonationalism, and c) post-industrial disobedience which redeems differences and rivalries in the cinematic screen (Tzanelli 2019).

This begs more than the interesting question is feasible to work for sustainable tourism? is sustainability viable in an hyper-globalized world?

Discussing the "Dwelling Perspective"

To respond to the questions formulated in the earlier section, it is necessary debate the idea of the dwelling perspective in Tim Ingold. In his book, The Perception of Environment Ingold (2000) presents a more than thorny question. Is the sustainable premise a manifest impossibility?

Societies construct some ideological dispositions oriented to understand the Other while at the same time, an axis of authority is internally imposed. The idea of an "exemplary center" associates to the presence of a dangerous periphery. In this context, the alterity should be labeled and framed in order for a state of internal security to be achieved. The dilemma of authenticity dominates the politics of the tribe. At the time people believe they are authentic, they feel the others lie. Museums and Zoos, following this explanation, serve as sanctuaries of authenticity where animals or artefacts should be protected (Ingold 2000, 2011). The success of capitalism consists in the creation of binomials such as binomials

such as culture/wilderness, leisure/work, authentic/inauthentic. Unlike hunters/ gathers, the environment for West is conceived as something external to human order; in other words, the self inhabits a hostile place which should be domesticated by its culture. Human beings are a pretty different agent than animals. This allowed us to intervene to our discretion manipulating our dwelling in nature. Unlike hunters and gatherers, westerners developed a sedentary form of production, which links them to a specific-contextualized soil. The invention of the chair splits the man from his environment but what seems to be more important, the evolution of science legitimized a philosophical separation of the self from its environment. Taking his cues from Gibson, Ingold accepts that neither philosophers nor social scientists have interrogated on the ideological nature of western rationality. The debate revolving around sustainability does not comprehend the human presence, affirming our disengagement from nature. The supremacy of the instrumental reasoning not only is valorized in the eco-friendly paradigm but also places "consciousness" as the main criteria of supremacy. Nature is divided into two, intelligent and unintelligent life. As mutually incompatible, humankind and nature are seen as different entities. The preserved and ecological parks ban the human presence and not surprisingly, the mainstream cultural values of capitalism are never questioned. Ingold cites the sample of hunters-gatherers who see the environment in the lens of a relational perspective. These nomad groups not only do not need the surplus of food (to be stocked) but also connects with nature as something given to their survival (Ingold 2000). In this way, animals and men are integrated into the same all-encompassing cosmology. In his book Being Alive Ingold (2011) reminds that westerners have developed a "dwelling perspective" which re-conceptualizes human existence through the technology fabricated to change the environment. Nature can be expropriated whether the man improves it. The external world cannot be therefore understood without rational reasoning. Having said this, modern science is no other thing than an attempt to domesticate the uncertainty of the environment through the articulation of programs, protocols and the sense of objectivity. The separation between subject and objects started by the invention of the chair, Ingold adds. It has been created to confer dignity and authority to the sitter; to separate humans from animals. At some extent, if further attention is paid to how people travel, two assumptions should be done. Travelers do not move unless by a machine, whose conforms allows us to be sited while moving. Secondly, travels were commercially adopted by the European elite during the 18th century while blue-collar workers were subject to walk. The pedestrian practices stigmatized to lay people. The knowledge was given only to those who displace to other places to know further on the customs and lives of others. These inequalities between those who would be able to travel a long distance and those who would be unable to do that pave the ways for the advent of capitalist hegemony. The fact that some groups are mobile while others are not being conducive to a discourse of domination. To be more explicit, the author goes on to say:

We have already seen how the practices of destination-oriented travel encouraged the belief that knowledge is integrated not along paths of pedestrian movement but through the accumulation of observations taken from successive

point of rest. Thus we tend to imagine that things are perceived from stationary platform, as if we were sitting on a chair with our legs and feet out of action. To perceive a thing from different angles, it is supposed that we might turn it around in our hands, or perform an equivalent computational operation in our minds. But in real life, for the most part, we do not perceive things from a single vantage point, but rather by walking around them (Ingold, 2011: 45).

The creation of maps and geography are signs of dissociation between walking and travelling. The traveler who knows the path do not need a map. Recurring to watch a map only when travelers are unfamiliar with the topography of territory. The discussion with Heidegger respecting to what Ingold calls, "the dwelling perspective" deserves considerable attention. The British anthropologist reminds that anthropology is based on the premise some forms of "humans build" are a projection from the environment. This alludes to think that space should be built (symbolically created) to be dwelled, as both were two separate facets of living. In order for nature to be safe, also no human intervention should be achieved. At the opposite, Ingold proposes a relational view of ecology to stress a new fresh way of conceiving ecology. The modern society must pass from a dwelling to a relational perspective. Since Humans inhabit the space at the same time they live, the dwelling perspective should set the pace to a much broader cosmology respecting to the environment. Hunters and gatherers take the life of animals only to survive. Like their ancestors, they venerate animals as brothers, as protectors whose flesh ignites the cycles of life. Any attempt to monopolize hunting activity denotes in the fact that Gods withhold animals leading the community to starvation and extinction. This cosmology is based on a relational perspective that does not differentiate between humans and animals. The founding parents of anthropology created the idea of culture to separate the European project from the non-western "Others" (Harris 2001, Racdliffe-Brown 1940, Mauss 2002, Malinowski 2013). The notion of travels was a symbolic conquest where Oceania or the Americas were seen as vast places to dwell, domesticate and civilize. The concept and division of labor were of significant importance because it introduced trust for the progress. Hence, as Ingold writes, technology, intelligence, the habit of dwelling and the concept of landscapes have been socially constructed to expand the belief that reason, which is only human, can be expressed by means of language. Here two assumptions finally should be done. On one hand, the dwelling perspective, which was encapsulated in modern anthropology from its inception, nourished a dichotomy between protection and extinction. The native cultures were defined as entities petrified in a pre-stage towards civilization, in the same way, the pre-modern Europe was. The first ethnologists envisaged that these pre-modern cultures would be invariably in the bias of disappearance. For that, the job of the first fieldworkers associated to pick up and repatriate all artefacts to the European museums. To say the same in other terms, the interests for the other was culturally subordinated to its reversible inferiority in a Darwinist world where the big fish eats the small fish. On another hand, the capitalist discourse reiterated the myth that leisure liberates the modern man from the work. The efficacy of capitalism –to be reproduced- rested on its capacity to control commodities and workers. While the former is marked by the

exchange price which is fixed by the market, the later depends on its mood adapted to consume. Lay-people are workers who dispose of their bodies to fabricate goods they ultimately are forced to consume in their free-time. At the least, the notion that subjects need to work to rest appears to be an ideological disposition that legitimated capitalism as well as "the dwelling perspective" over the recent centuries (Ingold 2011). So the question is to what extent the modern tourism industry is part of the problem or the solution?

Conclusion

After further criticism on the theory of development, as well as the idea that tourism revitalizes economy and sustainability of nations, this essay review dissected in depth the ideological nature of capitalism dividing the world in periphery and center. The first section brought the legacy of Jafari into the foreground as well the obsession of his followers for sustainability. The second, rather, focused on the ideological components that historically formed the development theory. Based on McMichael´s contributions, it is important not to lose the sight of the fact that the theory of development and the colonial rule are inextricably intertwined. The third section not only goes through the philosophical debate regarding climate change but also revolves around how the notion of sustainability was adopted by tourism-related scholars. Lastly, the paper deals with the relational paradigm and the impossibility of the capitalist system to change its economic means of production towards a more sustainable tourism. In consonance with Tim Ingold, the argument held in this conceptual research explains the reasons why lay-people feel "sustainability of tourism" remains an impossible project. One of the ideological core of capitalism consisted of introducing a rupture, which Ingold dubbed as "dwelling perspective", between humans and nature. This means that the ecological project not only is reserved for animals but exclude any human presence. Although efforts to make a more sustainable society prevails, if the mainstream cultural values of capitalism as extortion, instrumentality and exploitation should not be corrected, the possibilities tourism would be part of the problem, not the solution, turns out higher. This is not an attack to anyone or any theory, but a fresh alternative for researchers and academy correctly deciphers the complexity of ecology in the years to come.

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Local Community Participation in Tourism Development: The Case of Katse Villages in Lesotho

By Regina M. Thetsane[*]

One of the central elements of tourism development is to encourage local communities' participation as it is the core to the sustainability of tourism industry. While the literature suggests a number of roles local communities could take in tourism development, little emphasis has so far been given to how local communities should participate in tourism development. The aim of this paper is to contribute to the understanding of community roles in tourism development by examining the views of the community at Katse area in Lesotho. A combination of stratified and convenience sampling approaches was used for sample selection of 500 households. The initial step involved stratified random sampling; accordingly, the population of Katse was first subdivided into four villages. Convenience sampling was then applied through the selection of each household in the four villages. The findings revealed that local communities want to be involved when tourism policies are being made to enable policymakers to prepare a policy that meets stakeholders' needs and addresses their concerns. They also want to be part of tourism development decisions to ensure their needs are incorporated.

Keywords: *Tourism, Tourism Development, Community Participation.*

Introduction

Tourism development renders various economic, socio-cultural and environmental changes on the host community's life, some more beneficial than others (Stylidis et al. 2014). Thus, the participation of local residents is imperative for the sustainability of the tourism industry at any destination (Gursoy et al. 2010). Understanding the residents' perspective can facilitate policies which minimize the potential negative impacts of tourism development and maximize its benefits, leading to community development and greater support for tourism particularly, in developing countries, whereby tourism is still at an infant stage of development.

In the effort to promote development within a country, tourism development has become one of the key growth mechanisms for many developing countries. Within the process of development, it is often the economic indicators that draw the most attention and tourism is seen as attractive because it generates foreign exchange, increases employment and income for the local population, attracts development capital and promotes economic independence (Weaver and Oppermann 2000). As such, it can be argued that tourism promotes a level of economic growth conducive to increasing social well-being and stability of the local communities

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Local participation has been regarded as a positive force for change and authorization to country's development. This, however according to Nsizwazikhona and Nduduzo (2017) represents an over-simplistic conclusion. The principle behind local participation may be easy to promote, however the practice is far more complex. Generally, it is often assumed that residents are willing and able to participate equally (Hanafiah et al. 2013). This has been a continuing debate and issue within tourism development studies. Participation of local people is a criterion often agreed on as an essential condition for development and sustainability of any form of tourism (Lekaota 2015). Yet, it is the combination of the two words local and participation that is paradoxically implying local residents being so often left outside of the management, decision-making and managing of tourist development (Stone and Stone 2011). Clearly, the ideal would be for communities to decide the form and function of tourism developments and have full control over any tourism schemes in their location. In most cases, local residents often lack the experience, resources and hence even interest, needed to establish successful tourism ventures (Rogersson and Letsie 2013).

There is unclear description of local communities' roles and how their views are incorporated in the whole tourism planning and development process. While the tourism literature suggests a number of roles local communities could take in tourism development, little emphasis has so far been given as to how the local communities themselves feel about these imposed roles. This creates a gap between what communities viewed as their roles in tourism development and as opposed to what the literature suggests.

Therefore, the aim of this study is to determine how the local communities in Lesotho participate in tourism development, with a view to advice tourism managers, planners and other local destinations within the country on how the local community should be involved and participate tourism development. Specifically, the study responds to the question: What are the views of local people towards participation in tourism development? This paper will firstly, provide a brief profile of Lesotho, including the Katse area, literature review on community participation in tourism development, the methodology adopted in carrying out this study, the results of the study, conclusions and recommendations.

Case Study Area Profile

Lesotho is a small land-locked country, completely surrounded by its neighbor South Africa, on which it must depend for access to the outside world (Appendix 1). It has a population of about two million and a Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita of $1,020 (Lesotho Economic Review Outlook, 2017). It is classified as a low-income country. Its territory is mostly highland with its lowest point sitting at 1,400m above sea level (making it the highest base altitude in the world) (Lesotho Economic Review Outlook 2017). It is divided into ten districts, and its Capital town is Maseru. The national and official language of Lesotho is Sesotho. Following the Lesotho's independence in 1966, Sesotho was

chosen and officially recognized as the national and official language of the country.

Katse area is located in the Leribe district, the Southern part of the country. It is now a home to the Highest Dam Wall in Africa, Katse Dam, one of the main attractions in Katse area. The congenial Katse Village, developed in the early 1990s is located in this area and provides a spectacular view of the Katse reservoir as well as the country's rugged mountain scenery (Shano 2014). At 2,000 metres above sea level, Katse Dam is described as a striking piece of modern engineering (Lesotho Tourism Development Corporations Statistics 2017). The Dam is one of less than 30 double curvature concrete arch dams in the world; one of the world's 10 largest concrete arch dams in terms of its volume; and the highest dam in Africa. The Dam has since its construction in 1991 been attracting thousands of people who come to see this engineering creation (LTDC 2017). The Katse Dam is situated on the Malibamatso River in Lesotho. It is by far the most efficient storage dam in Africa due to its great depth and relatively small surface area, which reduces evaporation.

The tourism sector in Lesotho is considered to have great potential for attracting foreign exchange and creating employment in the country (Lesotho Government Reviews 2016). However, the sector is small in absolute size. According to the World Travel & Tourism Council (WTTC), in its 2017 Travel & Tourism Economic Impact Report, tourism sector in Lesotho appears at 169 out of 185 countries. The WTTC 2017 report further estimates that the direct contribution of travel and tourism to Lesotho's GDP was M1 520.5 million (US$103.4 million) in 2017, which translates to 5.3 percent of total GDP. According to the Lesotho Central Bank Economic Quarterly Review of 2017, the sector currently supported approximately 35 000 jobs in 2017, translating to 5.9 percent to total employment in that year, with this figure expected to rise by 5.4 percent in 2018. The main attractions in Lesotho are the unique natural environment, including mountains scenery, scenic routes, topology, the snow in winter, waterfalls, rich culture and man-made attractions, such as the Katse dam (Shano 2014).

This sector is a very labour-intensive industry that has the potential to generate more jobs particularly in the highlands region like Katse where poverty is greatest. The development of tourism is created by the building of the Katse Dam by the Lesotho Highlands Water Project (LHWP) coupled with improved roads into the Highlands that were built and upgraded as part of the project. A large number of tourists in 2017 mainly from South Africa (46.2% and rest of the World 56.6 %) visited Katse (Table1). Table 1 further depicts that Katse remained the second most popular tourism attraction in 2017 in Lesotho.

Table 1. *Place of Visit and Country of Residence in 2017*

Attraction Place Visited in Lesotho	South Africa %	Rest of World %	Total %
KATSE	**46.2**	**56.6**	**46.9**
AFri Ski	13.0	6.5	12.6
Sani	10.8	4.4	10.4
Thaban Ntlenyana	9.4	8.0	9.3
Oxbow	4.0	6.1	4.1
Thaba - Bosiu	2.6	2.2	2.6
Morija	2.2	4.3	2.3
Mohale dam	2.2	0.0	2.0
Dinosaur Footprints	1.5	0.7	1.5
Handicrafts Centre	1.3	2.8	1.4
Liphofung	1.1	2.2	1.2
Semonkong	1.1	0.7	1.1
Ts'ehlanyane National Park	0.9	2.1	0.9
Bokong	0.9	0.7	0.9
Bushmen Paintings	0.6	0.7	0.6
Roma (National University of Lesotho)	0.6	0.0	0.6
Roma (non-university visit)	0.6	0.0	0.6
Kome Caves	0.6	0.0	0.5
Malealea	0.2	2.2	0.3
Maletsunyane Falls	0.2	0.0	0.2
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**

Source: Lesotho Development Tourism Statistics, 2017.

The main compelling reason for selecting the Katse area as the site for this study was its popularity as a tourist destination in Lesotho. It was named after a wealthy man called Katse who used to have a lot of livestock and provided agricultural produce to the local communities. The area is now a home to the Highest Dam Wall in Africa, Katse Dam which attract many tourists around the world. The gracious Katse Village, developed in the early 1990s is situated in this area and provides a beautiful view of the Katse reservoir as well as the country's rugged mountain scenery engineering (Lesotho Tourism Development Corporations Statistics 2017).

This area has a number of attractions for tourists, such as, the Katse dam and the 1970-hectare Bokong Nature Reserve that lies at the head of the Mafika-Lisiu pass en route to Katse dam. Features of interest in Bokong include different types of birdlife, and tourists may be able to catch a glimpse of the rare and endangered bearded vulture as well as a number of other bird species endemic to the afro-alpine zone (Trans-Caledon Tunnel Authority (TCTA) 2003). Besides the tourist attractions, there are other several activities and facilities for tourists at Katse, such as 4X4 trekking, camping, fishing, pony trekking, hiking, biking and sightseeing and Basotho cultural performances (Khotle and Caswell 2006, Lesotho Highlands Development Authority (LHDA) 2003).

Katse holds first position (Table1) on the list of the most popular attractions in Lesotho and is one of only eighteen top attractions areas that have drawn an increased number of tourists over the past two years (Lesotho Tourism Development Corporations Statistics 2017). For instance, thus, because of what Katse offers, the researcher considered that findings and conclusions reached from this study could be applicable to other rural areas that offer similar tourist attractions to Katse. Besides Katse being one of the most popular attractions in Lesotho, Katse was selected on the basis that the community at Katse might be aware of and have information about the tourists because they are in contact with them on a daily basis as the tourists are travelling to Katse Dam. The Katse residents might also be aware of some developments brought by tourism at Katse.

Literature Review

There has been a relatively slow realization of the importance of community participation in tourism development (Fariborz 2011). This might be the reason why in many developing countries, Lesotho included, tourism has been developed and controlled by large multinational companies that have little regard for local social and economic conditions. These large multinational companies would make decisions to be implemented by the local community and yet the local communities were not involved in the initial planning of the project. Richards and Hall (2000) argue that if the local community was not involved from the initial planning stage of tourism it becomes much harder to bring them on board at a later stage. The local community might have some resentment at not having been part of the process from the start.

Sharpley and Telfer (2002) argue that many decisions governing domestic matters are made elsewhere by foreign tour companies and service providers, which often do not have the destination community's best interest in mind. Thus, Mitchell and Reid (2001) suggest that local people and their communities have become the objects of development but not the subject. However, it is believed that only when local communities are involved in tourism management their benefits can be ensured and their traditional lifestyles and values respected (Mitchell and Reid 2001, Sheldon and Abenoja 2001).

Fariborz (2011) also argues that the community must be involved as active participants in all tourism related activities. It is good management practice to obtain the views of a community before development takes place (Li 2006). This will provide tourism planners with information about the likely acceptability of any proposed development, what views are held by the local community and whether or not any fears can be allayed by the development of an appropriate management strategy (Sonmez and Sirakaya 2002). This will also not only provide happy and healthier residents but will encourage greater participation in civic matters in general, thus, creating more active and concerned citizens (Wilson 2003: 1465-1470).

Moscardo (2015) argues that the absence of local participation in tourism projects and the exclusion of the resident population from tourism planning is a

dilemma that needs attention. This exclusion of residents from tourism development may be traced to the external nature of funding and implementation of projects, especially in developing countries (Teye et al. 2002). Therefore, Cattarinnich (2001) suggests that the community must participate in tourism decisions if their livelihood priorities are to be reflected in the way tourism is developed.

Community participation in decision-making has been widely promoted and debated for several reasons (Mearns 2012). Local community involvement in tourism development is likely to assist the formulation of more appropriate decisions and to generate an increase in local motivation (Li 2006). The host community should have an active say in the kind of tourism appropriate to their lifestyle, culture and natural resources, and to be free to reject tourism as an economic option if other options are available (Richards and Hall 2000).

Page (2007) argues that tourist satisfaction is likely to be greater where hosts support and take pride in tourism because they have an understanding of how the destination adapts to change. It can, therefore, be seen that local community participation is very important for sustainable tourism. It will likely decrease hostility between tourism developers, tourists and the community, for actions taken and their resultant impacts become the responsibility of the local population (Nyaupane et al. 2006).

Garrod (2003) contends that involving a community in tourism planning (through such means as consultation, focus groups and committees) may assist in overcoming resistance or opposition, and avoid decisions that may otherwise cause conflict. Small and Edwards (2005) share similar views with Garrod (2003) that the long-term sustainability of tourism can be jeopardised if communities are not involved in the planning and management of tourism.

Teye et al. (2002) suggest that it is critical to involve the community in the planning and development of the industry and more studies of residents' attitudes toward tourism in developing countries should be undertaken. Wilson et al. (2001), share similar views with Teye et al. (2002) and further suggest that tourism development and management should not remain in the realm of the government, as happens in many developing countries, but that the community should be fully involved in tourism development projects and decision-making, as suggested by many past studies (Fariborz and Ma'rof 2008, Andriotis 2002, Sheldon and Abenoja 2001, Botes and Van Rensburg 2000, Watt et al 2000, Hanafiah et al. 2013).

Garrod (2003) and Lekaota (2015) notes that the basic requirement for the community approach to tourism development is that all members of communities in tourist destination areas, rather than just those directly involved in the tourism industry, should be involved in the management and planning of tourism. Although community participation may seem to contribute positively towards tourism development, it should be realized that it is only one of many ways to ensure that local people benefit from tourism (Li 2006). Rather, the modes of participation are related to the institutional arrangements and the different stages of tourism development in a community as a result there is no universal mode applicable everywhere (Gopaul 2009).

Lekaota (2015) reports that resident participation ranges from a passive position at one end of the spectrum to one of self-mobilization that is characterized by independent initiatives where local people are strengthened socially and economically by their involvement. Hall (2000), Kim (2013) argue that, if sustainable tourism is to be achieved, functional participation must include the forming of groups by the local community to meet predetermined objectives related to the development projects. Incorporating the community and monitoring their attitudes should be a priority for sustainable tourism.

Methodology and Process

A combination of stratified and convenience sampling approaches was used for sample selection of 500 households. The initial step involved stratified random sampling; accordingly the population of Katse area which is composed of Katse community was first subdivided into four groups (villages), namely, Ha-Lejone, Ha-Poli, Ha-Mikia and Mphorosane. The roles of the local community in tourism development were measured with seven (7) variables measured on a 5-point Likert-type scale, with a score 1 representing 'strongly agree' and a score 5 representing 'strongly disagree', with a series of seven statements adapted and used by Tosun 2002. Therefore, the measuring instrument was regarded as valid and reliable. Each question followed by an open ended question probing for more information why the respondent held such view.The follow up questions provided a wider picture of respondents's views regarding their participation in tourism development in the study area and allowed for the emergence of issues not originally included in the questionnaire.

Convenience sampling was then applied through the selection of each household in the four villages. This was done due to the structure of the villages in Lesotho which are scattered and far from each other. Due to lack of statistical information on the number of households per village in Lesotho , an estimation of 190 residents per village was recomended by the Lesotho Bureau of Statistics Report 2015. Therefore, the total population for all the 4 villages was 760. Within each of the four villages approximately 125 households were conveniently selected to participate in the study, making the total population of 500, which according to Sekaran and Bougie (2013) is a well represented sample. However, 446 responded to the question resulting into 89 percent response rate. Head per dwelling was asked to participate in the face-to-face interview based on the questionnaire. Checks with the chiefs of the four identified villages confirmed that respondent was a resident member of the local commuity.

Household self-administered surveys were carried out over a period of eight weeks whereby the respondents answered questions posed orally by the interviewers in Sesotho (local language) due to low knowledge of the English language. For the total number of 20 questions, including, the demographic questions and questions related to the appropriate role of the community in tourism development, the interview took approximately 15-20 minutes per respondent. At the end of every day, completed Sesotho questionnaires were translated into

English by the researcher with the help of the research assistants for easy of analysis. For the purpose of analysing data SPSS was used to produce mean scores and standard deviations(SDs). The responses were coded into a set of categories developed from identified commonalities in line with the seven statement. The approach focused on meaning drawn from content of the data and considered in a particular context (Sekaran and Bougie (2013).

Results and Discussion

Socio-Demographic Profile of Respondents

Table 2 illustrates an equal distribution in terms of gender, where 52% males and 48% females participated in the study. It is also clear that 49% of the respondents have visited Katse for recreational purposes while 48% have not. This is an indication that some residents are aware of tourism while some are not. The majority of the respondents (91%) indicated that they do not work in any tourism related jobs nor do their family members and relatives (90%). Respondents working in tourism related jobs are 9%. This is consistent with the researcher's observation that, although Lesotho has tourism potential, it has not been optimally developed.

Forty-two percent of the respondents were unemployed while 19% were employed. This reflects the current status concerning unemployment in Lesotho. The Lesotho Central Bank Economic Quarterly Review of 2017 reports that unemployment in Lesotho is between 45 and 52%. This might be the reason why unemployed respondents account for a higher percentage. On the other hand, people staying at home will have more contact with tourists as these tourists visit their communities. Apart from the unemployed, 12% and 6% were students and pensioners respectively.

A large percentage of respondents (34%) were between the ages of 20 and 30, followed by respondents between the ages of 40 and 50 (22%). Only 6% of the respondents were between 50 and 60 while 10% were above 60. It is interesting to realize that this age group between the ages of 20 and 30 should be driving the economy but it is currently unemployed in Lesotho. If tourism can be developed, this age group can be employed in the tourism industry, and take active role in the development of tourism in Lesotho. The number of respondents in each village ranged from 120 (25) in Ha-Lejone, Ha Poli Mphorsane, 118(24%), Ha-Mikia 110 (22%) and lastly, Mphorasane 98(20%).

Table 2. *Profiles of Survey Respondents*

Variables	Category	Frequency	Percentage
Gender	Males	Males	52
	females	Females	48
Age	<20	62	12
	20 - 30	173	34
	30 - 40	110	22
	40 - 50	73	14
	50 - 60	30	6
	>60	50	10
	Missing data	1	2
Employment status	Employed	95	19
	Unemployed	208	42
	Self-employed	94	19
	Student	61	12
	Pensioner	29	6
	Missing data	13	2
Visited Katse for recreational purpose	Yes	240	49
	NO	244	48
	Missing data	16	3
Work in tourism industry	Yes	32	6
	NO	460	92
	Missing data	8	2
Family members working in tourism industry	Yes	44	9
	No	453	91
	Missing data	16	3
Villages	Ha-Lejone	120	24
	Ha-Poli	118	24
	Ha-Mikia	110	22
	Mphorosane	98	19
	Missing data	54	11

The Role of the Local Communities in Tourism Development

The mean scores for statements 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 are above 3, suggesting strong agreement with the statement (Table 3). The fact that the local people should be consulted when tourism policies are being made had the highest mean score of 4.67, SD 0.92, followed by the view that local people should have a voice in the decision-making process with Mean 3.94 and SD1.08 (Table 3). Consequent, to the two views, is the perception that local people should be consulted but the final decision on tourism development should be made by formal bodies, in the case of Lesotho these formal bodies are Lesotho Ministry of Tourism and Lesotho Tourism Development Corporation (LTDC). The three views are tremendously related and they suggest that the local community strongly perceive that they must be fully involved and participate in tourism developments in their respective areas. These outcomes, support suggestions by Scherl and Edwards (2007), Muganda et al. (2013) and Tosun (2006) with regard to the role of the local communities in tourism development. On the other hand, local communities overall rejected the

statement that the "local people should not participate in tourism development by any means" (mean 1.28, SD 0.82). The same results were found by Tosun (2002) in his study regarding expected nature of community participation in tourism development in Turkey, Marzuki and Hay (2012) and Lekaota 2015). Lastly, there was a statement which was phrased positively "local people should take the leading role as workers at all levels" (mean 2.90, SD1.30). Respondents disagreed with the statement in contrast with what Tosun (2006) observed in Turkey.

Regarding the question why the respondents have strong feeling that they should be consulted when tourism policies are being made, they argue that if they are consulted, this will ensure that the policy makers get different views from all the stakeholders so that they can be able to draft tourism policies incorporating the views of the community. As such, the community will own and protect tourism developments in their respective areas. Nsizwazikhona and Nduduzo (2017) also found the same results in his study regarding the challenges to active community involvement in tourism development at Didima Resort. Furthermore, one of the respondents supported her views that they should be considered in tourism policy-making by saying that; "If we are part of the decision making, we will be able to look after the tourism developments made in our villages". This view was supported by one of the respondents who argued that if they are allowed to voice their views in tourism developmental issues, this could assist to protect their interests, and increase transparency and accountability amongst the decision-makers, who are mainly, the Lesotho Government officials

The respondents were of the view that the current infant stage of Lesotho tourism could develop if ever the local community had a voice in developmental issues. One respondent had this to say: "Our government officials ignore the fact that the tourism attractions are in our areas, as such, they affect us, therefore, we have to be involved from the initial stages of formulating the tourism policies" This will grant the local community opportunities to have voice in the decision-making process of projects in their areas. These views are supported by Curry (2000), who argues that the communities are the owners of tourism attractions, therefore, they must be involved in decisions regarding their resources. These views are supported by Andriotis (2001), Tosun (2002), Walpole and Goodwin (2000) and Garrod (2003), who proposed that for the sustainability of tourism development, the management should consider the inclusion of local people in all tourism related decision-making processes. This may encourage greater participation and involvement and create more active and concerned residents (Wilson 2003). However, Li (2006) found that tourism in the Jiuzhaigou Biosphere Reserve in China was successful despite apparently weak local participation in the decision-making process. This is contrary to the interviewees' opinions and also to current academic understanding of community participation, which has suggested that if local residents are to benefit from tourism they must be integrated into decision-making process.

On the issue of the idea of the local people being financially supported to invest in tourism development, respondents were of the view that more jobs will be created in the country. As observed earlier, Lesotho, is one of the developing countries whose unemployment rate is approximately between 45 and 52%.

Remarkably, there are very few people working in tourism related jobs (approximately 5.9%). This is a clear indication that the tourism sector in Lesotho is at an infant stage and not well developed. Therefore, the respondent's argument was that people should be encouraged and supported financially in order for them to invest in tourism sector. One of the respondent had this to say "There are many tourists, going to the Katse Dam almost every day, but there are no facilities, such as, filling stations, washing rooms, restaurants, and accommodation between Ha Lejone and Katse, if we can get support, we can build Bed & Breakfast (B&B), filling stations and bath rooms on the way to Katse" Furthermore, respondents argued that they like tourists, they like to invest in tourism, the only constraint is lack of capital to invest in tourism.

The respondents who rejected the idea expressed their fears about investing in tourism because tourism is not for Basotho people. One respondent said "We don't know this tourism thing, this is not our culture to go around places like the white people, instead these people come to our country and they leave nothing for us, they come to our country with their cars, their food and tents". As a result, the respondents felt that tourism business is not yet profitable in Lesotho, and the local community do not understand it fully.

Table 3. *Local Community Participation in Tourism Development (N=500)*

Statements #	**Question:** ***In your view, what should be an appropriate role of the community in tourism development****?*	**Mean**	**SD**
1	Local people should not participate in by any means	1.28	0.82
2	Local people should be financially supported to invest in tourism development	3.80	1.25
3	Local people should take the leading role as entrepreneurs	3.79	1.08
4	Local people should be consulted when tourism policies are being made	4.67	0.92
5	Local people should be consulted but the final decision on tourism development should be made by formal bodies	3.30	1.28
6	Local people should have a voice in the decision-making process	3.94	0.89
7	Local people should take a leading role as workers at all levels	2.90	1.30

Source: Field survey, January – March 2017. *the higher the mean score, the stronger is the agreement.

Lastly, on the view that people should take a leading role as workers, those who supported the idea believe that if they take a leading role, they would take care of tourism products in their communities. They further supported their views by indicating that probably, that could increase local access and participation in tourism development. It may also increase employment opportunities and improve the livelihood of the communities with in the Katse area. They also believe that this may reduce conflicts between tourism authorities and the communities, whereby they complain that better jobs are given to expatriate while the local

communities are left with only blue color jobs. The respondents who rejected this idea indicated that it would deny local people an opportunity to participate in tourism development, and therefore, it would be difficult for the Lesotho Ministry of Tourism to achieve the tourism national goals, as implementation of tourism activities is mainly done by the locals. As a result, tourism development would decline mainly due to lack of local support.

Conclusions

The study investigated how the Katse community should participate in tourism development in their respective areas. The findings indicate that it is necessary that the community have a representative voice in all tourism structures at National, district and local level. In order to maximize the leadership potential and achieve local community participation, the local community should elect its own leaders who will be able to represent the community interests in tourism development structures in the country. In addition, the local leaders should be educated on tourism development and participation so that they will able to transfer acquired knowledge to the communities. They need to remove the existing perception that tourism is for wealthy and white people as was said by one of the respondents. For effective organization of tourism, it is important for the community to organize themselves through their local leaders and form groups for the purpose of sharing information and possible experiences. This should be facilitated through local government structures, which may also possibly make financial provisions for the organization of communities. However, the local community concedes that there is a need to involve tourism experts when formulating tourism policies because they have wide knowledge and expertise in tourism developmental issues and policy formulations. Consultation is one area whereby the local community emphasized that they need to have voice in issues related to tourism development. Generally, the findings from this case study of Katse villages in Lesotho confirm Tosun (2002), Marzuki and Hay (2012) and Lekaota (2015) suggestion that community participation process in developing countries still face operational problems which result in limited participation for the local community.

Recommendations

It is therefore, recommended that the Katse community should actively participate in tourism development by seeking partnership opportunities with the established tourism private sector, and perform the four management functions namely; planning, organizing, leading and controlling in their respective villages. The residents must be included in key project planning and decision-making activities through the organization of public meetings of local residents, the utilization of the local press as a communication tool and surveys of different businesses and be empowered to decide what forms of tourism they want to

develop in their respective communities, and how the tourism costs and benefits are to be shared among different stakeholders. Education and awareness programs should include the local community, aiming to help them become more involved in tourism development as both entrepreneurs and employees, but also as those who have the right to live in a high quality and safe environment. A mechanism for financial assistance needs to be considered by the authorities in order to encourage local communities to invest in tourism industry. As a result, this would create employment opportunities to local communities, reduce unemployment and improve living standards and make them much more supportive for tourism development.

The communities should also be encouraged to form tourism related associations that will represent them in the National Community Council (NCC) for effective management of tourism in Lesotho. Some interviewees also observed that the communities do not have enough information about the benefits of tourism in Lesotho. As a result, the education and awareness campaign should not only be done by LTDC. It should involve all the tourism institutional structures in Lesotho, including the local community leaders. The local community leaders should play a major role in educating and creating awareness of tourism benefits in their respective villages through public gatherings, workshops and meetings. In addition, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO's) should also play a major role in educating the locals about importance of tourism development in their respective areas. The communities in which tourism projects are available should be given priority when the developments are made in their areas so that they can take part in tourism management in their communities. These views are supported by Curry (2000), who argues that the communities are the owners of tourism attractions, therefore, they must be involved in decisions regarding their resources. This may encourage greater participation in tourism development.

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Abbreviations

B&B	Bed & Breakfast
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
LHDA	Lesotho Highlands Development Authority
LHWP	Lesotho Highlands Water Project
LTDC	Lesotho Tourism Development Corporation
NCC	National Community Council
NUL	National University of Lesotho
SDs	Standard Diviations
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
TCTA	Trans-Caledon Tunnel Authority
WTTC	World Travel & Tourism Council
NGO's	Non Governmental Organisations

Appendix 1. *Africa Map Showing Lesotho Location*

Source: Lesotho Government (2016) Review, *An overview of the Kingdom of Lesotho's economy.*