

*Perspective on rural development* is an interdisciplinary Series, mainly devoted to studies on rural development policies and their territorial impact, including issues such as the quality of the development objectives, the transformation of identities, the organization of value chains.

The variety of theoretical perspectives and methodological approaches is guaranteed by an international scientific committee, promoting the comparison of rural development experiences emerging from different territorial contexts.

The Series is proposed as a space for exchange between scholars dealing with rural development, and an in-depth tool for researchers, professionals and policy makers.

Questions and problems contained in this volume was firstly discussed at the EASA 2020 Conference in Lisbon, entitled "New anthropological horizons in and beyond Europe". Though all the Conference was celebrated in an online version, the Panel P122 "Bio-cultural heritage ad communities of practice: rethinking participatory processes in rural territorial development as a multidisciplinary fieldwork" offered the opportunity to present and passionately discuss several cases and themes showing the added value of disciplinary cooperation for interpreting as well as planning strategies to support communities and enhancing territories through the joint action of expert researchers and local stakeholders aiming at participatory and shared goals of development.

This publication, aroused from this conference occasion, has been developed and enriched across the months through the contribution of some special multidisciplinary addressing topics and methodologies connected: first of all the Erasmus Plus Project EARTH – Education Agriculture Resources for Territories and Heritage and the different research-actions of the Centre of Research "BIOCULT - Biocultural Heritage and Local Development" of the University of Molise, engaged since 2015 in an articulated plan of shared researches on a multi-situated, multidisciplinary and multi-actors embedded analysis as well as oriented to sustainable, critical and deeply community-based projects of development.

ISBN 978-88-8305-183-8

**Bio-cultural Heritage and Communities of Practice**

**PERSPECTIVES  
ON RURAL DEVELOPMENT**  
6  
Letizia Bindi

# **Bio-cultural Heritage and Communities of Practice. Participatory Processes in Territorial Development as a multidisciplinary Fieldwork**

Edited by  
Letizia Bindi

**PERSPECTIVES ON RURAL DEVELOPMENT**

ISSN 2611-3775

**6**



UNIVERSITÀ DEL SALENTO

**PERSPECTIVES ON RURAL DEVELOPMENT**

**N. 6**

Bio-cultural Heritage and Communities of Practice.  
Participatory Processes in Territorial Development as a  
multidisciplinary Fieldwork

Edited by

Letizia Bindi



UNIVERSITÀ DEL SALENTO

2022

# Perspectives on rural development

*Peer review Series* directed by

Stefano De Rubertis and Angelo Belliggiano

## SCIENTIFIC COMMITTEE

Adilson Francelino Alves (Universidade Estadual do Oeste do Paraná, Brazil)  
Angelo Belliggiano (University of Molise, Italy)  
Eugenio Cejudo Garcia (University of Granada, Spain)  
Luciana Oliveira de Fariña (Universidade Estadual do Oeste do Paraná, Brazil)  
Stefano De Rubertis (University of Salento, Italy)  
Germán Gallego (Fundación Universitaria Católica del Norte, Colombia)  
Marilena Labianca (University of Foggia, Italy)  
Amedeo Maizza (University of Salento, Italy)  
Patrizia Messina (University of Padova, Italy)  
Francisco Antonio Navarro Valverde (University of Granada, Spain)  
Juan Ignacio Pastén (Universida Cattolica Sedes Sapientiae, Perú)  
Angelo Salento (University of Salento, Italy)  
Marcos Aurelio Saquet (Universidade Estadual do Oeste do Paraná, Brazil)

## Editorial Board

Angelo Belliggiano (University of Molise, Italy)  
Stefano De Rubertis (University of Salento, Italy)  
Marilena Labianca (University of Foggia, Italy)  
Angelo Salento (University of Salento, Italy)

© 2022 Università del Salento

ISSN: 2611-3775

ISBN: 978-88-8305-183-8

DOI Code: 10.1285/i26113775n6

<http://siba-ese.unisalento.it/index.php/prd>

*The volumes of the Series «Perspectives on rural development» are published after the approval of the editorial board (or of a specifically delegated scientific committee) and based on the assessments expressed by at least two anonymous reviewers.*

The Editorial Board of the Series «Perspectives on rural development» wishes to acknowledge and thank Sara Bispini (PhD student - Università degli Studi del Molise - Italy) and Michele Dell'Abate (PhD student - Università del Salento - Italy) for the valuable final editing of this volume.



Co-funded by the  
Erasmus+ Programme  
of the European Union





## Contents

Preface	13
<i>Angelo Belliggiano</i>	
Bio-cultural Heritage and Communities of Practice. Participatory Processes in Territorial Development as a Multidisciplinary Fieldwork	15
<i>Letizia Bindi</i>	
TRANSITIONS AND PARTICIPATORY PROCESSES ON THE LOCAL	
1. From matters of fact to matters of concern: Conserving Biodiversity in landscapes of (be)longing	39
<i>Oliver Müller</i>	
2. TrasiMemo. Banca della memoria del Trasimeno	67
<i>Cinzia Marchesini, Daniele Parbuono</i>	
3. Ways of Saint James in the region of Tâmega e Sousa: proposals of patrimonial valorisation of the Resende Way	91
<i>Pedro Azevedo</i>	
4. Redes y dinamización territorial como factores clave para la valorización del patrimonio biocultural	109
<i>Giovanni Belletti, Claudia Ranaboldo, Paola Scarpellini, Sara Gabellini, Silvia Scaramuzzi</i>	

5. An approach to winemaking in Colombia from the perspective of tourism and culture 139

*Wladimir Mejia Ayala*

#### SUSTAINABLE RURAL DEVELOPMENT BETWEEN TRADITION AND INNOVATION: A FOCUS ON PASTORALISM

1. Contemporary aspects of pastoralism - between economy and cultural heritage. Examples from the Silesian Beskid Mountains (Poland) 169

*Kinga Czerwinska*

2. Voci del Molise. Anthropological perspectives for participatory development 191

*Jacopo Trivisonno*

3. Romanian transhumance: from enduring folk mythology to contemporary cultural and biological heritage 209

*Ioana Baskerville*

#### CREATIVITY AND SOCIAL INNOVATION IN REGENERATION OF RURAL AND MOUNTAINOUS TERRITORIES

1. Alla ricerca della cultura: valorizzare la cultura come fattore di sviluppo delle comunità rurali del Trentino 233

*Ivo Povinelli, Chiara Dallapè, Lorenzo Baratter, Roberta Raffaetà*

2. *Vivace, Largo, Andante, Allegro ma non troppo*. Creativity and rural regeneration in four movements 253

*Letizia Bindi*

- Postfazione 305

*Giovanni Belletti*

## Contributors

*Pedro Ricardo Coelho de Azevedo* is Researcher at the University of Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro (UTAD) and at the Centre for Transdisciplinary Studies for Development (CETRAD), Vila Real – Portugal.

*Ioana Baskerville* is senior researcher and chair of the Department of Ethnology of the A. Philippide Institute of Romanian Philology within the Romanian Academy – Iasi Branch in Romania, and adjunct professor of cultural anthropology at the Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iasi. She received her PhD in Romanian Language and Folklore from the Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iasi in 2011. She was a visiting scholar in Germany, England, Poland, and the U.S.A. Her main research fields are: Romanian and European folklore, ethnology, anthropology of religion, anthropology of migration, heritage studies. She is Romania's national focal point for the 2003 UNESCO Convention and has worked on several nomination files for the UNESCO Representative List.

*Giovanni Belletti* is professor in Agricultural and agrifood economics at the Department of Economics and Management of the University of Firenze. He obtained a PhD in agricultural economics and policy in 1993 (S. Anna University, Pisa). Main research interests: economics and organisation of agriculture and agro-food system, farmers' collective action in agriculture and value chains, alternative food networks and short supply chains, quality issues in agro-food system with specific focus to origin products and geographical indications, rural dynamics and rural development policies, rural tourism and agritourism. Since 1990 has been involved and has coordinated many national and international research projects. He is Author of more than 120 scientific publications.

*Letizia Bindi* is Associate Professor of Cultural and Social Anthropology at University of Molise. She has been professor in many Italian Universities and as a Visiting Scholar in various European Universities and she's presently Professor at University of Molise. She is a member of main



National and International Anthropological Societies (SIAC, EASA, SIEF, AAA). In 2009 obtained the Tanturri Foundation Prix for Anthropological and Popular Traditions Studies. Since 2018 she coordinated the Erasmus Capacity Building Project 'EARTH' with 12 partners from France, Spain, Argentina, Paraguay and Bolivia and of the Italo-Argentinian Project of Research "TraPP", supported by CUIA/CONICET. She is the Director of the Research Centre 'BIOCULT' on Bio-cultural heritage and local development of University of Molise, Italy.

*Kinga Czerwińska* is Cultural Anthropologist, Associate Professor at the University of Silesia in Katowice (Poland), where she works. She is associated with the Institute of Culture Studies in the University of Silesia; she was a vice-dean of the Faculty of Ethnology and Education Sciences in Cieszyn (2016 -2020). Member of The Polish Ethnological Society, and other International Anthropological Societies (IOV, SIEF). Research topics: folk art in Poland and East Europe, folk costumes, intangible cultural heritage in modern and globalization world.

*Sara Gabellini* is PhD Student in Sustainable Management of Agricultural, Forestry and Food Resources at the Department of Agriculture, Food, Environment and Forestry of the University of Florence. She obtained a Master Degree in Governance and Business Management in 2017 at the University of Florence. Also here, she graduated with a Bachelor Degree in Political Sciences in 2012. She had work experiences in both private and public organizations involved in the field of education, bio-cultural valorisation, economic promotion and local development. Since 2017 she has taken part to many EU funded and national research projects related to: rural development policies and human action dynamics, multi-stakeholders' approaches for sustainability transformation in agri-food systems, agrobiodiversity products qualification, marketing and territorial valorisation, participatory action-research and participatory training.

*Cinzia Marchesini*, is demo-ethno-anthropologist officer at the Ministry of Culture (MiC) at Central Institute for Intangible Heritage" in Rome. She is in charge of protection of demo-ethno-anthropological and intangible heritage of the geographical area of Emilia-Romagna, Marche, Tuscany and Umbria. She is member of several working groups: "Museo nazionale della Lingua italiana", "Habitus. Museo nazionale del costume folkloristico", protection and safeguarding of the cultural heritage of folkloristic groups, "I giochi di Carta". She collaborates with the *Audiovisual laboratory Archive*, the *Prints Cabinets*, the IMC-Italy project of "Many Cultures" and member of the editorial committee of the "Visioni d'Archivio series". She deals with heritage anthropology, landscape anthropology, heritagization processes, social use of cultural and landscape heritages.

*Wladimir Mejía Ayala* is associate professor at the Pedagogical and Technological University of Colombia. Agroforestry engineer and PhD in Geography, he is interested in the relationship between tourism and intangible heritage. Currently, he is the academic coordinator of postgraduate studies in geography (Uptc-IGAC agreement) and editor of the magazine *Perspectiva Geográfica*.

*Oliver Müller* is junior research fellow within the DFG project: "Participative development of rural regions. Everyday cultural negotiations of the European Union's LEADER programme" and PhD candidate at the University of Bonn. He holds a BA in European Studies from Maastricht University and an MA in Cultural Anthropology/European Ethnology from the Goethe-University in Frankfurt am Main with a minor in Human Geography. Before joining the University of Bonn, he worked as a freelance research associate in urban studies for the OUI – Open Urban Institute (Frankfurt am Main), the University of Art and Design (Offenbach/Main) and the Schader-Stiftung (Darmstadt) among others. His research concentrates on participative planning processes, the Anthropology of Politics and spatial research.

*Daniele Parbuono*, is Associate Professor of Cultural Anthropology and Director of the Demo-Ethno-anthropological Heritage Specialization School (Scuola di specializzazione in Beni demoetnoantropologici) at the University of Perugia. Phd in Ethnology and Anthropology. He was Full Professor at the Chongqing University of Arts and Sciences (China) where, together with Professor Liu Zhuang, he still directs the China-Europe Cultural Heritage Center. He is also Special-Term Professor at Sichuan University (China). He is a member of SIAC (Italian Society of Cultural Anthropology), ICOM (International Council of Museums) and AISC (Italian Association of Chinese Studies). He is co-director of the book series "Heritage. Antropologia, musei, paesaggi", Pàtron, Bologna; he is member of the Editorial Committee of the book series "ITACA – Itinerari di antropologia culturale", Morlacchi, Perugia; he is member of the Scientific Committee of the book series "Proposte di Storia", Pàtron, Bologna. He is also member of the Editorial Team of "ANUAC. Rivista dell'Associazione Nazionale Universitaria Antropologi Culturali" and the Scientific Committee of "EtnoAntropologia". His research interests concern demology, migration, political anthropology, museums, linguistic and cultural heritage with particular attention to the processes of patrimonialization in Europe and China.

*Roberta Raffaetà* is Associate Professor at University of Cà Foscari, Venezia, Department of Philosophy and Cultural Heritage. Her Research projects have been funded by EU (Marie Curie e ERC) and by Fulbright. Her main research interests are at the interface between environmental anthropology, medical anthropology and anthropology of science.

*Ivo Povinelli, Chiara Dallapè, Lorenzo Baratter* are respectively Director, Permanent collaborator and Adjunct Researcher at the Trentino Pro Loco Federation - UNPLI Trentino Alto Adige Committee. Their theoretical background refers, in order, to social psychology, sociology and historical sciences.

*Claudia Ranaboldo* is pedagogue with specialisation in cultural anthropology and rural sociology. She has been working for more than 30 years in Latin America, building bridges with Europe. She has directed NGOs and has been a public authority in the areas of rural development, gender and environment. She has coordinated for 12 years the Territorial Development with Cultural Identity Programme, and has been a principal investigator of Rimisp-Latin American Centre for Rural Development. She has developed studies on issues related to agro-ecological scaling up, networks and sustainability, territorial development, empowerment of rural women, strategies for the valorisation of cultural heritage and biodiversity. She has extensive experience in consultancy in these areas, collaborating with national and international agencies.

*Silvia Scaramuzzi* is Associate Professor in Agricultural Economics and Agri-food Marketing at the University of Florence, Department of Agriculture, Food, Environment and Forestry and Head of International Relations for the School of Agriculture of the University of Florence. She obtained a Master in Economics at University "La Sapienza" Rome (Italy) in 1989 and a PhD in Agricultural Economics and Policy at University of Bologna (Italy) in 1994. Her research activities are centred on: rural development with specific attention to rural tourism and agri-tourism, biodiversity and conservation; the role of credit as a tool of agricultural policy; the economics of quality and valorisation of typical agri-food products; the analysis of the agro-industrial system and its components. She contributed to more than 120 collective works and papers.

*Paola Scarpellini* is researcher at the Department of Economics and Management of the University of Firenze, she obtained a PhD in Agricultural Economics and Policy at the University of Bologna in 2005 and a MSc in Human Settlements and Environment at Pontifical Catholic University of Chile in 2000. She carries out research-action in the field of rural development, agrobiodiversity and multifunctionality, new welfare models in rural areas, dynamics of social and economic innovation and social farming. She provides technical assistance in regional and national

projects aimed at carrying out territorial diagnoses, network building, co-production of knowledge and the development of innovative practices. She is member of Italian Agency for Responsible and Ethical Countryside and Agriculture (AiCARE).

*Jacopo Trivisonno* is a young anthropologist especially engaged on studies about territory, people and their customs. Born in a quaint city in the southern-central Italy, he was inspired to base his research on pastoralism, new peasants and territorial development. He achieved graduated in Ethno-anthropological disciplines at 'La Sapienza' University in Rome. He's presently enrolled in a Master in "Digital Territories. ICT, Social Innovation and Networked Heritage Communities" at University of Molise, Italy.

## **Preface**

*Angelo Belliggiano*

*Questions and problems contained in this volume were firstly discussed at the EASA 2020 Conference in Lisbon, entitled “New anthropological horizons in and beyond Europe”. Though all the Conference was celebrated in an online version, the Panel P122 “Bio-cultural heritage and communities of practice: rethinking participatory processes in rural territorial development as a multidisciplinary fieldwork” offered the opportunity to present and passionately discuss several cases and themes showing the added value of disciplinary cooperation for interpreting as well as planning strategies to support communities and enhancing territories through the joint action of expert researchers and local stakeholders aiming at participatory and shared goals of development.*

*This publication, aroused from this conference occasion, has been developed and enriched across the months through the contribution of some special multidisciplinary addressing topics and methodologies connected: first of all the Erasmus Plus Project EARTH – Education Agriculture Resources for Territories and Heritage and the different research-actions of the Centre of Research “BIOCULT - Biocultural Heritage and Local Development” of the University of Molise, engaged since 2015 in an articulated plan of shared researches on a multi-situated, multidisciplinary and multi-actors embedded analysis as well as oriented to sustainable, critical and deeply community-based projects of development.*

*The principal aim of the group of all the contributors has been to provide an overview to different cases, experiences and good practices outlining several different forms to enhance the awareness about the value of local rural heritage as well as the potential of the multifunctionality in rural activities (eco-systemic services, tourism, sustainable and high-quality food production, intangible and cultural safeguard and conservation, and so on).*

*Rural and inner areas are observed as stratified and complex fieldworks where the ethnographic, interpretative and modelling effort contribute to a deep understanding of lights and shadows of sustainable development processes.*

# **Bio-cultural Heritage and Communities of Practice. Participatory Processes in Territorial Development as a Multidisciplinary Fieldwork.**

*Letizia Bindi*

## **1. A Multidisciplinary Fieldwork**

Research projects and educational programs are increasingly insisting on multidisciplinary clusters applied to new fieldworks or to more classic issues and debates, revised through new lens and approaches.

In this volume we aim at debating, through concrete case studies and good practices, researches and educational examples, new empiric and critical conceptualizations of local and community-based sustainable development in the rural context.

The most part of the contributors to the issue are anthropologists, geographers, and rural sociologists presently doing ethnographies in the countryside and with rural and peasant communities, particularly focusing on processes of heritagization of rurality (Roigé-Frigolé, 2010; Watson, Waterton, 2010; Della Torre, 2013; Paniagua, 2014; Guan-Jun-Chaozhi, 2019), on interactions between local communities and public policies – EU as well as National and Regional programs (i.e. LEADER approach, CAP, specific regional programs and strategies), practicing a challenging cooperation with other disciplines and scholars like rural economists, agrarians, environmentalists, zoologists, political scientists and so on (Labianca, 2021; Müller-Sutter-Wohlgemouth, 2019, 2020).

The objective of this work is discussing and redefining - through empiric and critical ethnographic cases, tools and methodologies as well as a constructive framework - the idea of territorial and rural development in the last two decades, with especial, but not exclusive reference to the



European local agriculture, neo-endogenous local development and “new peasantries”, didactical and social agriculture and rural activities, short supply chains, food embeddedness in the terroir and symbolic roots of rurality as an added value in the relative food, handcraft and tourism markets.

Among the different types of approach to rural and territorial development in the context of local and supralocal cooperation, we can count:

- An instrumental approach: in which experts (among others anthropologists) are committed in development processes as “applied” researchers, consultants, again as bureaucrats, although the forms of concrete action of aid and support change a lot over time. Intervention (Davidson-Hunt et al., 2012).
- A ‘populist’ approach: a model of “alternative development” that exalts indigenous knowledge and local skills, diminishing the value of expert and scientific knowledge as structurally more ‘extractive’ and decontextualized from that of the communities to which it is opposed a largely ‘participatory’ approach, from the bottom up (Thompson – Scoones, 1994; Mamonova-Franquesa, 2020)
- A critical / deconstructive approach: which analyzes development processes as discourses and representations, as a system of knowledge, practices, technologies, power relations that order and control the ideas, processes and trends of rural development and territorial connected with colonial and post-colonial processes and of national control over the wishes of local territories (Ferguson, 1994; Escobar, 1995; Ferguson – Gupta, 2002).

The steps and actions used to carry out this reflection and critical evaluation of the territorial rural development processes are articulated in different stages and modalities:

1. Observation of the actors,
2. Ethnographic understanding of the ‘social life’ of development projects from their conception to their implementation and realization, as well as the responses and concrete experiences of the different social

actors (Long – Lng, 1992; Long, 2001, pp. 14 -15) and the observation of how local, regional and national development institutions work differently (Lewis, 1998; Lewis et., 2003),

3. Definition of intermediary actors understood as “brockers” for the communities, that is, as “interfaces” between different worldviews and knowledge systems (Mosse, 2005a, 2005b; Olivier de Sardan, 2004).

The brokerage system in development processes becomes necessary when a fragile State or political authority partially or totally fails to impose its ratio in local regions and recruits subordinate relationships to obtain a better effectiveness in the control of territories.

The 'brokers of development' are therefore intermediaries between institutions and peasant communities: they can be ambivalent figures, in reality, perhaps emanating from civil society as in other cases agents of an instrumental idea of aid and cooperation. In this type of analysis, we find the risk of a self-justifying system (Olivier de Sardan, 2004) demonstrating the need for external figures of territorial development who themselves uphold the animating principles of their involvement in the processes.

In the most positive and equal reading of development brockers, we can think of these figures of intermediaries as translators of cooperation codes who make a mutual commitment in development processes and intertwining of interests that produce project realities.

The recent reconfiguration of the rural Europe is encompassed in more complex social forms than before: it has to deal with the effects of globalization in the countryside, the demographic change, the role of State and bureaucracy, new social actors and markets embedded in the fieldwork, new super-national orders like EU-frameworks confronted to the local dimensions, new challenges confronted to climate changes issues and increasing pollution problems.

This has considerably rescaled the ethnographic fieldwork and object of research (Faubion, Marcus, 2009), redefining the idea of local cultural heritage and identity and a new European rural imagery as well as the notion of development, which has been historically crucial for

anthropological studies in dynamic dialogue with all the other concerned scientific approaches (Wolf, 1956-71; Roe, 1994).

The issue has a strong multi-disciplinary and pluri-language accent, oriented towards a transversal, multifocal and multi-situated vision and perspective on the complex and multi-faceted definition of the rural and sustainable development and the link territorial enhancement has with bio-cultural heritage issues such as traditions, kinship and social relationships, sense of belongingness to space, territories and landscape, human/animal relationships.

## **2. Bio-Cultural Heritage at stake**

It may be appropriate to define the notion of bio-cultural heritage and the way in which it interacts and impacts with the processes of rural and territorial development.

The debate on bio-cultural heritage arises in the context of the political discourse on the right to the recognition of the specificities of the practices and knowledge of a given territory and landscape, fueled in the first place by the battles of the natives in the various post-colonial contexts and especially in the specific context of the Latin-American indigenous communities that have suffered from the seventeenth century onwards, and with an important acceleration since the second half of the nineteenth century, a systematic depredation of their resources, a logic of extractive economic growth, indifferent to any social or environmental warning.

In this context, fighting for native self-determination rights has meant, from a certain moment onwards, to work alongside the communities in a process of empowerment based on awareness and bio-cultural memory, on the sharing and transmission of knowledge and practices that had progressively cracked or deconstructed, on the enhancement of products connected to local communities and forms of craftsmanship or agriculture based on tradition.

In this sense, the heritage issue is political and at the same time cultural, inextricably linked to memory, to the awareness of what has historically been a common cultural orientation, to the ability to rearticulate, in the present, a sense of belonging to places and yet at the same time different forms, even very innovative ones which also contribute to the consolidation of the social bond of belonging of individuals to places and to a complex and controversial concept of community.

The native processes of claiming cultural property have largely passed through the safeguarding, custody and sharing of knowledge and practices aimed at the well-being of the community: through the forms of physical and mental care of its members, through the production of healthy and necessary for the development of the bodies and the maintenance of health, for the full expression of their shared emotions and beliefs as well as for the delicate management of moments of emptying and pain, essentially represented by losses, disasters and conflicts. It was only very late, in native contexts, that cultural property was connected to its enhancement.

Enhancing the environmental and cultural heritage of a given territorial and community reality introduces in the spectrum of cultural processes and practices a new and complex element, precisely that of value, an ambivalent notion, connected to the recognition of the importance that a given practice or knowledge have for local communities, but on the other hand also the more strictly economic and commodified notion of tangible and intangible cultural heritage to which decades of engineering of culture and of tourism enhancement projects of heritage sites and events have accustomed us (Comaroff, Comaroff, 2009; Coombe – Aylwin, 2011).

In the specific case of bio-cultural heritage in the rural dimension, an important theme is represented by the processes of enhancing and safeguarding cultural landscapes and historical rural sites as well as collections scattered throughout the various national territories dedicated to peasant, mountain, artisanal civilization, the inventories of the intangible signs of material culture in the various localities. Each of these repositories of objects, stories, people, but also of natural or cultivated

biodiversity, of wild and farmed animals must be understood as a garrison not only of memory, but also as a repertoire of knowledge rooted in the territory that today are increasingly reconsidered.

On the one hand, the approach and uses of the rural and pastoral past come from a nostalgic posture towards something irremediably lost and which returns in its form of memory trace, often reified, sweetened and spectacularized (Krupar, 2019).

On the other hand, some of these knowledge and practices of the agro-pastoral world are now useful to make certain crops or forms of farming less impactful and more sustainable, for the wise and thrifty use of resources - water, land, woods, etc. - available to humans and animals in the same territory, for a more balanced capacity for coexistence between environment, socio-cultural and productive practices, between traditional uses of spaces and soil and innovative and sustainable ways of rethinking those same practices and adapt them to the present.

In the 'extractive' system of the agro-industry, the territories are treated as spaces devoid of characterization and "sense of places": they lose their identity characterization, the cultural relations managing social division of labor, the internal organization of the various activities within the communities, the transmission from generation to generation. In this way, agricultural, pastoral and artisan knowledge are gradually eliminated, contributing to the formation of new places and landscapes, to a dramatically transformed territory.

In this sense, dealing with bio-cultural heritage in a rural context requires new methodologies and the increase of multidisciplinary fields of investigation that make it possible to observe the transition processes and well as environmental, social and political frictions, the multiple coexistences of different scales that we will see at work in this volume through specific case studies.

In such ethnographic and multidisciplinary cases we can observe dynamics and transformations, changes and tensions from which territories and communities - rural as well as urban ones, as long as such a

narrow dichotomy is still valid today - are punctually crossed (Marmol, Vaccaro, 2015).

For example, the issue of the conservation of environmental and biological biodiversity immediately implies the question of protected areas and their genesis and management: it poses important choices - what to protect? What to enhance? what to replant? Why choose this or that native cultivation or breed?

It is never a neutral choice, a purely ecological data: each choice is immediately political, intertwines with different levels of governance and actors: local policy-makers, environmentalists, experts and researchers somehow invited or called to deal with territorial issues, planners who deal with supralocal and supranational financing, but also companies operating in the territory that are seen more or less facilitated or threatened by the establishment of a park or reserve, which are more or less benefited by the agricultural or breeding specialization of a certain area (Maffi, 2005; Wolverton et al., 2014; Cock, Wiersum, 2014; Gavin et al., 2015; Eriksson, 2018).

In the Latin American context, the notion and practice of safeguarding bio-cultural heritages mostly translates into the conservation or rediscovery of the ancestral (native) and traditional (in the Latin American context, ancient, but not exclusively native) uses of medicinal plants, which not surprisingly have been themselves heavily extracted by European pharmaceutical companies, but also of foods and traditional forms of processing food that have subsequently been widely commercialized and globalized by the large international food industry, feeding new and old social and economic asymmetries, permanent subalternities, new forms of an ancient colonial system of controlling native people through an effective imposition of a global system of domination (Gupta – Ferguson, 1992, p. 17).

Therefore, dealing with bio-cultural heritage imposes a reflection on the politics of claims, on movements of self-determination, but also on the interactions and uses of the past in the processes of local development. Common goods and the concerned conflicts about their control and the

appropriation - material and symbolic - of territories and bio-cultural heritage as well as of natural resources, constitute an articulated scientific field at the cross among social sciences, economic and political issues as well as ecological implications guiding the agenda of sustainability.

Bio-cultural diversity inserts an element of discontinuity within the agricultural space and landscape due to the specificity historically originated and consolidated and determining the landscape producing such a progressive genetic and linguistic specialization and differentiation of crops and landscapes, increasingly refined categorizations of different vegetable and animal species and of the forms and codifications of their cultivation and breeding practices (Braaksma et al., 2016).

In traditional contexts conserving biodiversity has to do with a harmonious relationship with ecosystems, which respects their times and methods of production and the embedded memory of traditional knowledge of cultivation and breeding (Olick and Robbins, 1998; Toledo, Barrera-Bassols, 2009; Grasseni, 2003), the knowledge of the hand) at various degrees of resolution: a) geographical, that is, connected with state or regulatory units of recognition; b) ecological, which refers to a much larger area shared by similar climatic and territorial conditions.

At the same time, the linguistic biodiversity connected to the different agricultural and pastoral traditions determines a variety of idioms, conventional and intimate expressions. In this sense is relevant that different geographical areas of the world in which the level of cultivated and bred biodiversity is greater (many varieties, species, methods of cultivation and breeding), are also those with greater variety, are also those that express the presence of the greatest number of languages and forms of linguistic and therefore cultural variety. At the same time, the link between the end of the traditional agricultural and pastoral worlds in certain areas and the definitive extinction of the languages they speak, due to the abandonment or end of the ethno-linguistic group itself, is very relevant.

The progressive growth of mono-crops, typical of a certain 'extractive' industry - in the explicit sense, in one case, of a mining industry and in the



metaphorical sense, on the other, of an agro-industrial system aimed only at maximizing profits at an evident risk of strong environmental impact and socially at the local level - coincides with a loss of agro-diversity, of cultivated and farmed biodiversity and of the concerned bio-cultural heritage.

This is evidently at the origin of several environmental, social and cultural frictions accumulated in recent decades around the delicate interaction between agricultural vocations of the various territories and individual communities and processes of growing agri-food standardization both in terms of production and consumption.

From this point of view, three questions are of particular interest for the analysis of these processes:

- how can the plurality of agricultural and pastoral knowledge and practices and the different rurality models / landscapes be preserved?
- How are the various actors and rural communities carrying these elements that are in some ways resistant - some speak of resilience - protected from the standardization associated with agro-industry?

The growing eco-frictions resulting from an irresponsible use of resources are in fact connected in an increasingly systematic way to inequalities in access to good quality food, in the indiscriminate use of pesticides, antibiotics in the case of farms, with a serious threat to health that derive precisely from the persistence of intensive agriculture (Tsing, 2004; Benadusi, 2015; MacRae, 2016).

Starting from an ethnocentric idea of slave exploitation - in agriculture as in the mining industry - of colonized or submissive populations anthropocentric of the control and exploitation of natural resources, an era of large multinationals and monocultures typical of the "Capitalocene", we have moved on to a narrative dominant ethnocentric impact and human control of the environment and animals that today is associated with the critical notion of "Anthropocene" (Haraway, 2016; Moore, 2016).

At the same time, the large global bodies responsible for food security and the food rights of the world population, launch programs for a new green transition aiming at food and nutritional security through an adequate



balance between national production and marketing, setting up legal frameworks for an adequate nutrition even for people producing food who, today, are often denied of their own food rights.

Several activists are strongly claiming for the importance of traditional knowledge and practices to maintain healthy ecosystems alongside new scientific discoveries in the field of prevention and environmental protection: a complex of elements that are defined by many today through the articulated notion of "food citizenship" (Welsh, Rae 2011; Dubuisson-Queiller et al., 2011).

When the model applied to agriculture is globalized, a global system of domination is imposed (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992, p. 17) and the territories are deprived of a 'sense of place', of identity characterization, of cultural relations managing the social division of labor and the transmission of traditional knowledge-practice systems from generation to generation.

Fighting against the increasing estrangement from nature through a renewed ecological commitment and participatory democracy means, then, 1) promoting inclusion processes through social agriculture, socio-environmental alliances for a fundamental agricultural economy, engaged in recycling, reuse of resources, economic circularity, short supply chain of agri-food products; 2) contrasting the media and new media complicity on ideological assumptions, based on a late-positivist rhetoric supported by populist arguments; 3) dismantling the idea of an agriculture based on unstoppable growth, recovering a conception of nature and the environment as subjects of law, deserving of respect and protection, limits. Such an opposition is between a model of agro-pastoral industry conveying in a concept of "monoculture of the mind" (Shiva, 1993), made up of loss of biodiversity and conflict between large-scale distribution and small farmers and shepherds attentive to social and environmental sustainability, participatory forms of agriculture such as community cooperatives or common goods, experiences of innovation and social inclusion, precision agriculture, new market and responsible consumers' groups. All this is related to the very sensitive issues of migration in the

rural space and in fragile and internal areas: exploitation, inequalities and subordination that are opposed through rural work and social agriculture (Corrado, 2018; Zumpano et al., 2020).

The climatic, financial and political crises that have characterized the last two decades have aggravated an already rather tense situation for Mediterranean rural areas and communities. The territorial polarization that has accompanied the modernization of the agricultural sector has resulted in a growing intensification of production activities in the areas with the greatest potential (lowlands, coastal areas), in parallel with a progressive abandonment of more marginal environments such as mountainous, arid and islands where the potential for agricultural intensification is structurally limited.

The implications for the relative reconfiguration of agro-ecological and socio-economic landscapes have been dramatic. Family farming has become an increasingly less profitable enterprise, while the opportunities and conditions of farm laborers have been compromised by increasing mechanization in areas with greater potential and land abandonment in those with less potential. Although with different rhythms and modalities, these processes have led to a significant displacement of the population out of rural areas. A common feature of most rural communities in the region today is the emigration of rural youth in search of a more promising future elsewhere.

As a result, rural communities and agricultural enterprises are increasingly facing demographic problems and the related implications in terms of job availability and generational turnover: new farmers represent, in this sense, the innovative and dynamic subjects of the territory.

Certain concepts and context seem then non-scalable (Lowenhaupt Tsing, 2012). Scalable projects are those that can be expanded without modifications. Scalability, then, is only possible in absence of transformative relationships that could change the project as the elements are added. Transformative relationships, in fact, are the means for diversity to emerge. Scalable projects eliminate meaningful diversity that could change things.

In the 18th century, large European investors and colonizers came to think of the world as a plantation. They designed governance systems for rural development based on a large colonial plantation model: maximization, non-specialization of workers, standardization of the industrial model of agricultural work, alienating, based on displacement, uprooting and total subordination of the peasant slave or still subordinate. The expansion of the agri-food market was proposed as a linear, univocal, 'extractivist' advancement. Faced with this picture of productivist homogenization, the frictions are "the uncomfortable, unequal, unstable and creative qualities of interconnection by difference" (Lowenhaupt Tsing, 2012). Local groups are opposing the neoliberal violence of scalable development projects and productive growth with models of strong territorialization and non-scalable endogenous development, with experiences of recovery of ancient crops, cultural exchanges and contaminations between natives and migrants not as an apparent intercultural habit, but as a truly regenerative practice and as a circular economy that includes through agricultural practices. Basing on these experiences, non-scalability becomes the theory to re-conceptualize the world, and perhaps to reconstruct it in a better way (Lowenhaupt Tsing, 2012).

Biodiversity is a repertory of potentialities and variants contrasting the standardization of practices and products of intensive agriculture allowing to resist and remain (Teti, 2018). They are opportunities for rethinking different balances among local development, environmental and socio-cultural sustainability, moral economies and participation in decision-making processes (Roessler, 2012).

Nevertheless, there is a tendency to overlap applied and generated policies on a given territorial context which sometimes results in immobility.

On one hand, we observe the prevalence of narratives and sweetened representations of local rural traditions, scarcely and only apparently non-conflictual and therefore quite unlikely of a specific set of secular practices and knowledge.

On the other hand, we face the still very strong prevalence of governmentality and stratified powers against the actual participation of practitioners and heritage-keepers despite constant evocation, at the level of national development programs and global views. 'Participatory rhetoric' seems increasingly necessary for political legitimacy but substantially denied.

This is what we have tried to tackle in this volume through a very varied series of case studies that all focus, however, on the interweaving of safeguarding and enhancing recognizable territorial vocations and sustainable, lasting and participatory processes of local development and regeneration, at least in intention (Sanchez-Carrettero, Jimènez-Esquinas 2016).

The volume is divided into three main sections.

In section I - *Transitions and participatory processes in the territories* - contributions are mainly concentrated on experiences of rural and local development conveyed by specific programs and frameworks of recognizable heritagization and local enhancement.

In Oliver Müller's paper (Ch. I/1), the focus is about participatory rural governance and multiple actors involved in the management of rural natures. The research particularly outlines a LEADER project aiming at the reconstruction of cultural landscapes in a LEADER region in the German federal state North Rhine-Westphalia. "The Green Village" project is focused on the participation of local residents, committed to counteract the loss of biodiversity particularly conceived as 'typical' village species and habitats. This objective is pursued by reinvigorating bio-cultural heritage, i.e. traditional (ecological) knowledge, land-tenure customs, land use systems and practices. The article explores, how in participatory conservation of rural natures, the different perspectives and forms of knowledge of development experts and local residents interact. This allows a specific reflection on the role of multidisciplinary experts as knowledge brokers in rural governance.

In the Cinzia Marchesini and Daniele Parbuono's paper (Ch. I/2), a long-term ethnography has generated a local development project -

"TrasiMemo. Trasimeno memory bank", in the area of Lake Trasimeno (Umbria Region - Italy). Paying particular attention at cultural heritage, especially the craftsmanship of iron, terracotta, wood and textiles, the project has triggered a proactive dialogue between citizens, heritage experts, anthropologists, social and health workers, and local administrators. The aim is to construct policies to combat abandonment of the area, which is at extreme risk of depopulation with the consequent loss of knowledge, practices and landscape features.

In the Pedro Azevedo's contribution on "*The valorization of the Portuguese Inner Way to Santiago de Compostela (CPIS) as a Mechanism for Territorial Development*" (Ch. I/3), the conversion of CPIS into a tourist route, understood as the main result of heritagization initiatives, allows the development of a mostly rural territory and the consequent transformation of this pilgrimage route, as a tourist resource, into a tourist product. Furthermore, it promotes sustainable development based on the promotion and commercialization of endogenous territorial resources.

The Belletti, Ranaboldo, Scarpellini, Gabellini, and Scaramuzzi's, paper (Ch. I/4) focuses on "*Networks and territorial activation as key factors for the valorization of biocultural heritage*". They outline the most important results of the Erasmus + Capacity Building Project 'SUS-TER', aiming at contributing to the inclusive and sustainable territorial valorization of local resources, in particular by strengthening human capital, which, as we have seen, is a determining and critical element in the activation and functioning of the virtuous circle. Carried out in 5 countries between Europe and Latin America, the educational offer is oriented to form a profile of rural dynamizer of processes of local empowerment based on the recognition of cultural and natural diversity. Faced with these challenges, methodology is focused on case-studies, multidisciplinary and participatory research-action. The specific case addressed is the process of rural territorial development in Garfagnana, a rural area in the North of Tuscany. Wladimir Mejia, from Colombia, is centering his contribution on an "*Approach to viticulture in Colombia from tourism and biocultural heritage*" (Ch. I/5). Even if Colombia, in fact, is not one of the

Countries strictly characterized by this agricultural practice, we assisted in the last years to the cultural and mediatic growth on viticulture as the "wine of the Tropics", linked to the development of tourist destinations. The recovery of the rural traditional past ends up representing a new identity and heritage implying the socio-economic dynamization of the region.

The II section of the book is centered on "*Rural sustainable development between tradition and innovation: a focus on pastoralism*". It is composed by three papers insisting on different case-studies of recuperation and valorization of pastoral and transhumant bio-cultural heritage as a driven for local economy and society revitalization.

Kinga Czerwinska's contribution on "*Contemporary aspects of Pastoralism, between economy and cultural heritage*" (Ch. II/1), with examples from Silesian Beskid Mountains in Poland, examines different representation and strategies involved in developing new forms of rural activities and deeply influencing local communities with a particular attention given to the construction of shepherds' activities as a tourist attraction and as an eco-systemic service. In the process of sharing and exploring heritage for the purposes of cultural tourism, numerous aspects of its essence are revealed: duration/changes, bonding/connecting the past and the future as well as the dynamics inherent in the constructive sense of cultural heritage revealed in the act of taking over and interpreting it to new needs of tourism.

Jacopo Trivisonno's paper "*Voci del Molise: Anthropological Perspectives for participatory development*" (Ch. II/2), a new poetics of Italian Inner Areas is declined between anthropological accounts and new community practices of enhancement and valorization of local biocultural heritage. Shepherds and cheese-makers, old and new peasants are observed in their different activities, in their ambitions of recuperating the past mixing it with new expectations and multifunctionality, in a new, complex interaction between expert systems and innovative competences and proposals of shepherds and farmers according to a process of "re-peasantization" (Van der Ploeg, 2008, p. 360) as a new perspective for rural territories.



On her turn, Ioana Baskerville proposes a focus on “*Romanian Transhumance: from enduring folk mythology to contemporary cultural and biological heritage*” (Ch. II/3). Starting from the 2021 official engagement of Romania in the process of a multinational extended file for inscription of transhumance in the UNESCO Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage, the paper insists on the collaboration among different disciplines in order to provide a multidisciplinary expert knowledge needed to assess the biological and cultural features of such a knowledge-practice system. Cultural, ecological, and economic values of transhumance are to be considered when proposing safeguarding measures intended to involve this kind of mobile pastoralism in local development strategies, given the multiple threats that this traditional occupation faces in contemporary Romania.

The III Section of the book is centered about “*Creativity and innovation in regeneration of rural and mountainous territories*”.

The paper, written by Ivo Povinelli, Roberta Raffaetà, Chiara Dallapé and Lorenzo Baratter (ch. III/1), outlines the economic benefits of large tourist flows and their impact on the livability of the area by sacrificing the environment, local cultures and the quality of life. The paper describes an experimental educational path for the enhancement of the biocultural heritage as a founding moment for communities wishing to make choices about their own destinies. An approach on the borderline between anthropology, community psychology and sociology, which poses the issues of sustainability, quality of life and participation in multidisciplinary terms, in the area of the Ecomuseum of Judicarie in the province of Trento and the Pro Loco Network involved in such a local regeneration process.

Finally, the Letizia Bindi’s paper “*Vivace, Largo, Andante, Allegro ma non troppo. Arts and rural regeneration in four movements*” (Ch. III/2) is an inaugural attempt to articulate a specific reflection on a particular aspect of sustainable rural development processes and their connection with biocultural heritage: that of the value of creativity, art and experimentation in social and cultural innovation as levers for a new

cohesion and commitment of local populations in the development project and as a powerful attractor of experiences enabling a permanent fertilization even of very depressed, abandoned and fragile areas through a fruitful interaction between the local population and artists, designers, architects and creatives from the most diverse parts of the world.

The book is concluded by a Giovanni Belletti's Afterword trying to give synthesis and continuity to different contributions approaching the central issue of the book, albeit in a very different way.

## References

- Benadusi M. (2015), Antropologia dei disastri. Ricerca, Attivismo, Applicazione. Un'introduzione. *Antropologia Pubblica*, I (1/2), pp. 25-46.
- Braaksma P.J., Jacobs M.H., van der Zande A.N. (2016), The production of local landscape heritage: A case study in the Netherlands. *Landscape Research*, 41(1), pp. 64-78.
- Cocks M.L., Wiersum F. (2014), Reappraising the concept of biocultural diversity: A perspective from South Africa. *Human Ecology*, 42(5): 727-737.
- Comaroff J.L., Comaroff J. (2009), *Ethnicity, Inc.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Coombe R. J., Aylwin N. (2011), Bordering diversity and desire: using intellectual property to mark place-based products. *Environment and Planning A*, 43, pp. 2017-2042.
- Corrado A. (Ed.) (2018), *Migrazioni e lavoro agricolo in Italia. Le ragioni di una relazione problematica.* Roma: Open Society Foundation.
- Davidson-Hunt I., Turner K.L., Pareake Mead A. T., Cabrera-Lopez J., Bolton R., C. Idrobo J., Miretski I., Morrison and Robson J.P. (2012), Biocultural Design: A New Conceptual Framework for Sustainable Development in Rural Indigenous and Local Communities. *S.A.P.I.EN.S.*, 5 (2), pp. 33-45.
- del Mármol C, Vaccaro I. (2015), Changing ruralities: Between abandonment and redefinition in the Catalan Pyrenees. *Anthropological Forum*, 25(1), pp. 21-41.
- De La Torre, M. (2013), Values and Heritage Conservation. *Heritage & Society*, 60 (2), pp. 155-166.



- Dubuisson-Quellier S., Lamine C., Le Velley R. (2011), Citizenship and Consumption: Mobilisation in Alternative Food System in France. *Sociologia Ruralis*, 51(1), pp. 305-323.
- Escobar A. (1995), *Encountering Development: The Making and unmaking of the Third World*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Faubion J.D., Marcus G.E. (Eds.) (2009), *Fieldwork is Not What is Used to be: Learning Anthropology's Method in Time of Transition*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.
- Ferguson, J. (1994), *The anti-politics machine: Development, depoliticization and bureaucratic power in Lesotho*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Ferguson, J., and A. Gupta. (2002), Spatializing states: Towards an ethnography of neoliberal governmentality. *American Ethnologist*, 29(4), pp. 981–1002.
- Ferreti V., Comino E. (2015), "An integrated framework to assess complex cultural and natural heritage systems with Multi-Attribute Value Theory". *Journal of Cultural Heritage*, 15(5), pp. 688-697.
- Frigolé J. – Roigé Ventura X. (Eds.) (2010), *Constructing cultural and natural heritage*. Barcelona: Documenta Universitaria.
- Gavin M.C., McCarter J., Mead A., Berkes F., Stepp J.R., Peterson D., Tang R. (2015), Defining biocultural approaches to conservation. *Trends in Ecology & Evolution*, 30(3), pp. 140–145.
- Grasseni C. (2003), *Lo sguardo della mano. Pratiche della località e antropologia della visione in una comunità montana lombarda*. Bergamo: Bergamo University Press.
- Guan J., Jun G., and Chaozhi Z. (2019), Food Heritagization and Sustainable Rural Tourism Destination: The Case of China's Yuanjia Village. *Sustainability*, 11 (10), pp. 2858-2873.
- Gupta A., Ferguson J. (1992), Beyond "culture": Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference. *Cultural Anthropology*, 7(1), pp. 6-23.
- Haraway D. (2016). Anthropocene, Capitalocene, Plantationocene, Chthulucene: Making Kin. *Environmental Humanities*, 6(1), pp. 159-165.
- Krupar, S. (2016), The Biopolitics of Spectacle: Salvation and Oversight at the Postmilitary Nature Refuge. In: B. Magnusson and Z. Zalloua (eds). *Global Spectacles*. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, pp. 116-153.
- Labianca, M. (2021), LEADER: a starting point for review. In: M. Labianca (ed.), *Towards a Visionary Approach for rural areas. From the key features to planning the future of LEADER*, *Perspectives on rural development*, 5: pp. 19-30.

- Lewis, D. (1998), "Partnership as process: Building an institutional ethnography of an inter-agency aquaculture project in Bangladesh". In D. Mosse, J. Farrington, and A. Rew. (eds.), *Development as process: Concepts and methods for working with complexity*, London: Routledge: pp. 99–114.
- Lewis, D., Bebbington A., Batterbury S., Shah A., Olson E., Siddiqi M.S., and Duvall S. (2003), Practice, power and meaning: Frameworks for studying organizational culture in multi-agency rural development projects. *Journal of International Development*, 15(5), pp. 541-557.
- Long, N. (2001), *Development sociology: Actor perspectives*. London: Routledge.
- Long, N., Long A. (eds) (1992), *Battlefields of knowledge: The interlocking of theory and practice in social research and development*. London: Routledge.
- Lowenhaupt Tsing A. (2004), *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection*. Princeton. Princeton University Press.
- Lowenhaupt Tsing A. (2012), On Non-scalability: The Living World Is Not Amenable to Precision-Nested Scales. *Common Knowledge*, 18(3), pp. 505-524.
- MacRae G. (2016), Food Sovereignty and the Anthropology of Food: Ethnographic Approaches to Policy and Practice. *Anthropological Forum. A Journal of Social Anthropology and Comparative Sociology*, 26 (3), pp. 227-232.
- Maffi L. (2005), Linguistic, cultural and biological diversity. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 29(1), pp. 599–617.
- Mamonova N., Franquesa J. (2020), Right-Wing Populism in Rural Europe. Introduction to the Special Issue. *Sociologia Ruralis* (Special Issue: Right-Wing Populism in Rural Europe), 60 (4), pp. 702-709.
- Moore J. W. (2016), *Anthropocene or Capitalocene? Nature, History, and the Crisis of Capitalism*. Oakland. PM Press.
- Mosse, D. 2005a. *Cultivating development: An ethnography of aid policy and practice*. London: Pluto Press.
- Mosse, D. 2005b. Global governance and the ethnography of international aid. In D. Mosse and D. Lewis (eds.), *The aid effect: Giving and governing in international development*, London: Pluto Press.
- Müller, O., Sutter, O.; Wohlgemuth, S. (2019), Translating the Bottom-Up Frame. *Anthropological Journal of European Cultures*, 28 (2), pp. 45-65.
- Müller, O.; Sutter, O., Wohlgemuth, S. (2020), Learning to LEADER. Ritualised Performances of 'Participation' in Local Arenas of Participatory Rural Governance, *Sociologia Ruralis*, 60 (1), pp. 222-242.

- Olick J.K., Robbins J. (1998), Social memory studies: From 'collective memory' to the historical sociology of mnemonic practices. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 24(1), pp. 105–140.
- Olivier de Sardan, J.P. (2004), *Anthropology and development: Understanding contemporary social change*. London: Zed Books.
- Paniagua A. (2014), Rurality, identity and morality in remote rural areas in Northern Spain. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 35, pp. 49-58.
- Roe, M.E. (1994), *Narrative policy analysis: Theory and practice*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Rossler, M. (2012), "Partners in Site Management a Shift in Focus: Heritage and Community Involvement". In A.Witcomb, M. Albert, M. Viñals, and M. Richon (eds.), *Community Development through World Heritage*, Paris: UNESCO, pp. 27–32.
- Sánchez-Carretero, C., Jiménez-Esquinas G. (2016), Relaciones entre actores patrimoniales: gobernanza patrimonial, modelos neoliberales y procesos participativos, *Revista de Filosofía*. 90, pp. 190-197.
- Shiva V. (1993), *Monocultures of the Mind. Perspectives on Biodiversity and Biotechnology*. New York. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Silva, R., V. Fernández. (2017), El nuevo paradigma del patrimonio y su consideración con los paisajes: Conceptos, métodos y prospectivas. *Documents d'Anàlisi Geogràfica*, 63 (1), pp. 129-151.
- Smith, L. (2006), *The uses of heritage*. London: Routledge.
- Teti V. (2018), *Quel che resta. L'Italia dei paesi, tra abbandoni e ritorni*. Roma. Donzelli.
- Thompson J., Scoones I. (1994), Challenging the Populist Perspective: Rural People's Knowledge. *Agricultural Research and Extension practice. Agricultural and Human Values*, Spring/Summer, pp. 58-76.
- Toledo V. M., Barrera-Bassols N. (2009), *La memoria biocultural. La importancia ecológica de las sabidurías tradicionales*. Madrid: Icaria.
- Watson, S., Waterton E. (2010), Editorial. Heritage and community engagement. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 16 (1-2), pp. 1-3.
- Welsh J., Mac Rae R. (1998), Food Citizenship and Community Food Security: Lessons from Toronto, Canada. *Canadian Journal of Development Studies / Revue canadienne d'études du développement*. 19 (4), pp. 237-255.
- Wolf, E. (1956/1971), Aspects of group relations in a complex society: Mexico. In T. Shanin (ed.), *Peasants and peasant societies*. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin, pp. 50–68.

Wolverton S, Nolan J.M., Ahmed W. (2014), Ethnobiology, political ecology, and conservation. *Journal of Ethnobiology*, 34(2), pp. 125–152.

Zumpano C. (Ed.) (2020), *Migrazioni, Agricoltura, Ruralità. Politiche e percorsi per lo sviluppo dei territori. Rapporto di ricerca*. Roma. CREA.



TRANSITIONS AND PARTICIPATORY PROCESSES ON THE LOCAL



# **1. From Matters of Fact to Matters of Concern: Conserving Rural Natures in Participative Rural Development**

*Oliver Müller*

## **1. Introduction**

Within participatory rural development policies such as the EU rural development program LEADER, a horizontal broadening of actors involved in arenas of rural governance is taking place (Navarro et al., 2016, p. 272). Concomitantly, the sites of knowledge production in rural development have multiplied. Discourses of neo-endogenous development value local, lay and situated forms of knowledge as development resources to be exploited in accordance with the rationality of the 'New Rural Paradigm'. With regard to the conservation of biodiversity and environmental resources more broadly, paralleling localizing effects are taking place. There is widespread recognition that, integrating affected stakeholders' knowledge in participative resource management, delivers more effective and sustainable outcomes. It is argued that, community-based management of environmental resources entails a co-production of knowledge, thereby combining scientific, managerial and contextual forms of knowledge in situational and locally specific knowledge complexes (Tovey, 2008, p. 191; Bruckmeier & Tovey, 2008).

At the same time, the conservation and management of environmental resources relies on bio-scientific knowledge to delimit its objects of concern. Conservation treats rural natures primarily as 'purified' objects of science, i.e. species, habitats, genetic resources as well as their interrelations. In contrast, local stakeholders' everyday understandings of rural natures are embedded in context-specific social-ecological relations,



which engender locally idiosyncratic ways to understand and respond to environmental problems. In order to come to fruition, bio-scientific expert knowledge has to be 'translated' into and adapted to local arenas of participatory rural governance. Vice versa, such translation processes feedback on the social relations by enrolling actors to mobilize and adapt this knowledge to local conditions, thereby reconstituting local arenas of rural governance in terms of actors, networks and their knowledge practices.

The article analyses the effects of the LEADER project "The Green Village" in a village in a LEADER region in the German federal state North Rhine-Westphalia in terms of knowledge dynamics between expert, managerial and lay forms of knowledge. "The Green Village"<sup>1</sup> project was conceived by a local nature conservation organization and incorporated into the Local Development Strategy (LDS) of the LEADER region "Low Mountain Range". With the participation of local residents, it aims to counteract the loss of biodiversity in the rural region in terms of 'typical' species linked traditional village habitats such as the orchard, meadow or cottage garden. Following the Sociology of Knowledge, this article analyses the relational knowledge building processes of various stakeholders as 'translations'. The notion of translation is a central heuristic device for the Anthropology of Policy. Translation denotes the hierarchic and powerful social practice of mobilizing and transferring knowledge, frames of interpretation and practices between different political scales, their obstinate reinterpretation and appropriation in specific contexts, as well as the reordering of social relations in heterogeneous actor networks (Callon 1986).

Latour argues that 'scientific facts' induce a reordering of the social world, by introducing new actors for whom others must give way. 'Scientific facts' renegotiate "what the world is made up of, who is acting in it, who matters, and who wants what." (Latour, 1993, p. 40). Yet, according to Latour, new 'scientific facts' do not reconstitute social reality on their own,

---

<sup>1</sup> Some of the data, including (place) names, and personal information has been anonymized to grant full anonymity to research partners.

but have to be mobilized by actor-networks to be able to act on the world. In a similar vein, with recourse to Latour, Hilary Tovey contends that

“[s]cientific knowledge is not diffused to passive recipients; it has to be seized and moved by actors who can see interests for themselves in mobilizing the new knowledge. ‘Seizing’ and ‘moving’ knowledge inevitably involves re-working it; every ‘translation’ of knowledge produces a ‘drift, betrayal, ambiguity’ or ‘diversion’ of knowledge.”

(Tovey, 2016, p. 111)

Thus, translation involves a strategic intent as it opens up ‘scientific facts’ to debate and contestation. It is in the course of multiple translation processes that knowledge becomes effective, when scientific “matters of fact” are transformed into “matters of concern”. In contrast to matters of fact, which Latour considers as only very partial renderings of reality, he urges social scientists to “*add* reality to scientific objects” and move on to “highly complex, historically situated, richly diverse matters of concern” (Latour, 2004, p. 237). Matters of concern do not rest on scientific authority or indisputable claims to ‘truth’, but “derive their authority from how they manage to gather diverse contexts into themselves and are inclusive also of moral considerations, aesthetic judgments, political controversies and cultural concerns.” (Welz, 2015, p. 128).

Following this understanding of translation, this article explores how different groups of actors in the context of a development intervention as part of “The Green Village” LEADER-project translate and adopt discourses of biodiversity by. In particular, the article asks how local actors translate discourses of biodiversity and how they mobilize them in order to act in the social world of the village, and to gain authority in managing the rural nature of their village.

The following section introduces the concept of rural natures, which forms the ontological backbone of the case study at hand. The consecutive section operationalizes translation as analytical framework. A knowledge controversy on the future development of a village green – induced by

introducing a biodiversity conservation measure in a village in the LEADER region “Low Mountain Range” – forms the empirical basis for the analysis. Eventually, I will draw conclusions concerning the integration of diverse forms of knowledge in participative rural development.

## **2. Conserving Rural Natures as a knowledge-driven processes**

The term “rural nature” was first used in a descriptive sense by the geographer Marc Mormont in the context of regionalist movements in the 1980’s in Belgium to denote representations of the rural that were positioned by “conservationists”, “eco-activists” and “regionalists” against the central state paradigm of rural modernisation. Despite clear differences in objectives, these projects had in common that they mobilised conceptions of the ‘rural’ in the conflict over the appropriation of ‘nature’:

“Their discourse is one of seeking a more convivial form of sociability than in the city, different work relationships and a different relationship with nature: the traditional rural world and the peasant way of life are quite clear references for their projects, for their aspirations, for their desire to be autonomous and for their dissent from the urban environment and the dominant economic universe.”

(Mormont, 1987, p. 11)

Mormont's discursive analysis links different ideas of 'rurality' in relation to 'nature'. Since Mormont's analysis, rural natures have come to the fore as material forces in their own right. With the continuous loss of agrobiodiversity, the degradation of landscape qualities and the extraction of natural resources, the obvious malleability of rural natures has empowered approaches that focus on the social relations and relational practices that constitute apparently 'natural' entities. In this sense, the term rural natures encapsulates the epistemological pluralism and ontological multiplicities vividly described in anthropological accounts, which condition contextual configurations of 'cultural' and 'natural'

entities, and the relational practices that continuously enact specific ontological orders of nature/culture (Descola, 2013; Ingold, 2011).

As a site of epistemological controversies, rural natures are understood as a medium and expression of power relations. According to Braun and Castree, the material-discursive constructions of rural natures are the key sites of struggle, that link the material and discursive construction together in such a way that “understandings and interactions with, those things cannot be separated from the discursive practices that make them available [...] such that there is an implosion of the epistemological and the ontological.” (Castree and Braun, 2006, p. 167).

The mutual entanglement of rural natures’ materiality and the epistemic practices that make them available to transformation raises the question of processes of co-construction, i.e. the meeting point and intertwinement of the ‘social’ and the ‘natural’ (van der Ploeg, 2018, p. 1435). According to van der Ploeg, processes of co-production require particular social relations, i.e. institutions, cultural and knowledge repertoires, which are linked to context-specific rural activities and spaces:

“Rural natures are not external to rural activities, nor are they a simple input for them. [R]ural natures cannot be defined outside, or independently of, the spaces in which they are located (or rather in which they are *made*). They cannot be conceptualized apart from the activities that build upon them and through which they are reproduced [...]. Rural natures not only contain resources, they in themselves represent a resource.”

Given the preceding argument on the symbolic-material production of rural natures as a site of epistemic controversy, this article analyses the co-production process of a particular rural nature – the village green – in the context of a rural development intervention that aims to reorder the social-ecological relations towards the sustainable management of the villages’ rural nature. Firstly, translation refers to transmitting the idea of conserving rural nature into local arenas of participatory governance (Müller et al., 2019).

Secondly, understanding the negotiation processes at the local level as translation opens up the perspective on the obstinate reinterpretations and adaptations of these ideas and their effects on reordering the social sphere of the village polity.

### 3. Translation as analytical framework

According to Michel Callon “the notion of translation emphasizes the continuity of the displacements and transformations which occur in this story: displacements of goals and interests, and also, displacements of devices, human beings [...] and inscriptions” (Callon, 1986, p. 223). Drawing on the sociological studies of science, Callon distinguishes four moments of translation: *Problematization*, *interessement*, *enrolment* and *mobilization*. As Andrew Barry has remarked, these moments of translation are highly contentious as translation constitutes a highly contested and politicized zone, marked by “transmission failure” (Barry, 2015, p. 416).

The pivotal point of translation is the *problematization* around which a network of relations unfolds. The *problematization* defines the entities involved and their relations. *Problematization* describes, according to Callon, “a system of alliances, or associations, between entities, thereby defining the identity and what they ‘want’” (Callon, 1986, p. 206). As will be shown in the following empirical analysis, the *problematization* revolves around the transformations of dwelling in rural areas as a reason for the sharp decline of biodiversity.

*Interessement* is the second moment of translation. The French term *interessement* is synonymous with ‘interposition’ and is employed by Callon to designate the devices used to forge the associations between actors and to ‘lock’ them into their roles proposed in the problem resolution. “To interest other actors is to build devices which can be placed between them and all other entities who want to define their identities otherwise” (ibid., p. 208). In this sense, *interessement* is associative as well as dissociative. After a joint framing of the problem has

emerged, the question arises who does what to solve the problem. The actor whose program of action has been accepted as a legitimate framing of the state of affairs tries to assert identities, functions and roles for herself and the other actors. The other actors are supposed to be interested in their new role attributions and accept the definition of their functions. Insofar as the other actors adjust their roles and functions, already existing networks in which they are integrated begin to dissolve.

Linked to this is the question of how these roles are defined and attributed – Callon calls this third moment of translation, i.e. *enrolment*: “It designates the device by which a set of interrelated roles is defined and attributed to actors who accept them” (ibid., p. 211). The emergence of a network of alliances in the translation process is only successful, if *enrolment* is reciprocal. This entails that the translating actor, in whose interest the other entities align also takes on a new role.

Eventually, translation involves the *mobilization of allies*, the definition and negotiation of representative spokespersons as intermediaries, who express in their “own language what others say and want, why they act the way they do and how they associate with each other” (ibid., p. 223). With *mobilization*, Callon describes processes to ensure that the spokespersons for various collectives are properly able to represent those. In the following empirical analysis, the four moments of translation are discussed at the example of the LEADER project “The Green Village”, which aims to, enroll and mobilize residents as “active residents”, which enter into alliances to adopt specific symbolic-material practices in the management of local rural natures, such as a village green, the orchard meadow or cottage gardens.

The empirical basis of my argumentation builds on ethnographic research, carried about between August 2017 and June 2019. In August 2017, I spent two weeks in the village as part of my ‘ambulatory’ visits to the village investigated. As of then, I consecutively visited the village for particular events, such as taking part in the local village forum when “The Green Village” project was presented by the project coordinator and became a public matter. On these occasions, I collected empirical data by means of

participant observation, field notes and informal interviews. These were supplemented by in total seven in-depth, semi-structured interviews, conducted with local residents and neighbors of the village green, the village forum chairperson as well as the LEADER project coordinator. The interviews with residents focused on their idiosyncratic relations to the rural nature of their village, in the case of newcomers their motivations for moving to the countryside and their aspirations for shaping their everyday world environment. Interviews with formally appointed individuals and the project coordinator laid stress on the procedural aspects of the participatory approach to conserving biodiversity and rural development more broadly.

#### **4. Case Study: “The Green Village”**

The case study, which forms the basis for this article, investigates how rural residents produce, reconstruct or reshape rural natures in symbolic-material practices, and how rural natures are enacted in everyday dwelling (Müller, 2021a; Müller 2021b). It forms part of the wider GRF-funded research project “Participative Development of Rural Regions. Everyday cultural negotiations of the European Union’s LEADER program”, carried out at the Department of Anthropology and Folklore Studies at the University of Bonn from 2017-2021.<sup>2</sup> The case study aims to understand, how macro-structural landscape transformations, such as the loss of biodiversity in agricultural landscapes and rural settlements, are translated into and negotiated at the scale of regional and village politics. To this end, I followed the implementation of the LEADER project “The Green Village” in one of the LEADER regions investigated. This low mountain range region combines natural assets and cultural heritage to follow a regional development strategy of experience-oriented tourism for

---

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.kulturanthropologie.uni-bonn.de/en/dep/en/research/projects/LEADER-project/Participant-development>



urban consumers, exploiting the landscape values with diverse tourist offers such as hiking, recreation and visits to the national park. The project “The Green Village” ties in with this conservation-based approach to rural development. The project description of “The Green Village” project problematizes the decline of biodiversity as related to transformations of rural dwelling:

“From the 1970s onwards, the villages in the low mountain range region have undergone fundamental structural and settlement change. The redesign of housing and single-family house construction, together with the change in farming practices, have led to a dwindling structural wealth in the home gardens and a considerable restructuring of rural areas. The [...] unmistakable character of the village community is slowly fading and with it the diversity of species and biotopes in and around the villages. A large proportion of local people have little connection to environmental issues and the possible biodiversity of their villages owing to their adapted living conditions.”

(Project description 2017)

Given the problematization of a sharp decline of biodiversity, the project aims to re-invigorate social-ecological ties by forging villagers’ capacities and knowledges in relation to local rural natures. It thus induces a collective learning approach, which Marilena Labianca with recourse to Neumeier defines as “changes of attitudes, behaviour or perceptions of a group of people joined in a network of aligned interests that, in relation to the group’s horizon of experiences, lead to new and improved ways of collaborative action within the group” (Labianca, 2021, p. 26). In this specific thematic scope, the project aims to ‘ecologize’ local residents’ practices related to their village environments in the sense of revitalizing handed down social-ecological practices, values and forms of know-how.

I accompanied the project coordinator, a woman in her late forties and trained forest educator, to implement the project in the LEADER region’s villages. This site of project implementation is a village of roughly 2,500 inhabitants, which faces challenges representative of villages in the region more broadly, such as the decline of family farming, the depletion of



public services, high commuter rates and the loss of 'rural' characteristics with regard to architecture, settlement patterns and village green spaces in ongoing processes of urbanisation.

In the village, the project coordinator had already designated an area for the implementation of a biodiversity enhancement measure – transforming a village green into a low-nutrient grassland – in coordination with the municipality building and construction authority without prior consulting village representative or residents. They had decided without further ado that from now on, the village green would be mown only twice a year during spring and autumn instead of every two weeks during growing season. Removing the grass cuttings instead of mulching, the project coordinator aimed to re-establish a low nutrient, species-rich grassland. As I was told in an interview in June 2019 with a “LEADER-broker”, a local council member of the Greens party in his sixties and member of a local nature conservation association, he had approached the project coordinator after having heard of the LEADER project:

“I know Elizabeth well, so we were in direct contact. And then I told her: ‘Okay, we can talk about what can be done.’ Elizabeth drove around here and then she immediately noticed the village green. The first idea was to do nothing at all, just to mow ways in [...] and see it no longer as a regularly mowed lawn, but simply let it grow wild a little and see what comes.”

(Interview 2019b)

LEADER brokers such as the resident interviewed occupy a central position as translating agents, “it is their job to translate between the [development] agencies and the communities in order to make policies work. Brokers are characterised particularly by their function as knowledge mediators between different levels of governance.” (Müller et al, 2020, p. 231). This particular LEADER broker had formerly worked as a development professional in the context of international development cooperation, implementing horticultural projects in African states. Since

he grew critical of the productivist development paradigm, he shifted his engagement as a forest and wildlife educator towards his place of residence in the village where he cultivates a permaculture garden on his premises. With “The Green Village” project, he seized the opportunity to translate the idea of biodiversity conservation into the context of the village proper.

So far, only LEADER signposts had been installed on the village green, forming an isle of 5,000 m<sup>2</sup> between single homes (fig. 1). Rumours had gone around regarding the background of the project and the consequences for the people living near the space, as I was told by residents I met during a two-week residency in August 2017. Some residents even considered the project an austerity measure by the municipality. During my field stay in summer 2017 preceding the project presentation in the village forum, I had the opportunity to talk to some of the residents living adjacent to the green space. A former farmer in his sixties, detailed to me that the approach of “leaving nature to itself” would not yield the objective of a low nutrient grassland, but that the soil’s nutrient import had to be reduced before sowing. He was irritated of the approach adopted and recalled that, when calling upon the village representative to inform him about the project, the village representative had referred to it as “an idea from the academics at the university”, expressing his view of the measure as unworldly and at odds with his professional rationality as a trained farmer.

Prior to the development intervention, the green was an everyday space of village life, used by neighbours occasionally, for example to park their cars during festivities. Through the network of the village representative, the village green was also part of recurring maintenance activities carried out by long-term residents, such as raking up the fallen leaves in autumn. In its habitual use, it did only receive particular attention when it was put into the limelight as a “Green Village Habitat” by the LEADER signposts. Up to the point of project presentation, resistance against the project had gained momentum among residents, who removed some of the signposts. In the following ethnographic vignette, I want to demonstrate how the

project coordinator of the “The Green Village” project managed to enrol and mobilize some of the residents to accept the problem definition of biodiversity decline being related to a transformation of rural dwelling. By presenting the aims and scope of the project in the local village forum, which is an informal structure to network and cooperate in community affairs below the threshold of municipal politics, the project coordinator aimed to involve local residents in project implementation. The village forum was convened on her behalf by the local chairperson, a young retiree in his sixties and the village representative (*Ortsvorsteher*), a well-known personality and local notable. The village forum took place in the back room of a pub in October 2017. The atmosphere was friendly; participants seemed to know each other and were chatting about the designation as “Gold Village” that they had recently been awarded in the village renewal competition “Our Village has a Future”. Among the sixteen participants were the elected village representative, members of civic associations and interested residents.

After a short introduction by the village forum chairperson, the project coordinator presented “The Green Village” objectives and possible measures to the audience. She problematized the loss of biodiversity in the region by pointing to the transformation of dwelling in the rural area such as the high commuter rates, the urbanisation of lifestyles and reduced capacities to engage in home gardens. She underlined her argumentation by showing pictures of “carefree” stone gardens, bereft of habitats and citing a study published on the decline of pollinators, which has caused considerable resonance as scientific proof of a sharp decrease in insect biomass earlier the same year (Hallmann et al., 2017).

Following the problematization, the project promoter turned the participants’ attention to the “potentials of communal green spaces”, showing pictures of wildflower meadows in the surrounding area: “These ordinary matters have to come to mind as exceptional, these wildflowers are Red List category species, you have real treasures here that are specific to the area.” she calls upon the residents present. For the village green to develop into a wildflower meadow as pictured, it would need time as

such habitats are not established overnight, she hastened to add. However, for the development to realise, she invited residents to take ownership of green, “you should tailor the green according to your own needs, whether you want to place a table in the middle or adjust the routes”, the most important factor being that residents considered the village green as their habitat too, she reminds the residents of their active role to play. The project promoter repeatedly emphasised the participatory approach of LEADER by stating that the ideas for and the will to implement the project should be generated by and come from the villagers themselves. In the following discussion, the project promoter called on the participants to come up with ideas.

At first, the chairperson of the village forum seized the opportunity to criticise the fact that he had not been informed prior to the commencement of the measure, thereby “putting the cart before the horse”. So, for him, he stated, there was no possibility to involve residents and answer queries, which lead to an ambiguity regarding the ownership and objectives of the measure. He went on to say, “that it is of utmost importance to involve residents from now on, their participation should be pivotal and not embellishment”. He wanted to look ahead and called on the project promoter to detail the next steps.

A ‘newcomer’, a dynamic man in his fifties who lives close to the green space, took the floor and explained that, at first, the signposts and the uncontrolled growth of weeds irritated him. However, after having been informed about the objectives, he would sponsor it and was willing to assume the coordination of civic engagement in the neighbourhood. He wanted to rally support and identify volunteers to partake in the maintenance of the space by organising a get-together for the mowing. The resident said that he understood and wanted to use the green space as a “site of connection” in the neighbourhood. The resident who acted as a LEADER broker added that he considered the project as an instrument providing “help for self-help”, helping the community to conserve and capitalise on the natural environment of the village in competition with other villages. Eventually, a representative from the tourism association

dwelt on the notion of the “village habitat” and that according to his understanding, this idea encompassed also the social relations and community spaces beyond the village green itself. This view was confirmed by the project coordinator, who detailed that she also considered the diversity of community structures and life-worlds to be addressed in the idea of a “village habitat”.

After the village forum, the project coordinator and I reflect on the outcome. Despite the successful enrolment of the ‘newcomer’ resident, she is rather ambivalent about her success of enrolling ‘long-term’ residents, who were not present. According to her, the village representative and the mayor presented the project as imposed by the conservation agency, recall the remark “from the people at the university” made by the village representative. Currently, the project would rather reinforce the cleavage between ‘long-term residents’ and ‘newcomers’, she feels. According to her, the engagement of ‘newcomers’ is not perceived and valued by long-term residents.

This ethnographic vignette from the village forum exemplifies how the village green functioned as an *interressement* device in the sense of Callon, proposing roles to be accepted or refused by the residents present. According to Callon, the point of departure for building a network of relationships is by proposing a problematization, defining the entities involved and their interrelationships. In the sense of a device of *interressement*, the village green was transformed into an obligatory passage point. Defining the nature of the problem required the actors present to converge on the relation between the degradation of rural natures, the decline of community life in the village and the transformation of dwelling. By translating biodiversity into ‘natural heritage’ – “you have real treasures here” – and linking it to ideas of community building, the project manager mobilized certain local residents to accept her problematization as a legitimate framing of the state of affairs. Regarding the *enrolment*, the project promoter defined the interrelated roles of entities in the course of village forum. Calling upon residents to take ownership of the meadow and adapt it to their needs, she defined the role of “active

residents". According to Gieling and Haartsen (2017, p. 580), active residents "feel responsible for the overall success of the local community and invest a substantial amount of their spare time and effort in achieving this". Active residents are expected to voice their concerns, contribute ideas and take a lead in community matters. The resident who declared that he was in favour of the project and willing to coordinate the engagement in the neighbourhood enrolled himself as an "active resident", taking up responsibility for the coordination of volunteers (Müller et al., 2020, p. 233). Demonstrating his managerial knowledge by his ability to network make connections, i.e. the knowledge required to make LEADER 'work', he is enabled to explore and forge an alliance with other like-minded residents, in this situation the resident acting as a LEADER broker.

However, as Callon points out, for the enrolment to be durable, the mobilization of allies – human and non-human – is a crucial step in the process of forming an alliance. In what follows, I demonstrate that the enrolment of active residents proved to be fragile and was subject to contestation after the initial project presentation in the village forum. I visited the village forum four months later in February 2018. In the meantime, the neighbour who had acted as active resident distributed an invitation to the neighbourhood in which he explained the objectives of the measure – while qualifying that he was not an expert at all in this regard – and requested assistance by his fellow residents:

"The initiators of the project were obviously aware that such a path does not go by itself and that the public sector often cannot raise the money to implement it. It is also the aim of the project to preserve and strengthen existing village structures. Therefore, it is planned to involve the population/residents. SO US!! It is envisaged that we will actively shape such areas and ideally preserve them ourselves. In addition, such measures improve neighbourly relations."

(Invitation, 2018)

The circular invited all neighbours to join the communal mowing event, which took place one week later. During this event and in the run-up to



the second village forum, dissatisfaction on behalf of some neighbours had grown and outright rejection of the development measure had been voiced, as I was told in preparation of the second village forum by the project coordinator. 'Long-term' residents had called upon the municipality to take over responsibility for what was happening on the village green.

Among the seventeen participants of the second village forum is the village representative, the chairperson of the village forum, the head of the municipal building authority, responsible for the maintenance of municipal green spaces as well as representatives from several village associations, among them the LEADER broker resident. The neighbour who enrolled as active resident and tried to establish himself as a spokesperson for the neighbourhood – long-term residents and newcomers alike – is not present this time. As an introduction, the head of building authority, a man in his late fifties, took the floor and proclaimed: "this project suits us well, we can score points with it against other municipalities," alluding to the positive effect "The Green Village" project had on the evaluation in the village renewal competition, for which the village was awarded a special prize.

After project presentation by the coordinator, a retired architect in his sixties and newcomer to the village, who had been involved in the community-mowing event, took the floor. He had drafted a field map for the village green, picturing what it might look like after successful redevelopment, the architect told (fig. 2). The resident confronted the municipal representative that the municipality would have to provide alternative parking slots, proper tools to do the mowing and pave the curbs around the village green in the first place as a prerequisite for the topic of biodiversity to be discussed. He considered the issue of admitted uses of primary importance, raising the question "how do I tell it to my dog lovers?".

The municipal representative tried to steer the discussion into a different direction: "You as a community of residents should make your mind up what you need and make a proposal to the municipality" he suggested

and the project coordinator added: "This is LEADER, it comes from the community of residents and will become your normal everyday life and that of the municipality". Her role was to consult on biodiversity enhancement measures and facilitate, i.e. to establish connections and networks, she hastened to explain.

It was only towards the end of the village forum meeting that possible measures to enhance the biodiversity of the village green were discussed. When a resident offered lupine seeds for the area, the LEADER broker resident intervened: "these species do not fit in the village biotope, we want to settle rare native species here". Another resident raised the question what should be done against weeds, such as nettle and thistle, which were already spreading rapidly on the village green and would encroach on home gardens soon. "This is what is supposed to come", the LEADER-broker resident explained, while the project coordinator moderated "of course the green is not supposed to be a jungle of nettle and thistle, but these plants clearly perform vital ecological functions for butterflies."

Investigating the social interactive processes in the second village forum in terms of translations, the negotiations predominantly took place between the municipality representative, the architect and the project coordinator. The 'newcomer' architect enrolled as active resident, drawing on his professional expertise to demonstrate his skills in field mapping and technical expertise on road and green space design. However, he did not establish himself as a representative spokesperson for the neighbours of the village green in the course of the knowledge controversy

On the one hand, he did not demonstrate the "managerial knowledge" required to enter into alliances for project implementation in the debate with the representative from the building authority, which "is made up of a variety of elements, including political knowledge about power relations among different organizational actors, alliances and key actors, and network management" (Siebert & Laschkewski, 2016, p. 168). On the other hand, as a 'newcomer' to the village polity, he was not able to draw on the tacit local knowledge, which Hillary Tovey describes as life-world



based and pre-discursive. It encompasses the knowledge about social relations, the ways 'things are done here' and the ability to represent oneself as a "competent member of a community" (Tovey, 2008, p. 136).

Other members of the 'community', such as 'long-term' residents did only marginally participate in the negotiations and their legitimate spokesperson, the village representative, remained silent during the entire discussion. He did not seem to have an interest to speak in the name of his silent constituency, let alone to mobilize them for the sake of "The Green Village" project

Conversely, 'newcomers', because they had no spokesperson, could speak in their own name and pursue their goals in the negotiation with the municipality. Remarkably, during the knowledge controversy, the scientific issue of biodiversity decline was shifted from its initial context, which framed the problem as a matter of dissipating socio-ecological relations to a matter of technical solutions. When 'long-term' residents participated in the knowledge controversy in the village forum, their concerns about the uncontrolled growth of weeds were displaced by the LEADER broker resident. Drawing on the bio-scientific distinction between native and non-native species, the undesired entities, here weeds such as nettle and thistle, were translated into what is desirable in the context of "The Green Village" project. Translating the village green as ecosystem, its ecological properties as habitat and feed for native species and their interrelations displaced aesthetic and moral concerns of 'long-term' residents, i.e. the perception of the village green as wilderness and danger to the prevalent cultural order.

One year later in June 2019 I visited the village to see how the green had developed and to interview the three residents, who formed a loose interest network since my last visit in February 2018. In the interviews, the LEADER-broker resident detailed his view, why all of those involved are newcomers:

"Yes, it's often the case that newcomers simply look more beyond their own noses than the generations that have always been here and who don't really want

to change much, who in principle have already changed quite a lot when I look at agriculture. Their fathers were still organic farmers, in quotation marks, and the generation that became more and more intensive, they also had problems with their parents. And if some of them come back now and, I would say, have a green touch [...], there are the same problems again.”

(Interview 2019a)

The following day I visit the village green. It is not a flowering meadow but resembles a brownfield (fig. 3). The resident, who tried to establish himself as a spokesperson in the first village forum has created new signs informing about the developments taking place. Together with the architect neighbour, he wanted to speed up the process of transforming the meadow into low nutrient grassland by peeling of the turf and adding 50 tons of sand. Alas, the last summer drought impeded the germination of seeds and the former meadow resembled a giant sandpit at the time of my visit. As a consequence, ‘long-term’ residents complained that the newcomers have transformed their village green into the biggest dog and cat toilet in the district.

Even though, the active residents who were enrolled in the alliance considered the project a failure, regretting that the village green was not able to “speak for itself” because it was “neither colourful, nor neat, but simply nothing” as one of the active residents remarked in an interview, I want to argue that the LEADER project was a ‘success’ in the sense of social innovation approach of LEADER. First of all, by using the village green as a device of *interesement*, the LEADER project created linkages between the ‘newcomers’ and provided a means of communication, through which they could explore their interests, goals and identities. By forming an alliance of the village green interest group, they diversified the local arena of the village forum. This view is detailed by one of the newcomers in the interviews I conducted in 2019:

“This [ecological modernization of villages] can only develop through the people who move here, otherwise nothing happens. They [newcomers] make the political more colourful here. So the [region] is black [conservative] by default,

since time immemorial. Nobody thinks about it. It's not a choice of reason, you do it because you have always done it. [...] But these newcomers obviously bring in such impulses and that's what's missing here a little bit.”

(Interview 2019b)

Even though “The Green Village” project did not yield the result of a low-nutrient grassland as envisaged by the project coordinator, it enabled ‘newcomers’ to translate their conceptions of rural nature into the local context of the village polity. Firstly, transforming the village green into a matter of concern, the active residents were able to negotiate their conceptions of rural natures and place their demands for ecological modernization in the local participatory arena of the village forum. The group of ‘newcomers’ was transformed into an obligatory passage point, which required other residents, the municipality representatives, the village representative and all other stakeholders to take their concerns seriously in this matter. They established themselves as an indispensable *obligatory passage point* in the network of social relations they concomitantly built in the village forum. In so doing, active residents became the spokespersons for the future development of the village green, displacing established representatives such as the village representative and ‘long-term’ residents. According to the active residents, only those who showed up and pitched in had a legitimate say. Those who did not show up were made invisible, by “watching behind their blinds what happens” as was remarked by one of the active residents in the interviews. Eventually, “The Green Village” project did not only transform the village green in its material shape, but primarily by reworking the residents’ social relations.

## 5. Discussion

The foregoing analysis has shed light on knowledge dynamics in the framework of participative rural governance in terms of translation

processes, borrowing from the idea of translation as articulated by the Sociology of Translation. The analysis of knowledge controversies on the sustainable management of rural natures has proven fruitful on two tiers: Firstly, the idea of biodiversity, in order to be put to work in a local context, hinges upon its 'translatability' and 'connectivity' to context specific socio-material infrastructures such as the village forum. Secondly, translation occurs at the level of social relations in actor-networks, when an epistemic collective establishes itself as obligatory passage point to translate the complexity of the discourse into a relatively stable network for the circulation of knowledge to define the entities and to remake their relations. As Escobar has remarked, the hegemonic discourse of biodiversity constitutes a powerful political tool, to reorder social-ecological relations by means of models, theories, strategies and actors, which motivate "translations, transfers, travels, mediations, appropriations and subversions throughout the network" (Escobar, 1998, p. 55). Translating the idea of biodiversity into a local context engendered an idiosyncratic "cultural politics" of biodiversity, which moved scientific matters of fact to the domain of public matters of concern (Ibid., p. 54).

The analysis of the case study underlined that in the transition towards a sustainable co-management of rural natures, a multiplicity of epistemological practices and ontologies are at work, pointing to the need of translation between different "knowledge polities" (Whatmore, 2009, p. 592). In the context of the participative environmental management approach adopted in the village investigated, the integration of local and lay forms of knowledge into decision-making reordered the epistemological hierarchy regarding ways of knowing, understanding and managing rural nature. This did not only entail the status of 'external' expert knowledge of biodiversity conservation as translated by the project coordinator into the internally heterogeneous context of the village, but primarily the multiple ontologies and everyday (knowledge) practices of residents.

For the idea of biodiversity to become effective in the village context, the project coordinator translated biodiversity as 'natural heritage', thereby

opening up its conservation to claims of ownership by local residents. The matter-of-factness of biodiversity decline in rural areas, established in bio-scientific expert knowledge practices such as the cited study on insect biomass decline, was translated into a matter of concern, unclosed to contestation and induced a redistribution of expertise. While none of the residents cast doubt on the factuality of biodiversity decline as such in the social interactive processes of the village forum or the interviews conducted, the responses to ameliorate the rural nature of their village differed considerably. The process protection paradigm of “leaving nature to itself” and to protect typical endemic species, promoted by the project coordinator and the LEADER broker resident was contested by ‘newcomers’ and ‘long-term’ residents alike. While ‘long-term’ residents’ concerns revolved around a perceived threat of wild-growing weeds to their home gardens and entrenched cultural norms of village life, ‘newcomer’ active residents expressively welcomed the window of opportunity to reorder the social-ecological relations opened by “The Green Village” project. In order to be recognized as knowledgeable subjects in relation to their environment, ‘newcomers’ formed an epistemic alliance that sought to actively re-shape the rural nature of their village. This could not have been achieved by letting the village green develop its ecological potential by itself. As was detailed at lengths in the interviews, ‘newcomers’ stressed their expertise and skills with regard to garden design, which they considered to be at odds with the idea of ‘re-wilding’ the meadow. The village green was thus a resource to make visible their expertise and extend their authority on the management of rural natures beyond home gardening. Eventually, this came at the cost of displacing and excluding other understandings rural natures, such as those of ‘long-term’ residents.

## 6. Conclusion

What can be learned from all of this regarding participative resource management in the context of rural governance against the backdrop of ideal-type notions of knowledge co-production? Who can contribute what kind of knowledge at which stages of the development process? Integrating the stakeholders affected in co-management aimed to increase the relevance and understanding of the 'problem' of biodiversity decline in rural areas, thereby creating ownership and legitimacy of the solutions adopted, enhancing their impacts and sustainability. In the case study investigated, knowledge co-production induced the displacement of certain world-views, rationalities, practices and knowledge types, while other gained greater authority with regard to the management of local rural natures. The findings point to a reevaluation of knowledge types in the context of participative arenas of rural governance.

Firstly, the relevance of bio-scientific expert knowledge of biodiversity conservation, while being authoritative in the phase of problematization, gradually decreased in the translation process from the initial moment of defining problem relevance.

With increasing stakeholder involvement, integrating heterogeneous, context-specific knowledge types, i.e. local and lay forms of knowledge, the power of development experts such as the LEADER project coordinator to define the objectives of the development intervention decreased and they became subject to obstinate reinterpretation on behalf of active residents. Secondly, the problematization of biodiversity decline and its relation to the obliteration of traditional forms of social village life underwent a problem transformation and was subject to divergent translations by different groups of stakeholders as entails the possible courses of action. While 'long-term' residents called upon traditional institutions of legitimate representation such as the village representative or municipal authorities to take action on their behalf, 'newcomers' directly exercised their agency in the village forum in such a way to induce a social-ecological transformation process in the desired direction.

As regards knowledge types, the experiential knowledge of ‘long-term’ residents was devalued vis-à-vis the transformational knowledge employed by ‘newcomers’ as a means to autonomously make and implement decisions in arenas of rural participative governance. The diverging abilities of local residents to call into play their heterogeneous knowledge systems, points to a need for further research on the interface of knowledge dynamics and power relations in the context of participative arenas of rural governance.

### **Acknowledgements**

I thank the anonymous reviewer for the careful reading of the manuscript, the helpful comments and the important advice given, which helped me to improve the manuscript.

### **Availability of data and materials**

The anonymised data that support the findings of this study are available on request from the corresponding author, Oliver Müller. The data are not publicly available due to ethical reasons, their containing information that could compromise the privacy of research participants.

### **Funding**

The research project “Participative development of rural regions. Everyday cultural negotiations of the European Union’s LEADER programme” is funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation) – 322783243.



## Authors' contributions

In the course of conceptual and analytical data interpretation workshops at the department of Cultural Anthropology and Folklore Studies, my colleagues Sina Wohlgemuth and Prof. Dr. Ove Sutter contributed to the analysis of the results.

## References

- Barry A. (2013), The Translation Zone: Between Actor-Network Theory and International Relations, *Millennium*, 41 (3), pp. 413-429. DOI: 10.1177/0305829813481007.
- Bruckmeier K., Tovey H. (2008), Knowledge in Sustainable Rural Development: From Forms of Knowledge to Knowledge Processes, *Sociologia Ruralis*, 48 (3), pp. 313-329. DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-9523.2008.00466.x.
- Callon M. (1986), Some Elements of a Sociology of Translation: Domestication of the Scallops and the Fishermen of St Brieuc Bay. In J. Law (ed.), *Power, Action and Belief: A New Sociology of Knowledge?* London: Routledge, pp. 196-223.
- Castree N., Braun B. (2006), Constructing rural natures. In P. J. Cloke, T. Marsden and P. H. Mooney (eds.), *Handbook of rural studies*, Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE Publications, pp. 161-171.
- Descola P. (2013), *Beyond nature and culture*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Escobar A. (1998), Whose Knowledge, Whose nature? Biodiversity, Conservation, and the Political Ecology of Social Movements, *Journal of Political Ecology*, 5 (1), pp. 53-81. DOI: 10.2458/v5i1.21397.
- Hallmann C. A., Sorg M., Jongejans E., Siepel H., Hofland N., Schwan H. (2017), More than 75 percent decline over 27 years in total flying insect biomass in protected areas, *PloS one*, 12 (10), pp.1-21. DOI: 10.1371/journal.pone.0185809.
- Ingold T. (2011), *Being alive: Essays on movement, knowledge and description*, Abingdon: Routledge.
- Labianca M. (2021), LEADER: a starting point for review. In M. Labianca (ed.), *Towards a Visionary Approach for rural areas. From the key features to planning the future of LEADER*, Perspectives on rural rural development, No. 5, pp. 19-30.



- Latour B. (1993), *The Pasteurization of France*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Latour B. (2004), Why Has Critique Run out of Steam? From Matters of Fact to Matters of Concern, *Critical Inquiry*, 30 (2), pp. 225-248. DOI: 10.1086/421123.
- Mormont M. (1987), Rural Nature and Urban Natures, *Sociologia Ruralis*, XXVII (1), pp. 1–20.
- Müller O., Sutter O.; Wohlgemuth S. (2019), Translating the Bottom-Up Frame, *Anthropological Journal of European Cultures*, 28 (2), pp. 45-65. DOI: 10.3167/ajec.2019.280204.
- Müller O., Sutter O., Wohlgemuth S. (2020), Learning to LEADER. Ritualised Performances of 'Participation' in Local Arenas of Participatory Rural Governance, *Sociologia Ruralis*, 60 (1), pp. 222-242. DOI: 10.1111/soru.12287.
- Müller O. (2021a), Making Landscapes of (Be)Longing. Territorialization in the Context of the Eu Development Program Leader in North Rhine-Westphalia, *European Countryside*, 13 (1), pp. 1-21. DOI: 10.2478/euco-2021-0001.
- Müller O. (2021b), Der Driesch - Die (Re)Konstruktion einer historischen Kulturlandschaft. Territorialisierungspraktiken im Kontext des LEADER-Programms. In M. Fenske, A. Peselmann & D. Best (eds.), *Ländliches vielfach! Leben und Wirtschaften in erweiterten sozialen Entitäten*, Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, pp. 195-216.
- Navarro F. A., Woods M., Cejudo E. (2016), The LEADER Initiative has been a Victim of Its Own Success. The Decline of the Bottom-Up Approach in Rural Development Programmes. The Cases of Wales and Andalusia, *Sociologia Ruralis*, 56 (2), pp. 270-288. DOI: 10.1111/soru.12079.
- Siebert R., Laschewski L. (2016), Germany: nature conservation and biodiversity in the northeast. In: K. Bruckmeier and H. Tovey (eds.), *Rural sustainable development in the knowledge society*, London: Routledge, pp. 167-186.
- Tovey H. (2008), Introduction: Rural Sustainable Development in the Knowledge Society Era, *Sociologia Ruralis*, 48 (3), pp. 185-199. DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-9523.2008.00460.x.
- Tovey H. (2016), Managing Rural Nature: Regulation, Translations and Governance in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland. In J. McDonagh, T. Varley and S. Shortall (eds.), *A living countryside? The politics of sustainable development in rural Ireland*, London/New York: Routledge, pp. 107-122.

- Van der Ploeg J. D. (2018), Introduction to Part Fourteen: Rural Natures and their Co-Production. In T. Marsden (ed.), *The SAGE Handbook of Nature: Three Volume Set*, London: SAGE Publications, pp. 1435-1447.
- Whatmore S. J. (2009), Mapping knowledge controversies: science, democracy and the redistribution of expertise, *Progress in Human Geography*, 33 (5), pp. 587-598. DOI: 10.1177/0309132509339841.
- Welz G. (2015), European products. Making and unmaking heritage in Cyprus. *New York/Oxford: Berghahn*.



## 2. “TrasiMemo. Banca della memoria del Trasimeno”. Pensare e vivere un paese

*Daniele Parbuono<sup>3</sup>, Cinzia Marchesini<sup>4</sup>*

### 1. Premessa

“TrasiMemo. Banca della memoria del Trasimeno” è un progetto pensato a partire dal concetto di uso sociale della ricerca antropologica (Seppilli, 2008), applicato al tema dei patrimoni culturali, attivo in Umbria nella zona del Lago Trasimeno, in particolare nel Comune di Paciano. Tenendo conto dell’ormai pluriennale riflessione sulle possibili semantiche patrimoniali, sulle differenti percezioni locali del paesaggio (Papa, 2012), sui “sensi dei luoghi” (Feld, Basso, 1996), gli animatori di TrasiMemo hanno lavorato e lavorano intorno alle potenzialità diacroniche dell’artigianato quale punto di osservazione privilegiato per interrogare al tempo contemporaneo saperi e saper fare, competenze e

---

<sup>3</sup> Professore associato di Antropologia culturale e Direttore della Scuola di specializzazione in Beni demotnoantropologici presso l’Università degli Studi di Perugia. È stato Full Professor presso la “Chongqing University of Arts and Sciences” (Cina) dove, insieme a Liu Zhuang, tuttora dirige il “China-Europe cultural Heritage Centre” e Special-Term Professor presso la Sichuan University (Cina). Con Francesca Sbardella e Mario Turci dirige la collana “Heritage. Antropologia, musei, paesaggi”, Pàtron, Bologna. I suoi interessi di ricerca riguardano l’antropologia politica e delle migrazioni, la demologia, i patrimoni linguistici e culturali con particolare attenzione ai processi di patrimonializzazione in Europa e in Cina.

<sup>4</sup> Funzionaria demotnoantropologa del MiC (Ministero della cultura) presso la Direzione Generale archeologia belle arti e paesaggio. È responsabile per il Servizio VI Tutela del patrimonio demotnoantropologico e immateriale dell’area geografica Emilia-Romagna, Marche, Toscana e Umbria. È componente dei seguenti gruppi di lavoro: progettazione del “Museo nazionale della Lingua Italiana”, progettazione “Habitus. Museo Nazionale del Costume Folcloristico”, tutela e salvaguardia dei patrimoni culturali dei gruppi folcloristici, progetto “I giochi di Carta”. Presso l’Istituto Centrale per il Patrimonio Immateriale collabora al Laboratorio-archivio audiovisivi, al Gabinetto delle stampe, al progetto IMC-Italia dalle Molte Culture ed è componente del Comitato di redazione della collana Visioni d’Archivio. Si occupa di antropologia dei patrimoni, di antropologia del paesaggio, di processi di patrimonializzazione, di uso sociale dei patrimoni culturali e paesaggistici.

pratiche che hanno stabilito legami “coevolutivi” con il territorio (Magnaghi, 2020).

Il progetto origina da un’intesa istituzionale siglata mediante un accordo fra il più piccolo dei comuni dell’area del Trasimeno e la Scuola di specializzazione in Beni demotnoatropologici dell’Università degli Studi di Perugia (in convenzione con le Università di Firenze, di Siena, di Torino e, a partire dal 2021, della Basilicata). Un’importante responsabilità rispetto a questa lunga cooperazione, che ha convinto amministratori e amministrativi del Comune di Paciano a misurarsi con la pratica partecipativa del co-costruire insieme a *stakeholder* e soggetti locali interessati a una diversa prospettiva politica sulle risorse disponibili, è da attribuire all’attiva presenza professionale degli autori di questo saggio nell’area interessata.

La collaborazione è nata nel 2013 con la proposta di ideazione di una banca della memoria, a far conto sul programma “Leader” del “Piano di Sviluppo Rurale” della Regione Umbria. Nel territorio del Trasimeno erano già attivi oltre venti presidi museali riconosciuti nella rete regionale umbra, concentrati su patrimoni etnografici e storico-artistici, in palazzi e centri urbani. Non erano e non sono invece presenti esperienze ecomuseali riconosciute, nonostante una decina di anni fa sia stato avviato un processo di costituzione di un ecomuseo del paesaggio, mai andato a buon fine.

Pur se inquadrati amministrativamente come musei, la quasi totalità di questi spazi sarebbero in realtà da classificare come esposizioni. Nel dibattito scientifico contemporaneo il museo è definito come uno spazio di dialogo tra oggetti e persone, come un luogo di riflessione sul senso del concetto di materialità e di immaterialità, come punto di mediazione tra collezioni e contesti, tra contesti e persone, tra persone e politiche pubbliche di partecipazione (Lattanzi, 2021). Una criticità che accomuna la maggior parte dei centri museali o espositivi in questione è l’assenza di una direzione scientifica che, se da un lato potrebbe garantire una maggior vitalità delle attività pubbliche, dall’altro potrebbe favorire un

coordinamento complessivo delle azioni di tutela, di valorizzazione, di promozione e di coinvolgimento degli interessati locali.

È evidente che anche in quest'area i centri abitativi più grandi<sup>5</sup> esercitano una forza attrattiva per il lavoro e per i servizi pubblici e privati rivolti agli abitanti, mentre i più piccoli rischiano di divenire oggetto di circoscritti processi di gentrificazione o di essere condannati al progressivo spopolamento. Soprattutto in questi contesti il museo potrebbe, forse dovrebbe, configurarsi come spazio di dibattito pubblico sulle politiche di interpretazione, di visione e di gestione futura dei luoghi, su questioni dirimenti per le vite delle persone che scelgono la residenzialità nel paese piuttosto che nella città. Arte, storia, archeologia, paesaggio, cultura materiale, saperi, conoscenze, memorie, oggetti, collezioni, certo, ma perché no riflessioni sui concetti di centro e di periferia, di area interna, di marginalità, sui rapporti tra risorse e produzioni, tra economie di scala e *local knowledge*, tra territorialità e processi globali, tra rapporti locali e reti transnazionali di persone, di conoscenze e di cose. TrasiMemo è stato pensato come spazio di riflessione su questo tipo di complessità.

Fin dall'inizio l'obiettivo è stato quello di agire sulle diverse e possibili applicazioni dell'artigianato: commerciale, semi-industriale, artistico, ma anche quello domestico e quotidiano che, soprattutto nel passato, distribuiva competenze diffuse e condivise nei paesi presenti nella zona del Trasimeno. Infatti, l'organizzazione del lavoro, lo sfruttamento delle materie prime locali, la relazione fra risorse naturali e umane, l'interrelazione degli esseri umani con il resto dell'ambiente hanno contribuito fortemente alla conformazione dei paesaggi lacustri così come oggi li possiamo percepire. Le sfumature di rosso dei centri storici e delle costruzioni rurali dato dagli elementi costruttivi in cotto, le ciminiere delle vecchie fornaci e i resti di archeologie pre-industriali della sua lavorazione, i marroni dei legni e dei metalli, come le vie dei Fabbri, dei

---

<sup>5</sup> Nell'area del Trasimeno è stata istituita un'Unione dei Comuni, otto in totale, che comprende: Castiglione del Lago, Città della Pieve, Magione, Paciano, Panicale, Passignano, Piegara e Tuoro sul Trasimeno.

Filatoi, dei Calzolai che caratterizzano la toponomastica, ci ricordano la presenza di pratiche lavorative determinanti per le conformazioni esterne e interne (letti in ferro battuto, lampade in rame e ferro, alari dei camini, cancelli e ringhiere) delle abitazioni private.

L'artigianato è frutto di una condivisione dei saperi diffusi sul territorio che oggi corrono il rischio di non poter più esprimere un potere trasformativo per secoli baricentrico nelle quotidianità professionali, familiari, pubbliche e intime degli abitanti del luogo. Come ci spiega Orlando:

“Ntando per dire, con la canna ci abbiamo vissuto l’epoca più difficile... è stato gli anni Cinquanta, gli anni tra i Quaranta e i Cinquanta; per me che ero ‘n ragazzino però la mi famiglia s’è salvata de non andare a lavorare all’estero perché s’è salvata co’ sto prodotto. Perché ‘l prodotto de la canna è stato un prodotto che è completo: nasce la canna, la canna fa ‘n fiore, quel fiore se chiama scopetta e lu’ ha detto che gliel’ho regalata [Indicando Parbuono]. C’è anche lì [indica la riva del Lago]. La scopetta serviva per far le scope, la plastica n’ c’era... mh la plastica non c’era e di qui quando noi ragazzini c’avevamo bisogno de cento lire s’andava sul Lago, se faceva un mazzetto de queste scopette, se usciva dal Lago e c’era subito chi te dava le cento lire, c’era’ le industrie... purtroppo... Poi da là... dal fogliame de la canna i foraggi... non è che c’erano tanti, però le stalle c’erano e le usavano, le usavano anche per dare il fogliame al le, a le [bestie]. Poi laa... pulitura de le canne serviva per impajicciare le, le stalle... si è tutto un prodotto... poi la fine de settembre la cannina butta fori sempre, sempre... prima a agosto esce ‘na scopetta che serve pe’ le scope, a settembre la stessa scopetta diventa piuma, piuma e ce se facevano i materazzi, i vecchi materazzi; quindi se vogliamo prende la canna è completa da la nascita era ‘na risorsa per noi dell’epoca. Quindi abbiamo vissuto con questo sistema e ‘sto sistema ci ha dato da vivere... no<sup>6</sup>?”

A partire da questo tipo di visione integrata del territorio e delle sue risorse, il lavoro di TrasiMemo ha provato a generare nuove micro-

---

<sup>6</sup> Intervista a Orlando ([www.zoppitelli.com](http://www.zoppitelli.com)), artigiano della canna palustre a San Savino, Magione (Pg); realizzata da Cinzia Marchesini e Daniele Parbuono il 17 agosto 2020.

pratiche finalizzate a riattivare l'interesse verso patrimoni valorizzabili che, se solo conservati, non rinnovati, non reinventati, rischiano di rimanere dormienti (Turci, 2012).

## 2. Metodo

Esponenti delle istituzioni coinvolte e interessati residenti hanno costituito un gruppo di lavoro che è poi divenuto duraturo negli anni, pur se variabile in base alle fasi di avanzamento. Una prima riunione pubblica di *brainstorming* sul senso del percorso da intraprendere, organizzata a Paciano nel 2013, ha avviato una forma di etnografia partecipata in cui ricercatori, amministratori e volontari interessati hanno condiviso idee, memorie, prospettive, punti di vista e sentimenti – di rivalsa, di appartenenza, di affezione, ma anche di nostalgia, di disappunto, di malcontento – rispetto alle storie e alle condizioni del luogo.

Questa serie eterogenea di posture, che a loro volta sono divenute oggetto di una relazione etnografica permanente tra ricercatori, amministratori locali e persone coinvolte, è emersa dall'etnografia praticata da un primo "Gruppo di ricerca e di progettazione sistema musei-Beni culturali e paesaggistici del Trasimeno", istituito dalla Scuola di specializzazione in beni demoetnoantropologici e formato da docenti, specializzate/i e specializzande/i<sup>7</sup>. Durante il primo anno di attività la presenza costante di sette ricercatori nel territorio ha avuto un impatto significativo anche nella definizione di una percezione pubblica diffusa della competenza

---

<sup>7</sup> Giancarlo Baronti (ex Direttore della Scuola, oggi in pensione); Daniele Parbuono (coordinatore e direttore scientifico del gruppo, attuale Direttore della Scuola); Patrizia Cirino, Lorenzo Dogana, Francesco Farabi, Glenda Giampaoli, Paolo Sacchetti (specializzati della Scuola); Cinzia Marchesini (specializzata della Scuola e vicesindaco del Comune di Paciano), Giulia Becchis, Loris Bendotti, Giulia Giannini (all'epoca specializzandi della Scuola); Giovanni Marco Castellaneta, Margherita Sanchini (laureati dell'Università degli Studi di Perugia). In particolare per il progetto "TrasiMemo" hanno lavorato attivamente: Baronti, Cirino, Farabi, Giampaoli, Marchesini, Parbuono e Sacchetti. Si veda la pagina web <http://trasimemo.it/progetto/chissimo.html>, consultato in data 13 luglio 2021.



antropologica in azione. Ciò ha reso possibile il dialogo tra prospettive di ricerca e necessità di programmazione delle politiche culturali locali. TrasiMemo è divenuta un *case study* permanente anche in termini di didattica universitaria per gli studenti e le studentesse della Scuola di specializzazione che ogni anno, recandosi fisicamente a Paciano, incontrano artigiane/i, allieve/i dei laboratori e abitanti del paese confrontandosi sulle questioni aperte e sulle prospettive future. La Scuola di specializzazione e il Dipartimento di Filosofia, Scienze sociali, umane e della formazione cui essa afferisce, sono stati sempre coinvolti anche nei principali progetti per cui sono stati richiesti finanziamenti pubblico/privati o sono state costituite *partnership*.

Le porte delle case che si sono aperte hanno offerto al gruppo di lavoro l'occasione di trasformare le rilevazioni etnografiche in dialoghi di prospettiva sul senso del vivere a Paciano e nella zona del Trasimeno, sui ricordi recenti e sulle storie tramandate da generazioni, permettendo a tutti i componenti di affinare i propri punti di vista sul contesto e sulla direzione del progetto.

Questo iniziale incrocio di sguardi differenti per competenza, per provenienza, per età, per genere, per obiettivi, ha generato un percorso di autoconsapevolezze a confronto, un tentativo di comprendere quella densità diacronica dell'azione umana dentro al contesto ambientale che riprendendo Alberto Magnaghi (2020: 12) potremmo definire come una «crescita della “coscienza di luogo”».

Il 16 aprile 2014 l'inaugurazione di TrasiMemo ha reso pubblico uno spazio allestitivo, un archivio *web* e la possibilità di prendere parte a laboratori su specifici settori dell'artigianato locale: tessile, legno, cotto, ferro e metalli (Parbuono, 2015). Il lavoro su TrasiMemo ha anche fornito all'amministrazione comunale l'occasione di recuperare alla pubblica fruizione un edificio storico di proprietà regionale, Palazzo Baldeschi, fino ad allora precluso a qualsiasi tipo di attività e che invece oggi, sia nei suoi spazi interni che nel suo roseto pensile con vista sul lago, è divenuto un bene comunitario autogestito in una relazione di reciproco supporto tra abitanti e amministratori locali.

Il racconto delle vite di artigiani per mestiere, di *bricoleur*, di hobbisti, di appassionati raccoglitori di oggetti, di restauratori, di artisti, di scopritori, di inventori, di attenti osservatori del paesaggio culturale in mutamento, ha incrementato una pratica dialogica dentro cui anche gli antropologi coinvolti hanno potuto costruire traiettorie di ricerca e di azione. Esercitando una forma di “militanza” scientifica nello spazio interstiziale fatto di intimità comuni e di condivisioni (Bindi, 2020), hanno provato a riflettere «sul rapporto “lavoro-risorse locali” in Umbria» (Giacomelli, Marchesini, Parbuono, 2020: 112).

### 3. Azioni

A sette anni di distanza dalla sua inaugurazione TrasiMemo ha ottenuto significativi risultati a partire dalle attività di:

[...] un archivio web ([www.trasimemo.it](http://www.trasimemo.it)), un museo all'interno del prestigioso Palazzo Baldeschi nel centro storico del paese – costituito da spazi espositivi, laboratori che si concentrano prevalentemente sul tema dell'artigianato, sale per seminari e conferenze, una biblioteca e un roseto utilizzato per iniziative di carattere culturale all'aperto – progetti diffusi nel territorio da cui sono sorte attività specifiche per le scuole e per l'accoglienza turistica, numerose collaborazioni con associazioni e partnership con altre istituzioni.

(Marchesini, Parbuono, 2020: 348)

Il lavoro condiviso che ha visto protagonisti ricercatori, amministratori, politici, artigiani, operatori del sociale e *stakeholder* differenti, ha mostrato come memorie e “saper fare”, discussi, problematizzati e ben contestualizzati, possano generare nuove forme di patrimonio culturale e possano configurarsi come efficaci strumenti di coesione sociale. Così piccoli gruppi informali di cittadini sono entrati in una dimensione di autoconsapevolezza che ha favorito processi di valorizzazione di alcune risorse materiali e simboliche locali interpretabili come patrimoni culturali materiali e immateriali. Durante il periodo 2014-2021 sono state avviate

una serie di azioni e di micro progetti che elenchiamo qui di seguito ricapitolandole per titolo e per durata:

- “TrasiMemo, incontri con gli autori”, anni 2015-2021.
- “SERR settimana europea per la riduzione dei rifiuti”, anni 2014-2017.
- “TrasiMemo, addobbi ecologici”, anni 2016-2021.
- “TrasiMemo: infanzia in biblioteca”, anni 2017-2021.
- “TrasiMemo, la scuola al museo”, anni 2016-2019.
- “TrasiMemo, scopri i saperi dell’artigianato”, anni 2014-2021.
- “TrasiMemo, diffusione dei saperi artigianali”, anni 2014-2021.
- “TrasiMemo, Arts&craft”, anni 2015-2020.
- Partecipazione ad eventi locali, anni 2014-2021.
- “TrasiMemo, storia e cultura”, anni 2016-2019.
- “TrasiMemo e il paesaggio”, anni 2015-2019.
- Partecipazione a campagne FAI, anni 2014-2018.
- Campi estivi diffusi nel centro storico Estate a TrasiMemo, anni 2016-2020.

L’impatto di tali azioni può essere misurato a partire dal numero sempre crescente di famiglie che si rivolgono a TrasiMemo affinché i propri figli (fascia di età 5-12 anni) possano partecipare ai centri estivi e ai laboratori di manipolazione artigianale; una possibilità prima inesistente a Paciano. Inoltre numerose scuole si adoperano per collaborare allo sviluppo di progetti didattici nelle fasce di età che riguardano la primaria di primo e di secondo grado e la secondaria di primo grado. Un dato importante da analizzare è quello relativo agli incrementi ottenuti in generale con le azioni progettuali nel periodo 2014-2021:

**Tabella 1 – Dato incrementi da azioni progettuali 2014-2021**

<b>Tipologia</b>	<b>Incremento</b>
Riapertura di Palazzo Baldeschi	da 0 a 1 edificio storico recuperato
Attività organizzate di concerto con la scuola dell’obbligo locale	da 0 a 5 attività annuali con scuole dell’obbligo
Attività di promozione della lettura per bambini (0-6 anni) e famiglie,	da 0 a 5 attività annuali di promozione della lettura

organizzate in collaborazione con un'associazione di libraie	
Attività di supporto conciliazione tra lavoro e famiglia per fascia di età 5-12 anni	da 0 a 1 attività annuale di centro estivo diffuso
Attività dedicate alla "coscienza dei luoghi" aperte a tutta la popolazione	da 0 a 9 laboratori annuali permanenti sul patrimonio culturale. Temi: arte-artigianato, tessile, ceramica, disegno, giardinaggio, addobbi natalizi, biblioteca, archivio contemporaneo, paesaggio.
Incontri rivolti all'intera popolazione su tematiche inerenti le possibilità di sviluppo locale e valorizzazione delle risorse	da 0 a 20 incontri con la popolazione
Collaborazione progettuale con il "Centro di salute mentale" USL Umbria 1, per attività inerenti i temi del paesaggio e del patrimonio culturale con particolare riferimento all'ambito dell'artigianato tessile e della ceramica	da 0 a 3 laboratori annuali sul patrimonio culturale come supporto alla terapia psichiatrica
Progetto volto a individuare nuove attività lavorative come primaria azione di lotta all'abbandono del territorio	da 0 a 1 progetto di cooperazione sociale: "TrasiMemo atelier diffuso"
Finanziamento per la realizzazione di nuovi spazi laboratoriali in collaborazione con il "Centro di salute mentale" USL Umbria 1	da 0 a 1 rete spazi pubblici per servizi alla popolazione
Progetto rifunzionalizzazione delle fonti idriche in disuso e laboratorio di co-progettazione realizzato con persone appartenenti alla fascia di età 16-35 anni. L'obiettivo è quello di ragionare sulle risorse idriche storiche e sulle loro funzioni future, individuando possibili "percorsi contemporanei delle acque"	da 0 a 1 progetto di recupero di uno spazio pubblico
Convegni, seminari e incontri con docenti e studenti di università italiane e non (es. brasiliane e cinesi)	da 0 a 12 seminari universitari

Accordi e protocolli di collaborazione con istituzioni pubbliche e private: Ministero della Cultura; Scuola di specializzazione in Beni demoetnoantropologici dell'Università degli Studi di Perugia; USL Umbria 1; Cooperativa Frontiera Lavoro	da 0 a 4 accordi di collaborazione.
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-------------------------------------

Fonte: Elaborazione propria.

TrasiMemo è inserito nella rete dei musei del Trasimeno avendo ottenuto il riconoscimento di istituto culturale museale dal 2015. La vivacità creativa cercata fin dal primo anno dal gruppo di lavoro nel garantire una serie di servizi importanti per la popolazione, in un piccolo paese in cui dal punto di vista amministrativo immaginare politiche socioculturali dinamiche incontra enormi difficoltà di tipo economico-finanziario e progettuale, ha determinato anche un incremento significativo del flusso turistico. Palazzo Baldeschi, recuperato alla pubblica fruizione, è infatti passato da zero a millesettecento visitatori; numero che negli anni si è stabilizzato, eccezion fatta per il periodo della pandemia durante cui molte della attività previste sono state trasformate in *webinar* e iniziative *online*. Negli anni è divenuto inoltre un presidio importante per la creazione di idee da impiegare attraverso la collaborazione di soggetti pubblici e privati, nella definizione di progetti integrati finalizzati a determinare una rete produttiva e commerciale efficace nell'ambito dell'artigianato. Il gruppo di ricerca, in questo senso, ha proposto un'idea, poi discussa e arricchita con il contributo dell'Amministrazione comunale e di alcuni artigiani che, come anticipato, ha assunto il nome di "TrasiMemo *atelier* diffuso". Si tratta di un intervento sperimentale e in cerca di risorse finanziarie, che potrebbe anche essere riprodotto in altre realtà regionali e che consiste nella cooperazione fra istituzioni, piccoli imprenditori/artigiani e altri interessati. Tale intervento è finalizzato a creare *atelier*-laboratori di produzione e commercializzazione da aprire al pubblico recuperando locali in disuso (scantinati e garage) posti lungo la strada principale di Paciano. Monica, artigiana del tessile, nel saggio che

ha firmato insieme a noi in seguito alla presentazione di TrasiMemo in un panel del VI Convegno Nazionale della Società Italiana di Antropologia Applicata, fa presente che:

Ci sono altri artigiani e artisti che, come è stato per me, vorrebbero collaborare e avere uno spazio loro per poter avviare fasi di sperimentazione. Ci sono tanti fondi qui nel paese non utilizzati che potrebbero essere adibiti a botteghe moderne, con attività artigianali, rendendo più accogliente e vivo il centro storico.

(Giacomelli, Marchesini, Parbuono, 2020, p. 111)

Sul versante della formazione TrasiMemo nell'ultimo quadriennio ha maturato collaborazioni stabili con le scuole del territorio, con biblioteche, librerie e associazioni locali che promuovo approfondimenti su risorse territoriali, tematiche ambientali e paesaggistiche. Particolarmente interessante è risultata l'esperienza di alcuni ragazzi della scuola secondaria di primo grado del paese che hanno organizzato delle "giornate aperte" alle famiglie con l'obiettivo di promuovere una maggiore conoscenza sul tema dei patrimoni culturali locali. Scrive ancora Monica:

Chi conosce "TrasiMemo" si affeziona, ne capisce gli intenti, capisce gli sforzi delle persone, prova a contribuire come può: ad esempio è capitato di ricevere in donazione o in prestito vecchi telai che abbiamo sistemato e che oggi utilizziamo frequentemente. Queste sono occasioni preziose per rimettere in moto strumenti e spesso per imparare tecniche diverse, per avere informazioni sugli artigiani del passato, sui loro saperi.

(Giacomelli, Marchesini, Parbuono, 2020, p. 110)

Sperimentando l'efficacia di azioni innovative volte a sollecitare il protagonismo di singoli «militanti locali del patrimonio» (de Varine, 2005, p. 22), sono nati alcuni gruppi di interessati che lavorano mettendo a confronto le proprie passioni e i propri saper fare dentro una dimensione

di condivisione che potremmo definire “comunità di pratica” (Wenger, 1998) aperte anche ai ricercatori. Tale propensione ha permesso anche a singole persone, raggruppate su progetti temporanei o duraturi, di trovare (o ritrovare) la forza per sperimentare nuove traiettorie di vita, nuove passioni, nuova attenzione verso le risorse e le potenzialità locali. Oltre a Monica e Solidea che, fin dagli esordi, gestiscono i laboratori permanenti rispettivamente di ceramica e di tessitura, Aldo, Chiara, Giovanna e Leanne, attraverso l’Associazione Gruppo infioratori Paciano, hanno ripreso a realizzare l’infiorata; Oriano ha maturato una passione per la storia locale che oggi spiega a visitatori e turisti e che diffonde via *social media* quotidianamente; i fratelli Giuseppe e Matilde hanno avviato il laboratorio “i lavori di Matilde” su *facebook*; Cristina, a casa sua, decora ceramiche su commissione promuovendo il suo lavoro attraverso i *social media*; Andrea si dedica al recupero e alla digitalizzazione di un archivio contemporaneo di memorie giornalistiche; Gabriela, Giuseppina, Maria Grazia, Regina e Serenella hanno organizzato un laboratorio permanente di disegno<sup>8</sup>. Jody, Margaret e Sarah, invece, hanno preso in carico la cura del roseto di Palazzo Baldeschi, precedentemente abbandonato, accogliendo nel loro gruppo chiunque voglia esercitarsi nella pratica del giardinaggio.

Il laboratorio più delicato, sicuramente più innovativo, è quello dedicato al tentativo di applicare il percorso di socializzazione e di partecipazione avviato nell’ambito dei patrimoni culturali al campo socio-sanitario. A partire dal 2015, infatti, è stata costruita una collaborazione con il Centro di Salute mentale del Trasimeno (uno dei CSM di USL Umbria 1) dal quale è nata una pratica di progettazione sperimentale permanente ancora oggi in atto. Il progetto – TrasiMemo “Arts&Crafts” – finanziato dalla Regione

---

<sup>8</sup> «Il laboratorio di disegno si svolge il mercoledì mattina, qui nelle sale di TrasiMemo, a Palazzo Baldeschi, dalle 10... dal 2016? Ognuna esprime la sua creatività, sono tutte bravissime... un gusto! Esprimono le loro emozioni, recuperano una comunicazione, un modo di comunicare... le lascio libere di scegliere quale tecnica, quali colori c’è chi lavora con le tempere, chi con gli oli, chi con gli acquerelli che sono più delicati. Vengono fuori tanti stili e modi di essere (Giuseppina, insegnante del laboratorio di disegno, deceduta nel 2020; intervista realizzata da Cinzia Marchesini a TrasiMemo, Paciano, il 5 settembre 2017)».



Umbria e più corposamente dalla Fondazione Cassa di Risparmio di Perugia, è stato realizzato con il supporto logistico della cooperativa "Frontiera lavoro". Numerosi pazienti seguiti dal CSM, per alcuni giorni a settimana e per un totale di ventinove settimane, hanno lavorato nei laboratori di TrasiMemo seguiti da operatori specializzati, dipendenti della cooperativa e da artigiane/i volontarie/i. La selezione dei partecipanti è stata proposta dal CSM valutando la compatibilità terapeutica, le loro disponibilità, l'attinenza fra interessi individuali e personali traiettorie di vita. Il progetto è stato supportato da un servizio di trasporto *ad hoc*, grazie a cui è stato possibile rispondere alla criticità di movimento di alcuni cittadini e all'assenza di servizi pubblici di mobilità nella zona del Trasimeno. I primi mesi di ognuna delle quattro edizioni sono stati dedicati ad appuntamenti di comprensione dell'allestimento museale (quello presente nel Palazzo e quello presente nel *web*) per poi procedere alla pratica artigianale, in particolar modo della tessitura e della ceramica.

Ma a livello personale mi è servito eh... lo ritengo che sia utile come, come... cosa che... riprende l'attività... dell'individuo, dal punto di vista dell'attività de le mani, de, de, del pensiero, su questo lavoro molto la ceramica. Doppo non... riguardo a tutto il discoroo... precedente, che è molto più vasto, non lo so come inserirlo personalmente, a livello personale: sì... è un tentativo di rimettere in giocooo... la propria, i propri interessi e la propria creatività e non è male io a livello personale non so adesso dire... farò il ceramista, o farò... questo esula un po' da le mieee... interessi propri, magari sono vari e poi essendo troppo vari uno deve sceligie' ma... non saprei adesso così a livello personale dire la ceramica quanto possa influire su di me... questo non lo so, so che le attività che ho svolto finora m'è stata utile. [...] ma perché... mi haaa... messo difronte alle mie insicurezze, le mie convinzioni di essere un impreciso, non di essere uno che ariva e si sente che fa le cose in maniera perfetta [...] comunque si sente abbastanza sicuro... oppure... cioè... mi so' accorto che ci sono de le insicurezze, ne la ceramica che, che sto elaborando, come un po' ne la vita... questo, questo presentarsi de la tematica de le insicurezze così in generale. Quindi per questo ti



è utile perché ti mette di fronte alla propria incapacità, ti reputi incapace... poi le fai e...<sup>9</sup>.

Tale attività, che ha raggiunto la sua quarta fase nel 2019 attraverso la collaborazione con altre tre istituzioni museali del Trasimeno, «ha rappresentato anche un processo di “riabilitazione” per i musei che si sono aperti a una nuova accoglienza utile al territorio mettendo a disposizione i saperi conservati, le collezioni di oggetti e di documentazione, gli spazi, per accogliere nuovi pubblici e nuovi addetti ai lavori» (Giacomelli, Marchesini, Parbuono, 2020, p. 108). L’esperienza pilota di Paciano, estesa poi all’intera area del Trasimeno, oggi beneficia di un finanziamento del Piano di Sviluppo Rurale della Regione Umbria, con riserva sugli “Investimenti territoriali integrati” prevista per l’Unione dei Comuni del Trasimeno. Grazie a questo processo saranno recuperati importanti spazi pubblici, in particolar modo nel Comune di Paciano, da destinare ad attività di interazione e confronto tra residenti e persone con differenti difficoltà di carattere psichico.

Tre anni fa ho aderito con grande entusiasmo a questo bellissimo progetto, TrasiMemo, [...] che tendeva a recuperare le grandi tradizioni artigianali del luogo, le tradizioni artigianali del Trasimeno e mi ha portato nel corso degli anni successivi alla messa in opera di questi laboratori per i pazienti del mio servizio, i quali hanno contribuito e hanno lavorato all’interno di queste bellissime attività artigianali recuperando parte delle loro abilità perse a causa della malattia mentale. Come sapete la malattia mentale è qualcosa che colpisce duramente l’individuo e il contesto familiare e soprattutto diminuisce questa capacità di essere presenti nei contesti di vita abituali. [...] Cosa non secondaria, perché vedete la cura arriva fino alla stabilizzazione dei sintomi, il miglioramento, ma ciò che manca spesso ed è forse è l’aspetto più importante è di restituire al proprio ambiente di vita e soprattutto sociale i ragazzi che hanno trascorso lungo tempo dalla loro storia personale nella cura e nella riabilitazione.

---

<sup>9</sup> Maurizio, paziente del CSM; intervista a realizzata da Cinzia Marchesini e Daniele Parbuono a TrasiMemo, Paciano, il 23 ottobre 2020 e parzialmente riportata nel video «Patrimoni, musei e paesaggi del Trasimeno per un welfare di comunità», <https://youtu.be/pN1vEiCUM90>.

Questo credo sia importante da capire perché il lavoro è uno di quelle attività che aiutano fortemente al reinserimento del paziente nel proprio contesto di vita<sup>10</sup>.

#### 4. Riflessioni

Le numerose proposte sperimentali di TrasiMemo, che riteniamo utile accomunare nella complessa categoria della “democratizzazione patrimoniale”, negli anni sono state presentate attraverso un’ articolata riflessione scientifica in seminari, convegni <sup>11</sup> ,

---

<sup>10</sup> Trascrizione della testimonianza di Gianfranco Salierno, psichiatra responsabile del Centro di Salute Mentale del Trasimeno, registrata a Perugia il 3 novembre 2020 e parzialmente riportata nel video «Patrimoni, musei e paesaggi del Trasimeno per un welfare di comunità», <https://youtu.be/pN1vEiCUM90>.

<sup>11</sup> Interventi di Cinzia Marchesini: *Il paesaggio come patrimonio culturale*, nel convegno “Antropologia e Patrimoni: la formazione di professionalità e competenze”, organizzato dal Comitato Alunni della Scuola di specializzazione in beni demoeetnonatropologici dell’Università degli Studi di Perugia (in convenzione con le università di Firenze, Siena e di Torino), il 25 febbraio 2021; *I musei del Trasimeno come spazi di costruzione dello sviluppo locale a partire dall’esperienza di “TrasiMemo. Banca della memoria del Trasimeno”*, nel convegno “Unipg pensa il lago Trasimeno. Secondo Brainstorming di Ateneo”, Università degli Studi di Perugia, 4 febbraio 2021; *Costruire “TrasiMemo. Banca della memoria del Trasimeno” il tempo della collaborazione*, nel VIII Convegno Nazionale della Società Italiana di Antropologia Applicata “Fare in tempo, cosa dicono gli antropologi sulle società dell’incertezza”, Parma, 2-6 dicembre 2020; *TrasiMemo. Arts&Crafts (Paciano-Italy)*, nel convegno “Cultural Heritage and Health in the Transnational Dimension”, Università degli Studi di Perugia, 9 dicembre 2019; *TrasiMemo. I patrimoni culturali al Trasimeno come supporto alla terapia in salute mentale*, nel convegno “Arcipelago della mente”, organizzato da USL Umbria 1, 21 maggio 2019, Perugia; *Trasimemo. Banca della Memoria del Trasimeno un esempio di rigenerazione di patrimoni culturali*, nel convegno “Il bene nostro. Stati generali della gestione del patrimonio culturale dal basso”, Firenze, 23 febbraio 2019; *TrasiMemo. Memory bank of Trasimeno Area. Working together to create development perspectives*, nel convegno “International Conference: Intangible Cultural Heritage, Museums and Cultural Policies”, IMP Intangible Cultural Heritage & Museum Project, Mechelen (Belgio) 8 maggio 2019; *TrasiMemo. Banca della memoria del Trasimeno*, nel convegno di presentazione del bando per l’individuazione della Candidatura Italiana al Premio del Paesaggio del Consiglio d’Europa, V Edizione, Perugia, 14 ottobre 2016; presentazione di “*TrasiMemo Arts&Crafts: l’utilizzo dei saperi tradizionali per sperimentare la spendibilità lavorativa di giovani in carico al Centro di Salute Mentale di Magione*”, Palazzo Baldeschi, Paciano, 1 aprile 2016. Interventi di Daniele Parbuono: *Democratizzazione dei patrimoni culturali*, nel convegno internazionale “12° Seminário internacional de democracia e constitucionalismo”, Associação Internacional de Constitucionalismo, Transnacionalidade e Sustentabilidade, Universidad de Alicante, Spagna, 9 settembre 2019; incontro “*Musei. Regolamenti, statuti, status giuridico*”, ICOM (International Council of Museum) Italia, Perugia, 6 maggio 2019; *Patrimoni culturali*

lezioni e pubblicazioni<sup>12</sup>. Infatti, da un’iniziale attenzione alla tutela delle memorie legate al lavoro artigianale in una specifica area geografica, il progetto si è sempre più connotato come una possibilità concreta di verificare l’efficacia sociale della ricerca etnografica sui patrimoni culturali in termini di esercizio del diritto di tornare o di restare a vivere in luoghi che potremmo definire periferici rispetto ai centri urbani di media e grande taglia (Teti, 2019). A TrasiMemo che, in differenti contesti di discussione o di riflessione abbiamo definito e definiamo processo, museo, banca virtuale, archivio, laboratorio, nel quadro di una più generale riflessione sui rischi di quella tendenza che con Alberto Magnaghi potremmo chiamare “deterritorializzazione” (Magnaghi, 2020), abbiamo quindi affidato l’obiettivo «di tutelare, per rilanciare nel contemporaneo e possibilmente verso il futuro, forme di memoria delle pratiche e dei saperi artigianali che, ad oggi, costituiscono una risorsa patrimoniale preziosa,

---

*immateriale e valorizzazione delle potenzialità locali. L’esperienza di “TrasiMemo. Banca della memoria del Trasimeno”, nel convegno “La rigenerazione nei borghi e nei centri storici minori. Conoscenza, partecipazione e valorizzazione”, Pontremoli, 14-16 marzo 2019; Concluding observations, nel convegno “Expert Meeting: Intangible Cultural Heritage, Museums and Participation”, IMP – Intangible Cultural Heritage & Museum Project, Museo Internazionale delle Marionette Antonio Pasqualino, Palermo, 27 febbraio 2018; Costruire “TrasiMemo”. Quali presupposti? Quali prospettive?, nel convegno “TrasiMemo. Arts&Crafts. Una terapia occupazionale è possibile”, Paciano, 27 settembre 2018; Patrimônio cultural e desenvolvimento local, lezione seminariale organizzata da “AtuaSerra” e Faculdade Meridional – IMED di Passo Fundo, Bento Gonçalves (Brasile), 19 e 20 ottobre 2018; Memoria e artigianato. La tutela dei saperi locali, LAECM (Laboratorio di etnografia della cultura materiale) 2015-2016, Università degli Studi di Bologna, 22 febbraio 2016. Interventi di Monica Maria Giacomelli, Cinzia Marchesini e Daniele Parbuono: partecipazione alla giornata “I patrimoni museali del Trasimeno. La democratizzazione della cultura a partire da TrasiMemo Arts&Craft”, in occasione del “Festival del paesaggio”, Paciano, 7 dicembre 2020; “TrasiMemo. Banca della memoria del Trasimeno”. Dialoghi, nel VI Convegno Nazionale della Società Italiana di Antropologia Applicata, “Cambiare il mondo con le parole. Antropologia Applicata e Comunicazione”, Cremona, 13-15 dicembre 2018; partecipazione all’incontro “TrasiMemo. Banca della memoria del Trasimeno. Bilanci, prospettive e nuove opportunità”, Palazzo Baldeschi, Paciano, 19 marzo 2016. Interventi di Cinzia Marchesini e Daniele Parbuono: “TrasiMemo. Banca della Memoria del Trasimeno”, nell’evento Sharper 2020 organizzato dall’Università degli Studi di Perugia, 27 novembre 2020.*

<sup>12</sup> Si vedano: Marchesini, 2017; Parbuono, 2015; Parbuono, 2018; Marchesini, Parbuono, 2020; Giacomelli, Marchesini, Parbuono, 2020.

anche e soprattutto per i destini professionali, quindi di vita, del territorio di riferimento» (Parbuono, 2015, p. 13).

A partire dallo stretto arco di possibilità di intervento sul patrimonio culturale immateriale prese in considerazione dal Codice dei Beni Culturali e del Paesaggio e alla luce delle possibilità offerte dalle convenzioni UNESCO<sup>13</sup>, anche grazie alle occasioni fornite dal lungo dibattito legato alla definitiva approvazione della Convenzione di Faro<sup>14</sup>, TrasiMemo evidenzia come «certe forme del patrimonio si rivelino uno strumento della contemporaneità utilizzate come mezzo per produrre località, anzi per creare un luogo attraverso un complesso lavoro patrimoniale da parte di un gruppo di persone dai confini variabili che con perseveranza agisce per portare avanti un proprio progetto di futuro, una propria visione» (Rossi, 2020).

La presenza lunga del sapere antropologico dentro i processi decisionali che progressivamente hanno aperto l'idea iniziale a forme innovative di sperimentazione e di azione, se da un lato ha richiesto una costante attenzione alle posture professionali e umane generate dalle numerose relazioni operative tra le persone coinvolte, dall'altro ci ha impegnati nella verifica riflessiva degli esiti preventivati e ottenuti. Seguendo l'impostazione metodologica di Tullio Seppilli:

La funzione sociale dell'antropologia culturale, e il rapporto fra momento della ricerca scientifica e momento delle scelte di valore e della responsabilità sociale dell'antropologo culturale si articolano perciò a tre livelli: a) individuazione (scelta) delle situazioni problematiche che vanno posti come campi prioritari di ricerca, come oggetto di interpretazione scientifica; b) diffusione dei risultati della ricerca come contributo alla consapevolezza sociale; c) presa di posizione rispetto alle possibili utilizzazioni operative dei risultati della ricerca e collaborazione ai programmi di intervento coerenti con tali obiettivi attraverso la

---

<sup>13</sup> “Convenzione per la salvaguardia del patrimonio culturale immateriale”, approvata dall’Unesco nel 2003; “Convenzione sulla protezione e la promozione della diversità delle espressioni culturali”, approvato dall’Unesco nel 2005.

<sup>14</sup> “Convenzione quadro del Consiglio d’Europa sul valore dell’eredità culturale per la società”, approvata dal Consiglio d’Europa nel 2005 e, solo nel 2020, ratificata dallo Stato italiano dopo un lungo periodo di frizioni sul testo e sulle sue possibili conseguenze giuridiche e politiche.

partecipazione alla precisazione dei fini e degli strumenti dell'intervento, alla previsione dei suoi effetti, al suo svolgimento, e al controllo dei suoi risultati.

(Seppilli, 2008, p. 76)

Abbiamo potuto individuare un *fil rouge* a partire dal mandato simbolico che, nel tempo, il gruppo di lavoro aperto si è auto-attribuito nel tentativo di operare in controtendenza rispetto alla marginalizzazione dei luoghi di riferimento, rispetto al rischio di perdere memorie e percezioni consapevoli dei paesaggi locali quali spazi trasformativi agiti nelle espressioni creative delle diverse diversità culturali, ricche di saper fare e dense di relazioni fra esseri umani e resto dell'ambiente. Come proposta di collaborazione territoriale si è mirato a collocare i saperi e i saper fare al centro delle politiche di lotta all'abbandono dei piccoli paesi, cercando di cogliere negli aspetti delle interrelazioni ambientali il *meshwork* (Ingold, 2019) fluido, aperto e mutevole che dà luogo a paesaggi articolati frutto di «una creazione che si costruisce attraverso la partecipazione degli individui con ciò che li circonda» (Facciolongo, 2018, p. 33). Rafforzare l'emersione delle memorie, le relazioni con gli spazi di vita, le pratiche minute personali a partire dalla consapevolezza che «dove esiste un'intima relazione tra le persone e la Terra, la natura e la varietà della cultura delle persone sono inseparabili dalla natura e dalla varietà delle piante, degli animali e dei terreni» (Cullinan, 2012, p. 147).

## 5. Criticità

Nel lavoro congiunto che ha visto misurarsi diverse competenze e diverse attitudini professionali, non sempre i tempi della ricerca hanno potuto garantire alle politiche locali rapide risposte. Il dialogo tra istituzioni, tra istituzioni e soggetti locali interessati, pur se proficuo sul piano degli esiti, è stato mantenuto aperto solo grazie a un costante esercizio di mediazione che, probabilmente, potremmo individuare come la parte più faticosa del progetto. Lo sforzo maggiore che abbiamo compiuto, dal punto di vista

della competenza antropologica, è stato quello di assumere insieme – insieme agli esponenti dei differenti livelli politici e a tutte le persone coinvolte – «un atteggiamento critico verso modi di pensare che riducono le cose a uniformità, omogeneità, concordanza di vedute e consenso. Dobbiamo aprire il vocabolario della descrizione dell’analisi culturale, affinché vi trovino posto concetti quali divergenza, varietà e disaccordo» (Geertz, 1999, p. 53). Uniformità, omogeneità e concordanza che abbiamo dovuto problematizzare e ri-discutere in ogni singola azione progettuale nel necessario sforzo di uscire dalla tentazione del “marketing politico” locale (spesso riproduttore di tendenze nazionali e internazionali) di consolidare certezze identitarie fittizie. Il “luogo”, scrive Federico Scarpelli (2013, p. 52):

Non è una piccola porzione di uno spazio astratto e formale, è un contesto che si dispiega a partire dall’esperienza corporea, dal movimento, dall’azione fisica, dalla familiarità con le cose. Allo stesso tempo, è l’addensarsi – l’avere e il mantenere luogo – di memorie, racconti, linguaggi, pensieri, conoscenza del luogo e conoscenza locale, significati condivisi e contesti significativi. [...] Parlare di racconto del luogo potrebbe essere un modo più flessibile per evidenziare delle risorse condivise, delle trame ricorrenti, dei passaggi contestati, fra soggetti differenti.

In linea con questa definizione abbiamo continuato a ritenere che il territorio non sia oggettivabile, il patrimonio culturale non sia oggettivabile, il museo e il nostro progetto non siano oggettivabili. Perciò abbiamo praticato l’incontro partecipativo cercando di costruire nuove semantiche del luogo, del tempo, delle storie, delle memorie, accettabili e agevolmente fruibili da parte di tutti i soggetti in campo.

Ciò ha comportato una prassi di comune riflessione non istantanea, non immediata, non circoscritta. TrasiMemo è divenuto un coacervo di progetti e di progetti che hanno generato altri progetti, altre traiettorie, altre possibilità. La memoria dell’artigianato ha rappresentato un punto di

partenza che ha poi aperto su altre questioni: il paesaggio, le politiche culturali, la lettura, la qualità della vita, l'ambiente, il rapporto tra salute e malattia, le diversità, la democratizzazione degli spazi di vita, l'alimentazione, l'agricoltura. Così la potenzialità di un permanente presidio di creatività e discussione è diventata al contempo una palese difficoltà nel mantenere attivo un progetto locale che in molte delle sue traiettorie carsiche ottiene risultati nel lungo termine, creando consapevolezza attraverso numerose azioni non palesi e attraverso la persistenza e la pernicacia del comporre consolidando piccoli, a volte micro, elementi duraturi. Anche in questo caso nel rapporto tra ricerca e politiche «che operano una specifica produzione della località» (Lai, 2009, p. 73) abbiamo dovuto individuare un ritmo differente: differente dal rischio di consumare la risposta progettuale velocemente per avere subito a disposizione una nuova macro proposta da fornire alla possibile platea degli elettori; differente dalla prospettiva di lavorare esclusivamente sull'osservazione scientifica lunga dei processi, favorendo al contrario una calibrata integrazione tra saperi critici e pragmatismi amministrativi.

## 6. Bilanci

A sette anni dall'avvio di TrasiMemo, che rimane un percorso aperto, attivo e progressivo, la cooperazione fra sguardi, voci e posture eteroclitiche, ha generato uno spazio fisico e virtuale in cui frizioni, convergenze, divergenze e mediazioni, promuovono quotidianamente processi di partecipazione dentro inevitabili negoziazioni, necessarie alla definizione di un progetto locale che ambisce a valorizzare differenze senza ridurre l'inevitabile complessità dell'incontro. L'etnografia ha costituito il *corpus* documentale che sta alla base degli allestimenti e che, insieme alla documentazione audiovisuale presente nell'archivio online ([www.trasimemo.it](http://www.trasimemo.it)), è divenuto il punto di partenza e di forza di tutte le esperienze laboratoriali. Tale «potenziale inizio di relazione collaborativa continuamente negoziata e orientata all'azione condivisa» (Ballacchino,



2020, p. 35) ha creato legami professionali e umani che hanno rinsaldato il progetto, trasformando lo stesso campo di ricerca in uno spazio di sperimentazione patrimoniale in cui tradizione e innovazione sono triangolate nel tentativo di determinare nuove possibilità professionali e nuove forme di economia, anche turistica.

Il donare memorie, il consegnarle alla pratica antropologica della relazione etnografia, il dividerle nella costruzione di installazioni, allestimenti e laboratori ha innescato processi di co-progettazione che se da un lato hanno abituato i soggetti coinvolti a intersecare differenti punti di vista cercando di volta in volta lessici e semantiche comuni, dall'altro ha garantito la sopravvivenza attiva e operosa dell'intero percorso. I numerosi incontri pubblici in cui si è discusso, meditato, smontato e rimontato, hanno determinato quella pratica del "lavorare insieme", del "lavorare con" e non del "lavorare per", che ancora oggi modifica impianto e obiettivi in base alle esigenze contestuali. Proprio per questo la valorizzazione dell'artigianato è solo la prima possibilità di azione comune che TrasiMemo ha potuto sperimentare. Non è da escludere che in futuro si possa e si riesca a sviluppare altri rami progettuali nell'ambito del concetto di patrimonio culturale.

Trattare alcuni saperi locali declinandoli al tempo contemporaneo ha favorito la possibilità di analizzare criticamente le condizioni in base a cui in un piccolo paese, rispetto a una città, sia più facile o più difficile vivere negli anni Duemila. Da questo punto di vista, nel tempo, abbiamo iniziato a pensare alcuni aspetti di TrasiMemo anche in una dimensione di lotta all'impoverimento culturale e di conseguente lotta all'impoverimento socio-economico. Questo aspetto della riflessione ci ha consentito di trattare alcuni saperi locali come protagonisti di possibili processi di patrimonializzazione (di cui noi stessi siamo stati e siamo parte) in grado di far riflettere su quella potenziale ricchezza democratica e trasformativa che potrebbe permettere un mutamento più consapevole del contesto locale.



L'obiettivo del progetto è quello di mescolare le differenti voci, pensando a una partecipazione politica delle scelte che riguardano il campo patrimoniale nell'ambito di pianificazioni territoriali auspicabilmente plurali.

## **Bibliografia**

- Ballacchino K. (2020), Restituzione e processi partecipativi. Problemi metodologici circa il ri-tornare sul campo. In K. Ballacchino, L. Bindi e A. Broccolini (a cura di), *Ri-tornare pratiche etnografiche tra comunità e patrimoni culturali*, Bologna: Patron, pp. 29-35.
- Bindi L. (2020), Dell'inquieto ritornare... Posture, fraintendimenti e domande dal campo. In K. Ballacchino, L. Bindi e A. Broccolini (a cura di), *Ri-tornare pratiche etnografiche tra comunità e patrimoni culturali*, Bologna: Patron, pp. 7-13.
- Cullinan C. (2012) [2011], Diritti della natura. Wild law, Prato: Piano B.
- de Varine H. (2005), Le radici del futuro. Il patrimonio culturale al servizio dello sviluppo locale, a cura di D. Jalla, Bologna: Clueb.
- Facciolongo A. (2018), Paesaggi e marginalità. Etica ed estetica del terzo paesaggio, Milano-Udine: Mimesis.
- Feld S., Basso K. H. (a cura di) (1996), Senses of Place, Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.
- Geertz C. (1999) [1995], Mondo globale, mondi locali. Cultura e politica alla fine del ventesimo secolo, Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Giacomelli M. M., Marchesini C., Parbuono D. (2020), "TrasiMemo. Banca della memoria del Trasimeno". Dialoghi. In K. Ballacchino, L. Bindi e A. Broccolini (a cura di), *Ri-tornare pratiche etnografiche tra comunità e patrimoni culturali*, Bologna: Patron, pp. 99-117.
- Ingold T. (2019), Making. Antropologia, archeologia, arte e architettura, Milano: Raffaello Cortina.
- Lai F. (2009), Località, *Antropologia museale*, 22, pp. 72-74.
- Lattanzi V. (2021), Musei e antropologia. Storia, esperienze, prospettive, Roma: Carocci.
- Magnaghi A. (2020), Il principio territoriale, Torino: Bollati Boringhieri.

- Marchesini C. (2017), "TrasiMemo Arts & Crafts". Un'esperienza di salute mentale tra i patrimoni culturali, *Perugia: Morlacchi*.
- Marchesini C., Parbuono D. (2020), Esperienze per un uso sociale della ricerca a TrasiMemo. Diversità e disabilità, *AM. Rivista della Società italiana di antropologia medica*, 50, pp. 347-368.
- Papa C. (a cura di) (2012), *Lecture di paesaggi*, Milano: Guerini e Associati.
- Parbuono D. (2015), "TrasiMemo. Banca della memoria del Trasimeno" un progetto partecipato, *Archivio di etnografia*, 2-2013, pp.11-31.
- Parbuono D. (2018), "TrasiMemo" Memory Bank of Trasimeno Area. Working together to create development perspectives, *Revista de Arquiteutura IMED*, 7, 2, pp. 23-44.
- Rossi E. (2020), Tra feste e patrimonio: appunti a partire da un caso toscano, *Dialoghi Mediterranei*, 1° novembre 2020, (<http://www.istitutoeuroarabo.it/DM/tra-feste-e-patrimonio-appunti-a-partire-da-un-caso-toscano>) [consultato in data 27 luglio 2021].
- Scarpelli F. (2013), Piattaforme girevoli e identità invisibili. In T. Banini (a cura di), *Identità territoriali. Questioni, metodi, esperienze a confronto*, Milano: Franco Angeli, pp. 45-58.
- Seppilli T. (2008) [1969], Rapporto sull'antropologia culturale. In M. Minelli e C. Papa (a cura di), *Tullio Seppilli. Scritti di Antropologia culturale. I problemi teorici, gli incontri di culture, il mondo contadino*, Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, pp. 75-104.
- Teti V. (2019), Riabitare i paesi. Un "Manifesto" per i borghi in abbandono e in via di spopolamento, *Dialoghi Mediterranei*, 1 gennaio 2019, <http://www.istitutoeuroarabo.it/DM/riabitare-i-paesi-un-mani> (consultato in data 27 luglio 2021).
- Turci M. (2012), Museo. Valori di legame e dono partecipativo. Appunti per una discussione, *Antropologia Museale*, 31, pp. 51-53.
- Wenger E. (1998), *Communities of Practice. Learning, meaning, and identity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.



### **3. Ways of Saint James in the region of Tâmega e Sousa: proposals of patrimonial valorization of the Resende Way**

*Pedro Ricardo Coelho de Azevedo*<sup>15</sup>

#### **1. Introduction**

The declaration of the Way of Saint James in 1987 as the First Cultural Itinerary of Europe by the Council of Europe and the declaration of the French Way in 1993 as World Heritage, set the tone to start initiatives for the valorization and heritagization of several Jacobean itineraries. The recovery and respective reactivation of the Ways of Saint James have multiple dimensions and perspectives: economic, touristic, religious and cultural. Its recovery has a high capacity to regenerate and dynamize rural territories, namely in terms of tourism, promoting a sustainable tourism without causing negative impacts to the territories (Azevedo, 2021). Moreover, they promote territorial development namely at the various local and regional levels (Lopez and Santos, 2019).

Above all, they allow the valorization of the heritage, attract visitors to rural territories, generating several positive impacts not only for the territories where they are implemented, but also for their communities (Bindi, 2014; Moscarelli et al, 2020). The Way of Saint James is a cultural heritage, as it has a historical dimension visible in the various heritage assets, namely the Jacobean heritage. Currently, walking the Ways of Saint James means walking them for various motivations, cultural, historical, touristic, religious, spiritual, sporting, among others.

---

<sup>15</sup> Researcher at the University of Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro (UTAD) and at the Centre for Transdisciplinary Studies for Development (CETRAD), Vila Real – Portugal.

In addition to these valorization processes, the growing number of pilgrims, where during 2019 347,578 pilgrims arrived (Pilgrim's Office, 2021), justifies that some of the Ways of Saint James be recovered.

Other existing Ways in northern Portugal have been the target of recovery and revitalization initiatives (Nunes et al, 2016), such as the case of the Central Way, the Portuguese Inner Way to Santiago de Compostela (PIWSC), the Silver Way (Via de la Plata) and the Torres Way.

A recent news article by Jorge Oliveira Pinto tells us that the pilgrimages went through the Montemuro mountain range and then on to Resende<sup>16</sup>.

This brief study intends to trace the itinerary and identify the Jacobean evidences with the objective of this route to be implemented and mainly contribute to its tourism and heritage valorization. It is not a question of creating a new route, but rather of taking advantage of the evidence that constitutes tangible and intangible heritage (Bak et al, 2019), that is, in a material and immaterial heritage, which is materialised in the testimonies and the various historical marks existing on the ground.

Marks subsist in some municipalities, including in Resende, Cinfães, Baião and Marco de Canaveses. This territory is marked by its rurality, marked by its landscape and rural component.

This work is structured in four parts: initially it will be made a socio-territorial contextualization of these municipalities inserted in the NUT-III region of Tâmega and Sousa, to then be made a historical framework of the Ways of St. James. Afterwards, the methodology adopted will be explained and, finally, the results obtained will be demonstrated and analysed insofar as the implications of the implementation of this Way are shown.

---

<sup>16</sup> <https://www.jornaldocentro.pt/noticias/colunistas/torres-villarroel-a-caminho-de-santiago-por-onde-passou-certezas-probabilidades-conveniencias>.

## 2. Socio-territorial context

The municipalities of Resende, Cinfães, Baião and Marco de Canaveses are located in the north of Portugal and integrate the sub-region NUT III of Tâmega and Sousa. These municipalities in 2020 counted 98,240 inhabitants, as shown in Table 1.

**Table 1 - Population of the municipalities.**

<b>Municipalities</b>	<b>Nr. Inhabitants in 2020</b>
Resende	10.080
Cinfães	18.123
Baião	18.662
Marco de Canaveses	51.375
<b>Total</b>	<b>98.240</b>

*Source: (PORDATA, 2021).*

In terms of tourism infrastructure, Table 2 illustrates the number of existing accommodation, museums and tourist offices in the municipalities under study.

**Table 2 - Existing tourist infrastructures in the municipalities.**

<b>Municipalities</b>	<b>Nr. of tourist accommodations in 2019</b>	<b>Nr. of Museums in 2019</b>	<b>Tourist Offices</b>
Resende	12	0	1
Cinfães	12	0	1
Baião	21	2	1
Marco de Canaveses	17	0	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>

*Source: (PORDATA, 2021).*

In 2014, the Tâmega and Sousa region accounted for 6% of total travel agencies, tour operators and other reservation services located in the North, 7% of companies providing accommodation services and 10% of restaurant and similar companies (Comunidade do Tâmega e Sousa, 2014, p. 109).

It is characterised by being a predominantly agricultural territory, where agricultural and livestock activities predominate. At the same time, there are some service and industry sectors. The territory is marked by its landscape component, with numerous villages scattered by mountain areas.

These municipalities correspond to ancient territory, assuming special preponderance during the Christian Reconquest period (Duarte, 1996).

This area is bordered to the north by the municipalities of Amarante and Mesão Frio, to the east by Lamego, to the west by Penafiel and Castelo de Paiva, and to the south by Arouca and Castro Daire.

### **3. Pilgrimage routes in Tâmega and Sousa**

The numerous Jacobean evidences existing in the Tâmega and Sousa region date back to the times of the Christian Reconquest in the Douro valley, approximately from the year 1000, when the Muslim domain was pushed southwards.

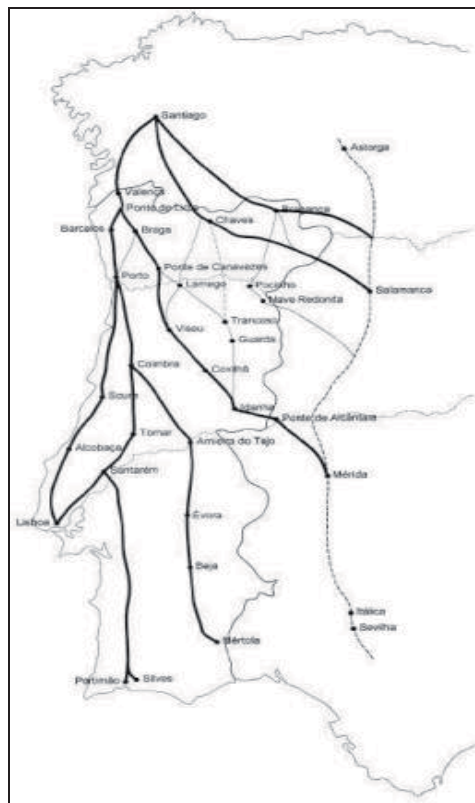
The Ways came from the central region of the country, which crossed the Douro in places like Resende and Cinfães, and eventually converged on different, alternative paths towards Santiago de Compostela, as shown in figure 1.

It is assumed that these variants came from the PIWSC (Pereiro, 2019) and the Torres Way, more specifically from Lamego, but also from the Beiras region, and as a way of shortening the route, they passed through Resende and Cinfães, where they crossed the Douro and reached Baião and Marco

de Canaveses, eventually junctioning further north, possibly again with the Torres Way (Fernandes, 2018). This situation is illustrated in figure 2.

This Way through Resende was widely travelled during the Middle Ages and, despite witnessing a progressive decline over the years, it can be deduced that there was some movement of pilgrims still in the 15th and 16th centuries. However, the use of these routes by pilgrims eventually declined and the marks in space and time were lost. Despite this situation, considerable marks remain on the territory, such as the religious heritage with chapels and churches, place names, hostels, legends, among others, as represented in figure 3.

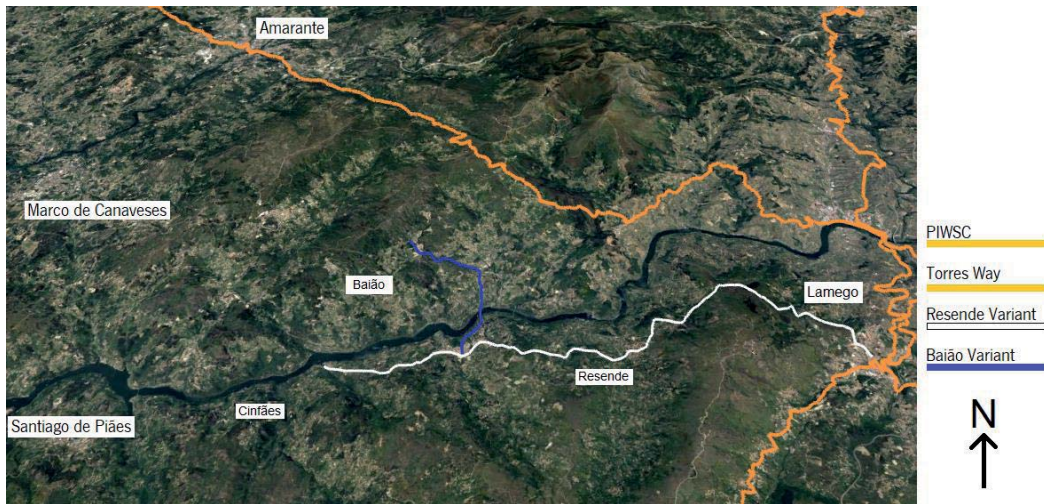
**Figure 1 – Pilgrimage routes to Santiago de Compostela in Portugal.**



*Source: Cunha, 2011, 2013, 2019, p. 8.*



**Figure 2 – Ways of St. James in the Tâmega e Sousa region.**



*Source: own elaboration based on google earth.*

**Figure 3 – Main Jacobean evidence in the Tâmega e Sousa region.**



*Source: own elaboration based on google earth.*

Next, the itineraries will be explained and at the same time the main heritage related to the jacobean cult existing in the municipalities of Resende, Cinfães, Baião and Marco de Canaveses will be demonstrated.

### 3.1. Resende

Resende is characterised by being an ancient territory (Duarte, 2001) and will have played a major role in the passage of pilgrims towards Santiago de Compostela. It is considered to have been a secondary path, used to shorten the way or to enter the westernmost part. It came from the PIWSC, which was a main road that originated in Viseu and was the most travelled one. In reality, PIWSC allowed multiple connections and variants (Eixo Atlântico, p. 65).

The testimonies linked to the historical documentation enable us to substantiate the Way (Pinto, 1982). In Lamego, an important crossroads of the Trás-os-Montes region that had considerable importance in the medieval times, where a main route came from Guarda, Trancoso and Sernancelhe, and another crossroads led via Mesão Frio to Amarante, Guimarães and Braga, which corresponds to the current Torres Way (Eixo Atlântico, 2015, p. 66).

Resende é um território antigo, que desempenhou elevada relevância durante a Idade Média (Duarte, 2001). Leaving Lamego, it follows the road to Resende towards Souto Covo (Eixo Atlântico, 2015; Cunha, 2019, p. 15), passing through São Martinho de Mouros, then reaching the village of Resende until reaching Aregos, where there was a ferry crossing. This route is approximately 30 kilometres long and corresponds to the main variant.

The toponyms of Pousada (Anreade) and Pousadoiro refer to places where there were hostels to support the pilgrims. In the case of Pousada, it is assumed that a house in this locality, called Pousada, performed this function of shelter. In fact, there were two other shelters: one in Pousadoiro and another one in Caldas de Aregos, the latter being founded in the 13th century. There are other toponyms such as the place of Santiago in Cárquere and the place of Barco in Barrô that refers to a passage in the Douro River (Pinto, 1982, p. 454).

In terms of religious heritage, in the parish of Paus, there is the Chapel of São Tiago Maior. In São Martinho de Mouros there are legends dating back to the foundation of Portugal as a country which state that the warriors and the villages used Saint Tiago to help them fight the Moors. Moreover, the church of São Martinho de Mouros, built in the thirteenth century, is a building of Romanesque architecture, where locals say that over the portal, there are four corbels, which would support a porch, which currently does not exist, to house pilgrims.

The church of Barrô, as illustrated in figure 4, bears two Malta's crosses marked in stone, flanking the main doorway, which must date back to the 16th century, which formerly belonged to the Religious-Military Order of the Hospitallers, of which Barrô was a Commendation (Monumentos, 2021), which refers to a connection to the Ways of Saint James.

On the other hand, the consistent medieval road network that existed, namely bridges, allowed Resende to be inserted in the pilgrimage routes. The River Douro was a difficult natural barrier that had to be crossed by pilgrims on their way to Compostela by boat. In the 12th century, there was a ferryboat that operated between the quays of São Martinho de Mouros (Resende) and (Porto de Rei) and connected with the place Barqueiros, located on the other bank and belonging to the current county of Mesão Frio (Abreu, 2006; Duarte, 2007, p. 88; Eixo Atlântico, 2015, p. 69).

Figure 4 – Barrô parish church, Resende.<sup>17</sup>



Source: Monumentos, 2021.

As for iconography, two images of Saint James have been identified, one in the church of Paus and the other in the Parish Church of Resende. The last place on the itinerary in Resende is in Aregos, where during the Middle Ages the queen D. Mafalda, wife of Afonso Henriques, had an inn built. The name "albergaria" still exists today (Pinto, 1982, p. 253). There is also the Romanesque Chapel of Santa Maria Madalena on the site.

---

<sup>17</sup> Available at: [http://www.monumentos.gov.pt/Site/APP\\_PagesUser/SIPA.aspx?id=4279](http://www.monumentos.gov.pt/Site/APP_PagesUser/SIPA.aspx?id=4279).



### 3.2. Cinfães

Cinfães also presents some Jacobean evidences. For example, the ancient "*carraria antiqua*" (Pinho, 1997, p. 39), a secular route, was widely travelled during the Roman period and the Middle Ages, and may have played a structuring role with other itineraries.

As was the case in Resende, there were ferries that allowed the crossing of the Douro River, namely connecting the current towns of Várzea do Douro (Marco de Canaveses) to Escamarão (Cinfães), (Conceição, 2020, p. 59). There were other passing boats nearby, namely in Espadanedo and São Cristóvão de Nogueira. (Cunha, 2019, p. 26)

In the parish of Santiago de Piães, there is the church of São Tiago, whose primitive construction originates from the 11th century. It is important to mention that São Tiago is the patron saint of this parish and the coat of arms itself features a staff and a boat.

A tradition that still remains is for the farmers to perform a procession where they carry the "image of Santiago, from the church of Piães, to the Torneiros beach, by the Douro river, and there, they fill with water the gourd that the saint carries tied to his pilgrim staff; Then, they would sprinkle the image or wet its feet, say fervent prayers, return to the church with the Saint's litter or collect it in a chapel near the river, while waiting for the rain, after which they would definitively return the image to its church" (Guimarães, 1954, p. 147).

**Table 3 - Jacobean religious heritage in Baião.**

<b>Church / Chapel</b>	<b>Parish</b>
São Tiago Chapel	Parish Councils of Campelo and Ovil
São Tiago Chapel	Parishships of Loivos da Ribeira and Tresouras
Mesquinhata Parish Church / Church of São Tiago	Parishships of Baião (Santa Leocádia) and Mesquinhata

São Tiago Chapel / Church of São Tiago and Nossa Senhora dos Oferecimentos	Parish of Valadares
Valadares Parish Church / São Tiago Church	

Source: *Monumentos* (2021).

### 3.3. Baião

As far as Jacobean heritage is concerned, Baião has several religious buildings, as shown in the following table.

The Valadares Parish Church is an excellent example of Romanesque architecture. As São Tiago is the patron saint of this parish, the festival is held on July 25, Saint James day. Here we find other Jacobean symbols: the coat of arms has clearly Jacobean symbols and inside the church, there is a mural painting of pilgrim Santiago dating from the 14th and 15th centuries.

In another location, the Ancede Monastery has a triptych that appears to have two pilgrims.

### 3.4. Marco de Canaveses

Referring again to the boats, there was a ferry that crossed in Entre-os-Rios, in the strategic port of the mouth of the river Tâmega. From here, it would connect with the barge in Várzea do Douro, where it would cross this important watercourse towards Lamego and Viseu. (Conceição, 2020, p. 60).

The Canaveses bridge, built over the Tâmega river, was a major axis connecting Porto to the Trás-os-Montes region. In the vicinity of this bridge, there was also a shelter, considered one of the oldest existing in the region (Silva, 2017). Other evidence has to do with the chapel of "Senhor

da Boa Passagem", located at the exit of the bridge, which was located next to the Church of São Nicolau, and refers to a crossing point. The chapel was moved to a higher location when the waters of the Torrão dam rose.

It is important to identify other Jacobean evidence in this municipality, namely mural painting and iconography. As regards mural painting, the church of Vila Nova de Quires and the church of Marco de Canaveses have some evidence. In the first, there is a painting alluding to Santiago Matamouros and a coffered ceiling with Saint James, while in the second there is a mural painting of Santiago Peregrino.

Regarding iconography, the churches in the localities of Ariz, Sande and Soalhães each have an image of Saint James.

In terms of religious heritage, the chapels of São Tiago de Entre-os-Rios, of Soalhães and of Sande, from the 15th and 16th centuries, respectively, remain.

On a hill is the Castro de Santiago, where there is the chapel of São Tiago, built in the Middle Ages, overlooking a possible route used by pilgrims coming from Lamego on their way to Santiago de Compostela<sup>18</sup>.

In short, the heritage elements presented here provide evidence of the predominance of numerous Jacobean marks.

#### **4. Methodology**

In order to carry out this work, it was necessary to take a comprehensive approach that would allow us to reconstitute not only the Way itself, but also to identify the existing heritage. Therefore, two methodological phases were established.

In the first phase, it was essential to carry out a bibliographical research about this region and to consult studies and technical reports about the Ways, such as the manual of the Eixo Atlântico (2015). In this way, it was

---

<sup>18</sup> [http://www.baixotamega.pt/uploads/writer\\_file/document/172/Percurso\\_Pedestre\\_\\_PR1\\_-\\_Pedras\\_\\_Moinhos\\_e\\_Aromas\\_de\\_Santiago\\_.pdf](http://www.baixotamega.pt/uploads/writer_file/document/172/Percurso_Pedestre__PR1_-_Pedras__Moinhos_e_Aromas_de_Santiago_.pdf).

possible to compile information considered crucial to establish the route and collect indicators to understand and interpret this territory.

Subsequently, the second phase was based on carrying out fieldwork in order to identify the heritage assets on site and establish a possible route in the field. At the same time, between 12 and 19 July 2021, 10 interviews were carried out, 4 with technicians from tourist offices, 3 with town and parish council technicians and 3 with parish council presidents, with the aim of understanding the feasibility of implementing this route. Questions to be addressed were pre-defined, such as: - What are the advantages of revitalising the path? - Have any initiatives been carried out? - How would it be valued and implemented? These specific respondents were selected for the research because they know the terrain and in turn are the primary agents for implementing the route on the territory.

Thus, it was possible to obtain relevant information that led to the identification of the heritage and obtain various views and perspectives regarding the recovery of the Way.

## **5. Results**

In recent years, some awareness-raising activities have been carried out to bring the Way of Saint James closer to the local community. However, these initiatives focus mostly on the Torres Way, a path already duly signalled and implemented in the territory. The Intermunicipal Community of Tâmega and Sousa, in partnership with other Intermunicipal Communities, promotes initiatives to proceed to the survey, from the historical and geographic point of view to the intervention, and to the valorisation of part of the route of the Torres Way. As already mentioned in the methodology chapter, ten interviews were conducted with agents of the four municipalities, namely with technicians of tourism offices, technicians of municipalities, technicians of parish councils and presidents of parish councils, with the aim of identifying the perceptions, knowledge and feasibility of this itinerary.



In an interview with a technician of the Resende tourist office, he states that "The village of Resende is not part of the current pilgrim routes. But since there is evidence, it would be an added value to create a route properly signposted to attract pilgrims to this region. Besides, it would allow diversifying the tourist offer and make tourists stay longer here" (technician from the tourist office, interview carried out on 19 July 2021). In other interviews with two mayors of parishes of the same municipality, their reports are unanimous in recognising the positive impacts that this Way would allow, as "the growing number of pilgrims arriving at Santiago de Compostela, it would be necessary to take advantage of the existing historical evidence to materialize the Way in Resende and integrate it into the pilgrimage routes" (Presidents of the Parish Council of Resende and São Martinho de Mouros, interview held on 16 July 2021), while another testimony notes that it is "necessary to revitalize a community heritage and that ends a legacy of the ancestors and the secular importance of this territory. People have a connection with their heritage, they protect it and value it, but they are not aware of their connection to the Caminos de Santiago" (President of the Parish Council of Junta de Aregos, interview held on 19 July 2021).

In Baião, the technician from the tourism office says that "the connection of this route to the Via de Torres would allow a greater sustainability of the route and greater visibility" (Technician from the tourism office, interview held on 16 July 2021). From another perspective, the interview conducted with the technician from the Valadares Parish Council, in Baião, defends the deep connection of the community to São Tiago, who is the patron saint of the parish, but also to the Jacobean heritage existing in the parish. In addition, it was important to link the Camino with other tourist resources in order to catapult the route. We developed a series of activities, especially walks, as a way of making the Way known" (Technician at the Parish Council of Valadares, Baião, interview carried out on 13 July 2021).

Considering the other interviews carried out, the interviewees are unanimous in recognizing the advantages that the reactivation of the route

allows, particularly in terms of territorial development. At the same time, they mention that it will be necessary to create the necessary infrastructures such as pilgrim hostels and other support structures. This set of perspectives demonstrate the perceptions and, in some way, the possible viability of implementing the Way of Saint James through Resende.

## **6. Final considerations**

The valorization of the Resende Way, understood as a cultural heritage of high historical value, allows not only the recovery of a Jacobean itinerary, but also rural and territorial development, since a large part of the Way goes through rural areas.

The interviews made it possible to verify that, on the one hand, there are civil measures of promotion and recovery, i.e., promoted by institutions and local communities, but on the other hand, there is an absence of official measures for the recovery of this route. It is clear that there is a need for legal valorization, defence and identification actions that lead to the tracing and signposting of the Way.

It should be noted that although several elements of cultural heritage are still active, i.e. in use, and although some are classified, as for example the religious assets, many of them are not associated with the Jacobean cult, but function in the collective memory as an important part of the identity of the local community.

The high number of heritage sites is one of the assets of the route. In addition to being used, the heritage can generate income. Moreover, it becomes functional again, since some of it is not accessible to the public. As it happens in other paths, it is necessary to resinify the local heritage and the path itself (Barrère, 2016). From another perspective, the adaptation of this Way into a touristic-cultural route allows on the one hand to recover the Way and, on the other hand, to articulate all the Jacobean heritage and other patrimonial assets (Ron and Timothy, 2018).

The heritage on route, is living and changing, where there is an exchange, which enables a movement of people.

Another potential of this route is its inclusion in the Romanesque Route<sup>19</sup> with great advantages for this territory.

In terms of the limitations felt in this work, they are centred on the scant evidence existing in the field, which makes it difficult to accurately reconstitute the route. It is possible to do more extensive work involving a larger number of agents, taking advantage of the basis provided by this work.

In short, it has been shown that the Resende Way has the potential to be valued, based on the various Jacobean and other heritage testimonies. Above all, it allows the promotion of a sustainable development, based on the environmental, agricultural and natural components of this region; the development of a new religious and historical-cultural tourism product, which may even develop religious tourism; and the enhancement of cultural identity, since they are a historical legacy of the communities.

## **Acknowledgements**

This work is carried out within the scope of the Research Grant with the reference SFRH / BD / 136459/2018 attributed by FCT - Portugal.

The Center for Transdisciplinary Studies for Development (CETRAD) is financed by national funds through FCT – Foundation for Science and Technology, I.P., under the project UIDB / 04011/2020.

## **Bibliography**

Abreu C. (2006), Das antigas barcas de passagem no Douro Ibérico. *Douro-Estudos & documentos*, (21), pp. 45-75.

---

<sup>19</sup> <https://www.rotadoromanico.com/pt>.

- Azevedo P. (2021), The Ways of Saint James in Trás-os-Montes and Alto Douro as an Example of Soft Tourism in Rural Areas, *European Countryside*, 13(2), pp. 314-329.
- Bak S., Min C. K., Roh T. S. (2019), Impacts of UNESCO-listed tangible and intangible heritages on tourism, *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, 36(8), pp. 917-927.
- Percurso\_Pedestre\_\_PR1\_-\_Pedras\_\_Moinhos\_e\_Aromas\_de\_Santiago\_.pdf.
- Barrère C. (2016), Cultural heritages: From official to informal. *City, Culture and Society*, 7(2), pp. 87-94.
- Bindi L. (2014), Intangible Cultural Heritage, Tourism and Local Impact. *HTHIC 2014*, pp. 364-376.
- Comunidade Intermunicipal do Tâmega e Sousa (2014), Plano Estratégico de Desenvolvimento intermunicipal, ([https://www.norte2020.pt/sites/default/files/public/uploads/programa/EIDT-99-2014-01-008\\_TamegaSousa.pdf](https://www.norte2020.pt/sites/default/files/public/uploads/programa/EIDT-99-2014-01-008_TamegaSousa.pdf)).
- Conceição R. (2020), A rede viária do Entre-Douro-e-Tâmega, Bragança e seus termos, nos meados do século XIII. Master Thesis in Medieval Studies. Porto: FLUP.
- Cunha A. (2011), A devoção e a peregrinação jacobéias em Portugal. *Ad Limina*, (II), pp. 85-114.
- Cunha A. (2013), A devoção e a peregrinação jacobéias em Portugal (II). *Ad Limina*, (IV), pp. 117-152.
- Cunha A. (2019), Viseu > Vila Real > Chaves: Da devoção ao turismo: O Caminho Português Interior de Santiago de Compostela. In Xerardo P. (Coord), *Património cultural jacobeu, turismo e peregrinação: O Caminho Português Interior de Santiago de Compostela (CPIS)*, Tenerife: PASOS, pp. 5-36.
- Duarte J. (1996), Resende e a sua história - As freguesias, 2nd vol., *Resende*: Câmara Municipal de Resende.
- Duarte J. (2001), Resende na Idade Média. *Resende*: Câmara Municipal de Resende.
- Duarte J. (2007), Casas e Brasões de Resende. *Resende*: Câmara Municipal de Resende.
- Eixo Atlântico (2015), Caminho de Santiago. Estudos dos Traçados no Norte de Portugal, Eixo Atlântico and Xunta de Galicia.
- Fernandes P. A. (2018), Guia dos Caminhos de Santiago, *Porto*: Porto Editora.
- Guimarães B. D. S. (1954), Cinfães: subsídios para uma monografia do concelho. *Porto*: Junta de Província do Douro.

Junta de Freguesia de Soalhaes (2021), Pedras, Moinhos, Aromas de Santiago. *Baixo Tâmega*. ([http://www.baixotamega.pt/uploads/writer\\_file/document/172/Percurso\\_Pedestre\\_\\_PR1\\_\\_Pedras\\_\\_Moinhos\\_e\\_Aromas\\_de\\_Santiago\\_.pdf](http://www.baixotamega.pt/uploads/writer_file/document/172/Percurso_Pedestre__PR1__Pedras__Moinhos_e_Aromas_de_Santiago_.pdf); Accessed on 20/02/2022).

Lopez L., Santos X. (2019), Analysis of territorial development and management practices along the way of St James in Galicia (Spain). *Managing religious tourism*, pp. 112-123.

Monumentos (2021), ([http://www.monumentos.gov.pt/Site/APP\\_PagesUser/SIPA.aspx?id=4279](http://www.monumentos.gov.pt/Site/APP_PagesUser/SIPA.aspx?id=4279)).

Moscarelli R., Lopez L., Lois González R. C. (2020), Who is interested in developing the way of Saint James? The pilgrimage from faith to tourism, *Religions*, 11(1), p. 24.

Notícia do Centro (2021), (<https://www.jornaldocentro.pt/noticias/colunistas/torres-villarroel-a-caminho-de-santiago-por-onde-passou-certezas-probabilidades-conveniencias>).

Nunes G., Ríó M., Álvarez-García J. (2016), The Camino de Santiago (the Way of St. James) in Gaia. Religious itinerary tourist itinerary, *Caderno Virtual de Turismo*, 16(3), pp. 106-122.

Pereiro X. (Coord.) (2019), Património cultural jacobeu, turismo e peregrinação: O Caminho Português Interior de Santiago de Compostela (CPIS), *Tenerife: PASOS*, (<http://www.pasosonline.org/Publicados/pasosoeedita/PSEedita25.pdf>).

Pilgrim's Office (2021), (<https://oficinadelperegrino.com/en/statistics>).

Pinho L. (1997), Património arqueológico do Vale do Bestança. *Vale do Bestança: Associação para a Defesa do Vale do Bestança*.

Oliveira Pinto J. (2021), Torres Villarroel a caminho de Santiago por onde passou? (certezas, probabilidades, conveniências...), *Jornal do Centro*, 17/11/2021, (<https://www.jornaldocentro.pt/noticias/colunistas/torres-villarroel-a-caminho-de-santiago-por-onde-passou-certezas-probabilidades-conveniencias>; Accessed on 20/02/22).

PORDATA (2021), (<https://www.pordata.pt/Municipios>).

Ron A. S., Timothy D. J. (2018), Heritage Trails and Cultural Routes, *Contemporary Christian Travel: Pilgrimage, Practice and Place*, Bristol: Channel View Publications, pp. 121-144.

Rota do Românico (2021), (<https://www.rotadoromanico.com/pt>).

Silva L. M. C. (2017), Arquitetura das estruturas de assistência no Norte de Portugal (século XII a XVI), Tese de Mestrado em Arqueologia, *Porto: FLUP*.

## **4. Redes y dinamización territorial, factores clave para la valorización sostenible e inclusiva del patrimonio biocultural rural: un análisis desde el territorio de Garfagnana (Italia)**

*Giovanni Belletti, Claudia Ranaboldo, Paola Scarpellini, Sara Gabellini, Silvia Scaramuzzi*<sup>20</sup>

### **1. Introducción: la valorización virtuosa del patrimonio biocultural rural**

Los países europeos comparten un patrimonio biocultural muy importante, basado en recursos materiales e inmateriales, como la naturaleza y el paisaje, la agrobiodiversidad, los productos de origen, la cultura, las tradiciones y los saberes hacer. Las zonas rurales suelen ser cunas para la protección y conservación de este patrimonio. La importancia de la agricultura familiar campesina y de los productores y emprendedores de pequeña escala, el crecimiento del empleo y los ingresos rurales no agrícolas, la relevancia de las ciudades y pueblos intermedios para las articulaciones urbano/rurales, recién comienzan a reflejarse en las agendas políticas y en las estrategias de los países.

Algunos enfoques exitosos, como los del desarrollo local endógeno y neo-endógeno (van der Ploeg y Marsden, 2008) y de la multifuncionalidad (Van Huylenbroeck y Durand, 2003) que, en algunos contextos, han sido adoptados para abordar el papel fundamental de las áreas rurales,

---

<sup>20</sup> *Giovanni Belletti* y *Paola Scarpellini* pertenecen al Departamento de Ciencias Económicas y Empresariales de la Universidad de Florencia; *Claudia Ranaboldo* es parte de la Plataforma Diversidad Biocultural y Territorios; *Sara Gabellini* y *Silvia Scaramuzzi* pertenecen al Departamento de Ciencias y Tecnologías Agrícolas, Alimentarias, Ambientales y Forestales de la Universidad de Florencia. Todos los autores contribuyeron de igual manera al manuscrito final.

plantean que el énfasis en la identidad del territorio puede llegar a tener un sentido estratégico, siendo capaz de asegurar un mayor poder de negociación de los actores sociales locales en los procesos de desarrollo y en la distribución de sus beneficios.

El potencial del patrimonio biocultural para el desarrollo sostenible e inclusivo, como afirman Fonte y Ranaboldo (2007), se basa – entre otros factores – también en una demanda de bienes y servicios con atributos simbólicos (Ray, 2003) que apelan a nuevos modelos de vida (naturaleza, salud, comercio justo, ética en los negocios), y al ligamen indisoluble entre estos atributos simbólicos y los territorios rurales. Más específicamente el reconocimiento del origen, la memoria y una trayectoria histórica compartida entre los actores locales contribuye a las relaciones sociales y la cohesión territorial, así como a valorar crecientemente las diversidades – culturales y naturales – en un mundo complejo. Todo ello ha permitido abordar y seguir la evolución – durante los últimos quince años – de distintos procesos de desarrollo territorial con identidad cultural (Ranaboldo, 2006 y 2018)<sup>21</sup>.

Sin embargo, muy a menudo los territorios rurales han sido incapaces de valorar el patrimonio biocultural para el desarrollo social y económico de las poblaciones locales. Se resaltan distintos tipos de problemas: los recursos patrimoniales no se utilizan o se utilizan por debajo del potencial (*falta de activación*); los recursos se sobre-explotan, en una lógica de corto plazo (*falta de sostenibilidad ambiental*); los recursos se valorizan, pero los beneficios se distribuyen de manera inequitativa y no permiten a los gestores de estos recursos (muy a menudo, agricultores de pequeña escala) de reproducirlos (*falta de sostenibilidad y justicia social*).

El modelo conceptual adoptado en este artículo es el círculo virtuoso del patrimonio biocultural (fig.1), extensión del modelo anteriormente desarrollado para los productos de origen (Belletti et al., 2003; Vandecandelaere et al., 2010). Este modelo se centra en los procesos que

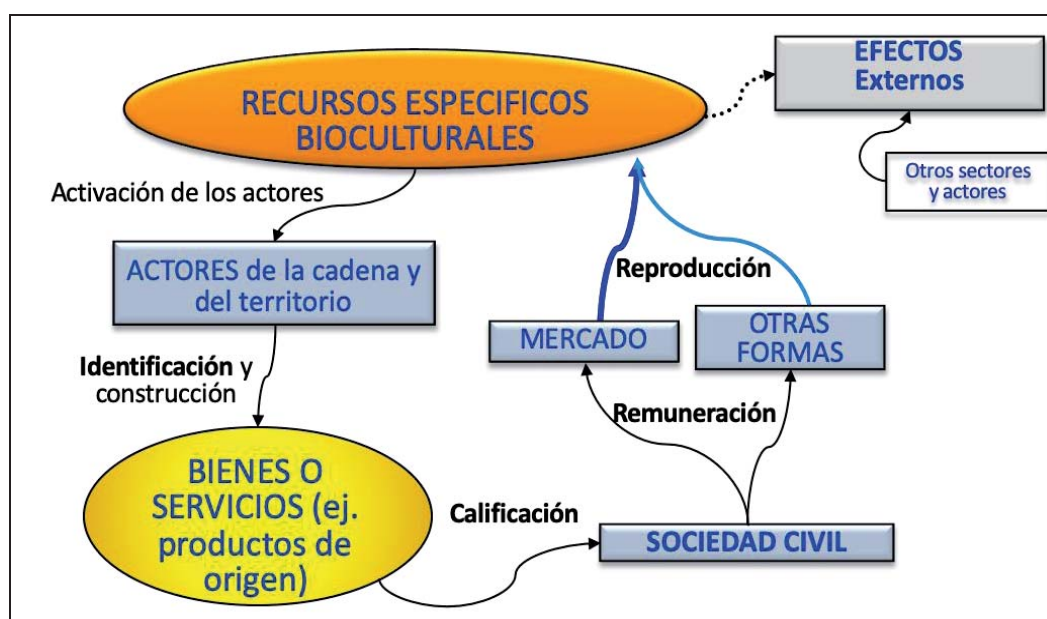
---

<sup>21</sup> Vea también las iniciativas impulsadas por la Plataforma Diversidad Biocultural y Territorios (<http://www.diversidadbioculturalytterritorios.org>).



hacen posible remunerar los recursos bioculturales de un territorio a través de iniciativas activadas por los actores del territorio de manera colectiva. Los bienes y servicios que incorporan los recursos bioculturales pueden ser valorados por el mercado o por mecanismos extra-mercantiles, generando recursos económicos que – si distribuidos equitativamente entre los actores del sistema territorial – permiten cerrar el círculo, reproduciendo y mejorando los recursos mismos. El círculo virtuoso se basa en una valorización del patrimonio biocultural inclusiva de actores con mayores desigualdades, menores derechos y menos empoderados (actores diferentes, dependiendo de los contextos territoriales), entre ellos agricultores familiares y empresarios de pequeña escala, jóvenes y mujeres.

Figura 1 – El círculo virtuoso del capital biocultural.



Fuente: Adaptado de Vandecandelaere et al.(2010).



El círculo nos permite identificar una pluralidad de procesos críticos que caracterizan las experiencias de desarrollo rural con identidad cultural (van der Ploeg y Marsden, 2008; Vandecandelaere et al., 2010; Brunori, 2019) y que podemos agregar en cinco macro categorías:

1. Endogeneidad y activación de los actores y recursos locales. Los actores locales son el pivote de los procesos de valorización sostenible (van der Ploeg y Van Dijk, 1995; Cejudo y Navarro, 2020), siendo los únicos capaces de movilizar recursos del territorio para la creación de ingresos y oportunidades de trabajo.
2. Conectividad. Las relaciones de red entre actores locales, y entre ellos y actores externos al territorio (van der Ploeg y Marsden, 2008) son clave para superar los obstáculos derivados del pequeño tamaño de las empresas y generar así una variedad de ventajas de colaboración.
3. Calificación y conexión con las cadenas de valor. La calificación es el proceso mediante el cual los actores sociales (consumidores, ciudadanos, instituciones públicas, otros actores del territorio y/o de la cadena de valor, etc.) pueden reconocer el valor de los productos vinculados al origen, al patrimonio cultural y a la biodiversidad y de vincularlos eficazmente (desde el punto de vista comunicativo, comercial y logístico) con nichos de mercado locales y globales.
4. Integración de las actividades en el entorno rural. Los elementos del patrimonio biocultural, por su profundidad histórica y su dimensión colectiva e identitaria, permiten una integración con otras actividades en el medio rural, incluso más allá de su importancia económica actual (Bérard y Marchenay, 2004).
5. Gobernanza territorial multinivel. Muchos niveles diferentes del marco institucional influyen en los procesos de desarrollo local (Pollermann et al., 2014), por lo que resulta de suma importancia la capacidad de vincular el sistema de gobernanza territorial (incluyendo las

organizaciones de ciudadanos y consumidores) (Lamine et al., 2012) con los ámbitos regionales, nacionales e internacionales.

## **2. Contexto, objetivos y metodología**

### *2.1. El Proyecto SUS-TER*

La activación del círculo virtuoso requiere cambios importantes en las estrategias y en las lógicas operativas individuales y colectivas, privadas y públicas, la integración de nuevos conocimientos y competencias profesionales tradicionales hacia un proceso sostenible e inclusivo de desarrollo económico, social y territorial, y la activación de una sistemática interacción con el mundo de la investigación académica y la educación.

El Proyecto SUS-TER “Redes de conocimientos, habilidades y competencias para una valorización territorial inclusiva y sostenible del patrimonio cultural, los productos de origen y la biodiversidad”, apunta a contribuir a la valorización territorial inclusiva y sostenible de los recursos locales en particular reforzando el capital humano, que, como hemos visto, es un elemento determinante y crítico en la activación y el funcionamiento del círculo virtuoso.

En este artículo se expone el análisis de los problemas identificados en un territorio rural de montaña, caracterizado por su marginalidad, pero al mismo tiempo por la presencia de experiencias e intentos de valorización del patrimonio biocultural local. El objetivo del artículo es lo de especificar las demandas de conocimientos, habilidades y competencias para activar y apoyar procesos de valorización territorial inclusiva y sostenible del patrimonio cultural, productos de origen y biodiversidad; y contribuir de esta manera a definir una figura de “Dinamizador territorial” y unos principios básicos para su formación.

## 2.2. *La metodología*

Durante la investigación se adoptó una metodología de estudio de caso, el mismo que fue seleccionado como resultado de un análisis documental para identificar un caso típico e ilustrativo (Seawright y Gerring, 2008). Seleccionamos a la Garfagnana, considerando las dimensiones económica, social, histórica, cultural, geográfica y ambiental que caracterizan a este territorio, así como su potencial bio-cultural, la institucionalidad local comprometida con el desarrollo rural, las formas de organización, las alianzas interinstitucionales y las experiencias de intervención previas.

Adoptamos un enfoque de investigación-acción participativa (Chambers, 1994; Baum et al., 2006) con el objetivo de involucrar a la comunidad local en la puesta en común y el análisis de su entorno. Este enfoque enfatiza el co-aprendizaje y la participación entre los actores en la transformación de su entorno (Kindon et al., 2007; Kindon et al., 2009; Padilla y Ramos Filho 2012). Así, la producción de conocimiento plural, compartido y participativo se convierte en un instrumento de transformación social y organizacional (Baum et al., 2006; Greenwood et al., 1993).

Durante la investigación, desarrollada en el primer semestre 2019, se siguieron las siguientes fases: a) revisión y análisis de fuentes secundarias; b) entrevistas semiestructuradas; c) grupo focal.

En la primera fase se revisaron fuentes secundarias, incluyendo datos estadísticos, estudios realizados por universidades y centros de investigación, documentos de administraciones públicas, prensa local, páginas web que promocionan el territorio; esto ha sido útil para conocer los procesos territoriales y sus factores críticos. En la segunda fase, durante los meses de abril y mayo 2019, fueron realizadas 10 entrevistas presenciales en profundidad con actores claves, a través de cuestionarios semiestructurados, para dejar espacio a reflexiones y argumentaciones más amplias. Los encuestados fueron seleccionados a partir de los siguientes criterios: profundo conocimiento del territorio y de sus dinámicas; pertenencia a diferentes sectores públicos y privados (expresión de diferentes actividades económicas: agrícola, turístico,

comercial), y tercer sector (consorcios, asociaciones, organizaciones ciudadanas); conocimiento y/o participación en iniciativas de valorización del patrimonio biocultural territorio. En particular se entrevistaron: dos gerentes de la Administración Regional de Toscana, expertos en políticas agrícolas, multifuncionalidad y desarrollo rural; el director del Grupo de Acción Local (aplicación del programa LEADER de la UE) que opera en el territorio, experto de agricultura y planificación local; la representante de la Asociación Nacional de Municipios Italianos de Toscana (ANCI-Toscana), experta del sector agroforestal y de formación acreditada; dos miembros de la Unión de Municipios de Garfagnana que trabajan en proyectos de protección de la biodiversidad, la diversidad social y cultural, la conservación y mejora de los paisajes, y el fortalecimiento de la gobernanza; la coordinadora de la asociación Comunidad de la Alimentación y Agrobiodiversidad de Garfagnana, expresión de un nuevo proyecto piloto que reúne a múltiples actores del territorio; el presidente de una cooperativa local que agrupa a muchos productores locales; el presidente de un consorcio que colabora activamente con las autoridades locales para coordinar y organizar iniciativas y programas para la promoción y mejora del territorio; y finalmente la responsable del servicio de información y turismo situado en el mayor centro de la zona que organiza eventos para mejorar el turismo, la cultura y las tradiciones locales.

El grupo focal se desarrolló en mayo 2019 en la Unión de los Municipios de Garfagnana, con la asistencia de 13 actores locales, en particular empresarios agrícolas y del sector del turismo rural, representantes de instituciones y asociaciones locales. El grupo focal se realizó siguiendo técnicas participativas que permitieron la mayor expresión posible de diferentes sujetos. El grupo de enfoque se guió por algunos temas clave que los participantes debatieron en pequeños grupos mixtos. Los participantes fueron elegidos tratando de garantizar la equidad en el origen geográfico, es decir, que cada zona del territorio estuviera representada; en el sector productivo (agricultores, silvicultores, criadores); en los métodos productivos (producción convencional y

orgánica); en los servicios (comerciales, sociales y turísticos). Fue garantizada la representatividad de las instituciones locales (municipios y servicios públicos) y de las distintas organizaciones profesionales agrarias y de las asociaciones locales vinculadas a la agricultura, al comercio, al deporte, al turismo y a los otros servicios.

### **3. Resultados del análisis**

En esta sección, tras una breve descripción del territorio seleccionado, se presenta el análisis de las demandas de conocimientos y competencias relacionadas con la valorización inclusiva y sostenible del patrimonio cultural, los productos de origen y la biodiversidad del territorio de Garfagnana, a fin de identificar la orientación posible de una formación pertinente. Los resultados son organizados con referencia a las cinco macro categorías de procesos que caracterizan el desarrollo rural con identidad cultural, presentando para cada categoría problemas, objetivos, conocimientos, habilidades y competencias requeridas.

#### *3.1. Dinámicas de desarrollo rural territorial relevantes en el territorio de la Garfagnana*

La Garfagnana, la zona más septentrional de la provincia de Lucca en Toscana es conocida en Italia como “territorio verde”, de hecho, su nombre significa “Gran Bosque”. Los 15 municipios del territorio<sup>22</sup> han pasado, históricamente, por una importante reducción de la población, y se caracterizan actualmente por una estructura demográfica desequilibrada hacia grupos de mayor edad y una tasa de natalidad muy baja. Este fenómeno es destinado a incrementarse con la ausencia de políticas eficaces para garantizar servicios adecuados a las poblaciones

---

<sup>22</sup> La Garfagnana tiene actualmente 28.806 habitantes, con una densidad de población ex de 53,97 km<sup>2</sup> (para comparar la provincia de Lucca tiene una densidad de 459,61 km<sup>2</sup>).

locales y apoyar el desarrollo de actividades económicas atractivas, en particular para los jóvenes.

El paisaje rural de la Garfagnana se presenta como un sistema único, en el que la acción de la naturaleza y del hombre se integraron en armonía y cuyo rico patrimonio de la agrobiodiversidad agrícola vegetal y animal es el resultado del aislamiento secular del territorio y también de una actitud cultural resistente a la innovación. El sector agroalimentario muestra fuertes sinergias con la agricultura y la artesanía, con una canasta de productos caracterizada por producciones de pequeña escala con calidad medio-alta. El panorama de productos típicos ha evolucionado en los últimos años, producciones tradicionales, como el trigo y el maíz, han dado paso a cultivos que, gracias a su singularidad y particularidad territorial, ofrecen mayores garantías económicas<sup>23</sup>.

En el territorio se encuentran importantes testimonios de arte y arquitectura, tales como iglesias románicas, monasterios, fortalezas y castillos. Este patrimonio cultural e histórica de base material se ha enriquecido a través de una revalorización de las identidades locales y la recuperación del sentido de pertenencia a su cultura, expresadas a través de los ritos religiosos, las actuaciones y los cuentos populares que se pueden ahora apreciar más en el territorio.

De gran importancia ha sido el reconocimiento por la UNESCO, en el 2015, de los territorios del Parque Nacional de los Apeninos toscano y emiliano y de los municipios circunstantes como Reserva Mundial de Biosfera <sup>24</sup>, contribuyendo a valorizar el paisaje y la biodiversidad, beneficiándose también de los efectos de imagen y comunicación que derivan de este tipo de certificaciones internacionales.

La conexión y la estrecha correlación a nivel de la imagen existente entre el territorio y las producciones, permite también una conexión con el turismo

---

<sup>23</sup> Dos productos con reconocimiento de origen europeo: Farro (espelta) della Garfagnana IGP, Farina (harina) di Neccio DOP. Muchos otros productos agroalimentarios forman parte de la tradición gastronómica local y están totalmente integrados en la gama de productos típicos de Garfagnana.

<sup>24</sup> <http://www.mabappennino.it>.

rural y ambiental desarrollado a través de una oferta variada de rutas temáticas vinculadas a los productos del territorio.

En los últimos años, y sobre todo en el contexto originado por la pandemia, se están generando transformaciones de las comunidades rurales que pueden abrir puertas a nuevas perspectivas de desarrollo. La mayor atención y valorización del patrimonio biocultural en Garfagnana, la difusión de una agricultura familiar multifuncional, una mayor atención al ambiente, la presencia de nuevos residentes o pobladores originarios que regresan al campo, son factores que están contribuyendo a crear o fortalecer diferentes redes de colaboración entre muchos actores dinámicos, y nuevas oportunidades económicas y sociales alrededor de los productos típicos, el turismo y también la búsqueda de una nueva calidad de vida local. Un ejemplo es el Grupo de Acción Local (GAL), impulsado en el ámbito del programa LEADER que aplica la estrategia de desarrollo local, y la Comunidad de la Alimentación (*Comunità del Cibo*), que reúne a múltiples actores privados y públicos del territorio.

### *3.2. Análisis de las demandas de formación relacionada con la valorización del patrimonio biocultural de Garfagnana*

#### *3.2.1. Endogeneidad y activación de los actores y recursos locales*

En la Garfagnana (y en la Región Toscana en general) existe una gran riqueza de agrobiodiversidad endémica, agroecosistemas, tradiciones locales, recursos ambientales vinculados a entornos montañosos particulares, productos de origen y platos típicos. Esta riqueza está también registrada en las bases de datos de productos agroalimenticios tradicionales<sup>25</sup> y de la *Banca del Germoplasma* de la región Toscana<sup>26</sup> donde, por ejemplo, se encuentran muchas variedades de frijoles y de maíz endémicas de la Garfagnana.

---

<sup>25</sup> <http://prodtrad.regione.toscana.it>.

<sup>26</sup> <http://germoplasma.arsia.toscana.it>.

Existen fuertes lazos construidos a lo largo del tiempo entre los recursos culturales, tradicionales y enogastronómicos del territorio y la identidad de la población. Los habitantes se identifican con algunos de estos recursos, a menudo los más conocidos, pero el nivel de conocimiento no es homogéneo, especialmente por parte de las generaciones más jóvenes y también por parte de las propias empresas. Además, hay un gran número de recursos endógenos que han sido olvidados o se está perdiendo la memoria “fina” en relación con su producción y consumo.

Un aspecto crítico es el policentrismo de los recursos endógenos del territorio, ya que un solo recurso difícilmente puede ser tan importante como para “jalar” el desarrollo de todo un territorio. La capacidad de articular productos típicos, tradiciones locales, eventos, elementos del patrimonio histórico-arquitectónico, entre otras expresiones de la identidad, aumenta las ventajas diferenciales de un territorio y las potencialidades de su desarrollo con base en este patrimonio.

**Tabla 1. Problemas, objetivos y conocimientos, habilidades y competencias demandadas: categoría endogeneidad y activación de los actores y recursos locales.**

<i>Problemas</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Erosión de los recursos genéticos, culturales, humanos</li> <li>- Pérdida de conocimientos en términos de producción, uso y consumo</li> <li>- Pérdida de conciencia de los vínculos del recurso con la vida local, el territorio y otros recursos</li> <li>- Apropiación individual de los recursos locales</li> </ul>
<i>Objetivos</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Conservar o mantener los recursos biológicos, culturales y paisajísticos presentes en el territorio</li> <li>- Desarrollare el capital humano</li> <li>- Difundir el conocimiento sobre los productos de origen y sus usos</li> <li>- Reforzar las conexiones entre los diferentes elementos del patrimonio biocultural (ej. platos típicos y recursos agro-genéticos locales)</li> <li>- Aumentar la percepción del patrimonio biocultural como un recurso por parte de los actores locales</li> </ul>



<p><i>Conocimientos, habilidades y competencias demandadas</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Reconocer y valorar el conocimiento local y los actores locales que detienen esa sabiduría</li> <li>- Disponer de las herramientas para apropiarse del conocimiento científico y técnico sobre los recursos patrimoniales relacionados con la identidad cultural Saber cómo mantener relaciones con universidades y centros de investigación</li> <li>- Desarrollar habilidad para mediar entre el conocimiento científico y el conocimiento contextual (sabidurías locales)</li> <li>- Promover un enfoque holístico, capaz de comprender las conexiones con otros recursos y elementos del capital territorial: uso de herramientas tales como mapas participativos (mapas comunitarios), georreferenciación, uso de sistemas participativos de información geográfica</li> <li>- Conocer y utilizar herramientas para la protección de la agrobiodiversidad, tradiciones sociales, culturales, gastronómicas y vitivinícolas</li> <li>- Saber planificar actividades de inventario y catalogación de los recursos territoriales</li> </ul>
--------------------------------------------------------------------	--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

*Fuente: Elaboración propia sobre investigación directa.*

### 3.2.2. Conectividad

El patrimonio cultural, los productos de origen y la biodiversidad son bienes que comparten un carácter colectivo. De hecho, son construidos, conservados y reproducidos a lo largo del tiempo por una comunidad de actores locales, no sólo productores. Consecuentemente, al ser un bien común, su valorización no puede ser llevada a cabo sólo por empresas y emprendimientos individuales.

Una experiencia interesante y muy reciente de conectividad territorial es la de la mencionada Comunidad de la Alimentación: una asociación entre productores locales (agricultores, agroturismos, restauradores, cooperativas y procesadores) y sus formas asociativas (asociaciones profesionales de agricultores, asociaciones vinculadas a la protección de las razas autóctonas), ciudadanos y consumidores locales (consumidores,

grupos de compras solidarias y asociaciones culturales) y municipalidades locales, que conecta la cultura local con la innovación. Dentro de la Comunidad una presencia importante es la de los “agricultores guardianes” que se comprometen a conservar los recursos de la agrobiodiversidad vinculados a los métodos de cultivo tradicionales.

Los principales problemas encontrados en el análisis de la Garfagnana son el individualismo de los actores y su dificultad para llegar a acuerdos. De ahí que la demanda de habilidades para fomentar el trabajo en red y la conectividad entre actores del territorio es muy fuerte. En tal sentido se plantea la importancia de construir redes formales o informales (grupos de trabajo, asociaciones, empresas cooperativas, consorcios) y realizar un tipo de animación territorial que conduzca a la planificación.

**Tabla 2. Problemas, objetivos y conocimientos, habilidades y competencias demandadas: categoría Conectividad.**

<i>Problemas</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Individualismo de los actores</li> <li>- Voluntad limitada por tomar parte en procesos participativos</li> <li>- Dificultades para llegar a puntos de vista compartidos sobre el uso de los recursos del territorio</li> </ul>
<i>Objetivos</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Promover la apertura y la confianza entre los actores del territorio</li> <li>- Crear espacios de encuentro y discusión en el territorio</li> <li>- Resolver conflictos para desarrollar dinámicas y diseños colectivos</li> </ul>

<i>Conocimientos, habilidades y competencias demandadas</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Emplear metodologías participativas (animación de las comunidades locales y grupos de productores y ciudadanos que conduzca a espacios de diálogo)</li> <li>- Conocer y utilizar técnicas de facilitación para lograr visiones comunes y mediar conflictos</li> <li>- Conocer las herramientas jurídicas relativas a las formas asociativas y a las formas colectivas de empresa</li> <li>- Ubicar las oportunidades político-financieras relacionadas con los procesos de desarrollo rural</li> <li>- Contribuir al desarrollo de la planificación institucional y territorial</li> </ul>
-------------------------------------------------------------	-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

*Fuente: Elaboración propia sobre investigación directa.*

### *3.2.3. Calificación y profundización en la cadena del valor*

En los últimos años, en la Garfagnana se han generado nuevas iniciativas de calificación y valorización relacionadas con la producción local, como los sellos de calidad (denominaciones de origen e indicaciones geográficas protegidas, marcas colectivas) y las ventas directas.

Estas iniciativas a menudo no resultan sostenibles por falta de conocimientos relacionados con la inserción a mercados y la promoción. En particular se ha detectado: falta de un enfoque de marketing y de promoción adecuada por parte de muchos productores; falta de conocimiento técnico de la producción y de conocimiento del mercado; fragmentación de la oferta sin plataformas comunes, y debilidades en el uso de nuevas tecnologías y herramientas digitales.

El territorio se compone principalmente de micro realidades y pequeñas empresas: el esfuerzo por crear una red es fundamental para poder entrar en los mercados y también para el aspecto logístico, es decir, para crear plataformas, lugares donde la producción puede fluir y luego ser puesta en el mercado.

Un aspecto crítico es el débil vínculo entre los productores y los restaurantes y los distintos expendios de comida. El producto local a menudo no es apoyado o valorado, tanto en términos de conocimiento e

información como en términos de aspectos prácticos de la compraventa. Esto trae consigo problemas de logística, transporte, almacenamiento, pero sobre todo de diálogo, difusión y comunicación de una veta potente para los productos locales, que es la gastronomía.

Otro aspecto crítico es el uso de nuevas herramientas tecnológicas. Si bien los canales de venta de las empresas se han ampliado, todavía pocos empresarios son capaces de utilizar las plataformas informáticas, las ventas en línea de sus productos y / o servicios. El sector de la comunicación es también un punto débil: las páginas web de las empresas, así como los perfiles de Facebook o Twitter, a menudo están mal mantenidos e infrautilizados en comparación con el potencial que ofrecen.

**Tabla 3. Problemas, objetivos y conocimientos, habilidades y competencias demandadas: categoría Calificación y profundización en la cadena del valor.**

<i>Problemas</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Falta de normas comunes sobre los atributos esenciales de calidad de los productos de origen y de los servicios locales (restauración, turismo, etc.)</li> <li>- Pequeño tamaño de las explotaciones y de las empresas de transformación, lo que dificulta el acceso a algunos mercados y canales de venta</li> <li>- Dificultades para comunicar la especificidad de los productos y servicios locales, preservando y mejorando sus diversos componentes de valor</li> <li>- Falta de experiencia colectiva en la comercialización de productos/servicios</li> <li>- Sector turístico fragmentado y poco profesional</li> </ul>
<i>Objetivos</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Desarrollar estándares de calidad y señalización (sistemas de calidad de la empresa, DOP/IGP, marcas colectivas, sistemas de control y garantía del consumidor)</li> <li>- Desarrollar métodos de comercialización coherentes con las características del producto (canal, mercado de referencia, comunicación de calidad, marketing mix) y con las necesidades de desarrollo del sistema de producción del producto</li> <li>- Mejorar las actividades de marketing colectivo</li> </ul>

	- Acceder a nuevas formas de venta (cadenas cortas innovadoras, mercados digitales)
<i>Conocimientos, habilidades y competencias demandadas</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Emplear conocimientos y herramientas de marketing estratégico, individual y colectivo</li> <li>- Utilizar las herramientas de comunicación digital</li> <li>- Saber identificar y comparar los canales comerciales más adecuados (venta directa, Internet, restaurantes locales, ferias, mercados locales, mayoristas, minoristas, grandes minoristas)</li> <li>- Conocer los marcos jurídicos relevantes (sellos de calidad, reglamentos de calidad de los productos, normas voluntarias)</li> <li>- Acompañar el diseño de proyectos utilizando herramientas de control de gestión (plan de negocio) e instrumentos financieros</li> <li>- Saber evaluar los efectos de proyectos de valorización, tanto ex-ante como ex-post</li> </ul>

*Fuente: Elaboración propia sobre investigación directa.*

### 3.2.4. Integración de las actividades en el entorno rural

Como se señaló, es muy importante combinar los aspectos agrícolas y rurales con los aspectos naturalistas, turísticos y culturales del territorio de Garfagnana. En el territorio se encuentran proyectos integrados que se desarrollan en las explotaciones multifuncionales individuales, donde hay una diversificación de las actividades empresariales (agroturismo, transformación de productos, venta directa, degustación, explotaciones educativas, servicios terapéuticos). Sin embargo, a menudo se trata de iniciativas individuales que luchan por emerger.

En el territorio falta un sujeto capaz de contribuir a la construcción de relaciones más sólidas entre los diferentes actores, facilitando la identificación de orientaciones y objetivos comunes que supere la fragmentación de intereses y posiciones, fragmentación que se ha consolidada a lo largo de muchos años. También hace falta una

participación más continuativa y de calidad que permita pasar de una lógica de “proyectos ideales” a su aplicación práctica en el mediano/largo plazo.

El turismo puede resultar una actividad integradora y un motor de desarrollo en la Garfagnana, vinculando gastronomía, visitas históricas y a la naturaleza, deportes de aventura, y varias otras alternativas presentes en el territorio. Para ello se requiere de una gestión adecuada que, al mismo tiempo, conserve y valore la tradición, y maximice los atractivos, en una lógica de sostenibilidad.

**Tabla 4. Problemas, objetivos y conocimientos, habilidades y competencias demandadas: categoría Integración de las actividades en el entorno rural.**

<i>Problemas</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Falta de diálogo y colaboración entre empresas de diferentes sectores de la zona</li> <li>- Dificultades en el desarrollo de proyectos multiactores</li> </ul>
<i>Objetivos</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Construir de manera participativa una imagen unitaria del territorio que represente un capital simbólico para las empresas y los actores institucionales</li> <li>- Promover encuentros entre los actores de las diferentes actividades económicas</li> <li>- Desarrollar paquetes turísticos que vinculen el turismo con la experiencia gastronómica, deportiva y naturalista</li> <li>- Elaborar calendarios de eventos que conecten la oferta de los diferentes actores y sectores del territorio</li> </ul>

<i>Conocimientos, habilidades y competencias demandadas</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Desarrollar metodologías participativas, y capacidad para organizar y gestionar reuniones con actores locales</li> <li>- Conocer e impulsar técnicas de facilitación para lograr visiones comunes y mediar conflictos</li> <li>- Conocer y emplear instrumentos jurídicos relativos a las formas asociativas y a las formas colectivas de empresa, así como a los sistemas de financiación correspondientes</li> </ul>
-------------------------------------------------------------	-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

*Fuente: Elaboración propia sobre investigación directa.*

### 3.2.5. Gobernanza territorial multinivel

Debido a una reforma de la organización de la administración pública aplicada a nivel nacional y regional, en los últimos años, se ha perdido un importante vínculo intermedio entre la Región y los territorios, que es el de las Provincias y - en el sector turístico - de las Empresas de Turismo Provincial. El territorio está todavía en un momento de asentamiento y caos. La Unión de Municipios podría llenar una parte del vacío institucional que se ha creado, pero no tiene ni la fuerza ni el papel de la Provincia.

Los recursos públicos puestos a disposición del territorio son relevantes: desde la Estrategia Nacional para las Áreas Internas, pasando por el programa LEADER de los Grupos de Acción Local, hasta las medidas del Plan de Desarrollo Rural. Sin embargo, no hay integración de recursos y planificación conjunta para su uso.

Se abren nuevas oportunidades para crear formas de gobernanza público-privada a través de instrumentos voluntarios recientemente habilitados por la legislación nacional o regional, como las Comunidades de la Alimentación, los Distritos Rurales y los Distritos Ecológicos. La transformación de estas experiencias en formas eficaces de gobernanza territorial es un proceso largo y complejo, que requiere animación y mediación.

Aquí se subraya una vez más que existe una gran dificultad para conectar a los diferentes actores, tanto a nivel institucional local como a nivel privado o social privado, que, mediante la agregación, podrían elaborar estrategias y planificar colectivamente el uso de los recursos disponibles. En este ámbito surgen dos demandas principales: un tipo de diseño integrado entre los sectores público y privado y un diseño de la cadena de suministro intersectorial. En el territorio existe la necesidad de promover acciones innovadoras, muchas de las cuales pueden surgir justamente de la creatividad local, en particular de los jóvenes, la misma que, luego, pueda ser apoyada por las políticas públicas.

**Tabla 5. Problemas, objetivos y conocimientos, habilidades y competencias demandadas: categoría gobernanza territorial multinivel.**

<i>Problemas</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Falta de dialogo entre actores privados, instituciones públicas, organizaciones representantes de intereses colectivos</li> <li>- Falta de capacidad para integrar numerosas fuentes de financiación para el diseño conjunto de estrategias</li> <li>- Escasa capacidad para desarrollar proyectos interdisciplinarios, integrados, multimedios e intersectoriales</li> <li>- Dificultades en la participación y conexión de los diferentes actores del nivel institucional local, del nivel privado y del nivel social privado</li> <li>- Dificultades en la mediación de conflictos entre actores a nivel horizontal y vertical</li> </ul>
<i>Objetivos</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Desarrollar proyectos interdisciplinarios e integrados</li> <li>- Promover el dialogo entre instituciones y actores locales y supra-locales</li> <li>- Construir confianza y empatía</li> </ul>



<i>Conocimientos, habilidades y competencias demandadas</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Conocer los instrumentos y herramientas de las diferentes políticas para apoyar el desarrollo territorial</li> <li>- Conocer y desarrollar herramientas de gobernanza en diferentes niveles institucionales y público-privados (contratos de red, distritos, etc.)</li> <li>- Desarrollar habilidades relacionales</li> <li>- Desarrollar competencias para crear un clima de confianza y empatía alrededor del potencial de los capitales territoriales bioculturales</li> </ul>
-------------------------------------------------------------	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

*Fuente: Elaboración propia sobre investigación directa.*

#### **4. Discusión: el perfil del dinamizador territorial y la expansión de capacidades**

El análisis desarrollado para el caso específico de la Garfagnana, a la luz también de la investigación-acción que se ha realizado en el marco del Proyecto SUS-TER en estos últimos dos años y medio en otros siete territorios de Europa y América Latina<sup>27</sup>, muestra que están surgiendo nuevas orientaciones generales y demandas específicas para apuntalar procesos innovadores de desarrollo territorial con identidad cultural, anclados en la valorización del patrimonio biocultural.

Lo anterior es coherente con la evaluación que se ha realizado acerca de los quince años de desarrollo territorial en América Latina donde, al lado de las fortalezas del enfoque, se han evidenciado numerosas debilidades

---

<sup>27</sup> Aplicando una metodología común desarrollada en el marco del proyecto SUS-TER (Proyecto SUS-TER, 2019), el análisis de las demandas de formación relacionada con la valorización del patrimonio biocultural se llevó a cabo en los siguientes territorios emblemáticos y representativos en el campo de la valorización del patrimonio cultural, productos de origen y biodiversidad de los diferentes países involucrados en el proyecto SUS-TER: departamento de Caldas, subregiones oriente y occidente (Colombia); Unidad hidrográfica del río Quindío (Colombia); territorio Nandayure-Hojancha-Nicoya y Territorio Santacruz – Carrillo, Provincia de Guanacaste (Costa Rica); Territorio Turrialba – Jiménez, Provincia de Cartago (Costa Rica); Estado Oaxaca, región de Valles centrales, municipio de Santa Catalina Minas (México); territorio vinculado con la Misión de Bachajón en el estado de Chiapas (México); territorio de Alt Pirineu i Aran, comarcas de Alt Urgell y Pallars Sobirà (España).

en su aplicación, entre ellas la defectuosa coordinación intersectorial e interinstitucional y el limitado empoderamiento de los actores locales. Hacen falta capacidades institucionales y ciudadanas para superar, entre otros problemas, el sesgo sectorial y construir una inteligencia territorial en red (Berdegué, Constanza y Favareto, 2020). También en el programa Leader de la Unión Europea se ha demostrado como el papel del capital humano es decisivo para influir en la construcción y ejecución de los proyectos, así como en sus resultados y rendimiento (Mantino, 2009).

Adoptar y concretizar, hoy en día, un abordaje de valorización virtuosa del capital biocultural representa una revolución copernicana, que fue esbozada ya en sus desafíos hace más de una década (Ranaboldo y Schejtman, 2009), y que implica nuevos conocimientos, habilidades y competencias, muy distintas de las requeridas por modelos de desarrollo rural y agropecuario convencionales. La formación tradicional, tanto universitaria como profesional, aún no logra llenar este vacío.

El modelo convencional "*mainstreaming*" se basa en el concepto de "homologación" no solo de las técnicas, los recursos genéticos y los productos finales, sino también de los conocimientos. Se trata de un modelo "*top-down*" que procede desde el "centro" a la "periferia", según una lógica lineal y unidireccional, en el que las diversidades representan un problema a eliminarse o cuanto menos a reducirse (Fonte y Ranaboldo, 2007).

El desarrollo territorial con identidad cultural, al contrario, enfatiza la atención en territorios específicos con sus peculiaridades y elementos diferenciales que requieren de una capacidad de lectura y comprensión que no pueden estar basados en generalidades y normas standard. En este contexto cobra relevancia la identificación y valorización justamente de la diversidad natural y cultural, propia del territorio. El patrimonio biocultural es un signo distintivo a potenciarse.

Para ello, el desarrollo territorial con identidad cultural se basa en un sistema holístico y corresponsable que requiere el reconocimiento de los conocimientos y el "saber hacer" de una multiplicidad muy grande de actores, muchos de ellos ya presentes en los territorios. Antes que traer

conocimientos, técnicas y variedades desde afuera, según los cánones clásicos de la extensión agropecuaria y la transferencia de tecnologías, se trata de identificar el sistema de conocimientos presente localmente, su vigencia en contextos que han cambiado y su proyección, incluyendo aquella que implica un diálogo con nuevos saberes, tecnologías, tendencias de consumo y mercados. Hablamos de “corresponsabilidad” y no de participación porque ésta última se ha desarrollado a menudo como una consulta formal o como un proceso en el que no se toman decisiones compartidas y dialogadas. Al reconocer sistemas diferentes y transdisciplinarios de conocimientos, se reconoce este dialogo entre pares, que conduzca a corresponsabilizarse de los procesos.

El proyecto SUS-TER ha identificado un nuevo perfil profesional interdisciplinario de "Dinamizador territorial", capaz de facilitar estos procesos de valorización sostenible del territorio basados en el patrimonio cultural, la biodiversidad y los productos de origen. Se trata de figuras claves, con conocimientos, competencias y habilidades complementarias, capaces de salvaguardar y activar los territorios en múltiples direcciones, o sea de:

- Comprender las dinámicas territoriales actuales, en sus articulaciones internas y externas, incluyendo las nuevas relaciones urbano/rurales en las que cobran mucha relevancia los pueblos y ciudades intermedias, y los nuevos movimientos poblacionales (emigraciones, regresos al campo, doble residencia).
- Contribuir al diseño y puesta en marcha de estrategias territoriales sostenibles orientadas a plasmar alternativas multidimensionales de desarrollo, económicas, por supuesto, pero también sensibles y propositivas respecto a las crisis, climáticas, ambientales, pandémicas, entre otras.
- Vincular esa comprensión de las dinámicas territoriales y la contribución a las estrategias territoriales con el sistema y las normas formales de planificación e inversión local, para contribuir a la

apropiación y continuidad de las propuestas e iniciativas a nivel subnacional, y su articulación intersectorial.

- Identificar los conflictos internos y externos, y facilitar procesos de encuentro, diálogo, y ayudar a forjar nuevos pactos y alianzas, promoviendo una cultura de paz.
- Ejercer pensamiento crítico e innovador. No se trata de contar con cuadros políticos-partidarios o gremiales/organizativos tradicionales. La dinamización territorial debe apuntalarse en el reconocimiento, respeto y valorización de la tradición y el patrimonio cultural, pero también incorporar innovación, redes extraterritoriales, conocimientos internacionales, estableciendo puentes entre unos y otros. Asimismo, no puede haber nuevos liderazgos asentados en una cultura autoritaria y de exclusión, de ahí que el respeto de los derechos individuales y colectivos, es un factor clave que, incluso, puede llevar a cuestionar patrones culturales (p.ej. los de género) profundamente arraigados (Ranaboldo, 2018 y 2021).

El proyecto SUS-TER ha diseñado un curso para el desarrollo de conocimientos, habilidades y competencias, orientado a una audiencia muy diversa y bajo una lógica de inclusión social y de dialogo entre actores con conocimientos teóricos y maestros locales, portadores de conocimientos, habilidades y competencias desde el campo. De hecho, las dos ediciones del curso probadas y validadas entre el 2020 y el 2021, han sido dirigidas tanto a estudiantes universitarios como a actores estratégicos territoriales e institucionales, estos últimos provenientes de comunidades campesinas, pueblos indígenas y poblaciones afrodescendientes, organizaciones de productores, agencias locales de desarrollo, administraciones públicas, activistas ambientales, entre otros ámbitos. Este enfoque busca el enriquecimiento mutuo, también mediante el uso de metodologías pedagógicas adecuadas, como los Laboratorios Territoriales (véase más adelante).

El curso es de carácter modular para estructurar adecuadamente contenidos acordes con las demandas identificadas, integra conocimientos

teóricos y prácticos, combina diferentes métodos de aprendizaje que puedan, además, contribuir a forjar nuevas habilidades blandas, muy útiles para un perfil profesional que acompañe los procesos territoriales. El concepto de acompañamiento – creativo, innovador, cambiante de acuerdo a cada contexto – es clave puesto que el dinamizador territorial no se sustituye a los actores locales, sino que facilita sus difíciles tareas, promoviendo también sus recorridos de empoderamiento.

Uno de los módulos claves del Curso es representado por un Laboratorio Territorial (LABTER) que, desde el trabajo compartido entre maestros locales, estudiantes y docentes, permite visibilizar un territorio, sus actores y una masa crítica de experiencias en curso, co-creando alternativas de cara al futuro, estrechando lazos y construyendo redes. Un inter-aprendizaje en doble sentido<sup>28</sup>. Los efectos empáticos de un LABTER son muy importantes, como se puede mostrar de la documentación recogida a lo largo de SUS-TER<sup>29</sup>.

El conjunto de la experiencia SUS-TER está siendo analizada en otros contextos y países que están, hoy en día, comprometidos con procesos de desarrollo territorial con identidad cultural innovadores, por ejemplo, en la nueva Asamblea Constituyente en Chile, en las redes de sistemas importantes patrimonio agrícola mundial o nacional (SIPAM/SIPAN) en el área andina, y en ámbitos de gestión biocultural territorial aplicada a estrategias de resiliencia y adaptación al cambio climático, como en Bolivia. Entre los socios de SUS-TER se está procediendo a la institucionalización de la oferta formativa desarrollada dentro de los planes de estudio existentes, de hecho, ya se empezó en esta línea en Colombia y México.

---

<sup>28</sup> Proyecto SUS-TER. Documento de trabajo Módulo 5 Laboratorio Territorial. Principios, Criterios y métodos. Junio 2020. En fase de revisión para su versión final.

Ver también el vídeo sobre LABTER: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q1cX3IEVAAk>.

<sup>29</sup> Ver – como un caso documentado – las reacciones al LABTER en México: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wRyyAKkHvCk>.

## 5. Conclusiones

El círculo virtuoso del patrimonio biocultural ofrece interesantes oportunidades para reconocer, utilizar, remunerar y reproducir los recursos locales de un territorio, transformándolos en activos bioculturales. Esta valorización, que es multidimensional y no solo económica, constituye una contribución relevante a un desarrollo territorial que sea, al mismo tiempo, sostenible e inclusivo.

La aplicación en la realidad de este círculo virtuoso exige conocimientos, competencias y habilidades que, a menudo, faltan en los currículos de las universidades tradicionales. De hecho, los modelos educativos de las Instituciones de Educación Superior pueden carecer de sensibilidad, conocimiento y propuestas, así como de visiones y arraigo territorial. Por lo tanto, el tipo de formación que resulta de ello suele estar alejado de los problemas y demandas de un enorme contingente de jóvenes que reclaman no sólo conocimientos científicos, sino también nuevas metodologías y contenidos, para contribuir a una cultura de paz, justicia, equidad y redes de colaboración. En una perspectiva que es internacional, pero se hace cargo de las ventajas comparativas locales, representadas por un mosaico de diversidades culturales y naturales que integran los bienes comunes de importancia mundial.

En esta lógica, el proyecto SUS-TER ha diseñado y validado un curso para el desarrollo de conocimientos, habilidades y competencias orientadas a estudiantes universitarios y también a actores territoriales e institucionales estratégicos, favoreciendo el encuentro y la cooperación entre representantes de mundos distintos. Esta experiencia está demostrando un alto potencial para su escalamiento, tanto en el ámbito de los socios universitarios de SUS-TER que están incorporando el curso en sus propios planes de estudio, como en otras esferas de las políticas públicas y estrategias territoriales en varios países.

## Declaraciones

Los resultados presentados son parte de las actividades del Proyecto Erasmus+ Alta Educacion “Networking Knowledge, Skills and Competencies for an Inclusive and Sustainable Territorial Valorisation of Cultural Heritage, Origin products and Biodiversity (SUS-TER)”, cofinanciado por la Unión Europea (598957-EPP-1-2018-1-IT-EPPKA2-CBHE-JP). En el proyecto participan dos universidades europeas, seis latinoamericanas y ONG. Ver: [www.suster.org](http://www.suster.org) por más detalles.

Los autores desean agradecer a todos los actores del territorio de la Garfagnana que participaron en las entrevistas y grupos de discusión, en particular a Marina Lauri, Presidente del Grupo de Acción Local MontagnAppennino, a Stefano Stranieri, Director del mismo Grupo de Acción Local, y a Roberto Scalacci y Fausta Fabbri gerentes de la Región Toscana.

## Referencias bibliográficas

- Baum F., MacDougall C., Smith D. (2006), Participatory action research, *J Epidemiol Community Health*, 60 (10), pp. 854–857.
- Belletti G., Marescotti A. (2011), Origin products, GI special protection schemes and rural development, *Barham E., Sylvnder B. (eds.), Labels of Origin for Food. Local Development, Global Recognition*, CABI International, Cambridge (USA), pp. 75-91.
- Belletti G., Marescotti A., Touzard J.M. (2017), Geographical Indications, Public Goods and Sustainable Development: The roles of actors' strategies and public policies, *World Development*, Vol. 98, pp. 45–57.
- Belletti G., Brunori G., Marescotti A., Rossi A. (2003), Multifunctionality and rural development: a multilevel approach, *G. Van Huylenbroek, G. Durand (eds.), Multifunctional agriculture: a new paradigm for European agriculture and rural development?* Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 55-80.
- Bérard P. M. L., Marchenay P. (2004), Les produits de terroir, *Paris*: Editions du CNRS.
- Berdegú J., Costanza C., Favareto A. (eds.) (2020), Quince años de desarrollo territorial rural en América Latina, *Teseo*, IDRC, Rimisp.



- Brunori G. (2019), Enfoques teóricos: Modelos conceptuales de desarrollo territorial sostenible en Europa y América Latina, Kick-off meeting Proyecto SUS-TER, *Florenzia (Italia)*, Università degli Studi di Firenze, febrero 19-22 de 2019.
- Cejudo E., Navarro F. (eds.) (2020), *Neoendogenous Development in European Rural Areas*, Springer International Publishing.
- Chambers R. (1994), Participatory rural appraisal (PRA): challenges, potentials and paradigm, *World Development*, 22 (10), pp. 1437–1454.
- Fonte M., Ranaboldo C. (2007), Desarrollo rural, territorios e identidades culturales. Perspectivas desde América latina y la Unión Europea, *Revista Opera*, (7), pp. 9-32.
- GAL MontagnaAppennino (2016), *Strategia Integrata di Sviluppo Locale, Programma di Sviluppo Rurale 2014-2020*.
- Greenwood D.J., Whyte W.F., Harkavy I. (1993), Participatory action research as a process and as a goal, *Human Relations*, 46 (2), pp. 175-192.
- Kindon S., Pain R., Kesby M. (eds.), (2007), *Participatory action research approaches and methods: connecting people, participation and place*, *Routledge studies in human geography*, London: Routledge.
- Kindon S., Pain R., Kesby M. (2009), Participatory action research, *International encyclopaedia of human geography*, pp. 90–95, (<https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-008044910-4.00490-9>).
- Lamine C., Renting H., Rossi A., Wiskerke J. H., Brunori G. (2012), Agri-food systems and territorial development: innovations, new dynamics and changing governance mechanisms, *Farming Systems Research into the 21st century: The new Dynamic*, Dordrecht: Springer, pp. 229-256.
- Mantino F. (2009), The anomaly of the CAP: heterogeneity and dynamics of Leader in Italy, Istituto Nazionale di Economia Agraria, (<https://mpr.ub.uni-muenchen.de/49299/>) Paper No. 49299, posted 03 Sep 2013 08:36 UTC.
- Molano O.L. (2007), Identidad cultural un concepto que evoluciona, *Revista Opera*, (7), pp. 69-84, (<https://revistas.uexternado.edu.co/index.php/opera/article/view/1187/1126>).
- Moruzzo R., Di Iacovo F.P. (2001), Matrice delle competenze, professionalità e fabbisogni formativi nelle principali filiere dell'agro-alimentare toscano e nella produzione di servizi agrituristici, *Firenze: Agritec srl*.
- Padilla M.C., Ramos Filho L.O. (2012), Participatory action research initiatives to generate innovations towards a sustainable agriculture: a case study in Southern Spain, *Barbier M., Elzen B. (eds.), System innovations, knowledge regimes, and design*

- practices towards transitions for sustainable agriculture*, INRA, pp. 118-131, ([https://www.researchgate.net/publication/291102824\\_Participatory\\_Action\\_Research\\_initiatives\\_to\\_generate\\_innovations\\_towards\\_a\\_sustainable\\_agriculture\\_a\\_case\\_study\\_in\\_Southern\\_Spain](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/291102824_Participatory_Action_Research_initiatives_to_generate_innovations_towards_a_sustainable_agriculture_a_case_study_in_Southern_Spain)).
- Pollermann K., Raue P., Schnaut G. (2014), Multi-level Governance in rural development: Analysing experiences from LEADER for a Community-Led Local Development (CLLD), 54th Congress of the European Regional Science Association, European Regional Science Association (ERSA), *Louvain-la-Neuve*.
- Proyecto SUS-TER – Erasmus + (598957-EPP-1-2018-1-IT-EPPKA2-CBHE-JP) (2019), Necesidades educativas en el campo de la valorización del patrimonio cultural, productos de origen y biodiversidad, Entregable 1.2, Universidad de Caldas, *Caldas* (Colombia).
- Ranaboldo C. (2006), Identidad cultural y desarrollo territorial rural, Seminario Internacional “Estado, Desarrollo Rural y Culturas”, *Sucre (Bolivia)*, 21 – 23 de agosto del 2006.
- Ranaboldo C., Schejtman, A. (eds.) (2009), El valor del patrimonio cultural: territorios rurales, experiencias y proyecciones latinoamericanas. *Lima: IEP, RIMISP*.
- Ranaboldo C. (2018), Desarrollo territorial desde las identidades y el patrimonio cultural, *Valencia, M.E. et al., Gestão e Dinâmicas em Desenvolvimento Territorial*, Curitiba: CRV, pp. 77-98.
- Ranaboldo C. (2021), Diagnóstico y propuesta para el establecimiento de un sistema de desarrollo de capacidades para gestores territoriales bioculturales. *La Paz: Proyecto Biocultura y Cambio Climático/PRO-RURAL, Plataforma Diversidad Biocultural y Territorios*.
- Ray C. (1998), Culture Intellectual Property and Territorial Rural Development, *Sociologia Ruralis*, 38 (1) pp. 4-20.
- Ray C. (2003), Governance and the Neo-endogenous Approach to Rural Development. Centre for Rural economy, Manuscrito, Newcastle University, UK.
- Schejtman A., Berdegú J. (2004), Desarrollo territorial rural, *Debates y temas rurales*, No. 1, Santiago del Chile: Rimisp.
- Seawright J, Gerring J. (2008), Case Selection Techniques in Case Study Research, *A Menu of Qualitative and Quantitative Options*, *Political Research Quarterly*, 61(2), pp. 294-308.

- Sivira F. G. (2006), Desarrollo local-endógeno y el papel de las universidades en la formación de cultura emprendedora e innovadora en territorios socio-deprimidos, *Laurus*, 12 (22), pp. 139-152.
- Travieso E. (2018), Reason to Hope: Economic, Social and Ecological Virtuous Circles in Chiapas, Mexico, Tesis doctoral, Universidad de Oxford.
- van der Ploeg J. D., Marsden T. (eds.), (2008), Unfolding webs: the dynamics of regional rural development, *Assen*: Royal van Gorcum.
- van der Ploeg J. D., Van Dijk G. (eds.), (1995), Beyond modernization: the impact of endogenous rural development, *Assen*: Uitgeverij Van Gorcum.
- van Huylenbroeck G., Durand G. (eds.), (2003), Multifunctional agriculture. A New paradigm for European agriculture and rural development, *Aldershot*: Ashgate.
- Vandecandelaere E., Arfini F., Belletti G., Marescotti A. (eds.), (2010), Linking people, places and products: a guide for promoting quality linked to geographical origin and sustainable geographical indications, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) and SINER-GI, Rome, (<https://www.fao.org/sustainable-food-value-chains/library/details/en/c/266257/>).
- Venegas C. (2009), Territorios agroecológicos con identidad cultural: la experiencia de Chiloé, Proyecto Desarrollo Territorial Rural con Identidad Cultural (DTR-IC), *Santiago del Chile*: Rimisp.



## **5. An approach to winemaking in Colombia from the perspective of tourism and culture.**

*Wladimir Mejía Ayala*

### **1. Introduction**

From a classical look at the geography of wine production in the world, we find that the best conditions, mainly weather conditions, such as temperature, hours of sunlight, humidity and wind, but also soil and topography, for growing grapes, are distributed between the parallels 30 and 50 in the northern hemisphere and 30 and 40-45 in the southern hemisphere. Generally speaking, winemaking is mainly located in the Mediterranean region, with outstanding production and trade in countries such as Italy, France and Spain, as well as in Portugal, Germany, Hungary, Greece, among others. Outside Europe and with the same level of importance, vineyards, wine production and trade are identified in the United States, Chile, Argentina, Australia, Brazil, South Africa, and even countries that culturally do not have a wine tradition in their history, such as China (Thorpe, 2009). According to Almanza, by 2011, most of the wine-growing area was located in the Northern hemisphere, accounting for 89.9% of the world's vineyards; the remaining 10.1% is located in South America, South Africa and Oceania. This is a trend that is still continuing today.

In the case of Colombia, it is a country that is outside of the geographical areas described above, therefore, in order to talk about grape growing and wine production in this country, it is necessary to refer to a more

contemporary theory, that of the Geography of Wine in the tropics. To do so, it is necessary to remember that winemaking arrived in America during the Colonial period, thanks to the needs of the religious orders, the colonizers and the Spanish and Portuguese imperial armies, who brought their supplies but who also managed to successfully develop grape growing and, consequently, to produce wine. Archaeological and anthropological texts speak of the possible use of grapes for the production and consumption of wine before the arrival of the colonizers (Dozier, Kim and Russell, 2020), however, in this work, reference is made to winemaking in our region as a modern, clearly economic and globalized activity, with interests that are also in dialogue with the cultural.

With the diaspora of winemaking towards the territories that were under the control of the two empires, at the time, Spain and Portugal, this activity, in some countries such as Argentina and Chile, would develop very well and would gain a lot of strength, among other things, because of the good acclimatization of the vines, but also due to the Phylloxera (*Dactylosphaera vitifoliae*), an insect that would drastically attack the vineyards during the second half of the 19th century (and which would turn the attention of producers to the American vineyards) (Unwin, 1991). In other cases, such as Colombia, it is possible that the Jesuits managed to produce a good quality wine (Henaó, 2004) and that its premature interruption was due to the decline of the Spanish wine trade, which raised doubts in the Royal House about the self-sufficiency of the new territories, leading Philip II of Spain to order the end of wine production in the New World in 1595 (Quijano, 2006), to protect the revenue of Spanish wines (Winkler et al. 1974; Sempat, 1983); achieving that, the activity, at least in this country, would disappear completely.

In Colombia, as in other tropical countries located between 10° South and 10° North of the Equator, except for Mexico and Peru<sup>30</sup>, which have maintained their production since colonial times (Lacoste, 2004), and Brazil, where the activity gained momentum with the immigration of Germans and Italians in the 19th century (Pires and Sueli, 2021; Falcade, 2016), in Colombia, winemaking began to take off in the second half of the 20th century. It is a region characterized by its diversity of climates, soils and topographies, and consequently, ecosystems, with altitudes ranging from sea level to perpetual snow, and with the possibility of finding inside it, some areas with the climatic, soil and topographic conditions to grow grapes for wine production, practically all year round, which allows scheduling harvests, mainly in relation to the weather, the dynamics of the market and the use of technology (Almanza, Serrano and Fischer, 2012).

According to Almanza (2011), in Colombia, the cultivation of grapes for winemaking began in 1982, in the Department of Boyacá, at altitudes between 2,200 and 2,600 meters above sea level, mainly in two areas: the Valle del Sol with the Loma de Puntalarga vineyard (Quijano, 2004), in the municipality of Nobsa, and the municipality of Villa de Leyva, through the German Technical Cooperation group (GTZ), establishing, in both cases, the concept of low volume but high-quality production. According to Henao (2004), this concept contrasts with the production developed in the department of Valle del Cauca, which has a more important trajectory but is aimed at a less demanding public<sup>31</sup>. In addition to the two

---

<sup>30</sup> According to Nodari and Frank (2019), the importation of grapevines to New Spain made by Cortez in the 1520s represents the first evidence of viticulture in Mexico. Similarly, the Spanish conquests in the Inca Empire, as well as the Jesuit presence and religious rituals, influenced the expansion of winemaking in Latin America.

<sup>31</sup> Although grape growing in Colombia began commercially at the beginning of the 20th century, first in the department of Valle del Cauca and then in Antioquia, Santander, Tolima and near the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta (Almanza, 2011); and that since 1945 winemaking was promoted in



departments where the initial production took place, small areas are located in the departments of Antioquia and Santander.

Moreover, studies conducted by the Walloon Agency for imports and foreign investment in Bogota - Awex Colombia (2020), and by Euromonitor International (2020), regarding alcohol consumption trends in Colombia, show a per capita increase between 2011 and 2019 of 46% in terms of wine consumption, rising from 0.2 liters to 2 liters. Additionally, according to data from Éxito Group<sup>32</sup>, in 2020, during the pandemic, the wine category grew, for example, by 22% compared to the period January-September 2019, representing sales of USD 29 million in wine, in other words, the trade of 3.8 million bottles. The aim of the above is to suggest that Colombia is an attractive market for investors and foreign wine and commercial companies, which are already positioned in the country's large retail outlets.

As mentioned above, wine producers in Colombia, with the exception of a few cases, have concentrated on the production of quality wines, but they do not produce them in large quantities, which would allow them to compete in the main wholesale trading areas of the country and in international scenarios with producers and marketers from other countries with a wine tradition; among other things, because their prices are not competitive. In three of the most well-known vineyards in Colombia, wines are mainly sold on site and by order, in price ranges that vary between: Vineyard Ain Karim, Boyacá, 15 and 20 USD; Vineyard

---

the country, particularly in the municipality of La Unión, Valle del Cauca; it was only in 1982 that vineyards began to be planted for the production of dry wine, since the only wine produced up to that time was sweet wine.

<sup>32</sup> It was not possible to retrieve data directly from Grupo Éxito, a Colombian multi-Latin retail company. Instead, Colombian newspapers specializing in the economy, such as Portafolio, Semana, El Universal, among others, were used.

Puntalarga, Boyacá, and Vineyard Sicilia, Antioquia, between 25 and 35 USD; while in large commercial surfaces, chain stores and online shops, wines are available from 4 USD and higher qualities, from 15 USD. From the point of view of the selling price of wine, this can be interpreted as a problem for Colombian producers, but from the point of view of the trend of increasing per capita wine consumption in the country, it can be seen as an opportunity, or even as a particularity of wine making in the country. In this way, this paper aims to propose that, in the case of Colombia, besides seeking the best climatic, soil and topographical conditions, as well as workforce, among others, wine producers, mainly those of the younger vineyards (or of a second wave), defined the spatial location of production in relation to the opportunities to market their products, not in the domestic market, where it is not possible for them to compete, but in situ, diversifying their activity towards services related to tourism. In the case of the pioneer producers (or of a first wave), in the impossibility of following this model or the lack of desire or the impossibility of relocating or “reterritorializing” (Haesbaert, 2013) their production, they found it was urgent to diversify their activities and also turn to leisure and tourism; some with better opportunities than others, in relation to the distance between their vineyards and the places of origin of a certain type of tourists, or of attractions and the development of tourist practices. In this way, the reintroduction of winemaking in the territories beginning in the 1980s can be considered as the reintroduction of a cultural element that is part of their history, but which until then was unknown, and which builds in them a (new) identity mark. This process, which can be understood as the recreation of culture in the territory<sup>33</sup>, shapes, more or

---

<sup>33</sup> As Lourdes Arizpe pointed out during her speech on 3 June 2012 at the Maison des Cultures du Monde in Paris, “we must look at culture as a process and not as a finished product, since these are not fixed, closed and crystallized containers, but rather are creations that transcend borders and are shared with the whole world”. Concerning the above, the inhabitants of a territory that is now

less unconsciously for the producer, an input to generate a territorial development project through tourism.

This document is presented as a first progress of the research on the geography of wine in Colombia, a subject that has been addressed in the country, mainly but not abundantly, from agronomic and chemical science, although not from a multidisciplinary and comprehensive view, which is intended to be advanced from geographic science. The work began in 2021, in the context of the Covid-19 virus pandemic, so visits to specialized reference centers and fieldwork have been limited. For this reason, this chapter is the result of a documentary review of the texts that have been produced, from different areas of knowledge, on winemaking in Colombia and that are available on the internet; a search of the grey literature, videos and two observation trips to the vineyards of Ain Karim and Puntalarga in Boyacá. There is no data on the number of tourist visits and their characterization of the country's vineyards. For this reason, the research activities that will continue this initial work will link zoning, identification and description of cultivation and production practices, community involvement, as well as a tourism activity in these places, among others.

The paper is organized in four parts, of which this introduction corresponds to the first. In the second and third parts, the results and discussion are presented. Thus, the second part presents the trajectory of grape and wine production in Colombia, proposing two waves in terms of

---

again winegrowing, who maintain sympathy and a feeling of cooperation with a certain number of basic institutions such as morals, family organization, leisure activities, among others, also do so with a productive/agro-industrial project that is inserted in their territory, in economic but also political terms. The reintroduction of winemaking in the territories can be considered as the capacity of their inhabitants to adapt and (re)create new cultural references, which allow them to dialogue with the past, reconstruct memory and contribute to the process of reinventing the original identity (Mejía, 2014).

the emergence of vineyards; and, following this dynamic, the third part explains the reasons for the location of vineyards from the particularities of consumption trends and wine marketing in the country, which will make sense when related to tourism and culture, as inputs to think about territorial development projects in the regions where this activity takes place. In the fourth part, rather than conclusions, ideas are proposed that will guide the continuation of this research.

## **2. Moments of wine production in Colombia**

Colombia is a country located in the northern part of South America, bordering five countries on its territorial frontiers: Venezuela, Panama, Ecuador, Peru, and Brazil; and 11 countries on its maritime borders: Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, among others. With a surface area of 2,070,408 km<sup>2</sup>, divided into a continental area of 1,141,748 km<sup>2</sup> and a maritime area of 928,660 km<sup>2</sup>, in which six natural regions are identified: Andean, Caribbean, Pacific, Orinoco, Amazonian and Insular, with a diversity of thermal floors and ecosystems. In terms of administration, the country is divided into 32 departments and 1122 municipalities; its capital is the city of Bogotá, with a population of approximately 7.2 million people and located in the center of the country, in the Andean region, which is the most populated, dynamic and diverse in terms of economic activity. According to the latest census conducted by the National Administrative Department of Statistics (DANE, 2018), the estimated population of the country is 48.2 million inhabitants, of which 12 million currently live in rural areas, many of them indigenous peoples, Afro-Colombians and peasants. Historically, the economy has been based on the extractivism of minerals such as gold and oil, metals and coal, the

agriculture of coffee, sugar cane, potatoes, bananas, among many other products, and the cattle ranching of milk and meat. The country has also lived in a constant war, mainly in its rural areas, a conflict that has its origins in bipartisan wars, exclusion, poverty and the abandonment of the population by the state, which favored the emergence of peasant guerrillas, liberal guerrillas and later Marxist guerrillas. The conflict became more complex in the late 1970s, with the beginning of drug dealing and the emergence of drug cartels, in the 1990s with the flourishing of the phenomenon of paramilitarism, and since 2000, it has become even more complex with the emergence of criminal gangs and organized crime groups, which are distributed and dominate around a large part of the rural national territory, although today, it is very noticeable in urban areas. In September 2016, the Colombian government signed a Peace Agreement<sup>34</sup>, with the country's oldest guerrilla group, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia FARC-EP, achieving the demobilization, disarmament and clearance of regions previously unknown to the population, as they were former war zones. As for tourism, this activity began in an organized manner in the middle of the last century, mainly in the Caribbean and Insular regions. With the arrival of the new millennium and seen as an opportunity for development, tourism spread to all regions of Colombia, offering a diversity of attractions and natural spaces, especially since the signing of the Peace Agreement; and cultural attractions, the latter being where winemaking comes into play in the country.

The first record of winemaking in Colombia is the experience of Bodegas del Rhin, founded in 1937 in Bogotá, with the goal of producing wines

---

<sup>34</sup> For more information on the Peace Agreement signed between the Colombian Government and the FARC-EP guerrillas, click on: <https://www.jep.gov.co/Normativa/Paginas/Acuerdo-Final.aspx>.

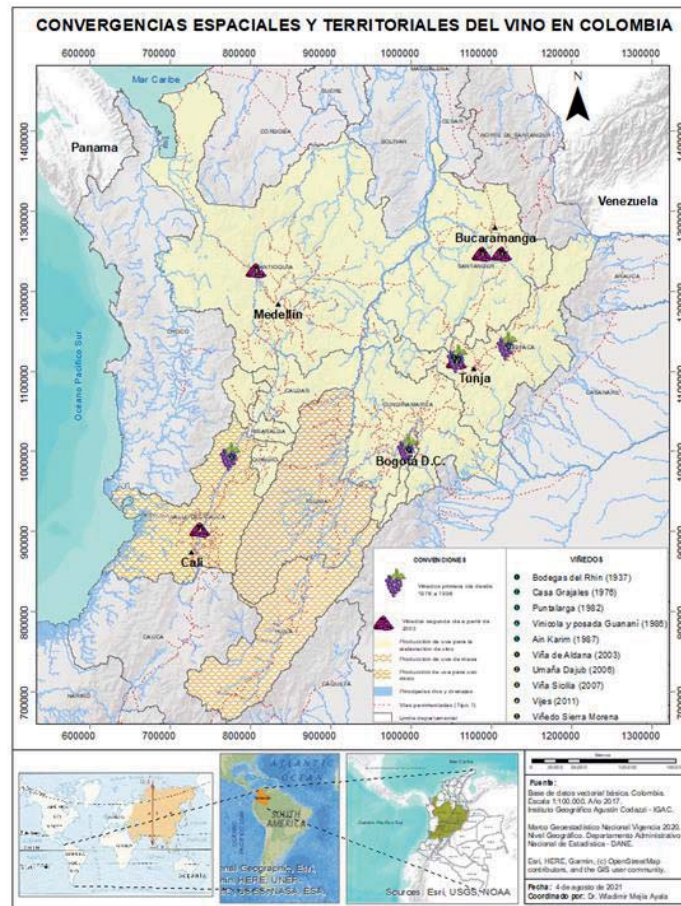
from musts imported from Argentina and Chile, and marketing them along with other national and imported wines and spirits. The winery has received international recognition for its work, such as the Gold Medal at the Spanish Wine Festival. Currently, it has diversified its activities and offers a tour to visit the facilities and production processes and to learn about historical liqueurs in Colombia and experience the tasting of national wines (Image 1).

In terms of vine cultivation, although the appearance of vineyards in Colombia was recorded at the beginning of the 20th century in the department of Valle del Cauca, this production was not destined for wine production, but for the table grape market. During the first half of that century, this activity was also developed in the departments of Antioquia, Santander, Tolima and near the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta (Almanza, 2011)<sup>35</sup>.

---

<sup>35</sup> Currently, the departments of Valle del Cauca and Huila account for 97% of table grape production in Colombia.

Image 1. Spatial and temporal distribution of grape production and vineyards in Colombia.



Source: Own elaboration.

The first vine cultivations for the production of wine also appeared in the department of Valle del Cauca, as a consecutive phase to what was already being developed. The grape production in this department is mainly focused on the municipality of La Unión, which is located at 4° 33' north latitude, at 1000 m above sea level, with a temperature of 24°C. The grape varieties produced are Isabella and Thompson, so the resulting wine is sherry or sweet wine. Currently, the cultivation area is 2231 ha and the



production is industrial with the use of cutting-edge technology. Two harvests are achieved per year, obtaining 6 million liters of wine. The company is called Casa Grajales and has diversified its activity, venturing into the tourism and leisure industry, by making its vineyard and winemaking cellars available for visits, as well as the wine production process in general. In addition, the place has the Grape and Wine Museum, as well as the National Grape Park.

In relation to the year in which the winemaking activity in the Department of Valle was recorded, 1976, and together with two of the vineyards located in the Department of Boyacá that appeared in 1982 and 1986, to which we will refer below, these three experiences can be recognized as the pioneers or the first wave of vineyards destined for the production and commercialization of wine in Colombia.

In 1982, in the rural area of the municipality of Nobsa, Boyacá, with the purchase of the Loma de Puntalarga by Mr. Marco Quijano, a chemist by profession and a native of the region, the wine project Marques de Puntalarga was started, which consists of producing a dry wine from high altitude tropics and cold climate, at altitudes between 2,400 and 2,700 meters above sea level, 16°C and an annual rainfall of 750 m<sup>3</sup>. Initially, 33 grape varieties from Geisenheim, Germany, and Burgundy, France, were planted (Quijano, 2004).

Currently, varieties such as Riesling White Rhine and crosses of Riesling and Pinot Noir, among others, are grown. Today, Puntalarga is the main site for the collection and production of wines, as it is a regional project, given that there are 70 grape producers linked to it, who are peasants who became winegrowers, and who are spread over 18 municipalities in the Department of Boyacá, occupying a production area of around 400 ha.

In 1986, the Guananí winery was founded by Joachim Hezberg, an agronomist engineer of German origin, associated at that time with the

German Technical Cooperation Agency GTZ. Guananí is a winegrowing experience developed in the municipality of Villa de Leyva, Boyacá, at an altitude of 2150 meters above sea level, with the adaptation of Chardonnay and Cabernet Sauvignon varieties for white and red wine, respectively (Henaó, 2004). Today, however, it is almost exclusively responsible for the production of wines for chapels throughout the country, using the Isabella variety.

From 1996 to 2011, a second wave of vineyards emerged in Colombia. The first recorded experience, which corresponds, in the first instance, to the year 1987, which can be understood by its history/behavior, rather as a transition between the first wave and the second wave, is that of the Ain Karim Vineyard, located in the municipality of Sutamarchán, Boyacá, at 2100 meters above sea level, a temperature between 18° and 26°C and with clay soils. The founder is Mr. Pablo Toro, an architect and mechanical engineer born in the department of Caldas, with a diploma in enology from the University of Davis, California.

The location of the Ain Karim vineyard is the result of the work of a group of French researchers who, together with its founder, sought the best conditions for cultivation; the varieties were also imported from France, such as Cabernet Sauvignon and Sauvignon Blanc, and grafts of Chardonnay from California (Gómez-Sierra, 2012). With the death of Mr. Pablo Toro, its founder, in 2008, and with the new management, there is no interest in exporting or increasing production, but rather in spreading the wine culture but also achieving a financial break-even point, thinking of the vineyard as a business. To this end, the activities in the vineyard were diversified, focusing on tourism of discovery and events (Martínez, 2016). The vineyard occupies an area of 12 ha and produces 20,000 bottles of dry wine per year that are sold in the departments of Boyacá and Cundinamarca.

The second experience of this new wave is located in the department of Santander, in the municipality of Los Santos, in the village of Tabacal, and was established in 2003 under the name of Aldana vineyard. It is a planting area of only 2 hectares, at 1650 meters above sea level, with a production of 3000 bottles per year, using the Isabela variety. The wine produced there is sweet and semi-sweet, which is only consumed and marketed in the vineyard, where they also offer the service of an ecological inn, a wine tour and experiential tourism activities related to grape growing, production and wine tasting. With similar characteristics in terms of offering the public, more than a quality wine, an experience of discovery tourism, the Umaña Dajub vineyard appeared in 2006 in the municipality of Villa de Leyva, Boyacá, at 2100 meters above sea level, and in the department of Santander, at 1720 meters above sea level, in the municipality of Zapatoca, the Sierra Morena vineyard.

An emblematic example of this second wave in the emergence of vineyards in Colombia is Viña Sicilia, located in the department of Antioquia, on the banks of the Cauca River, in the municipality of Olaya. Carlos Bravo, its owner, a plastic surgeon by profession, carried out agronomic and winemaking research to find the right weather, soil and topographical conditions for the production of grapes destined for quality wines. The grapes are grown organically with varieties such as Nero d'Avola, Malbec, Sira, Chardonnay, Catarato and Grillo. The quality of Viña Sicilia's wines has been recognized with world medals. In addition, the vineyard has a themed hotel with a spa and is intended, in relation to the local community, as a project that offers opportunities to improve the living conditions of the population.

The last experience of this second wave is located in the municipality of Vijes, Valle del Cauca, at an altitude of 1000 m above sea level and an average temperature of 27°C. There is not much information about this

vineyard, only its founders, Emilio Sardi and the enologist Edgardo Escalera from Argentina, they have been producing Syrah, Sauvignon Blanc and Merlot grapes since 2011 (Table 1).

**Table 1. Characteristics of vineyards in Colombia.**

Name	Location	Start of the activity	Area of vineyard (ha)	Strains	Services	Nearby tourist or emitting places
Bodegas del Rhin	Bogotá DC	1937	--	--	Site visit	Bogotá
Casa Grajales	La Unión, Valle del Cauca	1976	2231	Isabella and Thompson	Wine tour, hotels, Grape and Wine Museum, Grape National Park, Eolo Park, canopy	Cali
Punta Larga	Nobsa, Boyacá	1982	400	Rhine White Riesling and crosses of Riesling with Black Pinot	Restaurant, wine tour, events	Paipa Tunja Bogotá
Vinícola y posada Guanani	Villa de Leyva, Boyacá	1986	± 30	Isabella, Chardonnay and Cabernet Sauvignon	Rooms and cabins, swimming pool, wine tour, restaurant, pets	Villa de Leyva Tunja Bogotá
Ain Karin	Sutamarchán, Boyacá	1996	12	Sauvignon Blanc, Merlot and Cabernet Sauvignon	Event and wedding hall, restaurant, wine tour	Villa de Leyva Tunja Bogotá
Viña de Aldana	El Tabacal, Santander	2003	2	Isabela	Hostel, restaurant and wine tour	Alto de los Santos Chicamocha National Park Bucaramanga
Umaña Dajub	Zaquencipa Valley, Boyacá	2006	--	--	Wine tour, tasting, tasting and pairing courses	Villa de Leyva Tunja Bogotá
Viña Sicilia	Olaya, Antioquia	2007	12	Nero D'Aavola, Grillo, Nerello Frappato, Catarratto, Malbec, Syrah, Chardonnay	Boutique hotel, spa, swimming pools, restaurant, wine tour, cosmetic products	Santa Fe de Antioquia Medellín
Vijes	Vijes, Valle del Cauca	2011	--	Syrah, Sauvignon blanc, Carmenera and Merlot		Cali
Vineyard Sierra Morena	Zapatoca, Santander		--	--	Hostel, restaurant and wine tour	Chicamocha National Park Bucaramanga

Source: Own elaboration.

### **3. Why wine making and tourism are interrelated**

The idea of identifying two waves in terms of the emergence of vineyards in the country is related to the attempt to propose, based on three factors that will be described below, an exploratory spatial model that accounts for the location of these vineyards and their relationship with tourism.

The first factor, already mentioned in the introduction to this text, has to do with trends in wine consumption in Colombia. In principle, it would be a luxury product or social differentiation, due to its price in relation to other alcoholic beverages traditionally consumed in the country, such as beer, aguardiente and even whisky (Gennari and Estrella, 2015). However, the study conducted by Awex (2020) shows that wine is the second most consumed alcoholic beverage after beer. Thus, in the retail trade, wine represents 21% of sales, which makes it a product in greater demand than Whisky (17%) and Aguardiente (14%). In the same study, it is pointed out that the emergence of new distribution wineries has led to competition between producers/marketers and, consequently, to a fall in prices, which benefits the consumer.

On the other hand, the study conducted by Euromonitor (2020), shows that in April 2019, Colombian household expenses on alcoholic beverages increased by 8.1% compared to 2018 and while it was expected that sales of alcoholic beverages in commerce would experience a drop in 2020 due to the health and socioeconomic crisis caused by the Covid-19 pandemic, on the contrary, for the months of April, June and July of that year, wine consumption reached a growth of 20.3% in the general market, with the exception of the Éxito Group, which managed to grow almost 12 points above this figure, reaching 32%. For this large surface market chain, online wine sales recorded an increase of 14% in 2020, compared to 7% in 2019.

The steady growth of wine consumption in recent years in Colombia is due to various socio-economic and cultural aspects, such as the increase in per capita income, the emergence of an average class with greater purchasing power (approximately 30% of the population), and the growing desire of Colombian consumers to discover new products linked to the development of the leisure and recreation industry, among these, the gastronomic offer. In view of the above, the study carried out by Euromonitor (2020) shows that 82% of the restaurants located in the capital of the country offer national and foreign wines on their menus, however, of this percentage, 75% favor the sale of international wines due to the profit margin that these leave them and the choice of consumers who, although interested, focus on their previous knowledge or their regular habits. In other words, there is a general lack of knowledge about wine production in Colombia.

Given the above, the second factor identified is the characteristics of the wines produced in the country. Thus, we found that the sweet wine made from the Isabella variety is the main product in four of the five vineyards registered above (Casa Grajales, Vinícola Guananí, Viña de Aldana, and Vineyard Sierra Morena) and it turns out to be the most marketed due to its volume and cost of production<sup>36</sup>, in relation to the mainly dry wines produced in the other vineyards. From Vineyard Vajes, it has not been possible, until now, to have more information about the type of wines produced. However, dry wine production has been identified in the vineyards of Umaña Dajub, Aim Karin and Puntalarga, in Boyacá, and Viña Sicilia in Antioquia. These are characterized by vineyards of no more

---

<sup>36</sup> Out of the 2,700 hectares registered in Colombia for wine production, more than 2,300 are destined for the production of Isabella grapes. Sweet wine has traditionally been consumed in Colombia, consumption associated with older people and special occasions (Gennari and Estrella, 2015), closely associated with the Judeo-Christian tradition: Christmas and New Year, first communions, marriages, among others, 15th birthday parties, etc.

than 40 hectares, except in the case of Puntalarga, which has the participation of several terroirs from different owners, occupying an area of 400 hectares. This shows that this is a new economic activity from which small, medium and large producers can benefit, and in this way, unblock regions that are in a marginal or peripheral situation.

On the other hand, if we take into account that, unlike countries within the classic geographical ranges of wine production (see Introduction), where 15 tons of grapes per hectare are produced, in countries that do not experience seasonal changes in climate, production is no more than 4 tons per hectare, except in the departments where the Isabella variety is produced (Andrade, 2017: 34). This characteristic is a factor that increases the cost of production. In this regard, of the four vineyards that produce dry wines, the case of Puntalarga is the only one that is presented as a project that seeks to expand its cultivation area in order to increase its production.

The third factor has to do with history, especially with the fact that since colonial times it has been known that it is possible to produce good quality wine in the tropics, both in the lowlands and in the highlands, thanks, above all, to the experiences of the religious missions in America. As a complement to the above, the dry wines produced in the vineyards of Puntalarga, Villa Sicilia and Ain Karim have been recognized with international medals for their quality. Behind these vineyards, there is research work with significant investments of time and resources, carried out to identify the most appropriate land for the cultivation of vines; likewise, their owners and founders, some with roots in their land, are professionals in different areas, who have specialized in winemaking, being advised by European and North American researchers.

Taking into account the three factors described above: 1. An increase in wine consumption by part of the Colombian population, but a lack of



knowledge of the national product; 2. Small areas of cultivation and low production volumes per hectare; 3. Obtaining a quality wine but with a high production cost; it is proposed that the winegrowers belonging to the second wave, besides looking for the ideal conditions in terms of weather, soils, topography, among other physical factors, as well as the proximity to the necessary workforce for the cultivation and processing of the vine, and being aware of the difficulties to market their products on a profitable manner, also took into account, to locate their vineyards, the distance and tourism factors, in the following way:

a. Locate the vineyard near a large city or an intermediate city, which has an important infrastructure in terms of mobility and accommodation, with a national and/or international airport. This city may itself be a tourist destination or a place of transit for national and international tourists on their way to other tourist destinations. These places may even be part of the tourist area of the big city.

b. Locate the vineyard near at least one important tourist site in the region and/or in the country, in other words, that, taking advantage of the neighborhood effect, its frequentation is guaranteed at the level of national and international tourists, as well as tourists of proximity or that type of tourism that is practiced near the tourist's place of residence (explorers, double residences, weekends, locatourism, among others), double residences, weekends, locatourism, among others), in the case of Colombia, being in the same municipality, department in which the municipality is located or neighboring departments, and which includes diverse practices of discovery, meeting, play, shopping, among others. As for the latter, the big city or the intermediate city could be considered as places of origin for this type of tourists.

c. In addition to the previous point, the big city or intermediate city must contain and be contained by an economically dynamic and diverse society, within which there is a sector or urban middle class with the capacity to spend and travel, more or less a constant consumer or new consumer of wine<sup>37</sup>.

Regarding the former, we find, for example, that Bogotá is the first national tourist destination<sup>38</sup>, a city with the main international airport in the country. In the case of the vineyards of Ain Karim, Guananí and Umaña Dajub, Bogotá represents that great city of proximity that is a source of tourists and visitors who are members of a very economically active and diverse social class. In addition, these three vineyards, being located in the neighboring Department of Boyacá, are located within what can be thought of as the tourist area of Bogotá, which includes places such as Villa de Leyva, Lago de Tota and Paipa. For the Villa Sicilia vineyard, we find the city of Medellín, which is one of the main tourist destinations in the country and which includes Santa Fe de Antioquia, an important destination within this activity, very close to Villa Sicilia. With similar characteristics, we find for other vineyards the cities of Cali and Bucaramanga (see Image 2).

---

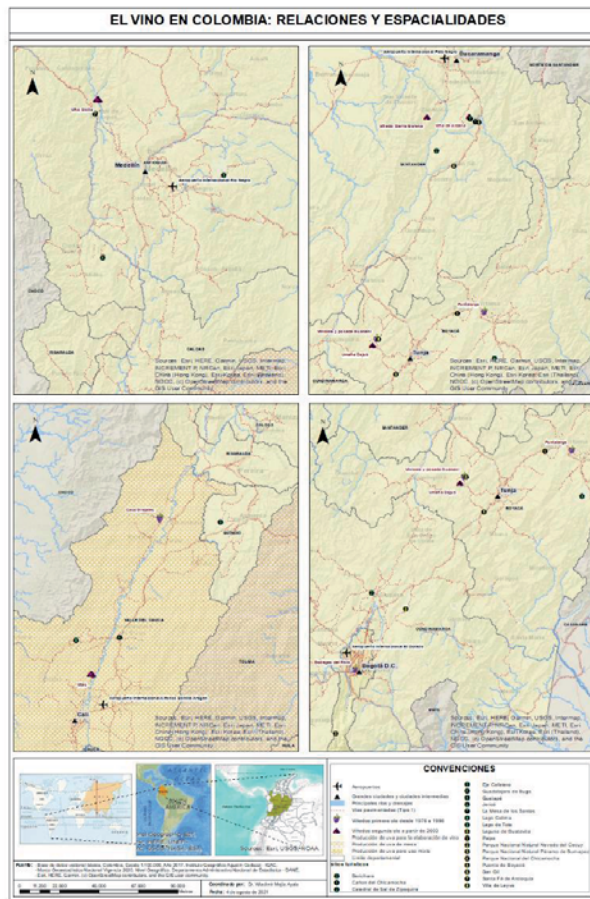
<sup>37</sup> According to data from the Éxito Group for 2020, the cities that account for 63% of wine consumption in the country are: Bogotá (45%) and Medellín (18%), with the remaining 37% distributed among other urban centers.

<sup>38</sup> According to the Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Tourism (2020), in 2019, the arrival of non-resident visitors to Colombia was 4,515,932 people, with an increase of 2.7% compared to 2018, 57.8 hotel occupancy. Taking domestic tourism into account, the total number of tourists arriving in the city of Bogotá was 12,923,975 people. Bogotá is the first national tourist destination (Bogotá Chamber of Commerce, 2021). The city of Medellín is located in the fourth most visited region nationally, Antioquia, with 927,453 international traveler arrivals in 2019, 13% more than in 2018, of which 543,579 were Colombians from abroad and 383,874 foreigners, 19% more than in 2018. Taking domestic tourism into account, around 2.5 million tourists arrived to Medellín in 2019.

As a result, within the need for diversification and the search for positioning in a competitive market, it is possible to consider vineyards as emerging places in Colombian tourist activity. The type of tourism developed in these places corresponds to wine tourism or enotourism. As Elias (2006) points out, this type of tourism falls into the category of cultural tourism, since the project of the traveler includes the search for knowledge and appreciation of non-tangible resources and manifestations. Likewise, due to the location of the vineyards, wine tourism is also a section of rural tourism, linked to the observation and development of activities in nature, with knowledge about traditional culture, and so it has a formative facet, being tourism of exploration, cultural and didactic, gastronomic by linking the pleasure of the senses in tasting and perception, differentiated, minoritarian and, in a certain way, luxury.

Concerning the wine tourist in Colombia, for this paper, the proposal of Colmenero (2007) is considered appropriate, who identifies three profiles: a) the wine lover: for whom the main reason for traveling is the vineyards, the wines and the processes associated with their production, and who has professional knowledge or knowledge associated with personal experience on the subject; b) the wine enthusiast: for whom the wines and what is related to them does not represent their main reason for traveling, but who has important knowledge about them, so they can be considered with a potential repeat visitor; c) the wine curious: who corresponds to that individual who, not being familiar with wine, within their tourism project does not have as main motivation the discovery of vineyards, wineries and processes, as well as the meeting of actors, therefore, their visit is occasional. On the contrary, he/she may know about wine and thus consider vineyards as a tourist attraction.

**Image 2. Distance factor and location of vineyards in Colombia.**



Source: own elaboration.

#### 4. In conclusion

From the above, a partial conclusion can be drawn: the shorter the distance between the location of the vineyard and the emitting and tourist places, the smaller the cultivation areas, with a low production volume but diversification in terms of the tourist services offered. On the contrary, the greater the distance between the location of the vineyard and the cities or tourist destinations, the larger the cultivation area, and consequently,

the greater the inclusion of the local society, beyond the simple workforce which, in many cases, is unskilled.

This makes sense in view of the difficulty or impossibility experienced by national winegrowers in marketing their products in the country's chain supermarkets and large retail outlets since it is not possible to compete either in price or volume with imported wines. For this reason, the marketing of their products is done *in situ* (and by shipment on request, in a smaller percentage), in other words, to bring to the place of production the consumer - international, domestic and/or proximity tourist: mobile urban middle-class individual with spending capacity and eager to access/consume/discover gastronomic novelties, regional cultural particularities, landscapes or simple *commodities*<sup>39</sup>.

It is also proposed that the second wave of vineyards differs from the first because it recognizes that in most cases the local community if it participates at all, does so as a technical or unskilled workforce. However, in relation to the history of winemaking in the country (see the Introduction), the reintroduction/recreation of this activity as a cultural element can be conceived as a hallmark of identity, being for these territories, possibly unconsciously for the producer, an input that participates in the socio-economic dynamization of the regions, and in this way, it can be conceived, as proposed by Sueli and Frank (2019), as an important *commodity* that conquers international prizes, increases its visibility and its consumers, rather than as an enterprise of small rural farmers.

---

<sup>39</sup> Cultural expressions estimated in terms of their exchange value, specifically in the context of cultural tourism, thus becoming cultural goods or objects that can be traded by the tourism industry. This is a contradictory process since, while it can lead to the degradation of a locality's culture, it also generates economic benefits for the local inhabitants (Chambers, 2010).

As we have seen, the above is also put into operation through tourism, since, in addition to producing wine, these places offer the possibility of visiting the vineyards, the wineries and learning about the different processes linked to its production, tasting, and organizing wine tastings, offering accommodation with wet areas and spa services, restaurants with national and international menus and rooms for events, all focused on the discovery and the wine experience.

As for the pioneers or owners of the vineyards corresponding to the first wave, who have managed to develop their passion for winemaking and produce quality wines, as shown by the medals and awards obtained at an international level, they have sought to recreate and encourage the wine culture in Colombia. Thus, the cases of the Puntalarga and Ain Karim vineyards stand out. These projects were developed at a time when there was no significant consumption of wine in the country, so it was not only a question of opening up opportunities in a possibly non-existent market but, consequently, of creating that market; additionally, they had to do so and continue to do so without the support of the State. Later on, with the increase in wine consumption and imports, they found it necessary to diversify their activities by implementing and offering tourism-related services, similar to those offered by the second wave vineyards; some with better opportunities than others, in view of the impossibility of de-territorializing/re-territorializing their production, in order to get closer or closer to the consumer.

During the visit to the Puntalarga vineyard in the municipality of Nobsa, Boyacá, on July 8 of this year, it was possible to verify during an interview with its owner and founder, Mr. Marcos Quijano, that the project is seen as an opportunity for territorial development. The fact that the region has a high potential in terms of physical characteristics conducive to grape growing, allows us to think of the possibility of expanding the cultivation

area, including more farmers as producers (including more terroirs and strengthening the existing consortium), which would consequently lead to lower wine production costs - currently, the cost of grape production in the region is very high - and thus be able to compete in the national and international market with a high quality wine, such as the one produced today. As proposed by Magnaghi (2013), the idea would be to bring together the places of production and the places of life, and give a central place to agriculture and the nourishing landscapes it produces, thinking of the territory as a common good.

The main consumer of the product is the local, in view of the fact that Puntalarga has managed to reintroduce the wine culture in the region and today it is recognized as one of its cultural particularities, confused among others that are identified in the daily life of peasants and new peasants, from their heterogeneity and their relationship with the environment, in the rural area of the municipality of Nobsa. This is how these short circuits represent ways to value people, products, cultural identities and information of each place and territory, through a constant process of information, but also of mobilization, struggle and resistance to hegemonic political and cultural agents (Saquet, 2017).

In terms of tourism, the vineyard is visited by local, domestic and international tourists. However, in terms of local development, it is necessary to think of this activity differently: tourism as a means and not as an end. Beyond its development at all costs from "everything is tourism", it must be thought from the grassroots, with, from and for the people of the region, and from an awareness of place, as proposed by Magnaghi (2013), building the reappropriation of economic processes by the local population, in search of deep political changes with the emergence of bottom-up modes of action.



## References

- Awex Colombia (2020). *Fiche sur le secteur des vins en Colombie*, ELANBiz, p. 11. Wallonia.be. Export Investment Agencia Valona para las importaciones y las inversiones extranjeras en Bogotá (<http://www.awex-export.be/files/library/Fiches-Pays/AMERIQUES/COLOMBIE/Colombie-Secteurs-porteurs-25FEVRIER2020.pdf>; Accessed on 20/02/2022).
- Andrade M. (2017), Estudio de factibilidad productiva y comercializadora de uva Isabella, finca "La Esperanza" centro poblado el vergel de Tarqui, Huila. Trabajo de grado para optar por el título de Ingeniera Agroforestal, Universidad Nacional Abierta y a Distancia UNAD, p. 70.
- Almanza-Merchán P. (2011), Determinación del crecimiento y desarrollo del fruto de vid (*Vitis Vinifera L.*) bajo condiciones de clima frío tropical. Tesis Doctoral. Universidad Nacional de Colombia. Ciencias Agropecuarias, Bogotá, p. 166.
- Almanza P., Serrano P., Fisher G. (2012), Manual de viticultura tropical, Tunja: Universidad Pedagógica y Tecnológica de Colombia, p. 118.
- Boulin, J. (2020), Le locatourisme, une chance pour les destinations. *Revue Spaces*, 353, pp. 3-16, (<https://www.tourisme-espaces.com/doc/10426.staycation-locatourisme.html>).
- Cámara de Comercio de Bogotá (2021), Análisis económico. Turismo. Observatorio de la region, Bogotá-Cundinamarca, (<https://www.ccb.org.co/observatorio/Analisis-Economico/AnalisisEconomico/Turismo>).
- Chambers E. (2010), Native tours: The anthropology of travel and tourism. *Long Grove: Waveland*.
- Colmenero M. (2007), "Quién le pone el cascabel al gato?", Ponencia en el Primer Congreso internacional de Turismo enológico, *Jerez de la Frontera*, diciembre de 2007 (no publicado).
- Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística DANE (2018). Censo Nacional de Población y Vivienda, (<https://www.dane.gov.co/index.php/estadisticas-por-tema/demografia-y-poblacion/censo-nacional-de-poblacion-y-vivenda-2018>).
- Dissart, J. (2020), Staycation : un phénomène parti pour rester ? *Revue Espaces*, 353, pp. 4-8, (<https://www.tourisme-espaces.com/doc/10426.staycation-locatourisme.html>).

- Dozier C., Kim D., Russell D. (2020), Chemical residue evidence in Leon Plain pottery from the Toyah phase (1300–1650 CE), *American Southern Plains, Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports*, Volume 32. DOI: 10.1016/j.jasrep.2020.102450.
- Elias L. (2006), El turismo del vino, Otra experiencia de ocio, *Documentos de estudios de ocio*, 30, Bilbao: Universidad de Deusto, pp. 53-69.
- Euromonitor international (2020), Alcoholics drinks in Colombia.
- Falcade I. (2016), The geography of vine and wine industry in Brazil: Territory, culture and heritage/Géographie de la vigne et du vin Brésilien: territoire, culture et patrimoine, *BIO Web Conf.* 7 03028 (2016), p. 7. DOI: 10.1051/bioconf/20160703028.
- Gennari A., Estrella J. (2015), Análisis del mercado del vino en países de Latinoamérica, Colombia, p. 25, ([https://www.tb.camcom.gov.it/uploads/CCIAA/Corsi/Atti/2015\\_06\\_23/Market\\_Analysis\\_Colombia.pdf](https://www.tb.camcom.gov.it/uploads/CCIAA/Corsi/Atti/2015_06_23/Market_Analysis_Colombia.pdf)).
- Gómez F. (2005), Vinos y campesinos en Boyacá. El efecto vid en el Valle del Sol, Trabajo de grado para optar el título de Magíster en Antropología, Universidad de Los Andes, p. 253.
- Gómez-Sierra F. (2012), El éxtasis del colibrí huella y guía cultural de la vid y el vino el caso del “Marqués de Villa de Leyva”. *Cultura Científica*, (10), pp. 46-65, ([https://www.jdc.edu.co/revistas/index.php/Cult\\_cient/article/view/197](https://www.jdc.edu.co/revistas/index.php/Cult_cient/article/view/197)).
- Haesbaert R. (2013), Del mito de la desterritorialización a la multiterritorialidad. *Cultura y representaciones sociales*, 8(15), pp. 9-42.
- Henao E. (2004), La finca vitivinícola Guananí: reto y pasión de un empresario, Trabajo de grado: Empresas turísticas y hoteleras, Universidad Externado de Colombia, p. 98.
- Lacoste, P. (2004), La vid y el vino en América del Sur: el desplazamiento de los polos vitivinícolas (siglos XVI al XX), *Universum (Talca)*, 19(2), pp. 62-93, (<https://dx.doi.org/10.4067/S0718-23762004000200005>).
- Magnaghi A. (2013), Riterritorializzare il mondo, *Scienze del Territorio*, Firenze University Press, ISSN 2284-242X (online), 1, pp. 47-58.
- Martínez S. (2016), Conozca a Pedro Toro: productor de los vinos Marqués de Villa de Leyva. *Diners*. ([https://revistadiners.com.co/gastronomia/40224\\_conozca-pedro-toro-productor-los-vinos-marques-villa-leyva](https://revistadiners.com.co/gastronomia/40224_conozca-pedro-toro-productor-los-vinos-marques-villa-leyva)).
- Mejía V. (2014), Les problématiques et enjeux de la mise en tourisme du patrimoine culturel Immatériel en Amazonie. Thèse en Géographie. Université d’Angers.

Ministerio de Comercio, Industria y Turismo (2020), En 2019, la ocupación hotelera, con 57,8 %, registró la cifra más alta en los últimos 15 años, Noticias Ministério de Comercio, Industria y Turismo, (<https://www.mincit.gov.co/prensa/noticias/turismo/cifra-mas-alta-de-ocupacion-hotelera-en-15-anos>).

Nodari E., Frank Z. (2019), Vinhos de Altitude no Estado de Santa Catarina: a firmação de uma identidade, *Tempo e Argumento*, 11 (26), pp. 183-200.

Pires Vieira da Rocha, C. Sueli Nodari, E. Sueli (2020), Winemaking, Environmental Impacts and Sustainability: New Pathways from Vineyard to Glass?. *Historia Ambiental Latinoamericana y Caribeña (HALAC) Revista de la Solcha*, 10(1), pp. 223-243. DOI: 10.32991/2237-2717.2020v10i1. (Accessed on 20/02/2022).

Quijano M. (2004), Ecología de una conexión solar. De la adoración del sol al desarrollo vitivinícola regional. *Cultura Científica*, 2, pp. 5-9.

Quijano M. (2006), Investigación e innovación Promoción y defensa del “terroir” regional, *Cultura Científica*, (4), pp. 35-41, ([https://www.jdc.edu.co/revistas/index.php/Cult\\_cient/article/view/385](https://www.jdc.edu.co/revistas/index.php/Cult_cient/article/view/385)).

Saquet M. (2017), Territorio, clase social y lugar: premisas fundamentales del desarrollo territorial de base local, ecológica y cultural, *Arquetipo*, Vol. 15, pp. 39-69.

Sempat C. (1983), El sistema de la economía colonial: el mercado interior, regiones y espacio económico. *Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos*, p. 339.

Sueli Nodari E., Zephyr F. (2019), Vinhos de Altitude no Estado de Santa Catarina: a firmação de uma identidade, *Tempo & Argumento, História Ambiental e Tempo Presente*, 11(26). (<https://doi.org/10.5965/2175180311262019183>; Accessed on 20/02/2022).

Thorpe M. (2009), The globalisation of the wine industry: new world, old world and China, *China Agricultural Economic Review*, 1 (3), pp. 301-313, (<https://doi.org/10.1108/17561370910958873>).

Vieira C., Nodari E. (2021), Vinho e imaginários em contexto de globalização avançada, *Veredas revista de humanidades*, 4 (7), pp. 159-178.

Unwin T. (1991), Crises and expansion: the restructuring of viticulture in the nineteenth century, Unwin. *Wine and the wine. London: Routledge*, pp. 236-272.

Winkler A., Cook J., Kliewer M., Lider L. (1974), *General Viticulture (2ª edition)*, London: University of California Press, p. 695.

## Webgraphy

<https://www.portafolio.co/economia/consumo-de-vino-registro-alza-en-tiempos-de-pandemia-545846>.

<https://www.america-retail.com/sin-categoria/aumenta-consumo-de-vino-en-colombia-durante-el-confinamiento>.

<https://www.valoraanalitik.com/2020/10/17/el-vino-en-colombia-ayuda-a-pasar-el-trago-amargo-de-la-pandemia>.

<https://www.eleconomistaamerica.co/empresas-eAm-colombia/noticias/10841988/10/20/Ventas-por-268000-millones-del-Exito-confirman-al-vino-como-el-companero-en-la-pandemia.html>.

<https://www.laopinion.com.co/vida-y-salud/consumo-de-vino-aumento-durante-el-confinamiento>.

<https://www.semana.com/economia/articulo/confinamiento-llevo-a-un-alza-en-el-consumo-de-vino-en-colombia/202016>.

<https://www.eluniversal.com.co/colombia/consumo-de-vino-en-colombia-aumento-durante-el-confinamiento-XJ3658990>.

SUSTAINABLE RURAL DEVELOPMENT BETWEEN TRADITION  
AND INNOVATION: A FOCUS ON PASTORALISM



# **1. Contemporary aspects of shepherding – between economy and cultural heritage.**

## **Some cases from the Silesian Beskids (Poland)**

*Kinga Czerwińska*

### **1. Introduction**

Cultural heritage, whether tangible or intangible, is always the heritage of someone. There is no heritage without awareness of its existence and the actions that result from it. The process of inheritance is a selective reception, during which the heirs accept what constitutes in their opinion a value, while other elements are depreciated, rejected. It is difficult to imagine a situation when all the goods created as the heritage of a generation could be accumulated and passed on to the next generation. Therefore, the process of inheritance should be interpreted as a medium of intergenerational communication through which social order and ideas about the world, as well as individual and group identities, are shaped (Smith 2016). It means that, the heritage does not belong to the order of the past, as it is usually interpreted, but to the present and future (Lubaś 2017, p. 17).

This statement shifts our interest to the process of heritage production, in which not only fragments of the past are reproduced but also given value. Consequently, steps are taken to transmit, preserve, defend and protect heritage. The result of these actions is a particular mode of cultural production in which something new is created by referring to the past (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998).

Behind these activities there are institutions with very different levels and scopes of tasks, whose purpose is not only to fulfill the duties of heritage preservation, such as archiving or popularization. An important aspect of



these activities is the development of tourism. The increased movement of travelling and discovering new places contributes to an increase in the tourist offer, which is unique. Local heritage has originality, desired by tourists, and therefore it becomes a destination.

The development of travelling, in fact of tourism, additionally intensifies the tension between globalization, which homogenizes the world, and the uniqueness of the local heritage, which in this context becomes a key identification element. These relationships result in the phenomenon of glocalization, which – on the one hand – makes the local heritage adjust to the standardization requirements of mass tourism, and on the other hand – triggers the need for its preservation and for emphasizing its uniqueness. Keeping balance between these areas is a challenge to all participants in the tourist market – both tour operators and the depositaries of the natural or cultural heritage who design the touristic offer (Salazar, 2010).

## **2. Aims of the research**

The main aim of this article is to analyze the heritage resources related to the shepherding of highlanders living in the Silesian Beskids, which in the last decade have been used in the development of local tourism. For many years, the natural and cultural resources of the Silesian Beskids heritage, which are discussed in this study, have been an important element of the marketing strategies which drive the development of local tourism. What is more, highlighting the uniqueness of the goods which are to attract tourists gives an impulse to reconstruct or search for local identities of some places or to attribute new identifications to them.

My first working hypothesis is: the global growth of tourism has contributed to the return and use of many elements of ancient pastoral practices that were not used at all, or to a negligible extent. Tourist interest in these naturally attractive areas has brought about the need to expand

tourism offerings. The cultural resources of the pastoralist heritage have become an interesting tourist offer and increase the number of tourists.

The second hypothesis is: the development of tourism and the increase in the interest of tourists contributes to the growth of interest in own heritage among the local community. In compliance with the common belief that nothing enhances attractiveness more than other's desire, being in the scope of interest of touristic offers may be of key significance for the local identity. This might become either the basis for strengthening the bonds with the place and its cultural resources or a starting point for reflection on the attitude to the native heritage. Identified with tradition, this heritage is a specific axis around which an identity is shaped both on the individual and group level.

The commonly undertaken initiatives for the development of local communities which use the resources of cultural heritage are activities supporting the social capital and strengthening the identity. The presence of some elements of the heritage in a marketing strategy of a particular region (especially at the stage of brand building or developing cultural tourism) enables contemporary people to discover "anew" the essence of their culture (Węglarska, 2013, pp. 89–98).

It should be remembered that natural heritage cannot be understood merely as a product of past generations. This is a resource consisting of tangible and intangible correlates of the activities of past and present generations – and, as such a resource, it is unceasingly reconstructed, comes to being anew and is supplemented by the experience of consecutive depositaries. As a dynamic category, it changes forms, functions and contents – yet, owing to it, the continuity of intergenerational transmission is maintained.

In many regions, cultural heritage and local uniqueness have currently become one of the key elements of the tourist strategy, which involves the strongly articulated community's need for identification with their own

culture. The practices analysed in this study seem to confirm those theses.<sup>40</sup>

### **3. Shepherding heritage in tourism - sources**

The heritage of shepherding culture is an object of tourism conducted in rural areas and is mostly aimed at the familiarization with the relicts of former agrarian culture or the experiencing of its still “living” aspects. This touristic interest ranges across almost all spheres of life – from types of economy, through cuisine, to intangible heritage. These resources are presented by open-air museums, museums or thematic routes, which involve individuals or private economic entities that offer recreation along with the presentation of the regional heritage.

Conducting such an activity provides chances for the continuation of farms, often inherited from one generation to another. The changes taking place in each sector of social life necessitate the search for new solutions – also for agriculture, which faces many challenges of the current reality. The globalized free market and the necessity to respect the legal normalizations hinders the prosperity of agriculture, especially in the case of small and medium size farms. At the same time, the society which is aware of many threats, enforces increasingly higher ecological and ethical standards that ensure a sustainable development of rural areas and agriculture. The difficult situation of farmers has been improved by the support of EU subsidies, which has been of key significance for the viability of shepherding (and not only) in the Silesian Beskids.

The combination of running a farm and tourism provides a possibility of developing both rural territories and the activities in production and

---

<sup>40</sup> For the needs of this article, the empirical material was collected during the qualitative field studies. It was obtained with the use of ethnographic tools – participant observation and unstructured interview. The research was carried out in 2015-2019 in Beskid villages - Koniaków, Jaworzynka, Istebna.

services, which may financially support the residents. It also becomes a particular way of travelling and spending leisure time in the country environment, the natural values of which improve health, physical and mental condition, as well as familiarize with the regional culture (Mikuta, Żelazna, 2004). As mentioned before, what is an important determinant of the development of such tourism is the potential of the natural and cultural heritage. Making use of its elements in running agrotouristic farms, e.g. traditional ways of food preservation, makes the offer more attractive. Such an element of cultural heritage, typical of a particular place or region and shaped by the tradition of many generations, becomes a recognizable brand or product and allows one to distinguish it from others. Including the suggestion for an educational path into tourist activity additionally increases these values. Pedagogical internships oriented towards the acquisition of knowledge in practice as well as interesting diversified curricula simultaneously enhance local agriculture, which becomes an interesting option, especially for the owners of small farms. An educational offer may be an attractive and really satisfying occasion to obtain income (it often becomes the main source of livelihood) and – in a broader view – may make the recipients (especially children) understand what country life is or may make them aware of what work ethos is and what the value of human work is. Among the tangible goals of such activities, the educational, recreational and touristic goals can be mentioned. Therefore, the addressees of the offer of educational farms are different groups: pre-school children, primary school children and individual tourists, mostly families with children. For adult participants, such a proposal additionally has an emotional dimension – it brings back childhood memories and images from the past (Marciniak, 2015, pp. 70-81).

The aforementioned circumstances sparked off the possibility to link shepherding culture with tourism. The natural heritage of the Silesian Beskids and its deeply rooted local practices formed (owing to Vlachs' settlement) by shepherding gave an impulse to undertake new challenges. What has become the field of activity is the heritage dating back to the

very early 14th century, when the Vlach population was moving westward from the Balkans through the Carpathian Arc, gradually coming to the region of Babia Góra and the Żywiec Beskids, finally to reach Silesia and Moravia in the 15th century (Dobrowolski, 1970, pp. 89-97).

The economy typical for Vlach nomads was based on cattle and mostly sheep shepherding in high mountains in summer. In winter, shepherds went down to lower territories with more friendly climatic conditions, where it was easier to find food and get in contact with the local people dealing with agriculture. Under the influence of the established relationships, shepherding was gradually transforming towards the limitation of migration. Shepherds settled in particular places – as temporary summer and winter locations, they chose the slopes of Cieszyn Silesia, populating such villages as: Łomna, Koszarzyska, Bystrzyca, Tyra (currently in the Czech Republic), Istebna, Koniaków, Jaworzynka and Brenna. The environmental conditions of the Silesian Beskids enabled the development of the conducted economy, which became the direct cause of the cultural separateness of this region and its inhabitants, lasting until World War I. The activities based on sheep farming and the processing of products made from sheep (cheese, leather and wool) dominated the local lifestyle (Kiereś, 2019, pp. 21-75). This pertained both to highlanders' material culture and its social and spiritual dimension (Malicki, 2004).

The decline of shepherding economy occurred gradually. This process determined the development of agriculture in sub-mountainous territories, which reduced the pasture area. At the same time, textile and weaving industry started to develop in the region. Mass production was related to the growing supply of wool and other raw textile materials, which were provided from both home and abroad, as local individual farmers were unable to fulfil the needs of industrial production. Cheaper factory materials replaced old ones and the technological secrets of their processing got disused. After World War II, the traditional type of shepherding ceased to be profitable, which in the next decades eliminated

shepherding from highlanders' everyday life. Only scarce presence of sheep reminded of their former significance in this region.

#### **4. Contemporary shepherding in the Beskids**

Reintroducing of shepherding in the Silesian Beskids took place over several last years, owing to the private initiative of local activists and some enthusiasts of the cultural heritage of the mountains. This idea was additionally enhanced by the regional policy of the European Union, supporting the local natural and cultural resources. The key point in the development of shepherding in the region was the programme prepared by the local government of the Silesian Voivodeship entitled "Program Aktywizacji Gospodarczej oraz Zachowania Dziedzictwa Kulturowego Beskidów i Jury Krakowsko-Częstochowskiej – Owca Plus [The Programme of Economic Activation and Preserving of the Cultural Heritage of the Beskids and the Polish Jurassic Upland – A Sheep Plus<sup>41</sup>]". Its major goal was to restore shepherding in the Beskids through the following tasks: conducting extensive sheep shepherding in the upper parts of the Beskids, which favourably influences plant communities and the preservation of biodiversity; a revival of the professions of herdsman and shepherding assistant; the reconstruction and preservation of shepherding architectural facilities; cherishing the local heritage through wooden old shelters; the development of craftsmanship and the processing of sheep and goat products; the popularization of lamb, mutton and goat products and meals; the development of tourism, including broader offers of agrotouristic farms and local restaurants,

---

<sup>41</sup> The programme of reintroducing shepherding into the Beskids "A Sheep Plus" had two stages: the first in 2007–2009 (Resolution of the Silesian Voivodeship Board No 1664/90/III/2007 of 12<sup>th</sup> September, 2007), and the second in 2010–2014 (Resolution of the Silesian Voivodeship Board No 635/360/III/2010 of 23<sup>rd</sup> March, 2010); <https://www.slaskie.pl/content/program-owca-plus> Accessed: 26.05.2017.

which might enhance the local community's activity<sup>42</sup>. In the Silesian Beskids, the undisputed leader of the undertaken revitalization is Piotr Kohut from Koniaków and the main point which integrates the undertaken initiatives is the Shepherding Centre in Koniaków.

The return of shepherding to the Silesian Beskids has resulted in many different activities, also related to the touristic development. Without a doubt, the improved infrastructure and building new facilities within "A Sheep Plus" project have enhanced hiking and biking recreation in the mountains. The growing presence of tourists triggered the necessity to develop the gastronomical and hotel facilities. What developed along with the accommodation base were the services associated with organizing leisure time which raised the attractiveness of a touristic stay. Among the places which provided a rich touristic offer, there is the above mentioned Shepherding Centre in Koniaków<sup>43</sup>, which carries out various activities. One of them is organizing workshops – therefore, it is placed on the Route of Educational Farms of the Silesian Voivodeship. It consists of rural farms focusing on touristic activity, enriched with a special educational offer. The main idea here is not only a possibility to have a rest in the natural setting, but also the contact with animals, which can be cared for and fed. The farm conducted by the Kohut family is open the whole year and is a complex kept in the style typical of old-style architecture and construction in the Beskids. The complex consists of the *gazdówka* (a rich farmer's house in the Polish mountains), the "Na Szańcach [On the Ramparts]" shelter house, and obviously the Shepherding Centre<sup>44</sup>. Its building is divided into two zones – there is a farm with sheep and lambs downstairs and a small conference room upstairs, where some photographs are exhibited to show the life on grazing pastures and the traditions of

---

<sup>42</sup> Quoted in: "The Programme of Economic Activation and Preserving of the Cultural Heritage of the Beskids and the Polish Jurrasic Upland – A Sheep Plus", pp. 32–64.

<sup>43</sup> The website of the Centre for Regional Product in Koniaków: <http://seroscypek.pl/> Accessed: 22.10.2019.

<sup>44</sup> The accommodation facilities are being built as well.



shepherding. There is also an educational path dedicated to the processing of sheep fleece and wool. The permanent exhibition is a background for the workshops that are held here, which are aimed mostly at school children and youth. The themes are focused on two dominating motifs: wool (the cycle What do sheep give us? Sheep wool – valueless or invaluable?) and cheese (the cycle Who has sheep has cheese). While those meetings, one can familiarize not only with many aspects of shepherding, but also with the folk costume and the dialect of Silesian highlanders, because the speakers are recruited from the local community. In the neighbouring Highland Shop, one can buy sheep milk products, local handicraft and tourist souvenirs.

What has been more and more popular as a tourist attraction over the years in the Beskids is an innovative idea of reconstructing the customs and rituals associated with sheep shepherding. Among them, there is the mixing of sheep (sheep owned by different farmers are merged into one big herd) and taking them to grazing pastures (in Polish called *redyk*<sup>45</sup>). Another important custom is the return of sheep and shepherds from pastures (in Polish called *rozsod*, *rosod* or *lossod*), which takes place not later than on St. Michael's Day (29th September). Customarily, this was the time when sheep farmers took their sheep and paid due money to their herders and shepherds (Kiereś, 2019: 21-75). Today, these events are important for touristic development and for the local community. They are the magnet which attracts not only guests but also autochthonous residents. The events take place alongside the shows presented by folk groups and folk bands, some prayers led by priests, popular science lectures and many shows presenting how cheese and sheep milk whey (in Polish *zentyca*) are produced as well as how local handicraft is made.

---

<sup>45</sup> This custom is associated with setting both the distribution of cheese and the costs of commonly run undertaking. Depending on the weather, it takes place between the 25<sup>th</sup> April and 25<sup>th</sup> May. Currently, its organization, if only possible, is associated with the so called “long May weekend”.

Apart from these shepherding celebrations, there are some cyclic events organized for tourists during holidays, all of which are aimed at the promotion of the Silesian Beskids heritage. The most popular among them are the Shepherding Fair, the Lace Days or “Carpathian Tastes – Time for bryndza [sheep milk cheese]!”, which all take place in Koniaków.

What seems to be an important element of tourism in rural areas is the multidimensionality of touristic experiences. This refers not only to a particular sphere of life (e.g. plant growing), but also to its other more or less related aspects, such as terminology (or language as such or its dialectal varieties), clothes, dishes, etc. Quite frequently within a touristic offer, one can get a dose of folklore, religiousness and rituality. The multidimensionality of such an experience enables reaching the goal – tourists’ feeling the daily life of local people during their participation. It seems interesting that this feeling is so strong and intense that it enhances the sense of discovering something new and absolutely unknown. It is this perspective in which the “exoticism” of a particular place is perceived. Therefore, cuisine is an intrinsic element of the touristic offer. The main attractions are sheep or cow milk products, including żentyca, bundz (cheese based on sheep milk, produced in a similar way to oscypek, but not smoked), bryndza (cheese which after a period of maturing is conserved with salt), redykałki (sheep milk cheese in the shape of animal figures) and oscypek, which has become a synonym of the culinary unity of Carpathian shepherds. Mutton and lamb dishes are increasingly popular, as well as some others commonly associated with highland cuisine – grilled oscypek with cranberries, kwaśnica (sour cabbage soup with smoked meat), highland ribs in cabbage, potato pancakes with wyrzoski (pork rinds), etc. What can be observed here is the process (present also in other forms of popularizing the cultural heritage of the Carpathian Arc) of unifying this legacy, also as regards cuisine. The same offered dishes are available in various mountainous places and they are accepted by tourists as typical of Polish mountains. Similar dysfunctions are noticed by Monika Golonka-Czajkowska in the archaizing and circumlocution-based styling in the names of highland dishes and meals.

In her opinion, “the well-developed menu of regional restaurants is an interesting reading itself, which can amaze both tourists and highlanders, not to mention linguists and culinary experts” (Golonka-Czajkowska, 2007, pp. 321-338). Thus, a new idea, to the implementation of which The Shepherding Centre is preparing, is the organization of a degustation kitchen in which workshops will be conducted of preparing traditional and innovative dishes based on Silesian highlanders’ heritage and local products.

While analysing the current situation of shepherding in the Silesian Beskids, a few aspects of its presence can be indicated, among which the economic potential and economic growth are quite significant. The reintroduction of shepherding in the Beskids gave birth to a reflective approach to shepherds’ heritage. A good economic climate for cultural tourism triggered a whole series of events – designing touristic products and services related to ecology and/or the unique heritage of the region. After all, a package combining holidays in natural surroundings with learning the natural and cultural values of the place is a well-tested way of spending free time (Marcol, 2016, pp. 119-141). Developing tourist needs generate other attractions and services and, in the context of the discussed shepherding, the list of the offered “products” is constantly growing. Today, they consist of the following: the Carpathian Mountains as a territory of (also mountainous) tourism; products from sheep milk, products made of wool, leather and wood; guiding services (Karpacki Gazda [A Carpathian Herder]); a cycle of events; facilities (shelter houses, inns); a tourist route (The Oscypek Route) and philosophy focused on cultural heritage, cultural ecology or slow life style (Sendyka, 2015, pp. 73–92).

As the above mentioned examples show, agrotourism largely contributes to restoring the former, natural environment and image of rural areas and, first of all, to the protection, preservation and promotion of the natural and cultural heritage. As a unique set of cultural goods (such as cuisine, costumes, architecture, rituality, etc.) supported by natural assets, it constitutes a value which in the globalized world should become a

determinant of the place – the place the advantages of which are undoubtedly appreciated in the current unified reality.

## **5. Beyond tourism**

Both the natural and cultural heritage of the Silesian Beskids has always been a reservoir of diverse resources. Therefore, it is no surprise that emphasizing the cultural specificity and uniqueness of this place gave an impulse to intense educational, promoting and marketing activities. The surge of Vlachs' settlement, spreading through the highlands here in the 16th century, introduced the so far unknown shepherding and highland shelter economy, as well as separate artistic culture. For many decades, the legacy of sheep herding and the related symbiosis with the natural environment imposed the rhythm of Silesian highlanders' daily routine. A gradual reduction of this type of economy and civilizational changes decreased that influence.

Some invigorating trends towards a return to the values associated with shepherding industry and cultural heritage of mountain folk culture took place alongside the political transformations in Poland at the turn of the 20th and 21st century. At first occasional and non-formal initiatives turned into structures of economic entities, among other things the foundation "Pasterstwo Transhumancyjne (Transhumance)" came into being – its most spectacular activity was The Carpathian Redyk Transhumance 2013. The main goal of this project, which comprised many single tasks, was creating a social ecosystem – a network of collaboration among people who devoted their whole life to sheep herding and the cherishing of family customs that were passed down to next generations. From a broader angle, the project was a return to pastoral traditions of Vlachs' roaming along the Carpathian Arc, which resulted in the populating of the

mountain territories and in the rise of common mountain shepherding culture bringing the Carpathian communities together<sup>46</sup>.

The leader of the movement for restoring shepherding in the Silesian Beskids is the already mentioned Piotr Kohut from Koniaków, whose activity resulted in the implementation of the project. The main point of this multi-stage undertaking was a journey of shepherds with a herd of three hundred sheep, with dogs, donkeys and horses through the territories of Romania, Ukraine, Poland, Slovakia and the Czech Republic. This journey referred to the original route of Vlachs<sup>47</sup>. The slogan of the project „The Carpathian Mountains connect<sup>48</sup>” reflects the motives of the participants’ integration and their references to the community of highlanders – an imagined community. The narration built around

---

<sup>46</sup> Among many fulfilled tasks, the Foundation "Pasterstwo Transhumancyjne [Transhumance]" carried out the project: "Lato spotkań z kulturą i tradycją Górali Śląskich na pograniczu polsko-czeskim – LATO 2012 [The summer of meetings with the culture and tradition of Silesian Highlanders in the Polish-Czech Borderland – SUMMER 2012]", co-financed by the European Regional Development Fund through the Euroregion Cieszyn Silesia. A report from the events:

[http://www.redykkarpacki.pl/index.php?menu=projekty&j=POL&tyt=LATO GÓRALI ŚLĄSKICH 2012](http://www.redykkarpacki.pl/index.php?menu=projekty&j=POL&tyt=LATO_GORALI_SLASKICH_2012) Accessed: 14.09.2015

<sup>47</sup> The redyk lasted from the 11<sup>th</sup> May to the 14<sup>th</sup> September and the shepherds with their herds covered the distance of about 1350 km.

<sup>48</sup> This slogan is the title of the project: "Karpaty łączą – mechanizm konsultacji i współpracy dla wdrażania Konwencji Karpackiej [The Carpathian Mountains connect – the mechanism of consultation and collaboration for implementing the Carpathian Convention]" carried out in 2012– 2016 by Switzerland within the collaboration with new member states of the EU. The Carpathian Convention was ratified by Poland in 2006 and it was the second document in the global arena which protected a single mountainous territory. The main aims of the project were the following: protection of biological and landscape diversity, sustainable development of tourism, providing better access to information, creating a network for information exchange, ensuring social participation in implementing the Convention. The project was directed to local communities: self-governments, entrepreneurs and farmers, scientists, tourists, state services for protection of the natural environment and cultural heritage. See the project website: <http://karpatylacza.pl/> Accessed: 20.04.2016.

shepherding is full of emotions and nostalgic longing for the past rhythm of life and the heritage, which used to mark every day. Sheep are here just a pretext for a meeting that, as a consequence, integrates mountain people – shepherds, farmers, craftsmen, artists. This addresses deep relations of humanity with nature and the revival of highlanders' culture, which depends on its conditions. Mountain folk culture does not only consist of some popularized elements of the folk costume, language or cuisine, but it is a sort of deep philosophy in the spirit of post-humanism – the philosophy of functioning in tight integration with nature and animals. At the same time, this is a continuation both of the cultural heritage and of the honour for ancestors. On the basis of material media, the philosophy is reborn of the human living according to and in compliance with laws of nature. The unique set of cultural goods (cuisine, costumes, architecture, rituality, etc.) along with the natural wealth determine the place and become a value which in the globalized world is appreciated in the unified reality both by the local community and by visitors. Yet, this does not mean only the popularization of values of the regional heritage but also ensuring a sustainable development of mountain territories. In such activities, several platforms are combined but, among them, the most important ones seem to be those of useful character, which are aimed at restoring the possibility to earn through shepherding (animal products trade or tourism). Another goal of the activities consists in building a social capital based on the common shepherding culture. Shepherds appear here as a family, a lost community, dispersed over the time and divided by borders, and now it seems to merge anew, uniting through the same experience and toil of sheep herding and through the rhythm of mountain hiking. For modern shepherds, the ancestors' heritage is the imperative in their all activities, because they are aware that they are its heirs not owners. It is particularly significant that a contemporary sheep farmer does not only turn to the past, but also reacts to the challenges of modern times, making use of new technologies and ways of virtual communication. The experience of the toil of shepherding but also the benefits from being with sheep via the Internet makes shepherding an

element of the global world, similarly to the way tourism does this. Owing to shepherding, mountain territories have become an attractive destination for many tourists searching not only for the contact with nature and the legacy of the past, but also for a slow life.

## **6. Discussion**

The cultural tourism develops as well, drawing from the tangible and intangible heritage. However, this process is determined by many factors resulting in a particular product the construction of which is based on some selected elements of the cultural heritage of a particular place, not on the reconstruction of the heritage approached as a whole. The (often arbitrarily selected) fragments of the reality, which have natural or cultural value and are attractive to a potential tourist, are attributed symbolic meanings. What is built on the basis of these elements are various social practices. This generates a very special relationship of ambivalent valorization between the depositories of the heritage and its tourist recipients. On the one hand, tourism brings about tangible material benefits, which – for a local community that “possesses” the desired attractions – may be a chance for increasing the living standards. Yet, on the other hand, intensive tourist explorations means interference into the cultural and environmental landscape, which often results in huge devastation of places and degradation of the social tissue (Graham, Ashworth, Tunbridge, 2000; Hoffman, 2012, pp. 153–166). The development of tourism focused on the participation in a particular community’s heritage brings an important effect – the ancestors’ legacy, which is a destination, comes to life and becomes a part of the reality experienced here and now. This is not disturbed by the fact that the heritage is mostly viewed in the categories of the past, archaism, and authenticity shaped in the distant times. The process of sharing and exploring the heritage for the needs of tourism elicits many aspects of its essence, such as: lasting and change or linking the past with the future.



The dynamics written into the constructive sense of cultural heritage is revealed in the act of its adapting to and interpreting for new needs related to tourism.

In this process, the group of recipients of a particular heritage is broadening. Obviously, using/interpreting/communing with it does not mean that tourists become depositaries of the heritage of the place which they "experience". Yet, tourists take part in its reconstruction (in many cases on a long-term basis and with a lot of engagement) and, in this way, have influence on its forming. Thus, what is dealt here is a performative act in which both people presenting "their" heritage and the recipients of this product have influence (to a different extent) on its contents and form. The genuineness of the experienced reality, perpetuated in memories and souvenirs brought from trips, is an effect of the synergy of two types of factors: the authenticity frameworks constructed for tourists' needs and the individualized needs of those to whom touristic impressions are directed.

The content-related setting, which is an immanent part of the touristic offer, is an important element of commercial strategies. The information which constitutes a kind of background for the suggested attractions enriches the tourist in an "appropriate" way with wildlife and historical or cultural knowledge of a particular place. This "appropriate" way must fulfil some rigid conditions of the message, which can be called a touristic one, as it is directly related to the designed ways of participation. The transferred knowledge should be relatively holistic, in the sense of taking into account the broadest range of factors which characterize the place or its selected aspects. At the same time, the message should be condensed. Its main quality ought to be attractiveness – the method of narration is to attract and highlight these accents which determine not so much the essence of the place but rather its intriguing tourist values. This is not a knowledge which always comes in parallel. What is dealt with in many cases is a configuration of facts which make up a tale, created for tourist needs, about the place. The reading of various guide books, leaflets or

other advertising media is an excellent material for the analysis of these issues.

There are no places without a heritage, but there are such places the heritage of which has not been told by anyone. Tourism is one of the activities which both uses the well-known narrations and finds the unique, so far undiscovered ones. It also gives an impulse for creating quite new narrations about places which might become a desired destination for contemporary people. This is the same in the Silesian Beskids – many aspects of their heritage constitute a field for tourist exploration and sensations, addressing both those who live near and those for whom this area seems to be terra incognita. Over many decades, the natural value, especially the mountains, and the shepherding heritage have attracted residents of the neighbouring territories.

## **7. Conclusions**

The preservation and promotion of natural and cultural heritage is a duty of many institutions and, as numerous examples show, may become a task for agrotourism. This activity combines a possibility of ensuring conditions for sustainable development of rural areas with the protection of natural resources and preservation of the cultural heritage of many generations. At the same time, such a form of economic activity can ensure – and so far has ensured – the possibility to maintain agriculture in rural territories.

Additionally, the dissemination of the educational offer by rural farms is a promising direction in the activity which unites or supplements the functioning of agrotourism. This popularization fulfils the goal of increasing the income sources of villagers and the development of tourist and other services, which substantially influences the prosperity of local communities. In a broader perspective, this increases the level of education. In the current situation – when growing numbers of children (and often adults as well) have no or rather vague idea about the sources

of food and its obtaining, educational agrotouristic farms may bring about better understanding of the country and, in the future, may raise ecological awareness. This involves the need for protecting biodiversity, for sustainable exploration of rural areas and for activities aimed at preserving the natural and cultural heritage for future generations. Without a doubt, these are tasks which necessitate conscious management of this heritage.

Unfortunately, the educational and cultural activity conducted by agrotouristic farms involves reconstructing the model vision of the traditional rural culture, adjusted to commercial animation, often arranged by dilettantes. One of the products of such initiatives are the practices aimed at stimulating the process of revitalization of the regional identity based on the created interpretations of the legacy of many generations. The question can be raised what identity is meant here. Modified versions of folk culture, detached from the context or set in a new light, are a common phenomenon today. After all, in the mountains, one looks for highlanders, sheep and smoked cheese – no matter that the mountains are not the same...

While facing such a reality, it is hard to state that country tourism or, more broadly, agrotourism fulfils the tasks of documenting the heritage of the place which determines a regional identity. In my opinion, it does not have to do this. However, the reality created for the needs not only sometimes forges the image of the local culture, but also consolidates the effect of this forgery. The forms of spending leisure time in the countryside (with attractive natural values) combined with activities of cognitive and educational (!) values are popular destinations for schools and families with small children. In this situation, it is easy to omit the subtle borderline between the wish to preserve and promote the regional heritage and all that which results from entirely commercial reasons.

## References

- Błachowski A. (2003), *Etnografia. Ścieżka edukacji regionalnej. Podręcznik dla nauczycieli*, Lublin-Toruń: Wydawnictwo PTL.
- Czerwińska K. (2016), *W poszukiwaniu utraconej symbiozy. Rzecz o relacji dizajnu i natury*, In K. Czerwińska, A. Drożdż, M. Dziegiel, M. Kujawska, M. Kurcz, Ł. Łuczaj, K. Marcol, G. Odoj, M. Szalbot, *Ekologia kulturowa. Perspektywy i interpretacje*, Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, pp. 142–162.
- Dobrowolski K. (1970), *Migracje wołoskie na ziemiach dawnego państwa polskiego* In W. Antoniewicz (ed.), *Pasterstwo Tatr Polskich i Podhala. Studia podhalańskie oraz bibliografia pasterstwa Tatr i Podhala*, VIII, Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków: Ossolineum, pp. 89-97.
- Golonka-Czajkowska M. (2007), *Żentyca, legumina, gazdowy zawijaniec w bułce ponywyirany, czyli o kulinarnych wątkach w retoryce tatrzańskiego turystyki*, In K. Łeńska-Bąk (ed.), *Pokarmy i jedzenie w kulturze: tabu, dieta, symbol*, Opole: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Opolskiego, pp. 321-338.
- Graham, B., Ashworth, J., Tunbridge, J., (2000), *A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture and Economy*, London: Hodder Arnold Publication.
- Hoffman, B. (2012), *Turystyka etniczna a doświadczanie kulturowej inności*, In H. Rusek, K. Czerwińska, K. Marcol (eds.), *Studia Etnologiczne i Antropologiczne. Dziedzictwo kulturowe „nadbagażem” codzienności?* 7, Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, pp. 153-166.
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett B. (1998), *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums and Heritage*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Kiereś M. (2019), *Beskidzkie sałasznictwo na przestrzeni wieków w świetle badań archiwalnych i terenowych*, In J. Michałek (ed.), *Beskidzkie sałasznictwo na przestrzeni wieków*, Istebna: Wydawnictwo Connecting People, pp. 21-75.
- Kocój E. (2017), *Ostatni pasterze Karpat? Redyk Karpacki 2013 – fenomen międzynarodowego projektu dotyczącego współczesnej wołoskiej kultury pasterskiej*, *Culturologica Slovaca*, 2, pp. 20-37.
- Lubaś M. (2017), *Teoria dziedzictwa kulturowego w naukach społecznych*, In A. Chabiera, A. Dąbrowski, A. Fortuna-Marek, A. Koziół, M. Lubaś, P. Nowak, B. Skaldawski, K. Stępnik *Dziedzictwo kulturowe w badaniach. 1. Polacy wobec dziedzictwa. Raport z badań społecznych*. Warszawa–Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, NID, pp. 17-19.

- Marciniak K. (2015), Nieformalne nauczanie dorosłych a wiejska turystyka kulturowa, In K. Marciniak (ed.), *Pamięć historyczna w nieformalnej edukacji dorosłych*, Poznań: Wydawnictwo UAM pp. 70–81.
- Malicki L. (2004), *Zarys kultury materialnej górali śląskich. Materiały do kultury społecznej górali śląskich*, Katowice: Muzeum Śląskie.
- Marcol K. (2016), Ekologia – turystyka – dziedzictwo kulturowe. Współczesne pasterstwo beskidzkie w kontekście zrównoważonego rozwoju, In K. Czerwińska, A. Drożdż, M. Dziegiel, M. Kujawska, M. Kurcz, Ł. Łuczaj, K. Marcol, G. Odoj, M. Szalbot, *Ekologia kulturowa. Perspektywy i interpretacje*, Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, pp 119-141.
- Mikuta B., Żelazna K. (2004), *Organizacja ruchu turystycznego na wsi*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Format-AB.
- Salazar N. (2010), *Envisioning Eden: Mobilizing Imaginaries in Tourism and Beyond*, New York: Berghahn Books.
- Sendyka P. (2015), Pasterstwo jako produkt turystyczny i element promocji regionu, In B. Rosiek, K. Słabosz-Pałacz (eds.), *Kultura pasterska we współczesności karpackiej z uwzględnieniem regionu Babiej Góry*, Kraków-Zawoja: Babiogórskie Centrum Kultury, pp. 73-92.
- Smith L. (2016), „Zwierciadło dziedzictwa”: narcystyczna iluzja czy zwielokrotnione odbicie. *Rocznik Antropologii Historii* 6 (9), pp. 25-44.
- Węglarska K. (2013), Niematerialne dziedzictwo kulturowe w kontekście marketingowym – szanse i zagrożenia, In J. Adamowski, K. Smyk (eds.), *Niematerialne dziedzictwo kulturowe: źródła – wartości – ochrona. Intangible Cultural Heritage: Origins – Values – Protection*, Lublin-Warszawa: Wydawnictwo UMCS, pp. 89-98.

### **In press article**

- Kaczmarczyk A. (2013), *Redyk Karpacki: To nie jest zwykła wędrownka z owcami*, <http://gazetacodzienna.pl/artukul/turystyka/redyk-karpacki-to-nie-jest-zwykla-wedrownka-z-owcami> Accessed 12 Sept 2013.

## Online documents

The Programme of Economic Activation and Preserving of the Cultural Heritage of the Beskids and the Polish Jurassic Upland – A Sheep Plus  
<https://www.slaskie.pl/content/wojewodzki-program--owca-plus-do-roku-2027>  
Accessed 22 May 2019

Resolution of the Silesian Voivodeship Board No 1664/90/III/2007 of 12th September, 2007: <https://www.slaskie.pl/content/program-owca-plus> Accessed 26 May 2017.

Resolution of the Silesian Voivodeship Board No 635/360/III/2010 of 23rd March, 2010: <https://www.slaskie.pl/content/program-owca-plus> Accessed 24 May 2017.

## Online database

Webside: Centrum Produktu Regionalnego w Koniakowie: <http://seroscypek.pl/>  
Accessed 28 Aug 2019.

Webside: Szlak Gospodarstw Agroturystycznych Województwa Śląskiego:  
<https://gospodarstwaedukacyjne.pl> Accessed 22 Aug 2019.

Webside: Redyk Karpacki:  
<http://www.redykkarpacki.pl/index.php?menu=projekty&j=POL&tyt=LATO>  
GÓRALI ŚLĄSKICH 2012 Accessed 14 Sep 2013.

Webside: Karpaty łączą: <http://karpatylacza.pl/> Accessed 20 Apr 2016.





## 2. Voci del Molise

*Jacopo Trivisonno*

### 1. Introduzione

“Ai Molisani nati dentro il mondo dei consumi e dei media questo libro, Storia del Molise di G. Massullo, solleciterà un confronto ovvio, su ciò che era ed è invece il Molise. Quella terra che Eugenio Cirese voleva come una ‘patria locale’ almeno inedita: “In ciò sta la fortuna della sua condizione: nell’essere una voce non ancora udita, un timbro non abituale in un mondo in cui tutto ormai appare logoro e sfruttato.”<sup>49</sup>

La ricerca che presenterò inizia proprio dall’idea di questa voce non ancora udita, immagine con cui Eugenio Cirese<sup>50</sup> sceglie di vestire il Molise, terreno della ricerca sul quale camminerò da “nativo”. Le riflessioni rispetto ai temi che affronteremo sono invece frutto di un invito, necessario e complesso, che il professore Pietro Clemente rivolge alle giovani generazioni di molisani: ingaggiare con il testo Storia del Molise a cura di Gino Massullo delle riflessioni che puntino a guardare la propria identità attraverso la storia della regione. Raccogliere questo invito, per chi scrive, è stato poi anche il metro per misurare quanto fatto durante il corso di studi in discipline etno-antropologiche, è stata quindi un’occasione per porsi da entrambi i lati del dialogo fra ricercatore e attore sociale. Una voce non ancora udita, il Molise pensato da Eugenio Cirese è stato questo, ed oggi verrebbe da pensare che ciò che si poneva di fronte fosse una

---

<sup>49</sup> Clemente P., 2007 Scolari e contadini nel Molise degli anni Venti. Storie di un altro mondo. Presentazione alla ristampa di “Gente Buona. Libro sussidiario per le scuole del Molise” di Eugenio Cirese.

<sup>50</sup> Eugenio Cirese, nato a Fossalto, provincia di Campobasso, è stato un poeta e insegnante. Studioso del folklore molisano, e padre dall’antropologo Alberto Maria Cirese.

speranza romantica, speranza che potrebbe rivelarsi una profezia guardandola con gli occhi del contemporaneo. Il pensiero del poeta molisano riprende dunque vita oggi considerando come “la poesia sembrerebbe strettamente legata all’ambiente, alla materia del mondo d’origine, ai rapporti, magari biologici, di cui non si ha che una oscura conoscenza, alle relazioni che cominciano dalla materiale simpatia del sangue con il clima e con il vento e finiscono nella faticosa corrente spirituale” (Teti, 2004, p. 425). Seguendo quindi ciò che Vito Teti nel libro *Il senso dei luoghi coglie*, seguirò l’ispirazione che il pensiero poetico concede alle riflessioni antropologiche. Partendo dunque da Eugenio Cirese e dall’ipotesi di un Molise “timbro inusuale” - forse solo arrochito(?) - ci incamminiamo nei vicoli di una ricerca a tratti dissestata, specchio di un clima geo ed economico-politico tutto da analizzare e, credo, rivitalizzare. Come l’antropologia post-moderna insegna quello che mi si è presentato di fronte è un oggetto posto all’interno di una cornice ampia di significati, un fatto culturale totale a maglie parecchio larghe, stratificato. Lo studio legato a questo tipo di oggetti è strettamente correlato alla posizione che proprio il ricercatore ricopre sul campo, analizzare quella che la Tedlock chiama osservazione della partecipazione è stato compito importante all’interno della ricerca, e lo sarà altrettanto all’interno di questo articolo considerando quanto “la bifocalità e la riflessività diventano caratteristiche intrinseche al discorso antropologico esibendo il carattere negoziale e processuale della costruzione della conoscenza antropologica: vedere gli altri attraverso noi stessi e noi attraverso gli altri”(U. Fabietti, R. Malighetti, V. Matera, 2012, p. 133). Ecco, quindi, che le mie riflessioni sono diventate il frutto di un periodo affollato da voci, notizie che in quest’anno e in quelli passati hanno pervaso le nostre vite, voci che hanno un’ampia gamma sonora, le cui frequenze si sono espanse in tutto il sistema Terra. La necessità che si è fatta spazio nel tempo è stata quella di accordare queste frequenze, regolarne le intensità dando spazio alle stazioni a bassa risonanza affinché, io per primo in quanto ricercatore, avessi la possibilità di collocarmi in un paesaggio sonoro accessibile, riconoscibile. Da necessità, la ricerca che vi

presento, si è tradotta nel soggetto indagato, o nello specifico in quella che possiamo definire una descrizione del problema attorno al quale gravitano le riflessioni: la sfera lavorativa e sociale del settore agricolo in Molise. Perché scegliere questa arena<sup>51</sup> per tentare di descrivere, o avvicinarsi a problemi stratificati su più livelli? Una risposta è senz'altro quella legata al sospetto, sussurrato dalle voci, che la gamma di attività e agency di cui si tenterà di dar conto rappresenti una sintesi estrema ma complessa dei molteplici campanelli d'allarme che suonano nella società contemporanea, una realtà che reclama la necessità di essere ascoltata e sviluppata, per essere poi supportata. Di fatto, partecipare all'elaborazione di *Perspective on rural development*, pone la mia ricerca proprio nel quadro di una azione predisposta ad un tentativo di processo di sviluppo del territorio, questo soprattutto nella direzione di rendere evidenti e sostanziali le presenze, le voci appunto, degli attori che troveremo nel percorso di ricerca. Aver intercettato questo tipo di bisogno mi ha spinto ad intendere la necessità di comprensione attraverso la valutazione di questo ambiente fatto di insenature e solchi, che apparentemente potrebbero risultare nulla di più che storie o fatti di cronaca quotidiana, ma che, al contrario, viste internamente si riscattano contenendo germogli di possibili risposte, di possibili presenze. Dunque, partire dal problema concreto della realtà agropastorale rappresentabile attraverso l'azienda agricola intesa come unità economico-sociale, passando attraverso l'ambiente in cui queste realtà si formano, avendo in questo caso come *fieldwork* una regione dai giovani confini, il Molise.

Il Molise inteso come territorio, come complesso identitario, come realtà economica, si trasforma in quello che potremmo definire un mezzo di riflessione antropologica tutt'altro che scontato, capace di concentrare al

---

<sup>51</sup> Ricorro qui al concetto di arena proposto nel testo "Political Anthropology. Paradigms and Power", Donald V. Kurtz, 2001. Questo rappresenta un'alternativa all'idea funzionalista di struttura politica composta da individualità, possibilità che per la mia ricerca costituisce una fondamentale chiave di lettura nei termini in cui si cerca di guardare un oggetto complesso lungo un arco temporale esteso.

suo interno numerosi spunti condensando proprio quella stratificazione di topoi contemporanei di cui ascoltiamo le voci confuse, regione che può allo stesso tempo essere un perfetto piano di lavoro per strategie e gestione di problemi diffusi in ambito economico e sociale. Pertanto, ci sono tre domande che mi sento di affrontare le quali si ricollegano in qualche modo al punto di partenza: esiste la possibilità di quella voce ciresiana non ancora udita? Chi ha la responsabilità di esserne aria e polmoni? Quale futuro si immagina in una regione consunta, eco di una possibile esistenza ipotizzata da altri? Queste tre domande risultano essere effettivamente il motivo per il quale a mio avviso la ricerca può essere considerata un punto di partenza necessario per discutere delle dinamiche territoriali della Regione in cui sono cresciuto, cercando di invertire per quanto possibile le rotte, i percorsi che finora l'hanno attraversata. Concludendo, l'introduzione della mia ricerca sarebbe vana senza un tentativo di offrirvi una fotografia, una idea, che del Molise introverso si materializza al di fuori dei confini. Un'immagine antica, che chi scrive ha pensato negli anni da fuorisede e che vede una Regione negli abiti di una ninfa: Eco, nella versione ovidiana del mito, era una ninfa loquace punita dalla dea madre Giunone per averla distratta dalle fughe del dio dell'Olimpo, attraverso l'utilizzo dell'abilità retorica appresa dal dio montano Pan; la ninfa viene punita rendendo sterile l'abilità che padroneggiava prima, e consunta nella sua figura corporale poi, tramutandola di fatto in una Eco invisibile, risonanza delle parole di altre persone. Il Molise, nella versione contemporanea delle cronache, per un gioco di ribaltamenti, parte dalla condizione di esistenza della ninfa Eco punita. La piccola regione è spezzata in partenza dal lavorio dei new media che oggi ne narrano la consunzione del corpo in modo pervasivo<sup>52</sup>, rendendo di fatto sterile - disinnescata - quella che in potenza è considerata risorsa, mezzo e identità principale di chi la abita: la terra. Questo piccolo parallelo fra il mito ovidiano e la Regione nella quale si è

---

<sup>52</sup> “Molisl’n’t” è un piccolo esempio di come spesso la regione viene chiamata/conosciuta nella comunicazione dei new media.

svolta la mia ricerca, non vuol essere una rappresentazione di una condizione di vittimismo attribuibile o meno al caso specifico, bensì un tentativo di narrare la quotidianità degli eventi che, sempre più numerosi e veloci, tendono oggi a ridimensionare un fenomeno che può essere riscontrato, con le dovute differenze, in diverse realtà concrete<sup>53</sup>; le domande che ci siamo posti poste nel finale del preambolo in questo senso sono la chiave di volta per aprirsi alle necessità che questo tipo di situazione ha messo di fronte alle generazioni contemporanee di molisani, i quali restano una *conditio sine qua non* affinché, anche chi sta tentando di indagare questa realtà, il ricercatore imbrigliato nelle maglie della ricerca, possano in un certo senso provare ad essere l'aria che fa da propulsore ai polmoni di un Molise rimasto troppo a lungo senza voce.

## 2. Discussione

Di fatto, avendo vestito il Molise di questa immagine così carica di significato ho già confessato parte dei limiti che hanno animato la mia ricerca. Proiettarsi in una realtà apparentemente senza voce mi ha subito collocato nella difficoltà di cercare chi questa voce aveva bisogno di farla sentire. La stella polare in questo luogo senza alcun punto di riferimento - che per me, ironicamente, è terra natale - è stato proprio il testo *Storia del Molise* di G. Massullo. Qui il confronto con il Molise che è stato, o meglio, con la costruzione di quello che oggi è considerato Molise, mi ha aiutato a circoscrivere l'attenzione su un determinato oggetto etnografico, quello agropastorale. Parlare della sfera agropastorale molisana ha significato calarsi nella storia di una regione che ha vissuto sia da cerniera del mezzogiorno - quando per gran parte del Settecento costituiva via d'accesso, di transito e d'uscita, per le attività della Transumanza - che da realtà disgiunta da quella che era la Repubblica Italiana degli albori.

---

<sup>53</sup> Realtà che, nella forma delle aziende agricole, saranno il nostro oggetto d'indagine nel paragrafo seguente.

Questo percorso lungo e tortuoso che ci porta fino ad oggi, l'ho attraversato utilizzando la terra come strumento per cercare elementi capaci di proiettare le voci in un contesto lontano dal rischio che Vito Teti definisce come paradosso dei luoghi interni dell'Appennino: l'indifferenza per il loro destino o per la loro morte unita a una nuova metafisica del luogo. [...] una sorta di storica immobilità. Quando parliamo di anima dei luoghi e di sentimento dei luoghi, è bene ribadire la storicità, la necessaria e costitutiva mobilità, anche in rapporto alla nostra mobilità." (Teti, 2017, p. 85). Ed è nel tentativo di affermare la mobilità di questa terra che ho inteso percorrere i sentieri tracciati nel libro Storia del Molise creando degli spazi di riflessione. Il primo di questi è pensato guardando alla terra in quanto risorsa, uno spazio che troviamo nella seconda metà del Settecento molisano e che si rivela indagando il rapporto fra realtà sociale ed economica attraverso le attività della pastorizia allora determinanti per lo sviluppo dell'area geografica molisana. Il percorso intrapreso nel XVIII secolo ha indirizzato lo sguardo della ricerca verso una concezione della risorsa individuabile nel segmento economico delle attività prima pastorali, poi agricole: qui ci sono stati almeno due elementi che hanno segnato le mie riflessioni. Il primo è quello relativo ai contrasti che si formarono rispetto all'utilizzo della risorsa terra, e quindi a "l'exasperata polarizzazione del possesso terriero che caratterizzava la realtà molisana [poiché] fra la piccola proprietà contadina e la grande proprietà non era facile costruire una qualsiasi forma di dialogo dopo secoli di contrasti, conflitti e prevaricazioni" (Massullo, 2006, pp. 111-112). Il secondo elemento invece è l'esempio effettivo dell'utilizzo poco lungimirante delle risorse del territorio. Quello che più segnò l'esperienza antropica del territorio molisano fra seconda metà del Settecento e primo Ottocento – e che ancora oggi continua a verificarsi senza soluzioni effettive – è l'esperienza legata a "frane e alluvioni [che hanno] caratterizzato il suolo molisano. Per secoli si è dovuto fare i conti con la rischiosità del territorio, con il rapido succedersi di movimenti gravitativi, smottamenti e erosione. Le «lame» o le «lave», come spesso venivano indicati questi fenomeni, segnavano a tal punto la vita delle popolazioni

da irrompere nel linguaggio e modellare persino il nome dei luoghi.” (Massullo, 2006, p. 212). Questi due elementi hanno subito rivelato quanto le radici di Eco-Molise fossero profonde nelle pieghe della storia. Continuando, però, il corso della storia mi ha aperto al secondo spazio di riflessione che, rispetto al primo, muta in terra in quanto mezzo. È utile qui porre come punto di partenza l’antropizzazione del territorio come prodotto principale dell’azione che innesca l’evoluzione del rapporto uomo – ambiente avvenuta nella seconda metà dell’Ottocento. Se con il concetto di risorsa l’intenzione era quella di approfondire un rapporto uomo – ambiente plasmato vicendevolmente, ora iniziava ad essere chiaro il bisogno di concepire questo come qualcosa che va a costruirsi principalmente e concretamente soprattutto attraverso le azioni che l’uomo compie sull’ambiente. La struttura economico-sociale che si sviluppava nel contado del Molise nell’Ottocento è divisa sostanzialmente in due, una grande proprietà fondiaria ed una piccolissima proprietà contadina. Prendere in esame il contributo di queste ha comportato l’analisi separata degli stessi principalmente per due motivi: una spiccata differenza del capitale culturale ed economico, e di conseguenza una diversa partecipazione alla costruzione degli ambienti. Se ci troviamo nello spazio di riflessione della terra in quanto mezzo, le conseguenze di questo sbilanciamento di potere rendono evidente il diverso posizionamento dei sistemi sociali rispetto alle risorse; in Molise, come in altre regioni italiane, questo rapporto inizia ad essere sbilanciato verso chi possedeva i capitali di partenza più forti, il problema in questo caso però ha diversi fattori a determinarne le scarse prospettive. Se all’inizio del XIX secolo “gli sforzi e l’impegno – com’è noto – non furono lesinati. L’azione della Società Economica di Molise e del suo Segretario perpetuo Raffaele Pepe si concentrò infatti immediatamente sul rinnovo tecnico del settore agricolo” (Massullo, 2006, p. 109); dopo l’Unità d’Italia però il quadro economico-sociale del Molise rimane invariato ed anzi, nonostante i tentativi delle amministrazioni uscenti, persisteva ancora, nella seconda metà del secolo, una base economica scarsamente dinamica e con gravi difficoltà nel rinnovarsi. Quello che risulta da questo rapporto società –



risorsa/mezzo è il netto prevaricare del pensiero pragmatico del mezzo sulla risorsa, con la netta sensazione che sia iniziato proprio in questo periodo, attraverso questa dualità nel concepire la terra molisana, un forte cambiamento nel rapporto che lega l'uomo al territorio, rapporto che poi si ripercuoterà sulla stessa percezione che di essa si aveva, ed oggi, in parte, ancora si ha ancora. Per rendere concreto questo passaggio è stato necessario dare una ulteriore connessione a quello che a tutti gli effetti è un cambiamento di paradigma, è stato necessario indagare gli effetti che ciò ha comportato in termini economici e lavorativi sulla vita sociale molisana. La regione com'è noto ha fondato la sua economia sul lavoro della terra, ma cambiando il rapporto che si ha con essa il paradigma lavorativo e di conseguenza quello economico sono mutati, soprattutto seguendo due percorsi significativi: il primo ci porta al calo dell'occupazione riscontrato a fine secolo, fonte antropologica della sfiducia che si genera nelle possibilità di incedere sul territorio dell'attore sociale; il secondo porta le nostre riflessioni ai fenomeni migratori avvenuti fra Ottocento e Novecento, elemento che si intreccia con quella mobilità generatrice di melanconia<sup>54</sup> descritta da Teti per la sua Calabria. Il Novecento andrà guardato soprattutto tenendo in considerazione questi due sentieri, partendo da quello dell'emigrazione. Per far ciò gli spazi di riflessione che fino ad ora abbiamo seguito non bastano, quindi, rispetto alle prospettive precedenti – quelle delineate dai concetti di risorsa e mezzo – parliamo adesso di terra in quanto identità: questa è la prospettiva ultima sulla quale si innestano quelle precedenti, che ne sono affluenti, e che ovviamente ne determinano in maniera particolare lo sviluppo. Se partiamo da questa concezione, l'evento storico su cui fare le nostre riflessioni è datato 27/12/1963: spartiacque fra il percorso che ha

---

<sup>54</sup> La melanconia viene descritta da Teti è quel modo di essere legato ad un posto; è sindrome e inquietudine fin dai tempi antichi; è una manifestazione che accompagna il rischio di smarrire la presenza e nello stesso tempo appare come una sorta di strategia di resistenza ma anche un sentimento attivo e che affronta il negativo della vita. V. Teti, *Quel che resta*, 2017.

condotto il Molise a diventare una regione amministrativamente autonoma, e l'inizio di un percorso di auto-affermazione identitaria regionale tutt'ora in atto. Questo percorso, che nel 1963 fece del Molise una regione autonoma all'interno della giovane Repubblica italiana, fu unico nel suo genere, come uniche furono le conseguenze attraverso le quali oggi possiamo definire il rapporto fra risorsa-mezzo-identità interno alla regione. Non a caso il terzo spazio di riflessione si sviluppa proprio sui ragionamenti intorno ai quali la Regione diventa autonoma nella propria amministrazione, è infatti proprio questo passaggio che ha in qualche modo articolato il mio sguardo di campo. Posizionarsi fra il testo Storia del Molise e la realtà contemporanea per ricercare una mobilità storica della terra molisana ha portato più volte ad intercettare quelle voci – nel passato e nel presente dei nostri ragionamenti – a rispecchiarsi tanto nel testo di Massullo quanto nelle parole di E. Cirese. Seguire questa trama ha portato le riflessioni di campo ad incrociare queste tre prospettive permettendo alla ricerca di creare una base di tipo storico, economico e politico utile a proiettarsi nello spaccato sociale scelto per articolare Eco-Molise. Proveremo quindi ad utilizzare una immagine in particolare come oggetto di riflessione, quella dell'agricoltura molisana, descritta negli ultimi decenni del Novecento ancora attraverso "polverizzazione e frantumazione fondiaria, scarse conoscenze tecniche, assenza di filiere di trasformazione agroalimentare, dicotomia spaziale nello sviluppo regionale – anche questa antica tradizione locale – resa ancora più grave dalla concentrazione di quel poco di innovazione che si era introdotta in poche e ristrette aree della collina litoranea" (Massullo, 2006, p. 492). Aver percorso così rapidamente la storia del Molise se da un lato mi ha esposto ad una forzatura, dall'altro è stato il punto di partenza obbligatorio per contestualizzare e dar forma alle realtà incontrate durante la mia ricerca. Infatti, le trame dei tre spazi di riflessione si sono poi riversate sull'oggetto delle mie riflessioni, ovvero le aziende agricole. Il primo passo da cui ho ritenuto opportuno partire in questo senso è stato quello di conoscere la tipologia di società che avrei individuato parlando di aziende di tipo agricolo: individuare gli attori che compongono l'oggetto d'indagine

equivale ad inserirsi in uno specifico quadro sociale, quello della classe contadina. È dunque a questo proposito che ho ritenuto necessario introdurre nella mia ricerca sette unità economiche inseribili nel complesso teorico (nelle costellazioni) delineato da Van der Ploeg con il concetto di aziende contadine. Nella maggior parte dei casi, dunque, ho potuto riscontrare come queste si costruissero “principalmente sull’utilizzo prolungato del capitale ecologico, [e come fossero orientate] alla tutela e al miglioramento delle condizioni di vita dei contadini. Spesso la multifunzionalità ha rappresentato un aspetto basilare di questo tipo di agricoltura; la forza lavoro è fondamentalmente costituita dai membri della famiglia – oppure mobilitata all’interno della comunità rurale secondo la regola del mutuo scambio – e la terra e gli altri principali fattori di produzione sono proprietà della famiglia stessa. La produzione è destinata al mercato, alla riproduzione dei fattori aziendali e al sostentamento della famiglia.” (Van Der Ploeg, 2009, p. 12). Tenendo presente quanto queste realtà si configurino nel prototipo descritto da Ploeg, adesso descriverò brevemente ciò per cui si sono caratterizzate durante i dialoghi avuti, ovvero le sfumature che mi hanno consentito di raggrupparle rispetto alle componenti che le caratterizzavano di più. Con le prime tre aziende incontrate (Colantuono – Innamorato – Pecorella Nera) sono entrato in un ambiente in cui è stato necessario distinguere il peso che rivestiva la sfera familiare da quella prettamente economica rispetto all’azienda complessa. Per comprenderne le implicazioni e le congiunture, come sappiamo, questa distinzione è necessariamente alla base di ogni approccio antropologico che, negli anni, ha studiato il posizionamento del modello sociale del contadino indagandolo e considerandolo non solo come un’entità unifamiliare, ma come parte di una società più ampia in cui ogni azienda incontrata può attuare un diverso equilibrio tra queste due componenti e ciò che possiamo considerare esterno alla classe contadina precedentemente definita. Subito dopo ho avuto la possibilità di interagire con altre due che questa volta possiamo far rientrare in una prospettiva prettamente di riterritorializzazione, e che si esprimono quindi attraverso le seguenti

caratteristiche riscontrate. Cominciando da Gabriele, che è risultato essere soggetto considerabile rappresentativo per la sfera dei Nuovi Contadini. In questo caso di studio emerge dalla figura di Gabriele un tratto molto specifico che segnaliamo tra quelle della società contadina, ovvero il rapporto duale e interconnesso con la natura che genera il concetto di coproduzione: la coproduzione significa continua interazione tra uomo e ambiente nello spazio rurale, e quindi una trasformazione continua che si basa sull'interazione dell'uomo con la natura. In questo modo sia le risorse sociali che quelle naturali vengono costantemente modellate e rimodellate grazie al reciproco feedback dei due agenti; il processo di coproduzione è possibile in presenza di aziende agricole familiari e/o soggetti singoli, che scelgono di intraprendere un percorso agricolo. Secondo Ploeg, il progresso si elabora proprio attraverso la coproduzione: è così che "emergono forme endogene di sviluppo" (Van Der Ploeg, 2009, p. 43). Oltre a questo Gabriele rispetto alle altre realtà esaminate non ha un background familiare su cui appoggiarsi, è infatti grazie ai suoi studi e alla sua scelta di vita che ha intrapreso questo percorso. Proprio in contrapposizione a ciò introduco la seconda realtà, Trasformazioni, che attesta la malleabilità e il dinamismo della dimensione sociale contadina che la rende oggi così sfuggente. Trasformazioni è stata importante proprio per la natura del suo stesso nome: trasformandosi nel tempo, passando di generazione in generazione mi ha illuminato sulla questione fondamentale relativa alla comunicazione di una azienda agricola nel XXI secolo. Infine, ho incontrato Alba e MolisExtra due realtà visitate sul campo, che ci consentono di ampliare i confini aziendali ad un'idea che ci introduce al concetto di rete diffusa sul territorio. Il primo aspetto da esaminare è la "multifunzionalità" di Alba: il concetto, così come è rappresentato nell'opera di Ploeg, passa attraverso diverse stratificazioni. La multifunzionalità di un'azienda sembra piuttosto un attributo esterno, che corre parallelo all'azienda, che in realtà vive concretamente di multiattività, cioè svolge mansioni quotidiane che ampliano quelli che sono considerati i classici compiti del contadino. Questi due concetti vanno sicuramente di pari passo, ma per interpretare Alba attraverso la

definizione di HUB rurale come modello di business scelto da Nicola (guida dell'azienda) credo sia più corretto parlare di multiattività come caratteristica principale dell'azienda. Parlare di multiattività in relazione a un'azienda agricola moderna coincide quindi con l'allargamento della sfera agricola spingendo le azioni svolte dagli attori oltre il recinto del terreno coltivato. La multiattività in questo senso permette di identificare la sfera dei contadini del terzo millennio, e in questo modo avvicina l'azienda agricola del passato all'azienda - HUB rurale suggerita proprio da Nicola in quanto imprenditore agricolo. Entrando nello specifico quindi, la multiattività consiste in azioni rivolte soprattutto all'esterno dell'azienda, ma che consentono di integrare l'attività agricola principale con altre che consentono la diversificazione sia per input e output di prodotto, sia per azioni svolte in prima persona da chi è responsabile della società. Con MolisExtra invece possiamo parlare della "costruzione di cooperative regionali volte ad integrare nelle pratiche agricole attività finalizzate al miglioramento dell'ambiente, della natura e del paesaggio"; "ricerca e costruzione di nuove pratiche di governance rurale"; "Allontanarsi dai sistemi esperti e avvicinarsi alle competenze innovative degli agricoltori" (Van Der Ploeg, 2009, pp. 246 – 248). Partendo dalle parole di Adamo, rispetto alla definizione che da Ploeg in *New Peasant*, emerge come priorità dell'associazione soprattutto quella di costruire una base cooperativa attraverso la quale promuovere il prodotto. Questo sentimento trova concretezza e si rafforza nel progetto che più di tutti, a mio avviso, connota MolisExtra come una realtà fortemente orientata alla dimensione cooperativa. In particolare, nelle interviste molto tempo è stato dedicato a discutere di un'iniziativa promossa dall'associazione, ovvero Extrascape: "Concorso Internazionale Oli Extraverugini di Oliva ottenuti dai migliori paesaggi olivicoli". La descrizione citata richiama il concetto di coproduzione visto in precedenza considerando il "Parametro di giudizio paesaggistico" come diretta emanazione di continua interazione, e mutua trasformazione, tra uomo e natura. La struttura del concorso mette in evidenza anche l'equazione valorizzazione del prodotto = valorizzazione del territorio, passo che credo porti a riconsiderare -

ampliandolo - il valore della comunicazione vista in precedenza con Daniele di Trasformazioni. Utilizzare queste sette realtà ci dà un ventaglio ampio di registri vocali, siamo quindi arrivati davanti a quelle ipotesi di voci non ancora udite che inseguivamo fin dall'introduzione. Proprio perché voci effettive ci caleremo adesso nella realtà etnografica più pura dando voce, appunto, all'agency dell'oggetto azienda agricola.

### **3. Risultati etnografici**

Con queste brevi introduzioni alle caratteristiche principali delle aziende incontrate siamo arrivati ad avere una visione dell'oggetto etnografico, che seppur parziale, riesce quantomeno a mostrare le ampie caratteristiche e la gamma dinamica delle voci del Molise. Quello che ne risulta è una prima declinazione dell'azienda e la possibilità concreta di inserire il nostro oggetto in una dimensione sociale di cui ora possiamo riconoscere un'estensione sul territorio ed una capillarità sociale che si estende nella regione considerata. C'è di più, credo infatti che questo metta in luce le caratteristiche riscontrate, con cui definire le realtà visitate come una risposta plausibile all'ipotesi di quella voce ciresiana non ancora udita, con questo intendo dunque manifestare l'intento che ha mosso la mia ricerca fin dall'inizio, quello cioè di rappresentare la dimensione del fenomeno della ricontadinizzazione sul territorio molisano come una concreta possibilità di riconnessione e sviluppo per attori e istituzioni alla terra. Credo quindi che sia possibile ipotizzare proprio il nostro oggetto come Voce in grado di avvicinarci ad una idea di moralità della vita quotidiana e di buon senso, rendendo esplicite le valenze positive per aiutare ad aprirsi alla modernità e al cambiamento senza perdere umanità e valore morale. L'ultimo passaggio che effettuerò adesso quindi è quello di riflettere su queste prospettive trattenendoci ancora sulla vita che si cela dietro il nostro oggetto, a dar ascolto a queste voci, tentando sempre più di allargare lo spettro della riflessione al panorama regionale. Questo lo faremo con l'intenzione di aprire delle prospettive per rispondere alla

domanda “chi ha la responsabilità di esserne aria e polmoni?”, preparando infine il terreno per una strada che sappia parlare a quello che sarà l’ultimo quesito su cui ragionare: quale futuro si immagina in una regione consunta eco di una possibile esistenza ipotizzata da altri?

Se lo scopo che ci poniamo quindi è quello di tradurre l’ipotesi in una possibilità effettivamente riscontrabile, tentare cioè di restituire a queste Voci la responsabilità, la capacità e la volontà di essere una risposta concreta da far dialogare con le riflessioni sul futuro. Per compiere questo salto entriamo nel solco di una traiettoria di sviluppo in particolare, quella della ricontadinizzazione, guardando alla riemersione del modello contadino soprattutto per la rilevanza che questo assume in quanto modello economicamente e politicamente sostenibile in grado di creare alternative ad una condizione di sottosviluppo<sup>55</sup>. Per entrare quindi nell’ottica di una traiettoria di sviluppo bisogna non solo considerare “la ricontadinizzazione un’espressione moderna della lotta per l’autonomia e la sopravvivenza in un contesto di privazione e dipendenza”, ma approfondirne ancor di più la “condizione contadina [in quanto dinamica, immaginandola] come una curva che scorre nel tempo, con movimenti verso l’alto e il basso” (Van Der Ploeg, 2009, p. 18). In questo senso, lo scopo è dare voce agli attori intervistati sul campo, continuando la narrazione approfondendo il soggetto d’indagine, raccontandolo attraverso quelle che spesso sono state definite dagli stessi protagonisti “scelte di vita”. Questo concetto credo costituisca la percezione che si ha del territorio, impone cioè una costante mediazione fra ciò che si ha intenzione di fare e ciò che poi ci si ritrova ad affrontare, costituendo dunque un elemento che per la ricerca è utile alla comprensione di un panorama più vasto. È in questo senso che trovo interessante concepire un principio contadino che “coincide con le biografie sociali e, poiché si

---

<sup>55</sup> A questo proposito va aperta una parentesi, come sottolineato a più riprese il contesto in cui stiamo operando è circoscritto, nei suoi oggetti d’indagine, al Molise, regione che poco più di due anni fa è stata declassata dall’Unione Europea ad usufruire dei Fondi europei per le politiche di coesione 2021-2027 nella categoria “regione meno sviluppata”.



riferisce sempre a prospettive e a condizioni condivise, coincide anche, almeno in parte, con ciò che viene generalmente definito un modo di vivere.” (Van Der Ploeg, 2009, p.360). Rappresentare il soggetto della ricerca significa rendere note le relazioni dialettiche, le risposte dei soggetti all’ambiente, e le conseguenze di queste, delineandole proprio attraverso l’equilibrio fra le posizioni che assumono: quand’è quindi che agente economico ed agente identitario sono da considerare sovrapponibili? Ma soprattutto, quand’è che questi non lo sono? Queste domande costituiscono l’equilibrio e la sottile linea che gli attori intervistati hanno sviluppato ognuno a seconda della propria specifica scelta di vita. Quello che ho ricevuto interrogandoli su questo concetto è stato un panorama vasta di scelte, le relazioni dialettiche in cui mi sono immerso hanno permesso di spaziare in più direzioni. Il dialogo con Gabriele ha prima evidenziato il rapporto con un ambiente strutturato geograficamente e politicamente, poi si è confrontato con delle domande sulla dimensione del peasant guardandone e scoprendone alcuni ingranaggi forse un po' sottovalutati ma che implicano in realtà costruzione del percorso di vita ben precise. Sono poi passato a scoprire una relazione fra peasant e cliente con Daniele V. di Trasformazioni, esplorandone un laboratorio capillarizzato in grado di produrre risposte dinamiche soprattutto rispetto alla rete finale produttore – consumatore, esplorando le attività che di concerto alla terra espandono la possibilità di comunicare quello che è l’oggetto-azienda. C’è stata poi la duplice relazione fra peasant prodotta dalle riflessioni di Daniele B. di Pecorella Nera e Adamo di MolisExtra, che mi ha consentito di esplorare l’atteggiamento attraverso cui la scelta di vita si declina nel modello contadino; da una parte, anche attraverso uno scambio di opinioni a più riprese con il ricercatore, Daniele B. ci ha fatto riflettere su un rapporto che metteva in gioco coloro che dovranno interpretare il futuro del modello, dall’altra parte Adamo ci ha parlato della pluralità come declinazione del modello prima, e come risposta dinamica poi. Infine, Con Nicola ho scoperto la possibilità di partire dalle “interconnessioni aziendali che (Nicola) aveva progettato su 7,8 km di raggio”. Attraverso questo spaccato

di terra, quest'area geograficamente delimitata a cui Nicola, fra le righe, ci rimanda attraverso le sue riflessioni è l'ambiente della nostra relazione dialettica. Quest'ultima rappresentazione di una scelta di vita si cela sotto la pelle delle interconnessioni che si creano all'interno dell'ambiente, pertanto, la relazione dialettica è da considerarsi come un tessuto intrecciato all'ambiente che crea infine la trama per la nostra riflessione. Dietro ogni tela, fatta da trama e ordito, c'è la volontà di progettare un disegno, e dalle parole di Nicola è proprio il desiderio di progettualità che colpisce: guardare al di là del raggio kilometrario ci porta a ragionare su qualcosa che è in moto, dunque su una serie di risposte dinamiche pensate e tradotte su un arco temporale declinabile al futuro. In questo senso la pratica della progettazione è identificabile attraverso una forma ben precisa della declinazione del soggetto rappresentato, una declinazione che si articola, a mio avviso, sul concetto di novelty incrociato in Ploeg. Così, infine, prendendo ora una posizione, seppur provvisoria, all'interno di questo panorama di relazioni dialettiche fra uomini e terra, posso dire che non esiste il dubbio di una Voce viva. Non c'è dubbio, d'altra parte, che questa sia ancora vox clamantis in deserto, com'è altrettanto indubbia ai miei occhi la volontà di lottare (da parte dei soggetti incontrati) contro l'immagine che la stessa terra sovente preferisce vestire, passiva. Ecco, dunque, che probabilmente i limiti che hanno accompagnato il mio tentativo di uscire dallo stallo in cui mi ritrovo (in compagnia), diventa uno strumento, più nello specifico il metro attraverso cui misurare la volontà di esserci nel futuro. È dunque dalle risposte dinamiche che si ingaggeranno con quest'ultimo che si definiranno, da parte degli attori sociali, i peasant nel nostro caso, le relazioni dialettiche sulle quali continuare a porre attenzione nei prossimi anni. Quello di cui sono convinto è che questo approccio sia in divenire tanto quanto l'evoluzione ed il confronto di cui il professor Clemente auspicava, e che questo compito dovrà essere svolto tenendo sempre in mente le domande poste.

#### **4. Conclusioni**

È così che mi avvicino alle conclusioni di una ricerca in divenire, il panorama esplorato fatto di un ambiente, il Molise, che ho cercato di rendere nella sua dinamica storicità; l'oggetto-azienda esplorata nei suoi tratti distintivi che si fa voce di un territorio; e quindi i soggetti, attori sociali che scelgono una vita di responsabilità verso una terra in quanto risorsa. Questi tre elementi così uniti l'un l'altro definiscono l'importanza della mia ricerca. Passare da un Eco-Molise ad una Voce del Molise fortemente connotata dalla terra è di per sé il messaggio più importante che ho portato come nella scrittura e nel camminare sul campo in questi anni. L'ultimo capitolo della mia ricerca si chiama infatti *ferre fortiter*: sentenza senecana contenuta nel *De providentia*, che tradotta è l'esortazione che preferisco alle classiche conclusioni, da cui solitamente mi tengo lontano soprattutto perché alle conclusioni *strictu sensu* non si arriva mai, e perché credo bisognerebbe invece continuare a dare voce a ciò che si tenta di comprendere. E proprio da quelle voci e da quel confronto da cui sono partito che adesso è necessario soffermarsi, per affermarne l'efficacia e sottolinearne la vitalità.

#### **References**

- Massullo G. (2006), *Storia del Molise*, Donzelli editore.
- Teti V. (2004), *Il senso dei luoghi*, Donzelli editore.
- Teti V. (2017), *Quel che resta*, Donzelli editore.
- De Certau M. (2012, prima ristampa), *L'invenzione del quotidiano*, edizioni lavoro.
- Van der Ploeg J.D. (2008), *I nuovi contadini*, Donzelli editore.
- U. Fabietti, R. Malighetti, V. Matera (2012), *Dal tribale al globale. Introduzione all'antropologia*, Bruno Mondadori.



### **3. Romanian transhumance: from enduring folk mythology to contemporary cultural and biological heritage**

*Ioana Baskerville*

#### **1. Introduction**

Two generations of Romanian scholars strived to explain how Carpathian transhumance ensured a sustainable lifestyle of rural pastoral communities and pointed out how mobile pastoralism strengthened what was recently identified as “the inextricable link” between biological and cultural diversity (Maffi, 2007, p. 267). In the light of the newer cross-disciplinary methodology, it is appropriate to consider that Romanian transhumance was studied within the framework of what experts recently called a „biocultural heritage” described by Ove Eriksson in 2018 as the “biological manifestations of culture, reflecting indirect or intentional effects, or domesticated landscapes, resulting from historical human niche construction” (Eriksson, 2018, p. 1). The contemporary situation of mobile pastoralism in Romania is however more often envisaged in the light of a long research tradition that emphasized more the cultural than the biological heritage that Carpathian shepherding generated along the centuries. This chapter looks at how ingrained this cultural view on pastoralism is in Romania based on an extensive review of transhumance literature, and how it may overshadow the efficiency of decision-making on addressing the actual risks that transhumant shepherds are facing today. Considering mobile pastoralism as an old-fashioned lifestyle that was specific to ancient time of the nation would disengage the concrete solutions that transhumance in present-day Romania needs in order to survive.

Romulus Vuia (1964) provided the first and the most important classification of pastoral practices encountered in Romania at the middle of the last century, a classification that was often followed by other ethnographers, geographers, and experts in historical animal science; Vuia identified four different types of animal breeding activities practiced on Romanian lands, according to the flocks' main grazing areas: (1) the local grazing (within or close to the village's hayfields); (2) local mountain summer grazing (on the hayfields and grasslands situated on the nearby mountains) – that is the case of the animal breeders living in the Subcarpathian villages, who spent the summer grazing in the mountains nearby; (3) summer grazing within diverse mountain pastures, while flocks spent the winter within the village grasslands (a type of pastoralism within which an important role was given to the fertilising effect of livestock on the cultivated fields) – characteristic of peasant smallholding farms that involve both cattle and sheep; 4) transhumance (Vuia, 1964, pp. 64-96; Butură, 1978, p. 207). Romanian shepherding was in most cases and areas practiced along with agriculture, and only in the most advanced phases, i.e. in the case of transhumance animal breeding represented the only means of subsistence. This mix of economic activities provided a diverse economic experience to rural people that were thus able to intuitively acknowledge the benefits of shepherding for fertilizing the crops and the proper management of both plant and animal breeding. As it was extensively described, transhumance was the most evolved type of animal breeding practiced by Romanians, available though only to the wealthiest sheep owners from only a few well delineated rural areas in southern Transylvania, northern Oltenia, and northern Walachia; it is considered to have started as early as the 13th – 14th centuries. Many of the Romanian scholars of transhumance point out that Romanian mobile pastoralism could not be assimilated to population mobility, since it was practiced only by shepherds who were moving to the summer and winter pastures away from their villages, and not by their entire family and community. This characteristic allowed Romanian scholars to integrate Romanian transhumance into an “Alpine” type of transhumance, and not

within what was identified as the “Balkan” type. Another “Alpine” characteristic of Romanian transhumance is its development according to the market demands, and not as a choice or due to the lack of forage available at the original domicile of the sheep owners (Butură, 1978, p. 215). The extension of Romanian pastoralism was encouraged by the great demand for wool (used heavily in the old domestic textile industry), cheese (as one of the main products of the local foodways) and meat (requested strongly by the external market – especially by the Middle Eastern one during the time when the Romanian principalities were economically subordinated by the Ottoman Empire).

Romanian transhumance developed at first as a “simple” form of mobile pastoralism, in which summer grazing was done at different highlands situated in the Southern and Eastern Carpathians, and gradually arrived to a “double” type when shepherds also travelled long distances to find enough resources to allow them to spend winter in the lowlands (Romanian Plain, Danube Delta, Black Sea regions, and even Crimea). The decrease of transhumance was organically determined, as in the case of its growth, by the lowering demand of pastoral products, due to the decline of internal textile industry and the demand for traditional wool attire, the fall of the Ottoman Empire and the disappearance of a direct and considerable market for mutton. Another relevant factor for the transhumance’s decline was the diminishing of unrestrained pastures and meadows, due to the extent of cultivated crops and private properties around the traditional winter grazing areas, which determined shepherds to travel at longer distances as an attempt to overcome shortage of forage and fodder.

Romanian transhumance was especially studied at the beginning of the last century by human geographers and rural sociologists; they undertook local and regional studies on domestic forms of local pastoralism, such as Tiberiu Morariu, *Viața pastorală în Munții Rodnei* (“Pastoral life in the Rodnei Mountains”) (1937), Laurian Someșan, *Viața pastorală în Munții Călimani* (“Pastoral life in the Calimani Mountains”) (1934), Sabin Opreanu, *Contribuțiuni la transhumanța din Carpații Orientali*



(“Contributions to transhumance in the Eastern Carpathians”) (1930), etc. Gradually, transhumance scholarship engaged in more interdisciplinary pursuits, determining scholars to acquire themselves the mandatory tools and knowledge from different fields that provided the means to holistically study the topic, instead of relying on multidisciplinary teams. This lack of works of synthesis was considered by some historians of the topic as a shortcoming, one that determined a gap between different points of view and fieldwork results (Toşa, 2007, p. 177).

One of the best examples of such individual extensive interdisciplinary research is Tiberiu Morariu’s study on mobile pastoralism in the Rodnei Mountains (1937). Morariu analysed the pastoral phenomenon from all the connected perspectives: historical, geographical, ethnographical, economic, biological (1937, 3). In the preface, Morariu points out that the study of pastoralism is a growing field in Romania, but most of the authors who study it choose just one specific, restricted point of view; on the opposite, his research intended to offer a holistic treatment of the subject. His book starts from the geographical and geological features of the region, a description of the climate, a broad explanation of diverse pastures and hayfields, their degree of fertility, their botanical composition and so on. He also provides a critical insight on the unwise decisions taken by shepherds who do not manage to organize grazing in a sustainable way. He further described pastoralism according to historical sources, and extensively describes the sheepfold buildings, the pastoral products and by-products, the associated customs and traditions, the pastoral calendar, the shepherds’ attire, the shepherds’ meals, the main sheep roads and itineraries. After carefully reviewing the pasturing conditions, he highlights the economic value of the mountain pastures should be increased by more sustainable grazing and calls for a more systematic grazing mechanism (Morariu, 1937, p. 47). He believes that the most valuable for grazing are the subalpine pastures (situated at around 1250-1700 m), given the fact that the higher ones are affected by the wind which does not allow plants do fully develop (Morariu, 1937, p. 51). The good result of the recommended systematic grazing involves the dividing

of the mountain pastures by sheep owners, who had to pay every year a certain fee to the local administration (Morariu, 1937, 53). Shepherds and sheep owners grazed their livestock according to a system that allowed grass regeneration, used also efficiently for haymaking because hay was an essential resource during winter. A more intelligent and organized use of resources, Morariu thinks, will offer a sustainable future to the local communities of animal breeders. He additionally brings forward an argument that is applicable to the current problems which Romanian pastoralism is facing: "Shepherding in this area is of utmost importance not only through its old and original features of the pastoral life, that of encouraging a lasting connection between the three Romanian provinces (...) – but also due to its economic importance" (Morariu, 1937, p. 206).

In an article published a few years later, Morariu continues his strong support for a more systematic and controlled use of pastoral resources by comparing Romanian Carpathian mobile pastoralism with pastoral practices in the French Alps (Morariu, 1942). The comparison is due to his own fieldwork and observation of French mobile pastoralism. While he emphasizes the similarities and differences between the two systems and the geo-ecological advantages of both for animal grazing, he is impressed by the productivity obtained by the French who put in place a much more organized system. It is interesting that, even though he underscores the many tasks that the Romanian state has to undertake for the future to ensure a more economically viable pastoral system (such as improving the local breeds, building better shelters for shepherds, creating a centralized system for cheese making, etc.), he is however aware of the necessity to preserve along with the more rational type of pastoralism its ancient local characteristics that are such an important national heritage: "As for the Carpathian pastoralism, even though there are regions where it is based on the same principals as the French one, it does appear more far behind than that one and it preserves old features that played a significant role in the life of the Romanians, features that are so important for the ethnographer, the historian, the folklorist. However, we should not forget that this type of ancient pastoral system does not work when we try to

ensure a higher economic value” (Morariu, 1942, p. 393). During communism, and its “socialist means of production” that are more “rationally” organized, Morariu continues his field investigations in the transhumant landscapes. He figures out that transhumance is still practiced in areas renown for mobile pastoralism, even though some of the economic factors that encouraged large distance transhumance in the last centuries were clearly weakened. Morariu even points out that continuing the old patterns of flock migration beyond its economic necessity and when financial gain does not encourage practitioners is also due to a new factor, i.e. to “tradition” (Morariu, 1963, p. 42).

## **2. The popularity of Romanian transhumance as cultural heritage**

Though authoring a very pragmatic assessment of pastoralism, Morariu was nevertheless aware of how much this specific topic had been approached by scholars of cultural heritage, and of its significance for the Romanian ethnic imaginary. Morariu’s works on mobile pastoralism sets up a line of research that became quite popular in the following decades and that would logically model what is more recently considered as the study of “biocultural heritage”. The study of domestication of Carpathian landscapes through shepherding involving plant and animal traditional knowledge and habitat conservation served to find management solutions to help the subsistence of this occupation as well as demonstrating the cultural unity of Romanian people. Romantic emphasis on how Romanian shepherds managed to successfully tame and inhabit unfriendly parts of undomesticated nature such as the high peaks of the Carpathians was populating folklore studies and ethnographic and geographic accounts. E. de Martonne was one the first to build up on this cultural undertone in his geographical description of Romanian pastoralism (Martonne, 1912, p. 121). Traian Herseni an important interwar rural sociologist, pointed out that Romanian pastoralism should be studied not as an occupation among others that is specific to Romanian rural communities, but as an intricate

lifestyle (Herseni, 1941, p. 16), and the geographer Ion Conea stressed that Romanian southern Carpathians are “the most inhabitable and hospitable mountains” (Conea, 1984, p. 44). A contemporary ethnographer, Ion Ghinoiu considered the Carpathians as “very favorable to humanizing” (Ghinoiu, 1968, p. 47).

The strong emphasis on how ancient mobile pastoralism in the Carpathians as an important occupation of Romanians was motivated by the role it played as an argument in the ethnic rhetoric and the construction of a national intangible cultural heritage. This is the key to understanding the emphasis on the cultural role of mobile pastoralism in almost all different types of research on pastoralism. Ioan Augustin Goia underscores this interpretation in the introductory remarks of his own research on the topic: “The preference given to the topic of transhumance by Romanian authors with different research interests was partially determined by an affective factor of romantic origin present in our intellectual circles during the last two centuries. The idealized image of the ‘free shepherds’ in constant contact with the rough nature or, on the contrary, of a heavenly nature, supported in various ways a rich specialized literature.” (Goia, 2012, p. 9).

Heritage experts’ interest in pastoralism emerged in the Romanian culture in connection with the discovery of folk poetry that often epitomized the shepherd’s lifestyle. The transhumance routes are poetically described even by geographers, who see the Carpathian Mountains as the central arch or citadel of the country: “It is like spokes of a wheel that the roads of Romanian transhumance branch out from the central citadel of mountains towards all the horizons” (Conea, 1940, p. 17). The cultural service paid by transhumance to ensure the ethnic unity of the Romanian people is a much-cherished idea of the national mythology, transhumance serving as an engine of ethnic unity: “By wandering with the flocks, each shepherd could have a vivid and comparative perception over people of his own and other ethnic groups; he could also internalise an image of his homeland differentiated from other lands. Thus (...) transhumance also fulfilled an ethnic function” (Geană, 2006, p. 106). Even foreign experts

who became familiar with Romanian mobile pastoralism realized “how deeply ingrained pastoralism is in Romanian culture” (Juler, 2014, p. 1). Authors who assessed the potential of the Carpathian rural areas for small scale tourism did not forget to mention the cultural value of the Carpathians according to domestic processes of heritagization: “Great value also attaches to the cultural landscape of the Carpathian Mountains (Apolzan, 1987, p. 14) with dispersed communities whose ethos is perhaps best reflected in the notion of ‘sheep space’ and the unspoken traditions of strong pastoral communities” (Turnock, 1999, p. 193).

Shepherding was clearly glorified in the Romanian folk poetry and song, and especially by the national epic ballad of the Romanians, collected in the middle of the 19th century from a rich pastoral area in the Eastern Carpathians. *Miorița* is a very eloquent poem describing the story of three shepherds going with their sheep in the mountains, when two of them plan to kill the third, because he was wealthier and more handsome. The faithful ewe of the third shepherd warns its master of the plan and asks him to counteract it, but the about to be killed does not want to react, peacefully accepting his death. He reveals his last wishes to *Miorița*, his ewe, and describes his death and burial as a hypothetical or metaphorical wedding of cosmic dimension in which his relationship with the beautiful Carpathian nature plays an important part. The aesthetic quality of *Miorița* determined literary experts to consider it the best inspiration for domestic poetry, and its message was strongly manipulated by different cultural policies that followed its discovery in the 1850s.

The most acclaimed Romanian historian, Nicolae Iorga, compares the pastoral ballad with Bishop Thomas Percy’s collection of ballads (published in *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, in 1765) as a strategy of uplifting the domestic folkloric production to a great European tradition of the same kind (Iorga, 1919, pp. 13-14). Iorga’s comment was not only intended as a comparison of folkloric or literary relevance, but as a historical one, given the fact Percy’s goal was not limited to promoting English folklore, but rather to political imperatives: “Percy’s adoption of the neglected popular tradition of songs and ballads therefore amplified

their significance. No longer merely ephemeral rustic ditties, they were historical artifacts, a national literary heritage. (...) Percy's own ballad project was quite comparable: to assemble and edit ballads that would predominantly serve as popular 'Lectures on English History' and manners." (Groom, 2006, p. 183). Deployed by Percy to exemplify an emerging English identity, the old ballads created a picturesque vision of the English past, as it was exactly the case with the Romanian pastoral ballad. Iorga also targets the comparison of the entrepreneurial Carpathian shepherds with the more famous Scottish Highlanders.

According to domestic folklorists, the Romanian ballad's message contained a presentation of the shepherding as a traditional main occupation of Romanians that helped connecting the three Romanian lands and assuring the homogenous structure of the Romanian language; it also inspired a poetical representation of the national landscape, called by an important domestic philosopher, Lucian Blaga, a "mioritic space" (Blaga 1944/1985). Tradition and nature working to stress the symbolic geography of the country were also concrete mnemonic devices for legitimatizing the ethnic quality of history and territory. Pointing out in the same direction was G. Călinescu's influential presentation of *Miorița* among the four national myths: "In this ballad we find the greatest symbol of the Romanian people's pastoral existence and its unity in the middle the country's territory which is that of the Carpathian arch" (Călinescu, 1982, p. 59). Other Romanian intellectuals concluded that, due to the role played by transhumance in the Romanian culture, Romanians managed to acquire a "pastoral language" and a "pastoral soul" (Noica, 1996, pp. 144-145). Adrian Fochi, a folklorist who authored a comprehensive treatise on all discovered versions of the *Miorița* balad, considers that the ballad's plot is a "transhumance fact" (Fochi, 1964, p. 544), while admitting this was only a personal opinion not yet supported by documents. A few years later, another important Romanian ethnographer, Ion Mușlea, believed to have found a document to sustain Fochi's opinion, i.e. a historical account of a conflict between Wallachian shepherds happening in the 15th century on the territory of today's Montenegro (Mușlea, 1972, pp. 29-31).



Even after *Miorița*'s other meanings were gradually disappearing from the public discourse for lack of adequacy with contemporary realities, the emphasis on primitive and traditional culture in a natural background are still perceived as valuable resources for promoting Romania abroad. Sorin Alexandrescu noticed that this "insistence on tradition masks sometimes the fact that the values are in an advanced process of dissolution or did already become obsolete" (Alexandrescu, 2002, p. 145). This is indeed a good description for the situation created by a sudden project of reutilizing the *Miorița* myth as self-identity marker in 2017 by the Romanian Minister of Agriculture, Petre Daea.

Pastoralism as a cultural heritage item was appropriately employed in country or regional branding in other countries also. For example, in the Polish Carpathians, a region where also transhumance was a significant traditional practice, since the mid-20th century mobile pastoralism diminished and almost disappeared due to drastic economic changes. In 1982, thanks to a civil society project, sheep grazing was revitalized in the Tatra Mountains and pursued mainly as „cultural grazing” (Nowicka, 2015, p. 155). Not surprisingly, the aesthetic quality of the mountain landscape inspired relevant legislation meant to protect natural habitat and ecological balance; in Italy, beauty of nature proved to be a more convincing outline for protective legislation than the rationale offered by natural sciences: “At first, nature was merely regarded as deserving protection for ‘natural beauty’ or because it was inherently linked with sites of historical, artistic or literary heritage” (Ceruti, 2007, p. 55). The Danish Island Fyn is associated with a fairy tale land thanks to the fact it is the birthplace of Hans Christian Andersen who invoked in his stories the rough country people in these lands, and was inspired by the picturesque countryside of his childhood. Branding Fyn in the eyes of both local and foreign tourists as a place of legend encouraged the strengthening of the classical idea of the pastoral, rural and agrarian life, the community of shepherds, the aesthetic nature and the metaphysical superiority of simple, primitive pastoral societies, thus becoming the perfect birthplace



of the Danish nation: “The pastoral sentiment is the national sentiment.” (Knudsen, Greer 2011, p. 95).

In conclusion, Romanian enduring discourse on the pastoral mythology is only one example of a broader European branding rhetoric using European bio-cultural heritage as a pertinent argument. Together with the actual phenomenon of mobile pastoralism, it was the cultural view and the ethnological scholarship that helped preserve the stereotypical image of the wandering shepherd in the Romanian cultural discourse as „a mode of cultural production in the present that has recourse to the past” (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1995, p. 370).

### **3. The threats faced by Romanian transhumance as biological heritage**

As early as the interwar period, Romanian scholars of transhumance noted the gradual disappearance of this extended form of archaic mobile pastoralism, though it still preserved its main features (Herseni, 1941, p. 202); the preservation of the ancient characteristics is still noticed by contemporary scholars of transhumance against all facts that started to diminish it (Mathe Kiss, 2016, p. 33). The degradation of the pastoral life world and its natural and cultural features is due to the increasing urbanization of the rural areas, a phenomenon that started during communism, and continues to grow (David, 2015, p. 158).

Joint cultural, ecological, and economic values of transhumance are to be considered when proposing safeguarding measures intended to involve this type of mobile pastoralism in local development strategies, given the multiple threats that this traditional occupation faces in contemporary Romania: “The modernization of society in the 20th century, industrialization and urbanization, along with the establishment of a restrictive political regime and central-based economy had considerably reduced the phenomenon of transhumance, which became increasingly rare. The decline was exacerbated after 1900, when land owned by the state was given back to their former owners, and private property was

instituted, thus hindering shepherds from travelling over long distances” (Velcea et al., 2016, p. 96). Ethnographers writing about transhumance during the communist times were tending to acknowledge the disappearance of transhumance as a normal and necessary consequence of the agricultural modernization of the country functioning under a new progressist regime: “Groups of transhumant shepherds practiced this occupation until recently when, because of the intensive agriculture in our country, this animal husbandry system lost its *raison d’être*” (Vlăduțiu, 1973, p. 268).

As it was convincingly proven by transhumance and pastoralism global experts, traditional mobile pastoralism is performed thanks to a “traditional ecological knowledge” or “local ecological knowledge” (TEK) and represents a relevant example of “High nature value farming”, a concept developed in the 1990s that recognizes the importance of small-scale low intensity farming in the conservation of European biodiversity and the maintenance of cultural landscapes (Beaufoy et al., 2012). As described by Fikret Berkes, TEK is “multi-generational, culturally transmitted knowledge and ways of doing things” (Berkes, 2008, pp. 7–8). Romanian transhumance is part of the general traditional local pastoralism functioning as a low-intensity form of livestock production. Mowing and grazing in specific times of the year was proven by experts in biodiversity to maintain the ecological configuration of this landscape and the semi-natural grasslands populated by unsown native plant species that rely on human activities. The importance of Romania’s semi-natural grasslands was highlighted by ecologists, conservationists and is presented in rural development policy documents (Huband et al., 2010, p. 57). The continuation of high distance mobile pastoralism is however dependent upon specific economic, social, and political factors, that should be appropriately addressed by decision-making. During communism, the mainstream ethnographic discourse based on the ideology of a “scientific revolution” was accepting the displacement of traditional farming and peasant agriculture that was considered “inefficient”. Romanian centralized farming was based on implementing

modern high-input grassland management designed to improve the amount of resources obtained, with no concern for how this technology will affect the conservation of pastures and hayfields. No interest was thus given to the loss, in the process, of all the traditional agricultural knowledge. Being under pressure exercised from the new official economic paradigm, ethnographers became only passive witnesses of the effects of these measures: “Traditional sheep breeds became very scarce, and the traditional methods remained only topics to be theoretically studied by experts” (Butură, 1978, p. 206).

Reviewers of the last century’s Romanian biocultural research on pastoralism recently showed the lack of studies on rural pastoral sustainability: “While the number of ethnographic and ethnological studies on the material culture of the peasant population in Romania increased in the 20th century, these studies provide limited information regarding traditional grassland management (hay meadows and pastures).” (Janišová et al., 2021, p. 21). Not surprisingly, the same phenomenon was noticed by Letizia Bindi in the field of Italian transhumance: “Herders who still practiced transhumance in Molise are decreasing dramatically in the last decades as well as research and studies on transhumance grew up.” (Bindi, 2019, p. 114).

After communism, during the 1990s, transhumance as an archaic form of sheep husbandry continued to decline as a consequence of other social, educational, economic factors, and since Romania joined the European Union, the rules of classical and traditional transhumance also changed, being replaced by European norms designed to improve animal welfare. Given that transhumant sheep husbandry is organically integrated within the larger concept of sustainable economy, based on the balance of resources, encouraging this occupation needs to become part of agricultural and environmental protection management on a national and European level. The preservation of pastoral tradition, including pasturing and movement of flocks, should represent a priority for stakeholders, given its great contribution to the maintaining of a peasant household of pastoral and agricultural identity, as well as the protection of alpine

pastures' biodiversity. In recent years, living conditions have become more difficult in mountain areas, traditional occupations are abandoned, demography is decreasing, the number of shepherds is diminishing, agricultural lands are fragmented, the wool market is disappearing, and strict sanitary and veterinary regulations are imposed regarding the processing of milk, cheese-making, and the welfare of transhumant animals. All these factors though endanger the pastoral tradition, and this process has major consequences, including the irreversible loss of the cultural identity of some communities and the disruption of the passing down of skills and practices to the young generation. For a long time, Romanian peasants were the only stakeholders of the land on which they lived and worked. Lately this realm is rapidly changing. The pastoral landscape suffers modifications, and in some cases a radical transformation takes place and endangers the biodiversity and cultural heritage of the traditional pastoral micro-zones.

The last century's research discourse on Romanian pastoralism directed mainly towards the importance of transhumance as cultural asset is proving inefficient for ensuring the viability of the communities of transhumant shepherds. One important action in the acknowledgment of the pastoral knowledge benefits for nature conservation is collecting the diverse ethnobotanical data that shepherds acquire. Ethnobiology is a field that assesses that the knowledge of traditional people on plants and animals are not a mere cultural construction, as it happens with other institutions of traditional societies (customs, music, rituals), but results of discerning the rules and functioning of the ecosystem within which they live: "When human beings function as ethnobiologists, however, they do not construct order, they discern it. One is not able to look out on the landscape of organic beings and organize them into cultural categories that are, at base, inconsistent with biological reality" (Berlin, 1992, pp. 8-9). The Romanian shepherds' ethnobotanical knowledge is expressed by the folk names of plants that they encounter often in the Romanian mountain flora, such as "lamb's tongue" (*Borrago officinalis*), "shepherd's bag" (*Capsella bursa-pastoris*), "shepherds' spinach" (*Chenopodium bonus-*

henricus), “shepherd’s mace” (*Echinops sphaerocephalus*), “little wool” (*Linaria vulgaris*), “donkey’s thistle” (*Onopordum acanthium*), “butter grass” (*Tamus communis*), “little butter” (*Ficaria verna*), “sheep’s tongue” (*Plantago lanceolata*), “lamb’s tail” (*Verbascum phoeniceum*), “sheepfold’s stevia” (*Rumex alpinus*), etc.

#### **4. Conclusions**

The main risks that Romanian transhumance phenomenon faces are addressed in the document by which transhumance as an intangible cultural heritage element was inscribed in the Romanian national inventory of this type of heritage. Besides other commercial and economic threats, there is one risk that especially needs to be urgently solved, i.e., the availability for transhumant shepherds of their old trails. Situated between mountains and lowlands, often accompanied by “stone crosses raised at crossroads to guide the shepherds through the huge plains and to estimate the distance travelled” (David, 2019, p. 12), the transhumance paths are a significant heritage connecting local pastoralism with the natural landscape. Being freely used for centuries, only in the last decades landowners are asking transhumant shepherds to pay a specific fee to pass by their lands (Irimie, Popa 1985, p. 203), and recently the road and railway police interdicts shepherds and flocks to cross the big roads and tracks, which determined shepherds to openly ask in 2008 the Ministry of Agriculture to ensure specific approved roads for their itineraries taking into account the traditional transhumance routes (Işfănoni, 2010, p. 466). The request was not yet solved, and this practical problem was noticed within fieldwork research reports (Huband et al., 2010), that showed the struggles transhumant shepherds encounter trying to find routes between the summer and the winter pastures, and to be able to use their historical “sheep roads” (Huband et al., 2010, p. 63). In other countries, the transhumant livestock routes are, on the opposite with the Romanian case, quite central to the heritagization process, as it was documented in Spain

(with the broad network of “cañadas”) (Ruiz, Ruiz, 1986) and Italy (the “tratturi”) (Avram, 2009; Bindi, 2019).

The joint project of the Ministry of Culture, Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, and Ministry of Environment, Waters and Forests for inscribing transhumance in the national inventory of intangible cultural heritage, a goal achieved in 2020, also implied the drafting of appropriate legislation designed to solve, among other problems, the design and approval of transhumance routes; the future Pastoralism Law, proposed by the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, appropriately supports the practice of pastoralism, the protection and development of this occupation that supposes the mobility of flocks through emphasizing its social, economic, environmental and cultural features, the rational and sustainable use of pastoral resources and the finding of solutions for the legal issues that may appear regarding the itineraries of transhumant flocks. Through the Pastoralism Law, the Romanian state is supposed to establish the rules of practicing pastoral activities, the means of organising the trajectory of transhumance and mobile pastoralism, the national database with pastoral itineraries, the representative localities and regions for transhumance that are crossed by the flocks every season, and the strategies necessary to partially or completely restore the historical transhumance pathways, etc. (Baskerville 2020).

By dominantly exhibiting the cultural importance that transhumance played in the history of Romanians, this type of pastoralism risks being lost as an actual sustainable economic activity. The current needs of communities of mountain shepherds which were not yet affected by musealisation or over-commercialization projects do not find resolution only by rejoicing the ethnic philosophy of the “sheep space”. A similar situation and the same stress on creating efficient strategies for sustainable local development of pastoral communities were pointed out in the case of France: “Loin de toute apologie nostalgique du métier de berger, cette mise en patrimoine du pastoralisme a joué un rôle décisif dans la valorisation de ses productions et dans la dynamisation durable d’une zone de montagne qui reste toutefois fragile.” (Lebaudy, 2009, p. 56).

The general perspective of the Romanian public opinion over transhumance and the national pastoral heritage, the dynamic of approving and contesting this cultural heritage as a country brand need to be directed more to its biological and economic role. As a traditional way of life of certain rural communities in Romania, transhumance would best fit a lifestyle that appropriately stands between past and present and needs “to retain culturally significant elements of a traditional way of life, combining the old and the new in ways that maintain and enhance their identity while allowing their society and economy to evolve.” (Berkes, 2008, p. 258). It is time for Romanian transhumance to be focused more on the direction advertised by Regina Bendix for the field of heritage, i.e. as a provider of proper commercial value: “If one acknowledges that heritage is not created by tradition but rather by consumption, then it will also become obvious that its underlying resource, culture, requires steady investment.” (Bendix, 2012, p. 15). In the case of Romanian ethnic identity discourse, there is a strong need to turn from seeing transhumance as a picture from the past or an altar of historical unity, and value it through its value added to consumption, and as a strategy to preserve the necessary ecological balance of the Carpathian ecosystem.

## References

- (de) Martonne, E. (1912), Vieața păstorească în Carpații români (Pastoral life in the Romanian Carpathians), *Convorbiri Literare*, Bucharest, XLVI, no. 2, pp. 121–127.
- (de) Martonne, E. (1912), Vieața păstorească în Carpații români (Pastoral life in the Romanian Carpathians), *Convorbiri Literare*, Bucharest, XLVI, no. 2, pp. 121–127.
- Alexandrescu S. (2002), Towards a Modern Theory of Romanian Nationalism in the Interwar Period. In: *Nation and National Ideology. Past, Present and Prospects*: NEC, pp. 138-164.



- Apolzan L. (1987), *Carpații – tezaur de istorie: perenitatea așezărilor risipite pe înălțimi* (The Carpathians – a historical thesaurus: the eternity of highland localities), Bucharest: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică.
- Avram M. (2009), The legacy of transhumance in national park of Abruzzo, Lazio and Molise: rediscovery and exploitation, *Geojournal of Tourism and Geosites*, II(4), pp. 153-159.
- Bărbulescu C., Motcă Gh. (1983), *Pășunile munților înalți* (Pastures of high mountains), Bucharest: Ceres.
- Baskerville I. (2020), Carpathian Transhumance – element of traditional pastoralism. *Inventarul național al elementelor vii de patrimoniu cultural imaterial*, extract, published at 01.09.2020, accessible at: <https://patrimoniu.ro/images/imaterial/Transhumanta/Carpathian-tanshumance-element-of-traditional-pastoralism.pdf>
- Beaufoy G., Jones G. and Opermann R. (2012), Introduction. In: R. Opermann, G. Beaufoy & G. Jones (Eds.), *High Nature Value Farming in Europe: 35 European countries – experiences and perspectives*. Verlag Regionalkultur, pp. 5-24.
- Bendix, R., Eggert, A. and Peselman, A. (2012). eds. *Heritage Regimes and the State. Göttingen Studies in Cultural Property*. Vol. 6. Göttingen: Universitätsverlag.
- Berkes F. (2008), *Sacred Ecology*, Second edition, London: Routledge.
- Berlin B. (1992), Ethnobiological classification. Principles of categorisation of plants and animals in traditional societies. Princeton University Press.
- Bindi L. (2019), “Bones” and pathways. Transhumant tracks, inner areas and cultural heritage, «*Il capitale culturale*» *Studies on the Value of Cultural Heritage*, n. 19, pp. 109-128.
- Blaga L. (1944 /1985), Spațiul mioritic (The Miorita space), Bucharest: Fundația Regală pentru Literatură și Artă. In: *Opere*, 9, Trilogia culturii. Bucharest, Minerva.
- Butură V. (1978), *Etnografia poporului român. Cultura materiala* (The Ethnography of the Romanian people. The material culture). Cluj-Napoca: Dacia.
- Călinescu G. (1982), *Istoria literaturii române*. Second Edition. Bucharest: Minerva.
- Ceruti G. (2007), From the protection of landscape and „natural beauties” to the defence of ecosystems in Italy, *Nature Conservation: Concepts and Practice*, Springer Science & Business Media, pp. 55 -64.
- Conea I. (1984). *Plaiuri carpatice* (Carpathian lands), edited by Lucian Bodea, Nicolae Stoicescu. Bucharest: Sport-Turism.

- Conea Ion (1940), *Clopotiva, un sat din Hațeg (Clopotiva, a village from Hateg)*, vol. I-II, monografie sociologică întocmită de echipa regală studențească 19/935 sub conducerea lui Ion Conea. Bucharest: Institutul de Științe Sociale al României.
- David L. (2015), *Peisajul cultural. Dezvoltarea durabilă a peisajului pastoral în Culoarul Rucăr-Bran (The cultural landscape. Sustainable development of the pastoral landscape in Rucar-Bran area)*. Bucharest: Editura Muzeul Literaturii Române.
- David L. (2019), *Sheep Roads. Transhumance Itineraries of Romanian Shepherds*, *Journal of Engineering Research and Applications*, vol. 9, 2019, issue 12 (serie – III), pp. 12–17.
- Eriksson O. (2018). What is biological cultural heritage and why should we care about it? An example from Swedish rural landscapes and forests, *Natural Conservation*, 28, pp. 1–32.
- Fochi A. (1964), *Miorița. Tipologie, circulație, geneză, texte (Miorita. Typology, circulation, genesis, texts)*, preface by Pavel Apostol. Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române.
- Geană G. (2006), *The Carpathian Folk Fairs and the Origins of National Consciousness among Romanians*, *Nationalities Papers*, volume 34, no. 1, pp. 91–110.
- Ghinoiu I. (1968). *Arhiva etnografică a Carpaților (The ethnographic archive of the Carpathians)*, *Natura, Geografie-Geologie*, Bucharest XX, no. 5, pp. 47–49.
- Goia I. A. (2012). *Economia rurală tradițională în nord-vestul Transilvaniei. Coordonate ale sistemului local-agricol de creștere a ovinelor (sec. XIII–XX) (Traditional rural economy in the north-west Transylvania. Characteristics of the local agricultural system of sheep breeding (XIIIth - XXth centuries)*. Cluj Napoca: Editura Argonaut.
- Groom N. (2006). 'The purest English': Ballads and the English Literary Dialect, *The Eighteenth Century*, Vol. 47, No. 2/3, Summer/Fall 2006, pp. 179-202.
- Herseni T. (1941). *Probleme de sociologie pastorală (Problems of pastoral sociology)*. Bucharest : Institutul de Științe Sociale al României.
- Huband S., McCracken D. I., Mertens A. (2010), Long and short-distance transhumant pastoralism in Romania: past and present drivers of change, *Pastoralism: Research, Policy and Practice*, vol. 1, 2010, no. 1, pp. 55–71.

- Iorga N. (1910), *Balada populară românească. Originea și ciclurile ei* (Romanian popular ballad. Its origins and cycles). Vălenii de Munte : Tip. Neamul Românesc.
- Irimie C., Popa C. (1985). Păstoritul în Mărginimea Sibiului (Shepherding within Mărginimea Sibiului). Bucharest : Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică.
- Ișfănoni R. (2010), Păstoritul transhumant românesc la răscruce (Romanian transhumant shepherding at the crossroads), *Anuarul Muzeului Etnografic al Moldovei* 10, pp. 455-474.
- Janišová, M., A. Iuga, C. M. Ivașcu, M. Magnes (2021), Grassland with tradition: sampling across several scientific disciplines, *Vegetation Classification and Survey*, no. 2, pp. 19-35.
- Juler C. (2014). După coada oilor: long-distance transhumance and its survival in Romania, *Pastoralism: Research, Policy and Practice*, vol. 4, 2014, no. 4, pp. 1-17.
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett B. (1995). Theorizing Heritage, *Ethnomusicology*, Vol. 39, No. 3 (Autumn, 1995), pp. 367-380.
- Kiss Mathe M. (2016). *Transhumanța în România* (Transhumance in Romania). Bucharest: Editura Integral.
- Knudsen D., Greer C. (2011), Tourism and nostalgia for the pastoral on the island of Fyn, Denmark, *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 6: 2, pp. 87-98.
- Lebaudy G. (2010). « Une draille pour vivre ». Pastoralisme, patrimoine intégré et développement durable en Méditerranée. In: F. Lerin (ed.), *Pastoralisme méditerranéen: patrimoine culturel et paysager et développement durable*. 2. Réunion thématique d'experts sur le Pastoralisme Méditerranéen, Nov. 2009, Tirana, Albanie. CIHEAM, Options Méditerranéennes, Série A. Séminaires Méditerranéens, pp. 49-58.
- Maffi L. (2007), Biocultural Diversity and Sustainability. In: *The Sage Handbook*
- Morariu T. (1937). Vieața pastorală în Munții Rodnei (Pastoral life in the Rodnei Mountains). Bucharest : Societatea Regală Română de Geografie.
- Morariu T. (1942). Păstoritul în Alpii francezi și în Carpați, *Sociologie românească*, vol. 04, no. 7-12, pp. 375-393.
- Morariu T. (1963). Câteva contribuțiuni la migrațiile pastorale actuale din Republica Populară Română (Some contributions at the contemporary pastoral migrations in the Romanian People's Republic), *Anuarul Muzeului Etnografic al Transilvaniei 1959-1961*, Cluj, pp. 39-49.
- Mușlea I. (1972). Contribuții la studiul Mioriței. In: *Cercetări etnografice și de folclor*, vol. II, edited by Ion Taloș. Bucharest: Minerva, pp. 29-36.

- Noica C. (1996). Cuvânt împreună despre rostirea românească (A word on the Romanian way of saying). Bucharest: Humanitas.
- Nowicka E. (2015). Invented tradition and the new regionalism. The revival of pastoralism in Ochotnica Górna (Polish Carpathian Village), *Balcanica Posnaniensia*, XXII/1, pp. 151-163.
- of Environment and Society*, edited by L. Maffi, London, Sage, pp. 267-278.
- Ruiz M., Ruiz J.P. (1986). Ecological history of transhumance in Spain, *Biological Conservation*, Volume 37, Issue 1, pp. 73-86.
- Toșa I. (2007). Contribuții la cunoașterea păstoritului din satele moldovene de la sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea (Contributions at documenting pastoralism in Moldavian villages at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century), *Anuarul Muzeului Etnografic al Transilvaniei*. Cluj-Napoca, pp. 177–210.
- Turnock D. (1999). Sustainable Rural Tourism in the Romanian Carpathians, *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 165, No. 2, The Changing Meaning of Place in Post-Socialist Eastern Europe: Commodification, Perception and Environment, pp. 192-199.
- Velcea I., Toderaș T., Crăcea T., Negoescu A. (2016), Pastoral Transhumance in Mărgiminea Sibiului, *Romanian Journal of Geography*, volume 60 (1), pp. 85-97.
- Vlăduțiu I. (1973), *Etnografia românească: istoric, cultură materială, obiceiuri* (Romanian ethnography: history, material culture, customs). Bucharest: Editura Științifică.
- Vuia R. (1964), *Tipuri de păstorit la români (sec. XIX–începutul sec. XX)* (Types of pastoralism with the Romanians (19<sup>th</sup> c. – beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> c.)). Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, pp.64-96.



CREATIVITY AND SOCIAL INNOVATION IN REGENERATION  
OF RURAL AND MOUNTAINOUS TERRITORIES





# 1. Alla ricerca della cultura: valorizzare la cultura come fattore di sviluppo delle comunità rurali del Trentino

*Ivo Povinelli, Chiara Dallapè, Lorenzo Baratter, Roberta Raffaetà<sup>56</sup>*

## 1. Introduzione

Questo lavoro mira a fare luce sugli orizzonti politici e di governance caratteristici delle Pro Loco del Trentino a cavallo tra l'offerta turistica e la qualità della vita dell'ambiente rurale del Trentino. Le Pro Loco sono associazioni di volontariato che organizzano eventi per intrattenere cittadini e turisti, privilegiando alcune tematiche, come l'enogastronomia o l'ambiente, a discapito di altre, come gli elementi storici o artistici del territorio. Nel tentativo di comprendere perché le Pro Loco inseriscono nei loro eventi alcuni elementi piuttosto che altri è stato attivato un progetto di ricerca azione dal quale sono emersi numerosi elementi di riflessione. La discussione si è concentrata su tre aree nodali: gli effetti dei finanziamenti pubblici sul volontariato, il ruolo di mediatore culturale delle Pro Loco nei confronti delle comunità in cui operano e la sollecitazione di processi riflessivi come modalità di attivazione di un processo politico. Prende corpo nel procedere del lavoro il tema della qualità della vita nelle valli di una provincia che ha fatto del turismo la sua principale fonte di sostentamento. In generale, la mercificazione spinta

---

<sup>56</sup> Il progetto di ricerca azione di cui si parla in quest'articolo è stato finanziato dalla Cassa Rurale, Credito Cooperativo Adamello Giudicarie Valsabbia Paganella. Ivo Povinelli fa parte della Federazione delle Pro Loco che ha promosso il progetto nel quadro del quale la presente ricerca è stata svolta.

degli aspetti quotidiani della vita di un territorio, orientata alla soddisfazione della monocultura dell'industria turistica e folklorizzazione forzata, può-mettere in discussione il senso e il significato della vita in un luogo. Gli effetti sono differenti e contraddittori, possono portare all'innovazione o all'abbandono del territorio. Questo lavoro cerca di mostrare quali possibilità risiedono dentro un particolare ruolo che le Pro Loco possono prendersi nei confronti del proprio spazio di vita. Si tratta del ruolo politico dei suoi membri, si tratta del loro voler vivere bene, insieme, nella terra in cui sono nati.

Tutto nasce dall'iniziativa di un gruppo di collaboratori e amministratori della Federazione Trentina Pro Loco, ente preposto alla fornitura di servizi di supporto all'attività di queste organizzazioni di volontariato, molto diffuse sia nella provincia di Trento che nel resto d'Italia. Queste associazioni tendono ad inserire nei loro eventi elementi legati soprattutto al cibo o all'ambiente naturale, come per l'appunto le passeggiate enogastronomiche, percorsi a tappe che si snodano tra boschi o campagne in cui si possono degustare varie preparazioni a base di prodotti del territorio. Per studiare le narrazioni che descrivono l'operato maggiormente attraverso gli aspetti fisici e materiali, come cibo e collocazione geografica, piuttosto che attraverso aspetti immateriali, come la storia o i significati che le comunità attribuiscono a questi elementi, il gruppo si è rivolto ad un'antropologa locale e volontaria delle Pro Loco, Roberta Raffaetà, che ha assunto il ruolo di responsabile scientifica di un percorso di ricerca-azione.

## **2. Metodologia**

La ricerca è partita con un'ipotesi di partenza, ovvero che le Pro Loco valorizzino maggiormente gli aspetti materiali del proprio patrimonio culturale, a scapito di quelli immateriali. Per indagare ciò, abbiamo inizialmente inviato un questionario online con domande sia chiuse che aperte alle Pro Loco del Trentino nel gennaio 2021. Attraverso l'invio di

una mail, si chiedeva alle Pro Loco di segnalare i loro progetti di natura culturale senza specificare la distinzione tra aspetti materiali e immateriali. 14 Pro Loco su 184 associate a Federazione hanno risposto al questionario online, una percentuale significativamente bassa considerando che di solito metà delle Pro Loco risponde attivamente agli appelli di questo genere. Il gruppo di lavoro ha poi sviluppato una prima analisi tematica dei dati.

Nell'attesa che le Pro Loco rispondessero al questionario, si è proceduto all'analisi delle richieste di contributo presentate entro il 30 novembre 2019 dalle Pro Loco alla Provincia Autonoma di Trento per il finanziamento sull'attività 2020. Federazione ha accesso a queste domande perché ne cura l'istruttoria di valutazione. L'analisi delle richieste di contributo ha rilevato che a fronte di 14 risposte al questionario online erano molte di più le Pro Loco che inserivano nelle proprie previsioni eventi a contenuto culturale. Sorgeva così l'esigenza di comprendere che cosa avesse fatto desistere le Pro Loco dal comunicare i propri eventi di natura culturale attraverso il questionario online. Su suggerimento della coordinatrice scientifica, i cinque componenti del gruppo di lavoro hanno contattato telefonicamente circa cinque Pro Loco ciascuno, scelte da una lista redatta dal gruppo stesso, che includeva Pro Loco riconosciute come soggetti che inserivano abitualmente, nei propri eventi, aspetti culturali. Va precisato che gli aspetti culturali in questo caso venivano considerati come aspetti sia immateriali che materiali, che fossero però rivelatori di un senso e un significato che andasse oltre la semplice esecutività pratica. Sono state scelte Pro Loco che fossero in grado di rendere conto, con un sufficiente grado di consapevolezza, del significato che poteva avere il loro operato. A compimento del lavoro di ricerca sono stati studiati attraverso interviste in profondità, nella modalità di colloqui non strutturati, tre situazioni di Pro Loco particolarmente attive, selezionate in altrettanti contesti diversi (urbano, suburbano e rurale), variate anche per stile di leadership e tematiche di progetto.

L'analisi di questi dati è stata discussa in un webinar, organizzato come restituzione agli intervistati e come presentazione del lavoro preliminare

di ricerca. A seguito della restituzione, l'intervento si è sostanziato in un primo gruppo di lavoro che nell'estate 2021 ha iniziato un percorso formativo sulla cultura destinato in maniera specifica alle Pro Loco attraverso la collaborazione con alcune/i antropologhe/i (Elizabeth Povinelli, Valerio Simoni, Letizia Bindi e Cristina Grasseni) che hanno accompagnato una riflessione critica su quanto emerso. Abbiamo ritenuto che la ricerca-azione fosse la metodologia più adeguata per il nostro lavoro come studio sistematico dei tentativi intrapresi da gruppi e istituzioni con il fine di cambiare e migliorare le proprie prassi attraverso la riflessione sugli effetti delle proprie azioni. La seconda parte del lavoro ha proposto infatti ai partecipanti uno spazio-laboratorio di riflessione che affrontasse le tematiche legate alla cultura intesa sia come oggetto di lavoro sia come insieme di pratiche e narrazioni che hanno un valore per i cittadini.

Nella piena consapevolezza del fatto che l'utilizzo del termine 'cultura' porta sempre con sé un rischio di reificazione (Clifford, 1999), di fare diventare oggetto ciò che non può essere trattato come tale, questa iniziativa ha preso le mosse a partire da tale concetto non solo per ragioni epistemologiche (Geertz, 1975), ma anche metodologiche dato che trascina con sé significati importanti per i soggetti di questo studio. Per le Pro Loco, la cultura è un elemento che definisce status, rapporti di potere e possibilità di accesso alle risorse (Herzfeld, 2019). Poiché questa ricerca si è svolta a strettissimo contatto con il campo etnografico, il termine 'cultura' verrà utilizzato per la sua capacità di essere depositario dell'agency delle Pro Loco, come spazio in cui si connettono capacità operativa e capacità politica nei confronti di altri soggetti istituzionali che godono di maggiore legittimazione nell'arena pubblica. Ha senso quindi mobilitare il termine 'cultura' per ciò che esso rappresenta attualmente in un contesto che ne ha fatto sia un parametro di potere che una categoria significativa di oggetti e attività.

### 3. Contesto: il volontariato in provincia di Trento

In Trentino le Pro Loco sono quasi 200. Con una media di 80 soci ciascuna e di 10 componenti per ogni comitato direttivo, che è l'organo di gestione, le Pro Loco costituiscono un fenomeno assai diffuso e sentito in Trentino. Il volontariato sembra costituire un tratto molto marcato della cultura Trentina benché non abbiamo ad oggi dati precisi sul volume del fenomeno né a livello provinciale né a livello nazionale. In una rilevazione del 1998<sup>57</sup> sono state censite 3.356 associazioni operanti negli ambiti educativo, culturale e del tempo libero, socio-assistenziale, sanitario, di solidarietà internazionale, protezione civile...

Il volontariato risulta un fenomeno magmatico, di difficile analisi, proprio per la sua plasticità e adattabilità nel soddisfare istanze e bisogni contingenti delle persone. La pandemia ha mostrato come i soggetti del terzo settore abbiano saputo mutare le proprie attività da un giorno all'altro per supportare le componenti fragili della comunità, organizzando ad esempio la consegna delle spese a domicilio piuttosto che il supporto alle prenotazioni del vaccino. Le motivazioni per cui le persone decidono di fare volontariato sono di natura molteplice ma sembra assodato che il bisogno di appartenenza rappresenti una dimensione costitutiva della condizione umana (Mannarini, 2016). Inoltre, la definizione di sé è un fenomeno anche collettivo e deriva in forma considerevole dalle relazioni e dai contesti sociali a cui apparteniamo, umani e non-umani (Raffaetà e Duff, 2011). Non possiamo tuttavia escludere che, in provincia di Trento, il tratto solidaristico di queste relazioni faccia parte di un'eredità di matrice cattolica che aveva già innervato la nascita della cooperazione e dei movimenti mutualistici e che rende meno storicamente significative le altre due derivazioni, quella di

---

<sup>57</sup>

[http://www.statistica.provincia.tn.it/binary/pat\\_statistica\\_new/famiglia\\_comportamenti\\_sociali/Volontar1998.1145356888.pdf](http://www.statistica.provincia.tn.it/binary/pat_statistica_new/famiglia_comportamenti_sociali/Volontar1998.1145356888.pdf)

origine operaia e liberale. Per quanto riguarda invece il volontariato "turistico", quello che caratterizza le Pro Loco, dobbiamo fare riferimento alla storia dello sviluppo economico del Trentino, che dal secondo dopoguerra in poi ha impiegato i volontari per dare una spinta al turismo nelle località minori, andando via via a finanziare pubblicamente e a professionalizzare le situazioni territoriali con un maggiore potenziale di riuscita. A partire dal secondo dopoguerra le Pro Loco hanno costruito piccole strutture e servizi dove si potesse in qualche modo fare animazione per l'ospite, hanno inventato sagre estive all'uopo e organizzato numerose "feste dell'ospite".

In merito alle tendenze del volontariato trentino va anche considerato che sull'onda del fenomeno delle fusioni dei comuni in provincia di Trento, che prima del 2010 erano 223 e che al primo gennaio 2021 erano 166, hanno subito una forte spinta sia i progetti di nuove Pro Loco che i progetti di costituzione dei soggetti di gestione dell'uso civico. La volontà dei cittadini di presidiare i propri territori e di impegnarsi nella gestione della collettività trova dimostrazione sia nel continuo aumento del numero di Pro Loco attive, cresciuto in 15 anni di circa 45 unità, che nel fenomeno parallelo di fondazione dei soggetti gestori dei domini collettivi, denominati in Trentino A.S.U.C. (amministrazione separata usi civici) e di particolare incidenza nella gestione delle risorse ambientali di tutto il territorio.

A livello nazionale, il ruolo delle Pro Loco è da sempre legato al turismo e presenta una profonda diversificazione normativa tra singole regioni e province autonome, dato che il turismo italiano è da sempre una competenza regionale. Il riconoscimento del ruolo delle Pro Loco nel turistico è legato allo sviluppo del settore e proprio la provincia di Trento attribuisce loro competenze di promozione turistica, con una legge apposita, fin dal 1986. Significativo il fatto che questa legge attribuisse al volontariato una competenza nella promozione turistica solo in quei territori definiti "a potenziale sviluppo turistico", per i quali non si giustificava ancora la nascita di una vera e propria azienda per il turismo. In questi territori "minori" le Pro Loco dei vari comuni, o delle varie

frazioni comunali, potevano costituire delle associazioni sovracomunali denominate Consorzi Pro Loco e, attraverso appositi e commisurati finanziamenti pubblici, provvedere alla promozione turistica del territorio. Nei territori coperti da azienda per il turismo, le Pro Loco non venivano finanziate per alcunché.

Nel 2000 una nuova riforma della legge sulla promozione turistica ha esteso a tutti gli ambiti territoriali del Trentino la caratteristica di territorio turistico. Anche il più sperduto paese montano può ormai dirsi turistico perché, grazie al web, tutti possono essere visibili al mondo intero. Da quella data in avanti, le Pro Loco potranno esistere ed essere finanziate dalla Provincia in ogni luogo del Trentino per fare abbellimento, accoglienza ed animazione rivolta ai turisti. Per converso, tra il 2000 e il 2019 le Pro Loco perderanno progressivamente qualunque competenza e risorsa da utilizzare nella promozione turistica: le ultime realtà dei Consorzi Pro Loco smettono di essere operative il 31 dicembre 2020 perché non più finanziate. Contemporaneamente, la riforma italiana del terzo settore del 2017 sancisce definitivamente che le Pro Loco sono associazioni di promozione sociale che operano nell'interesse generale della comunità favorendo momenti di aggregazione e socialità.

La perdita definitiva delle funzioni di promozione turistica e la definizione di un nuovo ruolo di promozione sociale costituiscono, nel caso delle Pro Loco del Trentino, due elementi di forte interesse. Le politiche turistiche continueranno a finanziare le Pro Loco per le loro attività di animazione turistica auspicando una loro fattiva partecipazione alla macchina industriale del turismo trentino e chiedendo loro di fare il possibile per rendere il territorio e i paesi accoglienti per chi vi passerà le vacanze. In questa direzione sono sempre andate le politiche di finanziamento del comparto turistico alle Pro Loco. Non si può tuttavia considerare che tale richiesta è sempre stata in qualche modo difficile da comprendere per diversi motivi. Risulta infatti difficile chiedere a dei volontari di mettersi a disposizione di un sistema fatto di interessi economici strumentali che ormai hanno raggiunto, in alcune località, un livello industriale. Dall'altra parte non possiamo non considerare che il



movimento Pro Loco è sempre in crescita, non sembra aver subito grandi danni nemmeno durante la pandemia ed investe con piacere le risorse assegnate dall'amministrazione per organizzare le proprie attività. Nella sezione successiva analizzeremo i risultati della ricerca, dove si avrà modo di vedere come i fattori illustrati sopra si articolino nelle pratiche e nelle narrazioni.

#### **4. Il peso dei finanziamenti pubblici**

Il modo in cui le Pro Loco hanno interpretato il termine 'cultura' è strettamente legato al mondo turistico. In Trentino, ogni singola Pro Loco può disporre di un finanziamento pubblico annuale che sia aggira attorno ad una cifra massima di circa 9 mila euro/anno. Questo finanziamento, che non è il solo ma è garantito annualmente, è concesso dall'ufficio provinciale per il turismo ed è condizionato a determinate tipologie di spesa, come l'acquisto degli alimentari per le manifestazioni enogastronomiche o degli spettacoli realizzati durante gli eventi. Un'altra categoria di spese finanziabili è rappresentata dalle spese necessarie all'abbellimento della località: panchine, fiori, attrezzature per svolgere lavori di cura del verde pubblico... Per ottenere il finanziamento, le Pro Loco devono presentare una specifica richiesta entro il 30 novembre dell'anno che precede quello in cui si terranno le attività. L'entità di questa cifra può sembrare non significativa, ma per un'associazione di volontariato poter disporre di questo importo costituisce un grande vantaggio competitivo nell'arena dei finanziamenti pubblici alle realtà del no-profit. Nel tempo, l'effetto di finanziare le Pro Loco per attività di promozione turistica ha tenuto alto il numero di nuove Pro Loco che è nato ogni anno sul territorio trentino. Secondo i dati di Federazione, nascono, anche per trasformazione da altre forme associative, tra le quattro e le cinque nuove Pro Loco ogni anno. La forma della Pro Loco risulta competitiva e vincente rispetto alle altre tipologie di associazione. Oltre ai finanziamenti diretti esiste anche una forma di sostegno indiretto

attraverso i servizi offerti in maniera praticamente gratuita da Federazione, anch'essa sostenuta dalla stessa legge della promozione turistica che finanzia le aziende per il turismo e le Pro Loco.

La leva del finanziamento rende le Pro Loco più autonome dal punto di vista finanziario soprattutto a livello micro-locale, ma indirizza molto di più verso la categoria del turismo sostenendo un determinato tipo di attività. Il contrasto si fa evidente quando i volontari decidono di offrire il proprio tempo per prendersi cura del territorio ma possono anche sentirsi utilizzati in maniera strumentale da un sistema economico turistico che in Trentino vanta volumi industriali. Non da ultimo, l'influenza delle amministrazioni comunali, che nella controparte pubblica avanzano pretese in merito alla destinazione dei finanziamenti provenienti dalla Provincia e destinati alle Pro Loco, o che esigono prestazioni da parte delle Pro Loco nella realizzazione dei propri obiettivi. Il campo di forze in cui sono immerse le Pro Loco (Colucci, 2008) le mette in una situazione di tensione tra l'aspettativa dei cittadini di ritrovare momenti di socialità, e quella dei finanziatori che chiede loro animazione per il turista, per il comparto economico.

Nelle narrazioni delle Pro Loco emerge la distinzione tra residenti e turisti, quasi a confermare una polarizzazione immediata e di facile applicazione secondo la quale ciò che si fa per gli uni può sembrare inadatto e incompatibile per gli altri e viceversa. Nei fatti le Pro Loco abitano uno spazio intermedio e non così distinto tra questi due estremi, un'area complessa di negoziazione tra gli interessi del cittadino e del turista, in posizione intermedia tra quanto richiesto dalle politiche turistiche e quanto necessario alle politiche sociali. Adeguare il territorio all'immaginario di chi lo vive durante le vacanze (Arnoldi 2009), inseguendo il mercato, coccolando il turista, e allo stesso tempo mantenere spazi di relazione e socialità che garantiscano qualità della vita e ricchezza di significati per chi abita il territorio tutti i giorni dell'anno.

## 5. Pro Loco come mediatori culturali

La forza delle Pro Loco sta nel loro porsi strategicamente ad un livello intermedio tra le persone, prese sia individualmente che collettivamente, e il potere rappresentato dalle istituzioni, prima fra tutte l'amministrazione comunale. Non è affatto casuale, per inciso, che una parte importante degli amministratori locali siano stati in precedenza dirigenti delle Pro Loco. Dentro la vita delle associazioni del terzo settore le persone hanno numerose occasioni pubbliche per farsi conoscere, per guadagnare visibilità e consenso. Allo stesso modo, i futuri amministratori acquisiscono metodi, strumenti o semplicemente la sensibilità e i linguaggi necessari per assolvere in modo efficace e, probabilmente, più qualificato e consapevole, al proprio ruolo di rappresentanza politica.

Più del 50% dei sindaci e più del 90% dei consiglieri comunali del Trentino ha una precedente esperienza nel mondo del volontariato delle Pro Loco (Dallapè e Povinelli, 2017), svolge una gavetta all'interno di questi contesti, forgia la propria capacità di abitare lo spazio tra istituzioni e persone per poi decidere, a fine mandato, di fare il salto che permette loro di continuare ad occuparsi della propria collettività. Nessuno di loro supera il livello municipale, nessuno di loro manifesta la volontà di separarsi dalla dimensione comunitaria dell'appartenenza, nessuno di loro vuole ambire a posizioni decisionali politiche in cui essere autore dello stesso mondo da un livello superiore che probabilmente è meno sentito, meno vissuto in prima linea e nell'operatività e molto più vicino a quello politico e legislativo.

L'espressione "mediazione culturale" deve immediatamente ricondurci all'idea generale che l'incontro fra le differenze produce continuamente conflitti: questi ultimi, che non vanno necessariamente letti in chiave negativa, possono essere considerati come risultato dell'affermazione del *Lebensraum*, lo spazio vitale, dell'individuo o di una collettività di individui. Gli spazi vitali sono diversi tra loro e il loro incontro continuo e costante invoca, per l'appunto, l'esercizio di una mediazione: questa

mediazione è una possibile definizione dello stesso concetto di “potere”, declinato nelle Pro Loco.

La Pro Loco, in quanto soggetto che esercita il potere nel proprio contesto, è investita in modo naturale da questo ruolo di mediazione. Essa lo concretizza con opera costante, ponendosi tra le persone e le istituzioni, esercitando un insieme di azioni tese a costruire integrazione e socialità in piccoli ambiti territoriali.

Le organizzazioni culturali fondate sul volontariato, in Italia e in Trentino, svolgono un ruolo molto importante nella pratica di mediazione culturale ma il ruolo di mediazione culturale, secondo la definizione di cui sopra, è molto più complesso, articolato e strutturato di quello che può essere un più generico, per quanto basilare, ruolo di “azione culturale”: svolgendo questa funzione, che si manifesta in forma di servizio per la collettività, le Pro Loco esercitano a loro volta un potere locale e diventano antagoniste (Laclau e Mouffe, 1985), non necessariamente conflittuali, del potere istituzionale. Questo, per inciso, è tipicamente incarnato in primis dall’amministrazione comunale locale.

Le Pro Loco divengono così agenti di mediazione culturale, questo traspare dall’analisi del loro operato dentro rapporti di forza che si possono descrivere nei confronti di almeno due soggetti, la comunità intesa come l’insieme dei cittadini che abitano un luogo e l’amministrazione pubblica. All’interno di queste relazioni possiamo dare evidenza ad almeno due posizioni di mediazione. La prima posizione è quella della Pro Loco come soggetto che opera a favore del turismo in accordo con la necessità di fornire occasioni di intrattenimento ed animazione al visitatore, lavorando a favore di un comparto economico che è la prima fonte di reddito di gran parte del territorio della provincia di Trento. E’ una posizione che fa appello alla responsabilità di utilizzare le risorse assegnate dall’amministrazione alle Pro Loco proprio per lo scopo di sostenere una cultura dell’accoglienza che renda il turista un ospite gradito e ben accolto da tutta la popolazione. Non è raro il riferimento al fatto che “in Alto Adige, per strada o nei boschi, la gente ti saluta, sembra contenta di incontrarti” nell’attesa che le persone

manifestino maggiore felicità nei confronti dei turisti e si mostrino contente di averli nel proprio territorio. Questo servizio che le Pro Loco rendono al comparto economico diventa un ambito di riconoscimento del loro operato da parte dei soggetti che ne traggono vantaggi in termini sia economici che politici. Soggetti dell'economia turistica ed amministrazioni pubbliche manifestano questo tipo di attesa nei confronti delle Pro Loco e le Pro Loco attuano i loro progetti sul territorio nell'esigenza di soddisfare questa prima richiesta in cambio di risorse economiche da poter investire nelle proprie attività.

Notiamo che le questioni economiche la fanno spesso da padrone nelle preoccupazioni di chi organizza eventi o attività sul territorio e i finanziatori diventano dei partner significativi nel definire i contenuti di quanto proposto. Feste, sagre, eventi e progetti in generale possono quindi diventare di contenuto più turistico se a finanziarle è un soggetto terzo interessato a questo, e allo stesso tempo possono acquisire una connotazione culturale maggiore se i denari provengono da istituzioni preposte alla valorizzazione di questa dimensione. Spesso, lo sguardo esterno delle istituzioni che detengono le risorse è ciò che connota le attività come culturali, turistiche o altro.

Dobbiamo tuttavia considerare un'altra posizione di mediazione culturale che le Pro Loco si trovano a dover esercitare, che risponde maggiormente alle esigenze delle singole persone e dei cittadini di avere spazi di socialità e di interazione a livello pubblico. Stiamo considerando i residenti in un luogo che hanno bisogno di una collettività in cui riconoscersi e nella quale intrattenere relazioni che mantengano il senso e il significato del vivere insieme quello spazio di vita.

Avendo sovrapposto il termine "cultura" con ciò che è sollecitato, finanziato e quindi riconosciuto dalle istituzioni, nello specifico con ciò che riguarda l'animazione turistica, è interessante notare come in maniera simmetrica ciò che non è cultura venga identificato con ciò che non è turistico, con ciò che è fatto non per gli "altri" ma per noi della "nostra comunità". "Quello che fai per la socialità, per stare insieme" non è cultura, così il destino delle attività culturali si stacca dalla sua

componente sociale e relazionale, rivelandosi come un elemento che non ha a che fare la vita del luogo. Il termine 'cultura' è associato a idee di solitudine e assenza di godimento; lapidario è l'affermazione "tutto quello che è goliardia e spensieratezza non è cultura". Tale posizionamento demolisce l'aspetto ludico delle attività culturali e allo stesso tempo istituisce il contraltare di un mondo dello svago separato. Quest'ultimo si profila come un affascinante paese dei balocchi, una sorta di terra dei carnevali dove tutto è temporaneamente consentito e allo stesso tempo effimero e illecito per il resto del tempo. La cultura non è quindi nemmeno affascinante, sembra quasi un obbligo, tanto meno è intrigante. È lì, come un vincolo suggerito da terzi: "durante la sagra apriamo le chiese perché ce lo chiede l'azienda per il turismo, tutto lì". La cultura deve inoltre avere un interlocutore che come in questa affermazione viene "dall'esterno".

Ancora più significativo ritenere che ciò che "fai per i cittadini, ad esempio il restauro dei capitelli votivi dove le persone pregano per i propri cari scomparsi a causa della pandemia", non sia ritenuto una questione culturale ma una questione sociale che "serve al cittadino perché al turista di queste cose non importa molto".

Il ruolo di mediazione diviene quindi politico in almeno due modi che costituiscono spinte a volte contrastanti. Da un lato il ruolo esplicitamente politico delle Pro Loco, inteso come capacità di farsi carico di questioni ed interessi dei cittadini: la coesione sociale è sicuramente una delle più importanti, intesa quale modalità di conservazione e trasmissione di un patrimonio di conoscenze che genera senso di appartenenza, punti di riferimento, sicurezza. Dall'altro lato emerge un ruolo politico nei confronti dell'economia turistica agito come controparte dell'assegnazione di risorse. Come avviene l'integrazione di queste due interpretazioni del proprio ruolo che a volte sembrano sclerotizzarsi in un conflitto insanabile? Come possono le Pro Loco esistere a favore del turismo e grazie alle risorse destinate al turismo, e - allo stesso tempo - affrontare in maniera positiva e costruttiva l'esigenza di socialità? Come bilanciare gli effetti collaterali del turismo (quali, ad esempio, la mancanza di servizi

fuori stagione e l'elevato costo della vita) con la richiesta di socialità alla base del senso di appartenenza e quindi della qualità della vita?

## **6. Un ruolo politico per le Pro Loco**

Nell'analisi del ruolo di mediatore culturale che la Pro Loco si trova ad esercitare emerge una forma embrionale di ruolo politico (una proto-politica) che le Pro Loco potrebbero avere nei confronti delle proprie comunità ma che non sempre è da loro riconosciuta in maniera consapevole ed esplicita. In uno dei laboratori proposti dal percorso emergeva con forza la capacità delle Pro Loco di leggere i bisogni del territorio e di intervenire di conseguenza. Il racconto di una Pro Loco che era intervenuta per finanziare la riparazione degli impianti di irrigazione agricola perché l'ente preposto non aveva le risorse per farlo, serve da ispirazione per coniare l'espressione "politica del tubo". L'immediatezza, l'efficacia e al tempo stesso la dimensione "sotterranea" di questa azione, apre l'interrogativo su quale ruolo potrebbero avere le Pro Loco nei confronti del territorio, ma la trattazione merita un passo indietro per comprendere come è evoluto il ruolo politico delle Pro Loco fino ad oggi. Tradizionalmente le Pro Loco nascevano come costola operativa dell'amministrazione comunale. Dopo la seconda guerra mondiale, con l'inizio del turismo di massa, gli statuti delle Pro Loco prevedevano che nel comitato di gestione fossero presenti di diritto le autorità del paese come il parroco o il sindaco, ed era costume che nella commissione edilizia del comune fosse inserito un membro della Pro Loco. Fino alla riforma del turismo Trentino del 2000, nei luoghi in cui non esisteva un'azienda per il turismo, le Pro Loco incameravano direttamente dall'amministrazione comunale l'imposta di soggiorno per poterla reinvestire nei servizi rivolti al turismo. Abitudine era che il primo dei non eletti nella lista vincitrice delle elezioni comunali divenisse presidente della Pro Loco. Anche il comitato direttivo della Pro Loco subiva un conseguente cambio immediato ad ogni variazione delle geometrie del potere locale. A



tutt'oggi permane in alcuni amministratori l'idea della Pro Loco come "braccio destro", sogno di sindaci e assessori al turismo che immaginano le Pro Loco come un supporto agile e economico per realizzare i propri progetti (Povinelli, 2012).

Il breve excursus pone l'interrogativo su quale possa essere il ruolo delle Pro Loco e il materiale raccolto sul campo suggerisce alcune piste interpretative. Il concetto di tradizione, inteso come innovazione di successo (Hobsbawm, 2002), in contrasto con visioni reificanti, sottolinea come la Pro Loco possa sentirsi incaricata di promuovere la socialità e i relativi processi comunitari. Così, ad esempio, si lascia piena libertà allo sviluppo delle tematiche più disparate: mentre la struttura della promozione turistica chiede ai volontari di essere rappresentativi delle tradizioni del territorio, questi cercano di reinventare i temi delle loro proposte a loro modo, senza rispettare il "tipicismo" auspicato. E il processo di partecipazione che si innesca nel disconoscere la richiesta specifica dell'economia del turismo, che vorrebbe i volontari aderenti ad un'identità fissa e carica di folklore utilizzabile dal punto di vista del marketing, apre lo spazio alla possibilità di mettersi personalmente in gioco nella comunità, reinventando quotidianamente la propria presenza nel mondo. Divergere dallo stereotipo che i soggetti economici vorrebbero vedere in atto diviene una modalità di sentirsi vive e partecipi di un processo in cui si può essere protagonisti di alcune scelte. Solo le Pro Loco che propongono un'appartenenza attiva alle persone, capaci di trasformare le ineliminabili conflittualità di natura politica insite nei progetti, riescono a coinvolgere un soddisfacente numero di volontari.

Non sempre però le Pro Loco si riconoscono questo ruolo o questa capacità di tenere vivi i processi di appartenenza. La descrizione che i volontari fanno della cultura la relega a questione "secondaria, perché prima vengono le questioni pratiche" nel senso di "concrete, urgenti e altre rispetto alle questioni filosofiche", quasi non avessero consapevolezza della reciproca ineliminabile e mutua influenza tra narrazioni e pratiche. La scissione tra gli aspetti politici e quelli pratici e concreti finisce tuttavia per svilire la potenziale natura politica delle Pro

Loco. L'idea di cultura corrente la pone come opzionale alla vita delle persone e alle loro pratiche, non come costitutiva di essa ma come accessoria, contrapposta non solo a ciò che si manifesta come necessario o imprescindibile ma anche a ciò che si rivela pratico nel senso di attuale, concreto e legato al fare quotidiano. L'agito viene distaccato dal suo significato che rimane in un limbo di non esplicitazione, diviene immediato e reattivo alle esigenze della quotidianità, come "politica del tubo" ma non sembra concedersi un orientamento generale e complessivo in termini di politica, rimane sotterraneo ad altre istanze.

In questa idea campeggia la distinzione tra teoria e pratica, ovvero il fare viene percepito come concreto e primario rispetto alla parte più astratta e concettuale. Questo rapporto tra concretezza e astrazione gioca quasi sempre a favore della prima ed organizza un giudizio di valore nei confronti delle attività culturali che risultano di poco lustro tra i loro stessi organizzatori. Il metro di valutazione discende di conseguenza e l'espressione "T'en fai pochi numeri coi libri", [trad: le presentazioni dei libri hanno sempre pochi spettatori], qualifica il valore dell'attività attraverso una scala di giudizio che normalmente viene utilizzata per misurare l'affluenza ad un evento enogastronomico, basata su parametri di quantità scontati nella loro validità e immediatamente rilevabili come le presenze. L'aspetto immateriale, valoriale e politico non trova narrative che lo portino ad emergere in maniera esplicita.

## **7. Conclusione**

L'articolo ha descritto la genealogia di una ricerca-azione in seno alle Pro Loco trentine per chiarire cosa le Pro Loco intendessero con il termine "cultura". Il concetto di "cultura", lungi dal voler essere reificato, porta però con sé una serie di elementi che lo rendono significante in relazione alla situazione etnografica analizzata: 1) il forte valore simbolico del concetto nel contesto locale ma il suo parziale utilizzo nelle Pro Loco; 2) l'invito, da parte di UNESCO, a lavorare sui beni immateriali; 3) la possibilità, per le Pro Loco, di ridefinire il proprio ruolo politico grazie alla

riforma italiana del terzo settore che definisce le Pro Loco non più come enti di promozione turistica ma di promozione sociale.

Dalla ricerca è emerso un forte problema di lessico, di comprensione degli strumenti di lavoro, ma anche di chiarezza rispetto a ciò che si fa quando si affronta nelle Pro Loco il tema della cultura. Storia, memoria, folklore, saperi, etnografia, tradizioni, politica, economia, turismo: tutto si confonde e si amalgama.

La ricerca ha permesso di comprendere che le Pro Loco non hanno una consapevolezza della propria natura “culturale”, se per culturale intendiamo le pratiche attraverso cui si dà senso e significato al proprio mondo e quindi anche l’effettiva possibilità e capacità di incidere in maniera consapevole sulle scelte del proprio territorio. Questa inconsapevolezza mantiene le Pro Loco distanti dalla natura di soggetto politico, sia come autrici di proposte, sia come decisori che possono incidere, con le proprie scelte, sulle direzioni di sviluppo di un territorio. Costruire una proposta di animazione significa fare delle scelte ma per le Pro Loco sembra difficile riconoscersi questo ruolo. La volontarietà delle pratiche limita la capacità delle Pro Loco di sentirsi autorizzate ad esercitare questo tipo di indirizzo, “siamo volontari, mica professionisti del turismo, facciamo quel che possiamo!”. La situazione descritta fino a questo punto mantiene le Pro Loco lontane dalle proprie capacità di agency e ne depotenzia il ruolo nell’arena dei soggetti legittimati a prendere decisioni su come investire le risorse della comunità.

La riforma del terzo settore, normata nel 2017 e attuata negli anni successivi, ha classificato le Pro Loco nel comparto della promozione sociale, declinando il contributo al turismo come contenuto del loro operare e non come finalità. La priorità politica a livello nazionale ha conferito alle Pro Loco una definizione alternativa a quella del turismo, nella quale si nascondono vincoli ed opportunità. La promozione sociale non potrà sostituire in maniera altrettanto efficace la promozione turistica, come contenuto, se non si porrà la questione delle Pro Loco come soggetto politico invece che come mero soggetto esecutivo che svolge le proprie attività in maniera sotterranea. Se le Pro Loco perdessero completamente il

loro aggancio con il mondo del turismo verrebbe a mancare loro la principale forma di riconoscimento pubblico e sarebbe necessario un lungo percorso per riqualificare il loro ruolo in termini di integrazione sociale e di qualità della vita.

Nel 2015 Istat ha definito come "indicatori del benessere" la partecipazione sociale, la partecipazione civica e politica e l'attività di volontariato, così come la partecipazione culturale fuori casa. L'attività delle Pro Loco è coerente con questo tipo di attività tanto da poter affermare che il loro ruolo sembra essere oggi diventato quello di mantenere buona la qualità della vita in un luogo, più che quello di soddisfare le esigenze dei visitatori. Se fare cultura, al di là dei contenuti specifici, significa essere soggetti politici che attivano i processi vitali di una comunità provando a realizzare idee e progetti, forse in questo momento le realtà del volontariato faticano a riconoscersi questa funzione benché sembrino desiderarla.

La possibilità di essere soggetti politici apre tuttavia una piccola rivoluzione. Ciò che sembrava l'obiettivo principale, fare turismo, è diventato per le Pro Loco del Trentino un contenuto, perché l'obiettivo originario è ormai appannaggio della struttura tecnico economica di un'economia industriale diffusa e sviluppata. Resta tuttavia un fronte scoperto sul quale le Pro Loco potrebbero spendersi. Mitigando gli effetti collaterali del turismo, come lo spopolamento delle valli e la mancanza di servizi, le Pro Loco potrebbero farsi interpreti di nuove istanze, spesso immateriali, continuando ad utilizzare la loro capacità di lettura immediata dei bisogni, sia nei confronti dei residenti che dei turisti. Rimane la scelta di operare a livello pratico con azioni ed interventi ad hoc, secondo la "politica del tubo" ed in maniera sotterranea, o a livello politico, diventando soggetto che negozia il proprio agire con gli interlocutori istituzionali. L'evoluzione del turismo, fatto di molte nicchie tra le quali gli amanti della tranquillità, della vita rurale e di paese, apre la possibilità di integrare politiche di qualità della vita con l'offerta turistica in maniera organica, senza che lo sfruttamento del territorio debba compromettere la possibilità di continuare a viverci.

## Referencies

- Arnoldi C. (2009), *Tristi montagne. Guida ai malesseri alpini*. Scarmagno, Torino: Priuli & Verlucci
- Clifford J.(1999), *I frutti puri impazziscono: etnografia, letteratura e arte nel XX secolo*, Torino: Bollati Boringhieri
- Colucci F.P. (2008) *La ricerca intervento*, Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Dallapè C., Povinelli I. (2017), *Dal volontariato all'amministrazione*, Trento, Federazione Trentina Pro Loco
- Geertz C. (1975), *Common Sense as a Cultural System*. *The Antioch Review* 33 (1):5-26
- Geertz C. (2019), *Interpretazione di culture*, Bologna: il Mulino
- Herzfeld M. (2019) *What is a polity? Subversive archaism and the bureaucratic nation-state*, *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 9 (1), pp. 23-35
- Hobsbawm E. J. e Ranger T. (2002) *L'invenzione della tradizione*, Torino, Einaudi
- Ingold T. (2013) *Making. Anthropology, archeology, art and architecture*. London: Routledge
- Laclau, E., and C. Mouffe. 1985. *Hegemony and socialist strategy*. London: Verso
- Mannarini T. (2016) *Senso di comunità. Come e perché i legami contano*, Milano: McGraw-Hill Education
- Povinelli I. (2012), *Il braccio destro: la relazione tra Pro Loco e amministrazione in Trentino*, Tesi di laurea: Trento
- Raffaetà R., Duff C. (2013), *Putting Belonging into Place: Place Experience and Sense of Belonging among Ecuadorian migrants in an Italian Alpine Region*, *City & Society. A Journal of the American Anthropological Association* 25 (3):328-347
- Servizio Statistica della Provincia Autonoma di Trento (1998), *Realtà di volontariato in Trentino: un primo sguardo d'insieme*. Comunicazioni. Aspetti sociali  
[http://www.statistica.provincia.tn.it/statistiche/societa/famiglia\\_comportamenti\\_sociali/012.html](http://www.statistica.provincia.tn.it/statistiche/societa/famiglia_comportamenti_sociali/012.html) Accessed 19/07/2021
- Unesco (2020), *Basic Texts of the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* <https://ich.unesco.org/en/directives> Accessed 19/07/2021.
- Istat, *Gli indicatori del benessere* <https://www.istat.it/it/files/2016/12/Indicatori-del-benessere.pdf> Accessed 19/07/2021.



## ***2. Vivace, Largo, Andante, Allegro ma non troppo.*** **Public Art, Creativity and Rural Regeneration in Four Movements**

*Letizia Bindi*

### **1. Introduzione**

The recent debate in rural sustainable development has registered a progressive shift from exclusive issues concerning sustainable and economic replicability of production activities towards a growing concern for transformation processes, social innovation, inclusion and participation of local actors in the countryside. This change aims at well-being, accomplished sociality, social inclusion, formal and non-formal educational achievements. A new relationship between spaces and times of life, connected to this kind of processes, engenders a new hierarchy between urban and rural dimension and a profound redefinition and remodeling of the boundaries between margins and the center (Carrosio, 2019; Verschuur, 2019).

Thus, increasing attention is paid to the development and revitalization of remote rural and fragile areas, ecological and socio-cultural concerns and expectations, highlighting the positive impact of innovative projects and the presence of 'creative industries' no longer only in the avant-garde and experimental spaces of big cities, but increasingly in the rarefied and



relaxed spaces of the countryside, though sweetened and represented from an urban-centered point of view.

This paper outlines how rural contexts, even in depressed, peripheral and depopulated areas, can experience a new socio-cultural effervescence and cohesion as a consequence of shared and co-constructed projects insisting on the value of local bio-cultural heritage and diversity, on the potential represented by traditional or ancient local activities and rural practices revitalized in the framework of innovative experiences and participatory processes, reactivating positive economic and social trends.

Recently, in Italy, a huge debate aroused around the “National Strategy for Inner Areas” and widely from the group of researchers, activists and representatives of associations and local institutions gathered in the group “Riabitare l’Italia” (De Rossi, 2018; Barbera – De Rossi, 2021). Moreover, other movements, festivals and seminars inspired to the concept of “restanza”, the almost philosophical concept of ‘remaining’ or ‘coming back’ to the mountain/rural places/inlands (Teti 2014, 2016) have been organized in the last five years, according with a reflection on art and creativity as a driver for local regeneration.

More recently, with the Covid-19 pandemic and concerned social distancing, we have been compelled to rethink the relation between “margin” and the “center” (Cirese 1986; Carrosio 2019; Clemente 2021), redesigning the very idea of sustainable development of rural and peripheral areas.

If ‘remote’ and ‘rural’ are concepts associated with depopulated places, characterized by historical difficulties in accessing services and opportunities (works, schools, cultural services, information, shopping, and so on), what I’d like to appoint in this paper is the potential of

solidarity and circularity against the supposed inlands' isolation and of rural intimacy against the extremely interconnected, but often dramatically solipsistic urban dimension.

These are - of course - not entirely new concepts, actually animating the debate on local and social regeneration in degraded urban contexts, in peripheral areas of large metropolis. Conscious actions of urban revitalization and restoration as well as socio-cultural regeneration are linked to participatory dimensions and specific local mapping and co-planning actions. Virtuous networks stem economic and social marginalization as well as policies of inclusion are increasingly associated with art, performance, cultural animation (Bargna, 2011).

Thus, the essay addresses the dilemma of sustainability (El-Kamel Bakari 2017): if it is possible to live far from the city and to re-inhabit previously abandoned places, usually considered economically unprofitable or not interesting in terms of quality of life and well-being in a place. According to recent studies, cultural planning activities, widespread creativity, the intertwining between different actors of the territory and new-comers generates a new rural economy based on enhancement of the landscape and rural / mountain spaces and slowness as a context for artistic expression and representation, but also as an experience of strong local involvement in creative experiments of artistic co-construction and social innovation in agriculture.

The starting concept is that different kinds of cultural offer, based at the beginning on individual creativity, can enhance local wealth and new jobs through the generation and exportation of intellectual property, attracting tourists to rural regions and determining a positive economic impact in the rural context with new cultural facilities, considering such a

transformation in the local cultural offer as a matter of political radical change and civil rights (Dunphy, 2009).

The increase of visual and performing arts, in fact, is supposed to influence local collective behaviors such as aid engagement and mobilization by the community providing powerful opportunities and local actors' empowerment (Curtis, 2011, p. 15; Woods, 2007, 2010).

Culture and creativity, moreover, often suggest unexpected solutions to environmental concerns, contribute to social wellbeing and cultural community development, providing opportunities for a multifunctional rethinking of local rural economy and cultural landscape / bio-cultural heritage proposal as a tourist destination. At the same time artistic creations in depopulated and economically depressed areas radically raises the question of sustainability, durability and replicability of this type of creative experiences outside the large urban circuits of the cultural industry, as a recovery to culture and design of space otherwise destined for isolation and obsolescence.

This, as already mentioned, has been widely debated in the rich literature relating to the usefulness of art and creativity and the revitalization of cultural spaces in the peripheral areas of large urban centers, but it has been developed even more in the last decade through a reflection on the value of *Land Art* in natural environments and in the mountains as a form of creative individual action, with a new territorial sacredness, impacting portions of the territory. This implied, even independently from the more committed logic of public art or local institutions' commitment, new investments on internal territories or for the consensus-building (Cheetham, 2018; Baccichet, 2019). Other studies, by the way, have recently insisted on the political impact of these projects and creative

actions involving, beyond the artists and expert promoters, the local communities through forms of presence in the territories aimed at modifying the diffused space, the temporal scansion and sociality in rural and mountainous areas (Delfosse, 2011; Delfosse - Georges, 2013; Berneman - Meyronin, 2010).

At the same time, we must consider that arts and creativity produce a cultural and expressive space for civic engagement and political commitment, supporting shared representations of communities, a dialogical and dynamic local identity, and a radical critique towards dominant models that have been for a long time at the origin of the progressive marginalization and devaluation of rural and mountain contexts, of the areas farthest from the cities and more linked to native or traditional forms of life (Corrado, 2016; D'Inca Levis, 2016; Pulpòn - Cañizares Ruiz, 2020; Egusquiza et alii, 2021).

In recent decades we witnessed the spread of various forms of cultural organization, festivals, artist residences, recovery of urban furniture, new forms of craftsmanship and events organized in the rural *milieu* not only for their economic impacts, but more often as an opportunity to redesign the countryside, to connect pleasure and emotions to peasant experience. This trend must be attentively observed as one of the perhaps most innovative forms of re-inhabiting the countryside space, free from the complex of inferiority and marginality insuflated by a few centuries of urban/industrial-centric paradigm (Ray, 1998; Bell-Jayne, 2010; Phelps, 2012).

Ultimately, from these experiences emerges the need to rethink the city /countryside dichotomy, outlined in the concept of *Metromontagna*:

“a new word, which embodies a radical purpose: to bring together under a single glance what *naturaliter* appears to be divided, deconstructing the otherness between city and mountain. This drastic change of point of view appears necessary and illuminating, in a phase like the one we are going through and for a territory like that of our country, both characterized by a crisis of urban centrality and a rethinking of the relationships between centers and peripheries”

(De Rossi-Barbera, 2021, p. 3)

Reflecting on the limits of the economic growth detached from any environmental, human and even less 'post-human' consideration, the arts become a laboratory for the awareness of shared values and for the elaboration of a new sense of beauty as opposed to a mere idea of usefulness, stimulating artists and local people towards new challenges and a new idea of living and appropriating in a shared and respectful sense of common spaces of expression and community building (Kingma 2002).

Furthermore, the diffusion of cultural, artistic and creative actions in rural and peripheral areas requires a strengthening of the service system and of the overall organization of local / regional centers: institutions - for seeking funds and programs to support the cultural interest expressed by the base -, but also associations and individual entrepreneurs oriented to give continuity to this kind of experience.

Moreover, arts and creativity have the ambition to re-establish a fruitful relationship between young generations and depopulated territories and at the same time to intercept in a new type of tourist target, attentive to innovation and experimentation, development and social innovation, inclusion and sustainable / healthy, ecological and ethical agri-food

products. Such a kind of local actors and visitors is oriented to a holistic well-being and solidarity, increasingly taking in count post-human and post-colonial/post-anthropocentric forms of coexistence.

To create this type of experience, positive aspects must be leveraged, such as the growing presence of artists interested to nature, mountain and inland areas. At the same time a growing openness of financing lines, inter-governmental and supra-local programs, supporting this kind of activities and events are requested. Nonetheless, of course, critical elements persist in peripheral, rural and fragile areas such as the lack of appropriate services, the not always enthusiastic reaction of the local populations towards the newcomers, a still urban-centric approach of sponsors, brokers, tourist agents who are not seriously working on the promotion of marginal localities.

In recent decades there has been a special methodological attention towards the so-called Participatory Rural Appraisal, “a growing family of approaches and methods to enable local people to share, enhance and analyze their knowledge of life and conditions, to plan and to act” (Chambers 1992, p. 1): a methodology of observation used by activists in participatory researches, agroecosystems analysis, applied anthropology, fieldwork research on farming systems oriented to open-ended, shared and comparative knowledge production enabling a real shift in rural development. Based on bottom-up approach, on non-standardized nor “extractive surveys questionnaires” towards local witnesses, the research has enhanced dialogue and awareness as well as self-confidence and local community empowerment, according to powerful theoretical frameworks such as Freire’s “pedagogy of the oppressed” and the concerned experience of “conscientization” of poor and rural people (especially in Latin-American) (Chambers 1994). The fundamental issue in this approach

was that poor and marginal people were able to create and to produce a representation of themselves and of their own culture, but also that outsiders and newcomers can have a role of “convenors, catalysts and facilitators” (Chambers, 1992, p. 6) in the process of empowerment and recovery of local fragility.

At the same time Applied Anthropology and Anthropology of Development in the Eighties helped professional activists in rural cooperation to define and appreciate the value of rural knowledge (Brokensha, Warren and Werner, 1980), to rearticulate emic/ethic points of view, to realize conversation, participant observation, semi-structured and in-depth interviews and focus groups showing the fieldwork itself as an art. More than a rigid evaluation framework, the applied anthropology approach valorizes indigenous technical and embedded knowledge, local behaviors and relations enabling better local farming systems, using to the good sense and mixing new techniques with local farmers’ knowledge and capabilities (Biggs, 1980; Richards, 1985; Farrington-Martin, 1988).

Over time there has also been a repopulation of rural areas by a variety of new actors with cultural characteristics and social behavior very different from those of the traditional inhabitants of rural and mountain areas, even if this too hitherto homogeneous idea of village and rural population must probably be greatly reconsidered.

Over time, alternative characters of all kinds such as "organic communards, ludophylic mystics, addicts digging their way out of their habits” (Mac Clancy 2015, p. 3), a probably underestimated category of rural “new incomers” (Strathern, 1987; Wrigh, 1992), extra-European immigrants, invisible and left in the margins of the market as well as of



the ethnography, shifted the idea of the 'archaic countryside' in something more innovative and on the move (Rogers, 1991; Demossier, 2011).

Such a variegated scenario of 're-settlers' is the object of a particular attention by researchers in the very last years, because of their interest to the processes of construction of a new and non-traditional countryside, even if some of these actors, considered alternatives only thirty years ago, are now probably to be considered as mainstream.

Anthropology with its exploratory, open-ended and intensive fieldwork methodology allows to discuss contemporary rurality and its complexities, local specificities, rural discourses and practices and local particular adjustments among different agencies producing a discourse on the countryside which is also a political discourse on the value of local landscape conservation and valorization, on traditional or native ways of life, on particular uses of the past enabling the conservation of a specific set of shared values (Svašek – Meyer, 2016).

This could engender the risk, in particularly difficult moments of crisis and economic and social fragility, of a certain nationalism, populism, and even exoticism of the local representation of the countryside and of the traditional rural way of life opposed to the creative and innovative city (Chambers, 1997; Bassi, 2018).

In this sense, art and creativity in rural areas provide the extraordinary opportunity not only to generate new forms of sociality and circular economy, but also to rethink the opposition between city and countryside settled in the developmental thought of the past centuries and decades (Woods, 2012), out of the simplistic oppositions between innovation / creativity / urban and backwardness / traditionalism / countryside.

The potential for creativity in the rural, mountainous, and peripheral dimension is essentially associated with the quest for solitude, isolation, proximity with wilderness and unspoiled nature, concentration that writers, poets, musicians, figurative artists, actors and dancers, as well as professional researchers are increasingly looking for in particular moments of their work. At the same time, these newcomers are interested in encounters with traditional artisans, in experiencing ancient techniques or types of cultivation, on biodiversity conservation or traditional processing of raw materials.

Neo-endogenous development processes are also taking place at the crossroad between old values and new narratives and as well as the increasing diffusion of the digital dimension in the rural (Gallardo, 2016; Gallardo-Beaulieu-Geideman, 2021; Pēluča-Kasabov, 2020). Another relevant aspect of the recent transformation in the countryside is associated with the presence of migrant people and the multi-cultural encounter this could engender.

Rurality is a multifaceted concept, dealing with land, landscape, nature, biodiversity, agriculture and farming, oriented to more sustainable patterns and new possibilities for local economies, cultural commodification and innovative agri-food productions.

In recent years, creativity and the arts represent strategy of economic adaptation in response to the reduction of other activities previously dominant such as agriculture, the extraction of raw materials (wood and metals), fishing and crafts. Today it seems to prevail a multifunctional model (Delgado-Ramos-Gallardo-Ramos, 2003), based on agri-food production as well as on economies of hospitality and cultural events.

Rural story-telling and participatory narratives support local economy, dealing with social changes, re-articulating a relationship to the past local identity as well as to present transformations which are facing the growing frictions of a post-capitalist economy based on the rhetoric of progress and of an indiscriminate growth. To look at these contradictions, into the interstices of the rural and mountainous regions as well as of native cultures, implies to reconsider relationships to nature, rural eco-tourism, sustainable farming and recent young people's reconnection with land (Bell and Jayne, 2010; Gibson-Luckman-Willoughly, 2010; McHenry, 2011; Phelps, 2011; Woods, 2010). In this framework, contemporary arts and cultural activities help foster respect, social cohesion and inclusion as well as citizenship participation and community empowerment, but also innovative visions and sustainable futures in the countryside. At the same time communities and artists must manage local development gaps, decreasing funding and poor recognition of the value of creative activities carried out, the persistent problem of mobility as well as the structural limits of communication and dissemination.

In this sense, it is interesting to outline some local experiences in order to understand the impact of arts and creativity in territorial regeneration of rural, mountainous and more or less depopulated/fragile areas in Italy.

Case-studies have been ethnographically observed between 2018 and 2021, throughout:

- recollection of documents about the different experiences on sight and online (all documents consulted are explicated in the bibliography or in the text and available in print editions or digital link);
- ethnographic and participant observation at the occasion of festivals, meetings, conferences, residency or in a day-by-day observation/exchange

(in some case the duration of the strictly ethnographic fieldwork has been longer, with several meetings and interviews – both on site and online -, with ethnographer's participation at different scale to the programming and realization of some events or contributing to conferences in different occasions/periods between June 2018 and June 2021);

- semi-structured or informal interviews and exchanges with special witnesses (particularly the ethnographic relationship with women coordinating and animating the four monitored activities – May/June 2021);

- return of the ethnographic account to the local actors in order to share with them the representation of the case provided by the author (such feedback has been realized through virtual exchanges, discussing and asking for a revision the four privileged witnesses of the specific case-studies and of the overall text – July/August 2021).

## **2. The creative supply chain: four 'movements' for social innovation and cultural regeneration in rural areas**

### *2.1. Vivace. Officina Creattiva / Liberi di Essere (Campobasso, Colle d'Anchise, Gildone, Toro)*

*Officina Creattiva* is a socio-cultural laboratory created in Molise by the "Liberi di essere (Free to be)" Social Promotion Association and supported by the work and solicitation of a group of volunteers and activists oriented towards a circular economy model. Concetta Fornaro, architect and agricultural entrepreneur, is, since several years, engaged with her family

in the production of an excellent wine (Tintilia del Molise doc, Cantine Herero SrL), an activity that she explicitly defines "an activator of endogenous rural development", with a characterization deeply centered on territoriality of the product, "AgriCulture" and female / multicultural entrepreneurship. This is strongly signaled by the logo of the company: a traditionally dressed female figure representing a Namibian woman of the Herero ethnic group, which also gave its name to the winery itself, immediately evoking messages of multicultural openness and contamination to a product traditionally characterized in a very strong way by the *terroir*.

Concetta also coordinates the activities of a collective group committed to different fronts of social innovation and practices of socio-cultural inclusion of the most fragile and migrant subjects. This is her "homecoming project" aimed at local regeneration (Toro, where she decided with her family to buy the vineyards and the cellar at her return), starting from biological and sustainable production and locally rooted agricultural traditions but also from a radically trans-cultural orientation.

This path is based on cooperation with the women and men of the territory as well as with the migrants. It's because she has developed the idea of stories and fairy tales as a form of promotion of locality, but also aiming at creating a concrete short and emotional supply chains based on the basic products of the territory - the milk, wine - and animated by experiences of welcome, of self-entrepreneurship development, of exploitation of derived resources.

Among the concerns of 'Liberi di essere' and *Officina Creattiva*, one of the characteristic elements of coexistence and transitions between local peasant and pastoral communities, groups of migrants welcomed in

temporary centers and local urban population as well as tourists of different remains one of the characterizing elements alongside the commitment against the forms of exploitation and illegal hiring that are increasingly found in the agro-industry.

Involvement of migrants in associative and creative processes of local development and valorisation of local products means the commitment to ethically produce and associate a high level of socio-cultural and environmental sustainability with quality agri-food production.

*Officina Creattiva* was born in 2014 “as an experience of coexistence, inclusion and participation in the transversal generation, inter-ethnicity and resistance” (Fornaro, 16/3/21), despite the considerable downsizing of migrant presences and the reception system in the Molise Region and more generally at the Italian level determined in 2019 by the Security and Safety Decrees. Then, despite the pandemic crisis, *Officina* was conceived as a laboratory aimed at developing co-managed chains of craftsmanship and local creativity, starting from the needs, relating to local productions, complying with the aim for a renewed openness and conviviality expressed by the inner territories of the region Molise, too often characterized by peripherality and isolation. The aim is clearly to keep together endogenous self-sustainable development with forms of global citizenship and facilitate the interaction with international and "extra-ordinary" experiences. “Liberi di Essere”, in fact, is centered on sustainability and environmental lifelong learning, civil commitment, inclusion, vigilance over legality as fundamental principles animating the construction of regenerated spaces and places, well-being and resilient adaptation, but also cooperation, solidarity and circularity for citizens.

An emblematic example is the experience of Folusho, a tailor of Nigerian origins, who started an interesting artisan business by recycling and transforming basic garments, curtains and other objects/complements donated to *Officina Creattiva* by local people and supporters. "What for others is a waste, for the us is a resource", explicitly says Concetta Fornaro, presenting the Folusho laboratory during a public lecture (at the occasion of the Online International Course of the Erasmus + CBHE 'EARTH' project of 17.3.2021). Even the sewing machines used for the tailor's activity come from the virtuous circuit of the recycling and regeneration, bought from a dismissed textile company.

At *Officina Creattiva*, Folusho has managed to express his talent by collaborating on various solidarity projects, such as that of the "Good Soap", which involves various associations in the area. A soap that is good for its environmentally friendly ingredients, produced with native essences and above all made in collaboration with young adults suffering from mental disorders, thanks to the support of a dedicated association in Campobasso. Moreover, this soap unites and fosters collaboration between different realities. Folusho, in fact, makes cases and bags for these soaps, using recycled materials, perfectly realizing the complementarity and circularity of the Association's mission. There are also other immigrants hosted in the frame of this experience now engaged in the "Molise organic and solidarity" project, created in collaboration with the *Anchise Onlus Foundation*. As part of this project, an important space is also dedicated to the elderly of the community, custodians of ancient knowledge and ensuring the protection of past traditions, through the rediscovery of ancient crops and the wise use of medicinal plants.

*Officina Creattiva* is also a generator of stories through a project of participatory storytelling based on shared intergenerational and



intercultural fairy tales which has been realized thanks to school workshops and territorial animation activities, returned and systematized through a database. The wealth of environmental and 'other-than-human' references is striking in this archive, the narratives centered on the stories of animals or of primary resources such as forests, water, fire and the potential for variation and curiosity at the same time alongside the mutual recognition and encounter between the local population and people coming from outside.

The major strength of the experience of *Officina Creattiva / Liberi di Essere* seems to lie precisely in the drive to network with the associative and entrepreneurial system spread throughout the territory from the intertwining of innovative experiences and expert local knowledge. A new idea of 'cultivating' is set, consciously holding together the territorial networks of sustainable agricultural production and solidarity and the need to "put knowledge into the field". This concept is to be considered in the literal and metaphorical sense as an expert intervention supporting agricultural and / or artisanal activity - for example with new technological capabilities -, but also new ways of communication and dissemination in / for the territories (Molise Bio & Solidale and # Re-Vita2019).

*Liberi di essere* and *Officina Creattiva* try to compensate the poor integration between sustainable rural development and enhancement of creativity and arts at regional level enhancing self-promotion and tourism in the region, even taking in count the recent recognition of transhumance as a UNESCO intangible heritage and a series of other important elements of visibility connected to agricultural and rural assets (i.e., the Site of Melanico as a Rural Landscape of the Ministry of Agriculture inventory). In this sense, this rural innovative laboratory aims at reversing this trend

by promoting activities oriented to expressive creativity and experimentation, creating a laboratory for social and cultural innovation through intercultural dialogue and participatory representations of landscape and rurality.

*2.2. Largo. Nature, Arts and Habitat Residency (NAHR): Eco-Laboratory of Multidisciplinary Practice (Val Taleggio, Bergamo)*

*Nature, Arts and Habitat Residency (NAHR): Eco-Laboratory of Multidisciplinary Practice* focused around non-formal learning fieldwork and the value provided by the setting of a non-institutional think-tank. It is a form of intellectual positioning as a globally-focused entity within a local, historically rich rural community.

NAHR is located in rural Taleggio Valley, in the Northern Italian region of Lombardy, a summer residency cultivating awareness of the environment and emphasizing nature's insights as a source of inspiration open to a variety of scholars and professionals from different fields: visual and performing arts, writers, architects, urban planners, researchers in social sciences, and other disciplines. "The goal is to reveal intimate links between all living organisms and to support resilient development in which humans and nature can successfully coexist" – says Ilaria Mazzoleni, one of the founders and coordinators, using the time and space of the Residency as a source of inspiration and an opportunity of restoration (Jose, Jokela, Miller, 2007; Kohn, 2013).

Each year the Residency focuses on an element of nature: water, woods, rocks, grasslands, animals, within four main domains of interest: Regenerative economy, Bio-Inspired Design Architecture, Body

Performing Nature, and Design Futures, Technology and New Media. They are unfolding and displaying “a sensitive type of culture that looks at nature’s resilience as a source of inspiration as well as a measure of available resources” (Mazzoleni, Santi, 2019). In 2020 and 2021 the topic has been “*Animals: Interdependence Between Species*” and it has explored “where and how species intersect in a post-human, post-anthropocentric era”. Residents investigated the place of animals in contemporary ecological thinking, addressing human-animal relationships, their implications in management of climate crisis, and speculating on how humans think of themselves as animals.

So far, the Residency stands out for creativity as well as advanced research on relevant contemporary issues, and also attentively aims at integrating its action with local territory, landscape and local communities though it is still a “work in progress.” It is probably more correct to say that the level of integration between the Residency and the local territory is under observation and determination as each annual program is unveiling its ability to create new local dialogues. In reality, however, “the Valley is the context for this non-institutional think-tank focusing on globalized thinking. The location offers a vast eco-canvas for bio-inspired design, art, architecture, theory, and creative writing, developed in alignment with the existing *Ecomuseum Val Taleggio: Civilization of Taleggio, Strachitunt and Rural Huts*, recognized in 2008 by the Lombardy Region “as institution dedicated to the dissemination of the territory’s knowledge” (Mazzoleni, Santi, 2019). The ecomuseum works

“through resilient social and economic actions, implementing the tangible and intangible cultural heritage, collecting memories, raising community awareness; as well as economic operators, at developing tourism as a product of conscious

policies, aims at educating young generations, in order to project the valley towards a lasting and sustainable development”

(Mazzoleni, Santi, 2019)

NAHR brings to this scarcely populated valley professionals and scholars from all over the world where they spend a month conducting fieldwork, analyzing, studying, and observing its ecosystem. Significant to the residency are daily exchanges with local community, exploring local cultural heritage, particularly its traditions of animal husbandry, cheese production, and other land-based economies [...] Many are the levels of engagement and exchange between local people and NAHR residents, overcoming the language barrier. Despite only a few of the fellows speak Italian and the local community members rarely speak English, yet the conversations are rich and frequent and nourish a level of interaction, comparison and practical / visual transmission of knowledge which constitutes one of the major enriching elements of the NAHR experience for both the users and the hosts” (Ilaria Mazzoleni, EASA Congress, Contribution to the Panel Rur03 - “Biocultural Heritage and Local Rural Development”, 21 July 2020; Varine, 2005).

Among these experiences we can find forms of eco-logical explorations on nature conceived as collaborative fieldworks with local experts, works based on forms of “bio-inspired design and architecture” such as, in other editions of the Residency, the participative construction of a stone carpet, for example.

The specific value of such a rural setting – immersed in the Taleggio Valley – “offers inspiration on how to coexist and how to design urban

life". Most of the participants and "inhabitants" of the Residency come from large urban centers from all over the world. They especially appreciate "this quiet and intensively green space, scarcely populated, (which) allows them to concentrate on their observations and reflections before starting the work on their projects" (Interview to Ilaria Mazzoleni, 21/07/21).

Residents use the time spent in NAHR as an opportunity for "cultivating a deep mindfulness about our environment, emphasizing nature's insights as a source of inspiration, revealing the intimate links between all living organism and supporting them, and finally transmitting a resilient model of creative development in which human and non-human animals can successfully coexist". They can, moreover, get in touch with the storytelling of a "Bergamino", a shepherd and cheese-maker allowing them to become aware of the value of pastures and cheese-making, and of the full cycle of a product 'from grass to fork', according to a lucky formula. Likewise, during the Residency there are numerous opportunities for strong and creative performances and highly innovative use of technologies as digital installations (Transhumance Museum in Brembilla) aiming at transforming knowledge and actions into a network of exchanges where all the local stakeholders as well as institutions and local / trans-local players can have the opportunity to develop overtime.

The greatest expectations for the future development and replicability of the NAHR experience are connected, in the perception of its founders and animators, precisely to the ability to thicken relations with the territory. The durability of the Creative Residency in the Valley project is closely connected, in their opinion, to the ability to expand collaborations with local institutions (the Region, the Municipalities, the Mountain Communities, the Local Action Groups, the National Union of

Municipalities in the mountains), but also with the system of local companies - small and large, family-run and of a more industrial nature, as well as with the advanced training system - Universities, Schools, but also Foundations, Museum Institutions, Superintendence considered as the key-players in a process of mutual solicitation and cross-fertilization.

### *2.3. Andante. Casa delle AgriCulture (Castiglione d'Otranto, Lecce)*

The first meeting with the Casa delle AgriCulture "Tullia and Gino" took place thanks to the mediation of Chiara Vacirca, another young woman engaged in a PhD research project in History of Contemporary Art, centered precisely on the experience of Castiglione d'Otranto and at the same time fully integrated into the project itself, being by now in all respects one of the promoters and animators. Casa delle AgriCulture is an association, chaired also in this case by a young woman, Tiziana Colluto, a journalist, expert in environmental issues and related to territorial development.

Chiara Vacirca presented Casa delle AgriCulture and the Green Night Festival that animates for ten years the territory of Castiglione d'Otranto in inner Salento, in the frame of the first Online International Course of the EARTH Project (20/11/2020). In her speech, she spoke of a "culture-led and arts-based regeneration of rural areas in Salento for a new-peasantry agriculture". The festival and the project developed since 2011, in an area of southern and internal Italy characterized by depopulation, distance from the main services (education, health, mobility), progressive aging of the population and high unemployment. The territory is characterized by strong social vulnerability and large fragmentation of the property as well as by a growing ecological crisis due to semi-intensive and pesticide-based

monocultures. There are growing environmental and social conflicts connected with the decline of olive cultivation linked to special pathologies starting from 2010. Tourism is almost exclusively seasonal in this inner part of Salento.

In this context of serious fragility, the *Casa delle AgriCulture* was born as a "way to stay", in line with the poetics and politics of "restanza (remaining)", matured in recent years by the reflection of the anthropologist Vito Teti (2014, 2016), and oriented towards cultural regeneration. A new idea of social inclusion and education to the sense of community and its values is reaffirmed, based on innovative and advanced research and an idea of the country and the rural community as a network of infrastructure, both tangible and intangible, of common goods.

Thus, *Casa delle AgriCulture* developed around the conceptual core of the sowing and collective cultivation of donated lands (about 15 ha) with ancient cereals, the so-called 'evolutionary seeds' and skillfully using rotation with legumes and vegetables. Alongside these shared agricultural activities, a community apiary and mill has developed as well as a shared animal shelter. The recovery of the built structures was carried out in bio-architecture and a "nursery of seeds of social inclusion" as well as an "agri-playroom" for the children of the community were provided within the same structures.

In 2017, the initially informal collective transformed into a cooperative set up as a non-profit organization that intends to guarantee the community declination of the new economic entity and the trust placed by the community in this group over the years. On the other hand, the constitution of the social agriculture cooperative is conceived in the key of



Van der Ploeg's new peasantry agriculture (2008, 2018): co-production, control over resources through collective commitment and self-production, the transition from forms of 'classic' financing towards innovative forms of economic support, based on community and mutual help, multiple employment, multifunctionality, cooperation and circularity.

On the background of *Casa delle AgriCulture* we can read a complex picture of meanings, metaphors and concepts acting in depth in the local context and transforming it in a generative and creative way. The same metaphor of evolutionary seeds refers to a cosmology - as Chiara Vacirca explains (focus group with EARTH International Course Students, 27/11/2020) - which alludes to the "seeds of the world waiting to germinate" and which plastically hold together the promotion of biodiversity, relations between species and the decolonization of thought from hegemonic as well as sexist schemes, local knowledge, and global connections. Such an approach aims at subverting the positivist idea of the domination of nature, the exploitation of agricultural resources, uniformity and imperialism cloaked in ecological rhetoric, but framed the Vandana Shiva's concept of "monoculture of the mind" (Shiva 1993). These same concepts were, if possible accentuated and developed, during the 10th edition of the Green Night in August 2021, when not by chance, in one of the debate evenings, Françoise Vergès, a decolonial feminist theorist, was first invited to speak and present her works. Later a debate took place between scholars, activists, new and historical entrepreneurs in the area focused on the critique of the gender subalternities and cultural belonging in the ownership of the processes of change and sustainable transition - ecological, economic and cultural - currently underway.

Against this framework of conceptual and practical dominations, to respond to the extreme crises represented by climate change, genetic erosion of biodiversity and new challenges of food citizenship and security, the best path is making common and radically participatory processes, enabling radical transformations and a new social and political agency.

In this coherent framework, the Green Night appears as an emerging performative and artistic event multiplying and communicating the mission and vision of *Casa delle AgriCulture* to the outside world, "an irreplaceable reflection collective on the value of the land and its care"- as its inspirers, Tullia and Gino Girolomoni defined it. *The Green Night* is not a fair, it is not an exhibition of agri-food products, nor does it present itself as a museum or a conservation path on peasant work: it is a time-space of debates, *lectio magistralis*, environmental theater, rural writing, ethnic music and at the same time it is "the effort brought to the streets and the minor biodiversity recovered", stages the arts of honey extractors and cheesemakers, the cosmopolitan creativity of the artist's residence animated by the Free Home University circuit, the surprising results of the crops managed by the *Adelfia* social cooperative engaged in a project with young people with mental discomfort or agricultural activities carried out by the guests of the SPRARs (Protection system for asylum seekers and refugees).

Over the years, the promoters of the *Zero Waste' Strategy*, the movement for happy degrowth, professional promoters of evolutionary genetic improvement producing grains in a cleaner way, have moved around *Casa delle AgriCulture* and have crossed the *Green Night*. With them, defenders of the pastures against abuses and mafia threats in Sicily, the guarantors of environmental legality against the countryside's risks and exploitation.

Once again, in Castiglione d'Otranto, the most advanced reflection on sustainable development comes from a happy encounter between technical and scientific knowledge, practical experimentation and conservation of wise memories of the past on the correct use and treatment of natural resources, from strength generative and performative of the arts and creative thought to nourish reasons to remaining which is itself, after all, "an art, an invention, an exercise that undermines the rhetoric of local identities", as Vito Teti wrote (2016, p. 1).

2.4. *Allegro ma non troppo. C.A.S.A. (What Happens if We Inhabit) e IT.A.CÁ, Festival of Responsible Tourism (Ussita, Macerata)*

Even in the case of C.A.S.A. – Cosa Accade Se Abitiamo (What Happens if We Inhabit) it is a woman who introduces this interesting experience: Chiara Caporicci was one of the promoters of the Association, together with Patrizia Vita, Roberto Rettura, Christian Tedde, Fabio Bianchini and many other people of this area affected by the 2016/2017 earthquake in the Central Apennine.

“C.A.S.A. is a social promotion association, but above all a space inhabited and crossed by several souls in Frontignano di Ussita (MC, Marche), a small fraction in the Sibillini National Park (<http://www.sibillini.net/>), 1,350 meters above sea level. Ussita is on the slopes of Monte Cornaccione, Bove Nord and Monte Bico, among wolves, chamois, eagles and deer. It is a place born after the 2016 earthquake, open to conversations, high altitude residencies and grounded projects”<sup>58</sup>. It was born from the desire

---

<sup>58</sup> C.A.S.A. Website:

http://www.portodimontagna.it/cosa\_accade\_se\_abitiamo/#:~:text=%E2%

to continue to stay in a wounded and rapidly changing place, together with the communities of the Alto Nera and the guests the Residency that C.A.S.A. welcomes: artists, teachers, writers, designers, technicians, photographers, video-makers, journalists, researchers, naturalists, sportsmen, walkers, students, sensitive men and women. C.A.S.A. it is a mountain port: a crossroads of different cultures, energies, origins, experiences and languages. A space for dialogue in the name of environmental, social and economic sustainability.

“The time spent at C.A.S.A. follows the impulses and breaths of Nature, connecting with the wild spirit of the Sibillini Mountains, between the roar of a deer or the howl of a wolf, but also an undisciplined saxophone, a telescope pointed towards the night, a whispered reading in front of the fireplace”

(Interview to Chiara Caporicci, 26/7/21)

The story of C.A.S.A. is significantly linked to the trauma of the earthquake and the difficult and controversial path of reconstruction, but also to a dense network of experiences of proximity and regeneration connected by walkways: shared routes of solidarity and rediscovery of the territory, of awareness of " what remains". C.A.S.A. offers an occasion to reflect on the sense of a territory for those who usually inhabit the local dimension and those who visit it and return from the outside. For this reason, one of the main activities to which the association gives energy and support is the *Walk of the Mutated Lands* - a path promoted and sanctioned in 2018 across the wounded territories of the 2016 crater -, but also the participatory creation of a Guide / Non-Guide that is, somehow, a

---

80%93%20Cosa%20Accade%20Se%20Abitiamo%20%C3%A8,Sibillini%20a%20mt%201.350%20slm.

community map: *Ussita. Unpublished deviations told by the inhabitants*. The realization of this guide was the occasion for important collaborations with historians, scholars, journalists. Moreover, it represented an opportunity for a new visibility of places transformed by trauma. The paths are intertwined, in this perspective, with the desire to remain, to come back to the mountain as well as to leave again, with a profound awareness of the sense of the Apennines.

At the same time the community has shared a reflection, looking through the objects and symbols embodying “what happens if we live”. One of the most interesting narrative experiments identified six objects to synthesize all the shared work and particularly the last period of social distancing due to the pandemic. Through a sort of storytelling, they pointed out these objects: an *amulet of blades of grass*, a gift by a little girl from Ussita during a walk, synthetically expressing the emotional bond between C.A.S.A. and the people who live in this place; an *orange hard disk* that keeps track of what has been done; the *druse of an amethyst*, a stone of transformation that helps to abandon the old forms of thought to make room for the new; a *pumice stone* that comes from Lipari, Sicily: a volcanic stone, explosive and stubborn, resistant yet light and that helps to smooth and clean; a *wooden spiral*, as a recurring symbol of rebirth and expansion and cyclicity; and finally the *spinning top*, an ancient and unpredictable wooden game, rotating and changing direction, always ready to go again.

The association’s activity includes meetings, events, proposals for territorial animation. In the spring, the *Mobile History Yards “Lands and memories in movement”* were organized by the Historical Institute of Resistance of Macerata, coordinated by Paolo Coppari, former President of the Institute and a teacher engaged in study and reflections about history and culture of the Apennines. The webinars of this interesting

series of meetings questioned “how to secure history and memory in earthquake countries, discussing the experiences of other territories and thinking about the restorative value of memories from craters and the stories of the traumas of the earthquake” (Mobile History Yards Presentation 2021). In this effervescent framework, Ussita presents itself with obstinate resilience as a place to return to and from which to start again, a place to live that invites you to travel, and it is exactly in this oxymoron that its strength of resilience and regeneration resides.

C.A.S.A. joined in 2018 a national-scale circuit such as IT.A.CÁ, Festival of Responsible Tourism, organizing its stage in the Sibillini Mountains, together with the Pro Loco of Ussita and *Movimento Tellurico*, a group promoting the *Walk of the Mutate Lands*. IT.A.CÀ, is a responsible tourism festival, which “invites you to discover places and cultures through walking and cycling itineraries, workshops, seminars, workshops, exhibitions, concerts, documentaries, books and tastings to enhance eco-ethical tourism. The itinerant festival is thought of as a unique journey across different territories, transforming “incoming into becoming”, combining the sustainability of tourism with the well-being of citizens”. Pierluigi Musaró is its Director of IT.A.CÁ., Simona Zedda coordinates the National Secretariat, while the Head of Communication and National Coordination is Sonia Bregoli.

The festival celebrated its 1<sup>st</sup> edition in 2009 in Bologna taking inspiration for its name from the expression “*Ît a cà?* (Are you at home?), in Bolognian dialect. It is organized by a bottom-up national network, made up of over 700 realities including associations, public and private entities, tourism operators and accommodation facilities. For each territory there are one or two local coordinators, networked in a general board aimed at planning together not only the festival program, but also a real territorial policy.

There is also a communication board, composed by members of different sites, interfacing with the national coordination and press office. It is a large laboratory where a multi-voiced experimentation on sustainable and durable development takes place.

Each year a general theme of the festival inspires and connects all the appointments along the Peninsula, interpreted at local scale, intersecting with specific local questions. In 2021 the theme was, significantly, the "Right to Breathe". The explicit reference to the reflection developed during the months of the pandemic by the post-colonialist philosopher Achille Mbembe, brings the paths of the responsible tourism festival back to the protection and safeguarding of the environment ensuring health and well-being of people. At the same it evokes the "I can't breathe" pronounced by George Floyd shortly before his death because of asphyxiation during his arrest by the policeman Derek Chauvin.

The concept of the festival therefore focused on the idea of "breathing a new and regenerated world", a breath that "is also that of animals, plants, flowers and mountains", against the anthropocentric idea human domination of all things and other living and sentient beings, against the hierarchies between people and between species that "built the sinister castle of inequalities" by adopting gestures of "boundless humility" (IT.A.CÁ Festival Manifesto 2021).

The specific interpretation adopted in Ussita, Fiastra, Arquata del Tronto and the other locations of the Sibillini Mountains involved in the festival in the central Apennines is that of a mountain that from backward and marginal space returns to become a "central and revolutionary place in research of an authentic and no longer artificial way of breathing" (IT.A.CÁ Festival Manifesto 2021) and opens up, on the way, to many



other similar places from which it is possible to rethink a different development of territories and local communities. This transition in Ussita is realized throughout an articulated set of activities and proposals "enabling to combine tourism with words such as responsibility and rights, environmental protection, multiculturalism and common goods: to investigate new forms of conflict, against abandonment and depopulation, but also against speculation and the logic of pure profit".

Thus, the "mountain port" opens "to the sailors of the Apennines" and focuses its attention around the state of the woods, on biodiversity conservation and economic and environmental sustainability of protected areas and of contemporary forestry policy, on the shared cleaning practices of Lake Fiastra, on the "conscious steps in the healing forest" together with the facilitators who are experts in forest medicine and on the discovery of the qualities of the medicinal plants of the forest and of the conifer and beech baths, but also with the yoga sessions immersed in nature, naturalistic walks, on foot and by bicycle, to discover the paths outlined and narrated in the "Guide to non-tourism of Ussita" and shared reflections on the "Apennine laboratory" in a tensile structure full of people. The journey is again – as in the previous edition of the festival - the pivotal concept of the program: a physical as well as mental journey, aimed at rethinking creatively a responsible way of live in these wounded territories, open to contamination and dialogue despite the prejudice of closed inner areas.

With an interesting photographic metaphor, wrote about the festival of Ussita Giovanni Teneggi, General Manager of ConfCooperative Reggio Emilia, one of the most engaged supporters of the model of community cooperatives and of an inclusive and sustainable idea of developing internal and fragile areas of the country:

“In the rarefied highlands you could use all the lenses, for the desire that comes to know immediately: with a *macro*, the secret that wants implication or the possibility of shortening with a *zoom* the immense spaces that present themselves in front of you. Only here, however, can you immediately dare - and perhaps you must - a *wide angle*. It could be for the large landscapes to contain, but with even more joy for the squares, the encounters, the daily scenes. Even a portrait you will have to expand it to what is around it to understand it; hold a *long exposure time* to see its movements; *focus* on what precedes or is the background. In photography we say *depth*. Only in this way will you be able to call who you are framing by name, being, in turn, recognized by them”

(Teneggi, 24/06/2021)

Perhaps one of the most interesting perspectives on solidarity and creativity is concentrated in this recognition of gazes, which is actually emerging, even if frail and suffering like the areas of the last crater. The regeneration process seems to be inextricably linked to reciprocity and attention, inventiveness and attentive care of what and whoever remains. In this sense, once again, an unprecedented synergy between systematic knowledge and reactivity seems to represent the only way to get out of the shackles of a resigned immobility that would otherwise condemn rural and mountain areas to obsolescence or the tritest exploitation.

### 3. Conclusions

Trying to outline some traits characterizing the interaction between arts, creativity and regeneration of rural, mountain and fragile territories, we can identify four elements that are believed to provide a key to understanding the set of practices, visions and expectations outlined above.

#### *3.1. Inhabiting fragility*

The first focus is about inhabiting, 'making home', returning and / or staying in the place of belonging as a cornerstone of the shared creative processes of regeneration, emerging from deep local knowledge and participatory inventories (Ballacchino 2016; Broccolini 2016). The four cases outline co-constructed processes of development and revitalization sharing themes such as 'feeling at home', residing, staying, returning, and rebuilding.

This is evident at C.A.S.A. in Ussita that insists, since its acronym, on an interlocutory dimension of living (*Cosa Accade Se Abitiamo* = What Happens if We Inhabit). Inhabiting and 're-making home' is a very sensitive issue in a context marked by trauma of a disaster (Emidio di Treviri 2018, 2021; Falconeri, Fichera, Valitutto 2021). Historical research and recognition of specificities of living in the mountains (and especially in the wounded Apennines) are at the center of the present pathway. In turn, the members of C.A.S.A. have chosen to take part of the Festival of Responsible Tourism IT.A.CÁ. analogously insisting on the very notion of "home" (*It a cà?* = *Are you at home?*), but also on the inspiring suggestion of

Ithaca and of Ulysses' journey. The members of the Association talk of Ussita as a "mountain port": a place from which to start and to return and to find home, a place for repatriating and 'return tourism'. The collective work on the "non-guide" of the territory is a work of awareness and sharing in a wounded place offering a self-representation to the outside world in a creative and generous way. 'Building home' becomes a way to get in touch with the profound sense of other places and to develop a dialogue by transforming an essentially private place into a meeting space.

*Nature, Art, and Habitat Residency (NAHR)* also is focused around this inversion realizing a continuous osmosis between public and private dimension. Visitors and participants to the Residency are welcomed, not surprisingly, in the living spaces of a family, in the traditional mountain buildings rebuilt by the expert craftsmen according to traditional building wisdom of the village. Hosts are mainly international artists, architects and scholars looking for a special contact with nature and a deep understanding of belongingness (Müller 2020). Bergamasque mountains are reappropriated through the recognition of knowledge and practices in dynamic tension with the rest of the world, especially California, where a parallel version of NAHR has recently been inaugurated. This shows once again the relationship between local and global dimension and the relevance of living and rooting in a habitat. The fragility and marginality of mountain and inland areas is in the background of this experience as well as the idea that new opportunities and new forms of territorial enhancement can emerge from the sociality and creativity developed during the Residency.

Even the experience of "Officina Creattiva" and "*Liberi di Essere* (Free to Be)" was born from "a homecoming" project. Concetta Fornaro has chosen to go back home and this return from training experiences in Italy and

abroad becomes an opportunity for innovation in rural areas in which she is committed at the same time as an entrepreneur in the wine sector and a promoter of social inclusion projects. "Home", thus, becomes the cultivated and rediscovered land of such a return process, but also the home of the others, of the migrants who have crossed these territories in the context of the SPRAR (Protection system for asylum seekers and refugees) and of the CAS (Extraordinary Reception Centres), connected with "Liberi di Essere". "Liberi di Essere", in particular, aims at removing the hosting centers from precariousness that had always characterized their welcoming actions and transforming them into more structured forms of inclusion. They proposed, in fact, a regular employment based on respect, justice as well as social innovation. Work and creativity help to re-establish bonds and solidarity, as a circular process that opens up the family space to make it a home for everyone where free personal expression and abilities represent the added value and make the meeting possible.

Moreover, the case of Castiglione d'Otranto is centered around the "House of AgriCultures Tullia and Gino": a personal home and at the same time a community house where staying and belonging. "House of AgriCultures" is set in a non-usual place for organizing a festival: a place of work and care of the territory, far from the easy and populous coast of hyper-exposed Salento. The inhabitants of Castiglione d'Otranto involved in this project benefit from a donated field and manage an agricultural experiment: they produce wheat and flours from ancient *cultivars* and traditional methods of milling, conserving biodiversity and enhancing the innovative practices of sharing, as well as the commitment to a cohesive and creative cultural campaign.

To inhabit live fragility and marginality, it is therefore necessary to challenge some stereotypes, to think about belonging according to critical approaches, breaking free from schematism. The cases that are briefly outlined here show in different ways how creative spaces and free collective expression become political laboratories of innovation while fully preserving the most intimate and affective traits of spaces of memory.

### *3.2. Walking knowledge and creative narratives*

Another characterizing feature for territorial animation that holds together a profound interpretation of the territories, revitalization of abandoned and depopulated places, marginality compared to the great cultural and artistic circuits. Even recovery of cultivated biodiversity and traditional forms of transformation of raw materials are part of the paths and of the storytelling about belongingness and sense of community, despite the ambivalence and complexity of these notions.

In recent decades a growing attention has been deserved to sustainable tourism and respect for nature, but also towards a wellness-oriented tourism. 'Slowness' in experiential tourism, then, seems becoming a formula, sometimes abused and emptied of meaning (Ingold-Vergunst 2008; Solnit 2001; Bindi 2020).

Meanwhile, walking is increasingly considered pivotal by sustainable and responsible tourism actors, alongside the equally ambivalent definition of experiential tourism, resonating with emotional and at times mystical values of holistic syntony with nature and the more-than-human world. Pathways are presently an integral part of the packages offered to tourists,

reconnecting the urban and rural dimensions, the great stories of the past - monumental, event-oriented - with the minute and long-lasting agricultural practices, with rural landscapes and popular devotions. It is the way to guarantee a possibility for a detailed knowledge of the places and a close encounter with the other as a "human landscape" (Berlin, 2013) to be explored in the defined *temenos* (almost a secularized sacred space) of the tourist experience (Turner, 1984; Cohen, 1985; Graburn, 1989).

Experiences of territorial regeneration multiply and transform inhabited places through art intervention (graffiti, installations, sculpture with natural and rough materials, and so on). Meanwhile, national paths (CAI - Sentiero Italia, for example or the Path of San Benedetto or San Francesco) as well as the European Routes Networks (Camino de Santiago, Via Francigena) provide experiences and narratives, digital storytelling, but also performances, land arts, photo contests, etc.

Even in the cases outlined in this paper, the theme of paths and territorial knowledge / experience through paths is quite relevant. In the case of Ussita and the 2021 IT.A.CÁ - Monti Sibillini Festival, for example, immersive walks in the surrounding forests were organized, turning finally into collective performances and moments of meditation, but also in itinerant experiences of knowledge of local herbs and the forest ecosystem as a whole. The story and representation of the Sibillini Mountains enters into the construction of the paths and tourist proposals, basing on respect and gratitude solicited by the immersion in nature and the encounter with local knowledge and practices.

The journey exploration and relationship with the mountain and its resources similarly characterize NAHR and its proposals for a creative interpretation of the environment through architecture, design, but also



performing and figurative art, looking for aesthetics insights in traditional practices and even of different raw materials focused during the Residency. The residency experience restitution is realized through design and territorial planning as well as through performances inspired by discovery of the territory and by the encounter with animals.

The journey of migration and return to a land of origin is the background of the "Liberi di Essere" action: agrifood products as the Cantine Herero's wine are connected to the migrant paths of the guests at the first hosting center at Colle d'Anchise. A multicultural mix of techniques and knowledge of materials and packaging animates the open space of the association, for example through the creations by Folusho, a young tailor leading for "Officina Creattiva" a sewing and creative recycling laboratory and cooperating with Cantine Herero even for elegant packaging of Herero's wine bottles. At the same time, the narrative becomes crucial in Concetta Fornaro's collection of multicultural stories as a creative opportunity for cultural mediation and inclusion.

The "House of AgriCultures Tullia and Gino" launched in 2020 the "books on the road": an education-to-reading and eco-responsible-knowledge project implemented by the "Community Agri-Playroom" and the "Nursery of inclusion". It is essentially a wandering library, based on the circulation of books and environmental awareness activities aimed at educating young people and children thanks to the collaboration of volunteers of the House.

Analogously, the journey was at the very center of another 2018 "Green Night" event, the festival organized by "Casa delle AgriCulture" as a meeting and a disseminating opportunity on the territory and beyond. On that occasion, in fact, after a meeting in Melpignano on the theme of local

identity, a 50 km walk was started to symbolically collect and preserve the seeds of local biodiversity crossing several places in the Regional Park Costa Otranto-Leuca-Borgo di Tricase with the support of the associations "Albero Maestro" and "Made for Walking". The walk ended up in Castiglione d'Otranto where local people and external visitors discussed of food as an instrument of democracy, of autochthonous cereal farming, but also different events were organized such as screenings and rural art exhibitions, debates and shows on responsible waste management, rural writing and reading workshops (*Parla come mangi = Speak as you eat*), concerts with earth and fight songs and masonry reviews as well to scientific dialogues on the value of staying in the territories, rural economies and community alliances as well as responsible tourism routes.

Since 2018 different places and moments of the very rich activities of the festival were indicated as "roads" (road of biodiversity, road of natural agriculture, road of craftsmanship, road of "restanza" (Teti 2016), road of the "farmers of change". Even in this case we are facing creative narration and plastic representation of locality and rurality, a sort of aesthetically inverted gaze at peripheral, marginal and progressively obsolescent areas. Such an outlook enables a generative impact on the territories and for the groups of citizens who inhabit them.

Thus, the roads and paths alongside the narratives of return become symbols of transformation and crucial transition to be traveled in a conscious, creative way, attentive to the moods of the territory, but also to the new sensitivities coming from outside.

### 3.3. *Being women in the post-development arena*

The role of women is extremely relevant in these contexts of creative revitalization of peripheral, mountainous and rural territories. Beyond the most recent debates that claim for greater female protagonism in the various fields of socio-cultural and political activism, it seems relevant focusing on the important value of female figures who acted as hubs and doors towards the experiences and creative opportunities on the local dimension.

Concetta, Ilaria, the two Chiara, Tiziana and other women working with them on the daily care of these initiatives are connecting responsible development actions, alternative travels, care for the environment and regeneration of the territories, agents of development in the various internal and fragile areas of Italy and beyond.

This decisive female presence evokes the popular, communal, and feminist commitment in peasant movements of the Andean area and more generally in Latin America, opposing the idea of care and custody of the environment and local cultures to that of extractivism, openly in contrast with the colonial and neoliberal policies of soils and people's exploitation. The thought of a 'motherland' - *Pachamama* - which is at the same time deeply rooted in Andean thought, but at the same time a powerful dialogic device for the creative and generative encounter between experiences and cultures.

Women's presence implies a reflection for public anthropology, questioning the political impact of local actors' commitment and the specific declinations of women's belonging.

Their human and intellectual biographies first and foremost represent an element of specific interest for ethnography: the Concetta's training as an architect, mobile and cosmopolitan (Officina Creattiva) as well as for Ilaria Mazzoleni and Gaby Scardi (NAHR); the critical and radical ideas of a civic activist, expert journalist in social communication like Tiziana Colluto and the expertise in visual arts and social sciences of Chiara Vacirca (Casa delle Agriculture); the curiosity and commitment to restitution of a territory emerging from the narratives and the work of support of Chiara Caporicci (C.A.S.A.).

These women are interesting: they are travelers - in some case as 'extreme mediators' between two continents, as in the case of Ilaria Mazzoleni, alternating her work in Los Angeles as an architect and the animation of the Residence in Val Taleggio - or between internal territories and urban areas - as happens with Chiara Caporicci and Chiara Vacirca -, or in a widespread mobility meanwhile valorizing to stay and belong, though maintaining a delicate tension between permanence and mobility, as it happens for Concetta and Tiziana.

Female relevant presence alludes to a process of empowerment: on one hand reinhabiting internal and fragile areas, on the other rediscovering female agency in the processes of reconstruction and revitalization. A sort of reversal of perspective is thus manifested: what was once considered the most fragile - the depopulated areas, marked by disasters, the female gender - is now represented as an element of strength and cohesion. Countryside and mountains are no longer to be considered as objects of depredation, of productivism, extraction, profit-oriented processes (large sports facilities, overbuilding, invasive infrastructures), but on the contrary they are strengthened through traditionally sedimented experiences reaffirming the value of natural and cultivated landscapes,

through collective memories, migrants' inclusion, visitors' hosting which are especially transmitted, in small rural places, by women open to the world.

These local events, land art and creative festivals and residencies, recovered craftsmanship are usually not spectacular nor particularly commercial, but on the contrary they are inspired to sharing and inclusion, interconnection between small and very localized experiences and comparative reverberation with radical reflections matured on a transnational scale (Braidotti, Charkiewitz, Häusler, Wieringa, 1994): indigenous rights recognition, women's engagement in sustainable development, respect of the environment and animals, and the *buen vivir*, understood as a harmonious relationship with nature (Polo Blanco-Pineiro Aguiar, 2020).

In the recent social science debate a connection is established among ecological activism, post-colonial reflection and feminist or post-feminist liberation movements. Starting from the first Ester Boserup's formulation in the 1970s (Boserup, 1970; Boserup-Tan-Toulmin, 2013) the theme was developed through various international conferences on "gender and development" (Rowbotham, 1973), enlightening reflections on the proactive role of women in socially responsible development through the elimination of gender and social inequality as a transformative factor (Sen and Grown, 1987). In addition to this post-colonial and feminist perspective (Spivak, 1999; Portolès, 2004), those of the ecofeminist movements embodied (Vandana Shiva, Maria Mies, Bina Agarwal) insists on the greater compatibility with nature in the social and historical construction of female gender, on the role of women as bio-cultural heritage keepers, radically rethinking hierarchies between individuals as

well as between species (Haraway, 1991, 2016) as well as limits and frictions of the Anthropocene (Lowenhaupt Tsing, 2004).

Starting from the shared custody of common goods, solidarity and collective interest between and within communities, a feminist and “post-development” thinking (Escobar, 2015) has been developed, creatively impacting on local and regional economies opposed to large global markets. Women in rural and peripheral regions of the world are guardians against commodification and consumerism, opening non-profit activities, informal and family factories, often acting without an immediately considerable economic impact, representing the real backbone and support of the communities and in many cases also the drive towards their economic revitalization.

Post-feminist and eco-feminist reflection on development processes highlights informal activities of animation, care and enhancement carried out by women in the most depopulated and fragmented contexts, especially through artistic and expressive activities and traditional practices such as weaving, crafts, cooking, but also singing, acting, dancing.

Rural and native women – activists, policy-makers, farmers, shepherds, travelers of the inland areas and the mountains – support the political, economic and cultural relationship with their territories and communities as *buen vivir*: a radically post-colonial, anti-patriarchal and anti-hegemonic meaning, in what we could synthetically define the “political pluriverse” (Escobar 2011): a process of transition and change, radically disintermediated from the colonial, patriarchal and anthropocentric mortgage.

### 3.4. *Restitutive circularity*

Experiences observed in the "places left behind" (Wuthnow, 2018) seem increasingly oriented towards the revitalization of a deeply grounded agricultural and craft activities as well as towards the design of new forms of local regeneration based on sustainable tourism and newcomers' protagonism. In some cases, a potential for fragile and internal areas is affirmed, connected with the presence of new types of remote workers (*smartworkers*) or "digital nomads" (Capecchi, 2021). Some of them really take in consideration the hypothesis of living in rural and mountain areas, also very secluded, thanks to the possibility of remote work, considering the quality of life in these areas more sustainable than that of large urban areas way of life.

The reflection carried out in the last five years by groups and associations involved in the process of the "National Strategy for Internal Areas" (SNAI), the the scholars / activists of the "Riabitare l'Italia (Reinhabiting Italy)" Association, the studies conducted by several dedicated Centers of Research and more or less informal collectives conveyed the attention to the fluidity of the borders between margins and centers, between urban areas and countryside / mountains, outlining new forms of governance of development and economic and socio-cultural revitalization based on inclusion and participation, on a deeply rooted social innovation and circularity.

Nonetheless, the risk of reassuring narratives and, at times, of a new conformism of social innovation in rethinking rural and inland areas exists, both in the experts' than in activists' discourses, sometimes solicited by local actors, in other cases suggested by a new populism.



The evidence of the environmental, economic and social unsustainability of neo-liberal and post-capitalist choices and behaviors somehow implies the urgency for “doing otherwise”. Rhetoric of "small villages" to be recovered, of the countryside to be cultivated in a low-impact and organic way, exaltation of inclusive and welcoming communities radically question the duration and persistence of re-inhabiting projects, the concrete potential for regeneration and sustainability (Bindi, 2021).

Multifunctionality of rural areas and their ability to manage innovation and recovery, history and enhancement of bio-cultural heritage represent today the real skills to develop to "cultivate beauty" and to look at late-modern rural economies from the point of view of financial sustainability and an overall well-being of citizens.

Thus, rural areas are today increasingly committed with biodiversity conservation and food citizenship, social inclusion of migrants and new inhabitants, low-impact accommodations and responsible tourism, new a sense of more-than-human community and cultural and social creativity. The circularity of exchanges in the contained and hidden dimension of rural and internal spaces, the cooperation that has influenced rural areas for centuries, the peasants' waste-reduction, respect of primary resources inspires today new creative and artistic experiences consolidating the collective bond as well as the vision of a less ethnocentric and even less anthropocentric development.

Arts and creative experimentation, cultural exchanges and cross-cultural contamination become a non-rhetorical way of rethinking the margin, creatively developing a radical critique of the limits of late-capitalist socio-economic development, questioning the asymmetries of an ethno-cultural and economic nature, the historical partage between the north and south,

the urban and the rural. In fact, the unprecedented and unexplored spaces of art and creativity redefine the margins between industrial, coastal, economically advanced areas - even if in reality they themselves are today marked by evident processes of recession and unsustainability - and internal, fragile, mountain and rural areas.

The groups that choose to practice this type of proposals and social innovation paths in "AgriCulture" are based on mutual understanding and profound care for places and people: a moral and emotional economy capable of creatively reweaving cracked, worn and lost relationships between people, between humans and "more-than-human", re-framing "global hierarchies of value" (Herzfeld, 2004) and the "mono-culture of minds" (Shiva, 1993).

In 1981 Maria Lai, a Sardinian artist, refusing to create, as she was asked to, a war memorial in Ulassai, her country of origin, and she proposed instead an extraordinary work of "relational art": "*Legarsi alla montagna* (Bind ourselves to the mountain)"<sup>59</sup>. She took inspiration from a legend according to which one hundred and twenty years earlier, in 1861, a ridge of the mountain dominating the landscape of Ulassai had given away, overwhelming a house and three girls who lived there. Only one was saved by holding a blue ribbon in her hand. Starting from this emblematic and legendary tale, the artist collected the tissues, distributed them involving all the inhabitants of Ulassai and made them, physically, connect to each other and stretch them around the mountain passing from door to door, from place to place in the country with the blue stripe. This

---

<sup>59</sup> <https://www.raicultura.it/arte/articoli/2019/11/Maria-Lai-9aa5a638-a435-41bb-81f5-50fc6002381c.html>.

simple idea of a thread or “a ribbon that unites” shifted in an artistic action and in an encounter between members of the same locality, creating connections where distance and mistrust or enmity have been imposed. This refers also to an idea of relationship with the mountain and the surrounding nature as elements of care and salvation, but also of commitment in building the bond. Maria Lai's work alludes to a relational and cooperative thought transforming each inhabitant of the village in a protagonist of the artistic and social action, spectators, users and actors at the same time, eliminating the dichotomies of a spectacularized and reified rurality. Relational art points to new subjects and new practices and suggests, out of rhetoric, the way to go beyond present ideas about development and regeneration, making possible to inhabit places, once again.

## References

- Baccichet, M. (2019) : *Arte e Rigenerazione territoriale nelle Aree Montane*, Interreg Project Stream. Open Access Pub.
- Bakari El-Kamel, M. (2017): *The Dilemma of Sustainability in the Age of Globalization: A Quest for a Paradigm of Development*. Lexington Books. Lexington.
- Ballacchino, K. (2016): *Antropologi 'attorno al tavolo della comunità patrimoniale'. Riflessioni etnografiche su un esperimento di inventario partecipativo*. In Bonetti R., Simonicca A. (eds.): *Etnografia e processi di patrimonializzazione*. CISU. Roma, 63-80.
- Bargna, I. (2011) : « Gli usi sociali e politici dell'arte contemporanea fra pratiche di partecipazione e di resistenza ». *Antropologia*. XI (13), 75-106.
- Bassi, M. (2018): “Paradigmi dello Sviluppo e Approccio Relativista”, *Antropologia Pubblica*, 4 (1), 65-94.
- Bell, D., Jayne, M. (2010). The creative countryside: Policy and practice in the UK rural cultural economy. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 26, 209-218.

- Berlin, I. (2013). *The Crooked Timber of Humanity*, Edited by Henry Hardy, New York: Pimlico.
- Berneman, C., Meyronin B. (Eds.) (2010): *Culture et attractivité des territoires. Nouveaux enjeux, nouvelles perspectives*. L'Harmattan, Paris. 273-282.
- Biggs, R., Westley, F.R., Carpenter, S.R. (2010): "Navigating the back loop: Fostering social innovation and transformation in ecosystem management". *Ecology and Society*, 15, 9.
- Biggs, S.D. 1980. "Informal R&D: The failure of farmers to adopt new technological packages entirely may be a sign of creativity rather than backwardness". *Ceres*. 13: 23-26.
- Bindi, L. (2020): "Take a Walk on the Shepherd Side: Transhumant Narratives and Representations". In: Tisdell M., Fagerlid C. (eds.). *Literary Anthropology of Migration and Belonging. Routes, Roots, and Rhyzomes*. vol. 1, 22-53, Palgrave Macmillan. London/New York.
- Bindi, L. (2021): "Oltre il 'piccoloborghismo'. Comunità patrimoniali e rigenerazione delle aree fragili". *Dialoghi Mediterranei*, 48. Web Source: <http://www.istitutoeuroarabo.it/DM/oltre-il-piccoloborghismo-comunita-patrimoniali-e-rigenerazione-delle-aree-fragili/>
- Boserup, E. (1970): *Woman's Role in Economic Development*. George Allen & Unwin. London.
- Boserup, E., Tan S. F., Toulmin C. (2013): *Woman's Role in Economic Development*. Routledge. London.
- Braidotti R., Charkiewicz E., Häusler S., Wieringa S. (1994): *Women, the Environment and Sustainable Development. Towards a Theoretical Synthesis*. Zed Books. London.
- Broccolini, A. (2016): *Per una etnografia engaged del patrimonio culturale immateriale. L'inventario partecipativo della festa della Madonna del Monte di Marta*, in Bonetti R., Simonica A. (Eds.). *Etnografia e processi di patrimonializzazione*. CISU, Roma. 45-62.
- Brokensha, D., D. Warren, Werner O. (Eds.) (1980): *Indigenous knowledge systems and development*. Washington D.C. University Press of America.
- Capecchi M. (2021): "Digital nomads in Italy: visas and tax incentives for remote workers. Move to Italy, work remotely and embrace taxation opportunities". *The Florentine*, 13/04/2021, Web Source: <http://www.theflorentine.net/2021/04/13/digital-nomads-italy-visas-tax-incentives-remote-workers/> (Accessed on 17/08/21).

- Carrosio G. (2019): *I margini al centro*. Donzelli Editore. Roma.
- Chambers R. (1994): "The Origins and Practice of Participatory Rural Appraisal". *World Development* 22(7), 953-69.
- Chambers, R. (1992): "Rural Appraisal: Rapid, Relaxed and Participatory". *IDS Discussion Paper 311*. Brighton: IDS
- Chambers, R. (1997): *Whose Reality Counts? Putting the First Last*. Intermediate Technology Development Group. London.
- Cheetham, M. (2018): *Landscape into Eco Art. Articulations of Nature since the '60s*. Pennsylvania State University Press. Penn University Park.
- Cirese, A. M. (1986): *I piedi nel borgo e la testa nel mondo*, in *Domenico Petrini nella cultura e nella politica degli anni Venti*. In: Formichetti G., Marinelli R. (Eds.): *Atti del Convegno di studi, Rieti, 15-17 aprile 1983*. Cassa di Risparmio di Rieti. Rieti.
- Clemente, P. (2021): "Tra cosmo e campanile. 'Il Centro in periferia' nel centesimo anniversario della nascita di Alberto M. Cirese". *Dialoghi Mediterranei*, Luglio 2021/50, Web Source: <https://www.istitutoeuroarabo.it/DM/tra-cosmo-e-campanile-il-centro-in-periferia-nel-100-compleanno-di-alberto-cirese/> (Accessed on 10/8/2021)
- Cohen, E. (1985): "Tourism as a Play". *Religion*, 15 (3), 291-304.
- Corrado, F. (2016): *Costruire Politiche di sviluppo sostenibile per le Alpi*. In: Del Curto, D., Dini, R., Menini, G. (Eds.) (2016). « Alpi e Architettura. Patrimonio, Progetto, Sviluppo locale ». *Mimesis/Architettura*. (21), 229-236.
- Curtis, D. J. (2011): "Using the Arts to Raise Awareness and Communicate Environmental Information in the Extension Context". *The Journal of Agricultural Education and Extension*, 17, 2, 181-194,
- D'Inca Levis, G. (2016): *Dolomiti Contemporanee, laboratori d'arti visive in ambiente. Cura e rigenerazione e paesaggio e patrimonio*. In: Del Curto, D., Dini, R., Menini, G. (Eds.) (2016). « Alpi e Architettura. Patrimonio, Progetto, Sviluppo locale ». *Mimesis/Architettura*. (21), 293-304.
- De Rossi A. – Barbera F. (Eds.) (2021), *Metromontagna, Roma: Donzelli*.
- De Rossi, A. (2018): *Riabitare l'Italia. Le aree interne tra abbandoni e riconquiste*. Donzelli. Roma.
- Delfosse, C. (2011) : «La culture à la campagne, Revue Pour, « Services en milieu rural : nouvelles attentes, nouvelles réponses». 208. 43-48.
- Delfosse, C., Pierre-Marie Georges (2013): «Artistes et espace rural : l'émergence d'une dynamique créative». *Territoire en mouvement. Revue de géographie et aménagement*. 19-20 | 2013 [Online since 01 mai 2015. Consulted le 26 décembre

2021. URL : <http://journals.openedition.org/tem/2147> ; DOI : <https://doi.org/10.4000/tem.2147>
- Delgado, M. del M., Ramos, E., Gallardo, R., Ramos F. (2003): *Multifunctionality and Rural Development: a necessary convergence*. In Huylenbroeck, G. van, Durand, G. (eds.), *Multifunctional agriculture: a new paradigm for European agriculture and rural development*. Ashgate Publishing Ltd. Aldershot.
- Demossier M. (2011): Anthropologists and the challenges of modernity, *Anthropological Journal of European Cultures*, 20:1, pp. 111-131.
- Dunphy, K. (2009): *Developing and Revitalizing Rural Communities. Through Arts and Creativity: Australia*, Vancouver, Centre for Policy Studies on Culture and Communities at Simon Fraser University.
- Egusquiza, A., Zubiaga, M., Gandini, A., de Luca, C., Tondelli, S. (2021): « Systemic Innovation Areas for Heritage-Led Rural Regeneration: A Multilevel Repository of Best Practices ». *Sustainability* 13, 5069. <https://doi.org/10.3390/su13095069>, 1-27.
- Emidio di Treviri (eds.) (2018) : *Sul Fronte del Sisma. Un'inchiesta militante sul post-terremoto dell'Appennino centrale (2016-2017)*. DeriveApprodi. Roma.
- Emidio di Treviri (eds.) (2021) : *Sulle tracce dell'appennino che cambia. Voci dalla ricerca sul post-sisma 2016/2017*. Il Bene Comune. Campobasso.
- Escobar, A. (2011): "Sustainability: Design for the pluriverse". *Development*. 54, 137-140. <https://doi.org/10.1057/dev.2011.28>
- Escobar, A. (2015): "Decrecimiento, post-desarrollo y transiciones: una conversación preliminar". *Interdisciplina* 3, 7, 217-244.
- Falconeri, I., Fichera F., Valitutto S. (2021): *Irpinia 1980: evocare il terremoto, ripensare i disastri*. (Visioni d'Archivio. Quaderno 02). Istituto Centrale per il Patrimonio Immateriale. Roma.
- Farrington, J., Martin A. (1988): "Farmer participation in agricultural research: A review of concepts and practices". *Agricultural Administration Occasional Paper*. 9. ODI. London.
- Gallardo, R. (2016): *Responsive Countryside: The Digital Age and Rural Communities*. Mississippi State University Extension Service Editor: Mississippi State.
- Gallardo, R., Beaulieu, L., Geideman, C. (2021): "Digital inclusion and parity: Implications for community development". *Community Development*. 52 (1), pp. 4-21. Web source: <https://doi.org/10.1080/15575330.2020.1830815> (Accessed on 9/8/2021).



- Gibson, C., Luckman, S., Willoughby-Smith, J. (2010): Creativity without Borders? Rethinking remoteness and proximity, *Australian Geographer*. 41 (1), 25-38. Web Source: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00049180903535543>
- Graburn, N. (1989): "Tourism: the Sacred Journey". In: Smith, V. *Hosts and Guests: the Anthropology of Tourism*. University of Pennsylvania Press. Philadelphia. 21-36.
- Haraway, D. (1991): "A Cyborg-Manifesto: Science, Technology, And Socialist-Feminism in the Late Twentieth Century". In: Simians, E. (Ed.). *Cyborgs and Women: The Reinvention of Nature.*, Routledge. New York, 149-181.
- Haraway, D. (2016): *Staying with the Trouble: Making Kin in the Chthulucene*. Duke University Press. Durham.
- Herzfeld, M. (2004): *The Body Impolitic. Artisan and Artifice in the Global Hierarchy of Value*. The University of Chicago Press. Chicago.
- Ingold, T., Vergunst L. J. (2008) (Eds.): *Ways of Walking: Ethnography and Practice on Foot*. Routledge. London.
- IT.A.CÁ Festival do Responsible Tourism (2021): *Document/Manifesto 2021*, Web Source: [http:// https://www.festivalitaca.net/diritto-di-respirare-tema-2021/](http://https://www.festivalitaca.net/diritto-di-respirare-tema-2021/)
- Jose, S., Jokela E., Miller D. (2007): *The Longleaf Pine Ecosystem: Ecology, Silviculture, and Restoration*. Springer. New York.
- Kingma, O. (2002). *Enabling communities through the arts*. Sydney: Australia Council.
- Kohn, E. (2013): *How Forests Think: Toward an Anthropology Beyond the Human*. University of California Press. San Francisco.
- MacClancy, J. (2015): "Alternative countrysides: anthropological approaches to rural Western Europe today". Manchester University Press. Manchester.
- Mazzoleni, I., Santi, A. (2019): "Nature, Art & Habitat Residency (NAHR)" in Riva Raffaella (ed.), *Paesaggi Culturali e Sviluppo Sostenibile: Il Ruolo degli Ecomusei*, Edizioni Politecnico di Milano, Milano, 327-337.
- McHenry, J. A. (2011): "Rural empowerment through the arts: the role of arts in civic and social participation in the Mid-West Region of Western Australia". *Journal of Rural Studies*. 27 (3), 245-253.
- Pelucha M., Kasabov E. (2020): *Rural Development in the Digital Age. Exploring Neo-Productivist EU Rural Policy*. Routledge. New York.
- Phelps, N. A. (2012): "The sub-creative economy of the suburbs in question". *International Journal of Cultural Studies*". 15, 259-271.

- Polo B. J., Pineiro A.E. (2020): "El buen vivir como discurso contrahegemónico. Postdesarrollo, indigenismo y naturaleza desde la visión andina". *Mana*. 26 (1), 1-31.
- Portolès A. O. (2004): "Feminismo post-colonial: la crítica al eurocentrismo del feminismo occidental". *Quaderno de Trabajo*, 6. Web Source: <http://corporacionparaeldesarrolloregional.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/Feminismo-postcolonial.pdf>
- Ray, C. (1998): "Culture, intellectual property and territorial rural development". *Sociologia Ruralis*. 38, 3-19.
- Richards, P. 1985. *Indigenous Agricultural Revolution*. London: Hutchinson.
- Rogers, S. C. (1991): *Shaping modern times in rural France. The transformation and reproduction of an Aveyronnais community*, Princeton University Press. Princeton.
- Rowbotham, S. (1973): *Women, Resistance and Revolution*. Allen Lane. New York.
- Ruiz Pulpón Á. R., del Carmen Cañizares Ruiz M. (2020) : « Enhancing the Territorial Heritage of Declining Rural Areas in Spain: Towards Integrating Top-Down and Bottom-Up Approaches ». *Land*. 9, 216,1-24.
- Sen, G., Grown K. (1987): *Development, Crises, and Alternative Visions. Third World Women's Perspectives*. Monthly Review Press. New York.
- Shiva, V. (1993): *Monocultures of the Mind: Perspectives on Biodiversity and Biotechnology*. Bloomsbury. New York.
- Solnit, R. (2001): *Wanderlust. A History of Walking*. Verso. New York / London.
- Spivak, G. (1999): *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Toward a History of the Vanishing Present*. Harvard University Press. Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Strahern, M. (1987): *Kinship at the core. An anthropology of Elmdom, a village in north-west Essex in the nineteen-sixties*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.
- Svašek, M., Meyer, B. (2016): *Creativity in transition. Politics and Aesthetics of Cultural Production Across the Globe*. Berghahn. New York.
- Teneggi, G. (2021): "Sconfinamenti, C.A.S.A." Website. 24/06/2021. Web Source: [http://www.portodimontagna.it/2021/06/versoussita\\_giovannteneggi/](http://www.portodimontagna.it/2021/06/versoussita_giovannteneggi/) (Accessed on 27/07/21)
- Teti, V. (2014): *Il senso dei luoghi. Memoria e storia dei paesi abbandonati*. Donzelli. Rome.
- Teti, V. (2016): *Quel che resta. L'Italia dei paesi, tra abbandoni e ritorni*, Donzelli. Rome.
- Tsing Lowenhaupt, A. (2004): *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection*. Princeton University Press. Princeton.



- Turner V. (1984): "Liminality and the Performative genres". In: MacAloon, A. (Ed.): *Rite, drama, festival, spectacle: Rehearsal towards a theory of Cultural performance*. Institute for the Study of Human Issue. Philadelphia, 19-24.
- Van Der Ploeg Douwe, J. (2008): *The New Peasantries. Struggles for Autonomy and Sustainability in an Era of Empire and Globalization*. Sterling/Earthscan Publications. London.
- Van der Ploeg Douwe, J. (2018): "Introduction to Part Fourteen: Rural Natures and their Co-Production". In: Marsden T. (Ed.): *The SAGE Handbook of Nature: Three Volume Set*, SAGE Publications. London, 1435-1447.
- Verschuur, C., (2019): "From the Centre to the Margins and Back Again: Women in Agriculture at the ILO". *International Development Policy | Revue internationale de politique de développement* [Online]. 11 | 2019. Online since 11 February 2020. Consulted on 13 August 2021. URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/poldev/3068>; DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4000/poldev.3068>
- Woods, M. (2007): "Engaging the global countryside: globalization, hybridity and the reconstitution of rural place". *Progress in Human Geography*. 31, 485-507.
- Woods, M. (2010): "The political economies of place in the emergent global countryside: stories from rural Wales". In: Halseth, G., Markey, S., Bruce, D. (Eds). *The Next Rural Economies: Constructing Rural Place in Global Economies*. CABI. Wallingford, 166-178.
- Woods, M. 2011. *Rural Geography III: Rural futures and the future of rural geography*. *Progress in Human Geography*. 36(1): 125- 134. Web Source: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132510393135> (Accessed on 10/10/2021)
- Wright, S. (1992): "Image and analysis: new directions in community studies". In: Short, B. (Ed.): *The English rural community. Image and analysis*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.
- Wuthnow, R. (2018): *The Left Behind: Decline and Rage in rural America*. Princeton University Press. Princeton.

## **Bio-cultural Heritage and Communities of Practice.**

### **Participatory Processes in Territorial Development as a multidisciplinary Fieldwork.**

*Giovanni Belletti*

#### **POSTFAZIONE**

Comprendere direzioni e caratteristiche dello sviluppo territoriale nelle aree rurali ai nostri giorni è una enorme sfida. Ciò è vero soprattutto quando collochiamo tale tematica in una prospettiva internazionale e multidisciplinare che ne voglia cogliere le molteplici articolazioni e la profonda complessità, osservando i processi attraverso cui i territori possono attivare e sostenere le proprie dinamiche di cambiamento e di sviluppo – e non solo descrivendo gli esiti in termini di performance realizzate o mancate.

Quella che si è (parzialmente) compiuta negli ultimi trent'anni, con una accelerazione nel nuovo millennio, può essere interpretata come una vera e propria rivoluzione copernicana. Si è passati da un "universo rurale" che aveva al centro i grandi centri di produzione delle conoscenze, delle tecniche e delle politiche pronte all'uso, da essere applicate con minimi adattamenti alle imprese e agli attori del sistema; a un "universo rurale" dove, sia pure con molte differenze e distinguo, i territori e le loro differenze venivano non solo tollerate ma anche riconosciute come valore (anche economico) e dunque sostenute.

Non esiste un vero e proprio punto di svolta netto in processi come questi, che si affermano invece in modo progressivo e differenziato; ma se lo vogliamo identificare, almeno a livello di principi e di policy making lo possiamo trovare nelle due Conferenze europee sullo sviluppo rurale tenutesi entrambe a Cork.

La Dichiarazione di Cork *“A living countryside”* che scaturì dalla prima Conferenza del 1996 indicava un nuovo percorso per la Politica agricola comunitaria introducendo un pilastro territoriale volto a perseguire, in parallelo alle altre politiche di coesione europee, uno sviluppo integrato e sostenibile delle aree rurali mirante alla *“diversificazione”*, alla *“sostenibilità”*, alla *“sussidiarietà”*, quest’ultima *“basata sulla partnership e la cooperazione fra tutti i livelli interessati (locale, regionale, nazionale ed europeo), ponendo attenzione alla partecipazione e all’approccio bottom-up”*.

Vent’anni dopo la Dichiarazione *“A better life in rural areas”*, esito della Conferenza del 2016, conferma quegli orientamenti e va oltre, aggiungendo altre priorità connesse all’evoluzione più recente delle aree rurali e alle nuove opportunità e minacce. La promozione della *“prosperità rurale”* implica anche affrontare i temi del *“cambiamento climatico, dell’inclusione sociale, dell’integrazione dei migranti”* mirando alla *“resilienza in agricoltura e nelle comunità rurali”*. Un approccio integrato allo sviluppo rurale si ottiene *“rafforzando le catene del valore rurali e le reti produttive locali”*, promuovendo *“un’economia circolare, verde e fossil-free”*, *“rafforzando i legami rurale-urbano”*, stimolando la *conoscenza e l’innovazione* e puntando sulla *“formazione, l’innovazione sociale, l’assistenza tecnica, il networking e la cooperazione”*.

Chi scrive ha avuto l’opportunità, da giovane economista agrario applicato, di osservare e vivere questa trasformazione operando a cavallo

tra il mondo della ricerca e quello della partecipazione ai processi di formazione delle politiche. Ricordo in particolare, in una Toscana che negli anni '90 del secolo scorso rappresentava per molti versi una vera e propria "regione laboratorio" per l'emergere di una nuova ruralità, le attività di ricerca-azione condotte sotto la direzione di due economisti agrari di grande spessore, capaci di coniugare attività scientifica e gestione delle politiche agricole (trasformandole in politiche di sviluppo rurale) nella loro esperienza di assessori all'agricoltura rispettivamente nelle province di Livorno e di Grosseto: Luciano Iaconi e Alessandro Pacciani. Nella ricerca "Nuova agricoltura e nuovi agricoltori. La sfida dello sviluppo integrato. Indagine agricoltura, agro-industria, turismo in provincia di Livorno" (Iaconi et al., 1995) si esploravano le nuove imprenditorialità agricole e le relazioni sistemiche nel territorio dell'Alta Maremma livornese. Negli stessi anni Grosseto si candidava "distretto rurale d'Europa" e sperimentava nuovi modelli di governance volti a sostenere progettualità ispirate alla multifunzionalità aziendale e territoriale (Pacciani, 2003). Tutto ciò sottolineava l'importanza di sviluppare nuove forme di relazioni tra imprese e altri attori *nei* territori volte a comprendere quale fosse lo specifico del proprio territorio (in termini di prodotti di qualità, risorse naturali, paesaggi rurali, agrobiodiversità, elementi culturali) e come creare valore grazie ad esso; e riconosceva la necessità di un protagonismo dei vari attori istituzionali e politici del territorio (amministrazioni provinciali e comunali, associazioni di categoria, enti parco, pro loco).

Il cambio di prospettiva reso evidente dalle due Conferenze di Cork dunque non solo modifica il ruolo dei territori ma anche quello degli attori e delle istituzioni che in essi operano. Nell'universo pre-corkiano non era necessaria la "partecipazione" degli attori (imprese, istituzioni, policy

makers, consumatori, cittadini), bensì si ricercava la loro “adesione” a un modello di fatto univoco e pensato altrove. Le specificità dei territori e degli attori in essi operanti (in termini di saperi locali, culture, razze e varietà locali, ma anche sistemi tradizionali di coltivazione e di gestione del capitale fondiario – vedi terrazzamenti – dunque quello che possiamo identificare come espressione del patrimonio bioculturale) rappresentavano un fattore di disturbo, un ostacolo rispetto a una visione di progresso ispirata dal concetto di omologazione (Basile e Cecchi, 2001). Chi (imprese e territori) non si omologava era destinato alla progressiva marginalizzazione e sparizione, e veniva abbandonato dalle stesse politiche economiche.

Nella ruralità post-corkiana i territori, i capitali territoriali e tra questi il patrimonio bioculturale, gli attori locali con i loro saperi diventano non ostacolo ma perno su cui costruire un modello di sviluppo basato non sulla omologazione ma sulla valorizzazione delle differenze. Il recupero della dimensione territoriale nello sviluppo delle aree rurali si basa sul riconoscimento dei caratteri di endogeneità (approccio bottom-up centrato sulle risorse locali), integrazione (tra attività diverse all’interno dello stesso territorio/azienda, ma anche tra locale e globale) e sostenibilità nelle sue tre declinazioni ambientale, economica e sociale (Brunori, 2011). La dimensione territoriale richiede la presenza di un capitale sociale, base necessaria per l’attivazione nel territorio di nuove forme di connessione tra imprese agricole, imprese di altri settori, organizzazioni espressione della società in senso lato, e istituzioni pubbliche operanti nel territorio. E’ fondamentale anche la capacità di stabilire solide relazioni con attori extralocali, tanto che in realtà appare spesso più appropriato – in situazioni di forte intensità relazionale e comunicativa come quelli che caratterizzano la nuova ruralità – parlare di modelli di sviluppo neo-

endogeno (Ray, 2006). Emerge dunque una visione dello sviluppo territoriale come progetto politico di lungo periodo, condiviso dagli attori di un dato contesto locale in interazione con attori extra-locali e costruito sulla base di un set di risorse locali (Brunori, 2006), espressione di una intelligenza dei luoghi (Becattini, 2015).

Attraverso prospettive di diverse discipline e di diverse esperienze legate a una varietà di territori e di contesti, i contributi di questo volume ci hanno offerto evidenze e punti di vista interessanti per cogliere le grandi opportunità ma anche le criticità, i fattori di ostacolo e i molteplici rischi insiti nei processi di sviluppo territoriale centrati sul patrimonio bioculturale. Queste criticità, ostacoli e rischi possono essere analizzati con riferimento a differenti livelli e snodi chiave.

Il coinvolgimento attivo degli attori locali nella co-costruzione di processi centrati sul patrimonio bioculturale è senz'altro una delle criticità più evidenti. Prima di tutto ciò richiede un *empowerment* degli attori locali, che possa contrastare l'impoverimento culturale che si accompagna all'impoverimento socio-economico, e potenzi la loro capacità di fare memoria e di riconoscere il proprio patrimonio bioculturale e il suo valore. Ma si richiedono anche iniezioni di conoscenze e risorse umane dall'esterno – attraverso la presenza di *newcomers*, l'attivazione di contaminazioni e connessioni con reti esterne, la realizzazione di forme organizzate di animazione territoriale. La capacità di combinare attori e saperi interni ed esterni al territorio rappresenta un primo snodo chiave.

Non esiste, di norma, recupero e conservazione autentica del patrimonio bioculturale senza una sua valorizzazione che permetta agli attori locali di creare valore anche economico e poter dunque mantenerlo vivente. Percorrere il sentiero restando in equilibrio tra musealizzazione

(conservazione sotto teca o ex-situ) e disneyzzazione (ricostruzione a pure uso e consumo dei “consumatori/turisti”) del patrimonio bioculturale è compito arduo, che richiede capacità di discernimento e talvolta scelte difficili. La dimensione del conflitto tra differenti visioni del territorio e del suo patrimonio bioculturale, e delle diverse categorie di portatori di interesse, è infatti uno snodo chiave che richiede fin dove è possibile capacità di mediazione, e poi il coraggio di scelte strategiche (e politiche) nette.

La ricchezza e varietà di esperienze di mantenimento e valorizzazione del patrimonio bioculturale non è sufficiente per imprimere una direzione precisa allo sviluppo di un territorio nella direzione della sostenibilità. Il passaggio dalle singole esperienze al loro scaling-up e alla successiva costruzione consapevole di una strategia territoriale capace di articolarle intorno a una visione di medio-lungo periodo, e di sostenerla mediante un set appropriato di politiche e di meccanismi di governance, è un ulteriore snodo problematico, solo in parte messo in luce nei contributi di questo volume ma su cui si gioca la possibilità di fare uscire lo sviluppo territoriale centrato sul patrimonio bioculturale da nicchia a principio ispiratore e modello di riferimento per i nostri territori rurali, in specie quelli più marginali.

## **Riferimenti**

Basile E., Cecchi C. (2001), “La trasformazione post-industriale della campagna: dall'agricoltura ai sistemi locali rurali”, Rosenberg & Sellier.

Becattini G. (2015). “La coscienza dei luoghi: il territorio come soggetto corale”. Donzelli editore.

Belletti G., Iaconi L., Marescotti A., Pacciani A., Pagni R., Rovai M. (1995), “Nuova agricoltura e nuovi agricoltori. La sfida dello sviluppo integrato. Indagine agricoltura, agro-industria, turismo in provincia di Livorno”, Provincia di Livorno.



- Brunori G. (2006), "Post-rural processes in wealthy rural areas: hybrid networks and symbolic capital", in Marsden, T.K. and Murdoch, J. (eds), "Between the Local and the Global: Confronting Complexity of the Agri-Food Sector", Elsevier, Amsterdam.
- Brunori G. (a cura di) (2011), "Lavoro, impresa, transizione agricola: un quadro concettuale", Felici Editore, Pisa.
- Pacciani A. (2003). La Maremma distretto rurale. Un nuovo modello di sviluppo nella consapevolezza della propria identità, Editrice "Il mio Amico", Grosseto.
- Ray C. (2006), "Neo-endogenous rural development in the EU". In AA.VV. Handbook of rural studies, 7619-7332.
- Van der Ploeg J.D., Long A., Banks, J. (2002), "Living Countrysides. Rural development processes in Europe: The state of the art", Elsevier bedrijfsinformatie BV, Doetinchem.

PERSPECTIVES ON RURAL DEVELOPMENT  
N. 6

<http://siba-ese.unisalento.it/index.php/prd>

© 2022 Università del Salento